HdO

Handbook of Christianity in China

Volume Two: 1800-present

Edited by

R.G. Tiedemann

BRILL

HANDBOOK OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA 2

HANDBOOK OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

HANDBUCH DER ORIENTALISTIK

SECTION FOUR

CHINA

edited by

STEPHEN F. TEISER, MARTIN KERN AND TIMOTHY BROOK

VOLUME FIFTEEN (15/2)

Handbook of Christianity in China

Volume Two: 1800 to the Present

Edited by

R. G. Tiedemann

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2010

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Handbook of Christianity in China / edited by Nicolas Standaert.
p. cm — (Handbook of Oriental studies. Section four, China, 0169-9520 ; v. 15)
Includes bibliographical references and indexes.
ISBN 9004114319 (v. 1 : hardback) 1. Missions—China—History. 2. China—Church history. 3. China—Religion. I. Standaert, N.

BR1285.H36 2001

2001267255

ISSN 0169-9520
ISBN 978 90 04 11430 2

Copyright 2010 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Introduction ix
List of Contributors xxi
Acronyms of Missionary Societies and Religious Organisations xxiii
List of Abbreviations xxxv
Maps xxxix

Part One LATE QING CHINA

1. Sources, 1800–1911 1
1.1. Chinese Primary Sources 1
1.1.1. Annalistic sources 2
1.1.2. Official histories 4
1.1.3. Archival sources 5
1.1.4. Published collections of edicts and memorials 12
1.1.5. Local histories 19
1.1.6. Published primary sources in modern collections 21
1.1.7. Libraries with important collections 22
1.2. Western Primary Sources 31
1.2.1. Typological Survey 31
1.2.2. Bibliographies of Western Primary Sources 36
1.2.3. Topographical Survey 36
1.2.4. Published collections of primary source 44
1.2.5. Manuscript sources in archives 55
1.3. Secondary Sources and Reference Works 92
1.3.1. Bibliographies 92
1.3.2. Biographies 109

2. Actors 115
2.1. Catholic Missionaries (1800–1860) 115
2.2. Protestant Missionaries 133
2.2.1 The Protestant Missionary enterprise, 1807–1860 133
2.2.2 Protestant Missionaries in late Nineteenth-Century China 175
2.3. Russian Orthodox Church 193

2.4. Chinese Catholics 214
2.4.1. Chinese Catholics in the Early Nineteenth Century 214
2.4.2. Specific Catholic groups, 1860–1900 238
2.5. Chinese Protestants 247
2.5.1. Early Chinese Protestants 247
2.5.2. Chinese Protestants, 1860–1900 261

3. Late Qing Scene 278
3.1. Developments in Western Christianity 278
3.2. Chinese historical context 291
3.3. The treaty system 296
3.4. The Boxer Uprising 338
3.5. Territorial settings and Catholic jurisdictions 344

4. Themes 354
4.1. Missionaries and Opium 354
4.2. Bible translations and the Protestant 'Term Question' 361
4.3. Taiping Religion and Its Legacy 371
4.4. The Rural Dimension of Christianity in China 396
4.5. Attitudes towards Chinese Cultures, 1860–1900 405
4.6. Conversion Methods: Theory and Practices 417
4.7. Good Works 428
4.7.1. Medical Missions 436

Part Two REPUBLICAN CHINA

1. Sources, 1900–1949 447
1.1. Chinese Primary Sources 447
1.1.1. Archival sources 447
1.1.2. Local histories 451
1.2. Western Primary Sources 452
1.2.1. Bibliographies of Western Primary Sources 452
1.2.2. Typological survey 453
1.2.3. Published collections of primary sources 468
1.2.4. Manuscript sources in archives 469
1.3. Secondary Sources and Reference Works 493
1.3.1. Bibliographies 493
1.3.2. Biographies 511

2. The Actors 516
2.1. The Catholic Church in China 1900–1949 516
2.2. Catholic Religious Communities of Women (foreign) 526
2.3. Protestant Missionaries 532
2.4. Russian Orthodox Church 553
2.5. Chinese Catholics 564
2.5.1. The Chinese Clergy 571
2.5.2. Catholic Religious Communities of Chinese Women 587
2.6. Chinese Protestants 600
2.6.1. Chinese Christians in Republican China 600
2.6.2. Leading Protestant Individuals 613
2.7. Chinese and Christians: Interactions 628
2.8. Opponents of Christianity 640

3. Republican Scene 653

4. Themes 669
4.1. New Protestant Theological Issues, 1900–1949 669
4.2. Educational Apostolate 678
4.2.1. Christianity and Cultural Transmission 681
4.3. The Ministry of Healing 692
4.4. Swedish Protestant Missions in China: A Bibliographic Essay 702
4.5. Christianity and the Communist Revolution 708
4.6. Christian Communities and China's Ethnic Minorities 717
4.7. Christian Art and Architecture 733
4.8. China's Missionary-Scholars 742
4.9. Demise of the Missionary Enterprise 766

Part Three PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, HONGKONG, MACAO, TAIWAN

1. Sources 1950 to the Present 783
1.1. Chinese Primary Sources 783
1.1.1. Archival Sources 783
1.1.2. Local Histories 784
1.1.3. Topographical Survey 785
1.2. Western Primary Sources 788

2. Actors 793
2.1. The missionaries 793
2.2. Growth of the Chinese Church since 1949 810
2.3. Chinese Orthodox Church 826
2.4. Sympathetic but not Christians 837

3. Scene (The Chinese World) 848

4. Themes 867
4.1. Chinese patriotic churches 867
4.2. Autonomous Churches and the Question of Religious Freedom 882

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

1. The Bible, Christianity and Chinese Culture 891

Appendices

Table 1: Catholic Religious Communities of Men (1800–1950) 915
Table 2: Catholic Religious Communities of Foreign Women 922
Table 3: Catholic Religious Communities of Chinese Women (pre-1950) 932
Table 4: Protestant Missionary Societies 938
Table 5: Statistics of Protestant Mission Work in China, 1905 958
Table 6: Catholics in the Qing Empire, 1911 962
Table 7: Roman Catholic Jurisdictions 1924–1946 971
Table 8: Catholic Statistics by Jurisdiction—1940/41 977
Table 9: Heads of Catholics Jurisdictions—1949/50 987
Table 10: Statistics of Protestant Missions and Churches in China, ca. 1950 997

Index of Persons (Qing, Republican, PRC) 1005
Index of Authors 1014
Index of Subjects 1031

INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been a remarkable shift in attitudes towards the study of Christianity in China. This has been prompted to some extent by the phenomenal growth of Catholicism and especially Protestantism since the early 1980s. Thus, even since the publication of Volume One of the *Handbook of Christianity in China* (hereafter *Handbook I*) in 2001 significant changes have taken place. A substantial number imaginatively conceived monographs and articles, employing new theoretical concepts and methodologies, have contributed significantly to our understanding of the multifaceted nature of the propagation of Christianity, as well as its rejection, toleration or acceptance by Chinese society. Moreover, considerably more material has become available for study, as an increasing number of relevant archives in China and the West have become accessible. A growing number of Chinese and foreign academics have begun to recognise the value of this material. At the same time, various reference guides—both in print and on the internet—are facilitating research into the history of the missionary enterprise in China and Chinese Christianity. In order to accommodate the growing band of interested scholars, a number of dedicated research institutions have been establish in Western countries as well as in China.

Yet this academic interest is of relatively recent origin. In view of the manifold missionary and Chinese Christian activities, especially in the nineteenth and eventful twentieth centuries, it is rather surprising that until recently the abundant historical records in the missionary archives and elsewhere have been largely ignored, even rejected, by the secular scholarly community. The North American historian James Eldin Reed, for example, observed in the early 1970s: "With the exception of the distinguished writings of the late Kenneth Scott Latourette, the history of Christian missions in the modern period has been generally disregarded by American historians for most of this century".[1]

[1] James Eldin Reed, "American Foreign Policy, the Politics of Missions and Josiah Strong, 1890–1900", *Church History* 41.2 (June 1972), p. 230.

Why has there been this reluctance amongst academics to investigate the history of the China missions and Chinese Christianity in the past? As far as scholars in mainland China are concerned, the ideological climate and political situation prevented any meaningful research during the early decades of the People's Republic. Such restrictions did, however, not exist in Western countries. It may very well be that, because critical enquiry in the Western academic tradition has long been essentially secular, missionaries have been dismissed as an embarrassment to the Western scientific culture. Generally speaking, then, academics in the West—with some notable exceptions—have neglected the missionary movement, its history, its converts and its archival resources. Many did not regard the voluminous material preserved in various repositories in Europe, North America and elsewhere as worthy of serious scholarly consideration. Such works as did appear in print were in the main produced in theological seminaries or by members, or retired members, of missionary societies. Their writings, while not infrequently infused with a hagiographic touch, are often short on critical analysis.

Although Christian missions and the study of Christianity in the non-Western world have received greater attention from secular scholars in several disciplines in recent decades, the tendency has been to focus on the confrontational aspects of the encounter between the foreign religion and local society within the context of Western imperialist expansion. In the past anthropologists, in particular, intent on studying natives in their pristine original state, deplored the fact that missionaries, as promoters of social and cultural improvement, interfered in native customs and practices. Yet as Paul Rule has observed,

> it is common for anthropologists and other social scientists to sneer at missionaries for disrupting 'their' culture. However,... anthropologists as advisers to governments, purveyors of 'objective' knowledge and short-term visitors have generally done more harm to indigenous societies than missionaries have or could. At the very least, missionaries must live with the consequences of their actions.[2]

---

[2] Paul Rule, "Why Have Missionaries Got a Bad Name?", in: Noël Golvers and Sara Lievens (eds.), *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jeroom Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven* (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven, 2007), p. 516.

While some academics are emphasising the close linkages among missions, imperialism and modernity, others are focusing on particularity, diversity, personalities and change over time within the Christianising project. Scholars who regard mission work as a tool of Western colonialism and imperialism have developed influential theoretical frameworks and concepts such as "cultural imperialism" and the related notion of the "colonisation of the mind".[3] In recent years 'postcolonial' theory has become particularly popular among mission historians. Some of the scholars are even asking whether Christian mission is by its very nature a form of colonisation, especially when it involves 'proselytism' (which is nowadays taken to mean the use of *unethical* methods to persuade others to convert). When we look at the Chinese experience, we can agree that the use of financial stimuli, as characterised by the notorious term 'rice Christians', is clearly unethical in the terms stipulated by postcolonial theory. But for the historian it is not always that easy to determine what is ethical and what is not. Methods which in their own time were regarded as perfectly legitimate may seem horrendously unethical to a later observer. As always, when historical judgements are made, consideration must be given to the standards of the time in question, without making this an excuse to compromise with one's own ethical values.

Unfortunately, some scholars use certain theories and approaches to subjectively 'prove' their preconceived ideas. Thus, postcolonial theory, for example, is being used primarily to highlight the negative aspects of the spread of Christianity. When these new theoretical concepts are invoked to condemn rather than to understand, they are not particularly helpful. At the same time, the scholar's or writer's intentions and perceptions must be considered critically in order to determine whether the actual specific missionary action or case has been analysed appropriately. In other words, one has to know the scholar's intentions and hidden agendas to establish whether the conceptual approach and its outcome are justified. Indeed, sometimes 'fact' are chosen selectively in order to prove the theory, be it Marxist, 'Orientalist' or postcolonial. In other words, the theory determines the outcome of the so-called scholarly enquiry, not the facts. If, according to Arif Dirlik, such

[3] Jean and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*. Vol. 1: *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*. Vol. 2: *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991 and 1997).

theories are used by "those who would imagine the past as they please",[4] such passing fashions as 'Orientalism', post-modernist concepts and postcolonial theory are of limited value to the serious historian.[5]

This does not mean, of course, that Marxist, 'Orientalist' or post-colonial theories and the concept of 'cultural imperialism' have no merit at all. On the contrary, these in certain ways innovative approaches—or elements thereof—can be useful when applied objectively in appropriate situations. As methods of social analysis, they may help us critique the missionary phenomenon of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see things more clearly and in a more balanced way and consider particular issues in a systematic and comprehensive fashion. After all, there were certain times when certain missionaries were supporting or relying on the imperialist forces in furtherance of their evangelistic ends.[6] Nevertheless, the missionary effort in China was not a united front of the Christian faith. On the contrary, serious contradictions existed within the missionary movement, between Catholics and Protestants and amongst competing Protestant groups. Moreover, the missionaries themselves were a disparate collection of individuals with the full range of human strengths and weaknesses. Especially in the twentieth century, with the arrival of a bewildering diversity of more radical evangelical missionary groups, as well as the emergence of several Chinese indigenous churches, the general and blanket accusation that Christianity was closely allied with foreign imperialism becomes more difficult to sustain.

Especially since the hold of classical Marxism on Western scholars has weakened, a realignment of academic interest has taken place, with a shift away from politics and economics. Greater emphasis is now

---

[4] Arif Dirlik, "Clash of Empires / Clashes of Interpretation: A Review Essay", *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 中國文哲研究集刊 [Bulletin of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy], No. 30 (March 2007), p. 362.

[5] See, for example, Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity", *History and Theory* 41 (October 2002), pp. 301–325; and more generally, Arif Dirlik, "Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism", *History and Theory* 35.4 (1996), pp. 96–118. See also Herb Swanson, "Said's *Orientalism* and the Study of Christian Missions", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 28.3 (July 2004), pp. 107–112.

[6] For early Western studies critical of the missionary movement, see Stuart Creighton Miller, "Ends and Means: Missionary Justification of Force in Nineteenth Century China", and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism", in: John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 249–282 and 336–373, respectively.

placed on culture, mentality and language. The records of the very same missionaries who were often caricatured as destroyers of culture are now the foundation of much contemporary secular study, because many missionaries were acute observers of the culture in which they worked. Moreover, most Western academics taking an interest today in China mission history and the history of Chinese Christianity have largely avoided the temptations of dogmatic postcolonial criticism[7] or other ideologically predetermined interpretations.

Still, scholarly interest in the history of China missions emerged relatively late in Western countries. It was above all the late John King Fairbank who encouraged his students at Harvard University to investigate the problems of mission development and of Christianity in China. The resulting seminar papers were later published by Kwang-Ching Liu.[8] Some of Fairbank's research students, most notably Paul Cohen, subsequently published their doctoral dissertations on aspects of the history of Christianity. Cohen's path breaking study[9] is important for three reasons. First of all, the book deals primarily with Roman Catholic missions in mid-nineteenth century China. Since the publication of Kenneth Scott Latourette's basic factual survey, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, in 1929, scholars in the English-speaking world have generally ignored the Catholic missionary contribution to the Christianisation of China. Thus, Cohen attempted to bring the Catholics back into the picture, but with little immediate success. It is only in more recent times that some academics in Anglo-Saxon countries are beginning to focus partly or entirely on the Catholic dimension. In Mainland China, where Catholicism and Protestantism are treated as two distinct religions, the term *jidujiao* 基督教 is generally used to refer to Protestantism. However, some Chinese academics are now distinguishing between *jidu zongjiao* 基督宗教 (Christianity) and *jidu xinjiao* 基督新教 (Protestantism).

---

[7] For a recent Chinese discussion of postcolonial theory in mission studies, see Wang Lixin 王立新, "Houzhimin lilun yu Jidujiao zai Hua chuanjiao shi yanjiu" 后殖民理論與基督教在華傳教史研究 [Postcolonial theory and the study of Christian missions in China], *Shixue lilun yanji* 史學理論研究 [Historiography Quarterly] (2003, no. 1).

[8] Kwang-Ching Liu (ed.), *American Missionaries in China: Papers from Harvard Seminars* (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1966.

[9] Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).

Cohen's work brings to mind another interesting aspect, for it could be argued that the study of the Catholic missionary enterprise in China was neglected by scholars from English-speaking countries because of serious linguistic challenges. After all, until the early decades of the twentieth century, virtually all Catholic missionaries were sent to the East from continental Europe. Consequently, the working languages were primarily Latin, Italian, French, Portuguese, Spanish and German. By analysing Chinese, French and English sources, Cohen brought a significant but hitherto neglected aspect of the history of Christianity in China to the attention of interested readers in the United States. However, the language issue is also relevant to Protestant missionary endeavours in China. Existing English-language studies have focused on the work of a few major American and British missionary societies. This approach has obscured the complexity of the Protestant presence in China, for it took little account of the presence of continental European evangelists.[10] Moreover, a substantial segment of the American-based missionary enterprise (Lutheran and free churches) came from German and Scandinavian backgrounds. Their non-English archival and published records have not received sufficient scholarly attention either. Given this considerable variety, one may ask, for instance, whether the 'imperialism' label can be applied to a missionary from Finland in the same way it is sometimes done to American or British members of mainline missionary societies. In other words, some of the commonplace generalisations concerning the propagation of Christianity in China may be somewhat exaggerated. In any case, as an example of the diversity within the missionary endeavour, a chapter on the Swedish Protestant missions in China has been included in this volume (*cross-reference Handbook II, Part II, 4.5*).

Finally, Paul Cohen's study is important in another significant way. As the first major *secular* academic study of Chinese mission history, it gave credibility to this research topic. Since then other Western scholars have taken an interest, albeit hesitatingly at first, in the study of Christianity in China. As Murray Rubinstein has pointed out, the

[10] There are some (rare) exceptions: Jessie G. Lutz and R. R. Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850–1900*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1998; and the unpublished dissertation by Edvard Paul Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism", Ph.D. diss., International College, Los Angeles, 1984.

Cuernavaca Conference (1972) and the resulting conference volume[11] marked another important milestone in the study of Christianity in China, for it demonstrated that by then more mainstream historians were willing to focus on this hitherto largely neglected field of Sino-Western cultural interaction.[12] A subsequent workshop in 1977 and a conference in 1978, organised by Suzanne Barnett at Harvard University, resulted in another important contribution to the history of Christianity in China.[13] Further advances were made at two symposia organised by Daniel Bays in 1989 and 1990 at the University of Kansas. While mission history is not absent, the conference volume, published in 1996, devotes considerable space to Chinese converts and indigenous agency.[14]

These conferences and the publication of their proceedings helped mission history break "free of the inter-connected hagiographic and denominational ghettos it found itself in".[15] Since then there has been a steady output of critical studies of various aspects of Christianity as part of the larger Chinese experience. As a consequence, considerable advances have been made not only in the study of the missionary enterprise, but also of the growth of China-centred church history. With more scholarly attention devoted to the study of the hitherto neglected Chinese Christians and indigenous churches,[16] the study of Christianity in China has also become a journey through a jungle of terms. Scholars have to cope with such vocabulary as 'accommodation' and 'adaptation'; 'indigenisation' and 'inculturation'. More recently, the term 'localisation' has been added to the repertoire.[17]

---

[11] John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974).

[12] Murray A. Rubinstein, "Christianity in China: One Scholar's Perspective of the State of Research in China Mission and China Christian History, 1964–1986", *Jindai Zhongguo shi yanjiu tongxin* 近代中國史研究通信 (Newsletter for modern Chinese history) 4 (September 1987), pp. 111–143.

[13] Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank (eds.), *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1985.

[14] Daniel Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

[15] Rubinstein, "Christianity in China", p. 143.

[16] See for example the fine study by Kang Zhijie 康志傑, *Shang Zhu de putaoyuan: E Xibei Mopanshan Tianzhujiao shequ yanjiu, 1634–2005* 上主的葡萄園：鄂西北磨盤山天主教社區研究 (The Lord's Vineyard: A Study of the Mopanshan Catholic community in northwest Hubei), Xinzhuang, Taibei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2006.

[17] See, for example, Eugenio Menegon, "Popular or Local? Historiographical Shifts

It is particularly encouraging to note the important developments in Mainland China, where ideologically predetermined interpretations are giving way to more sophisticated studies of a wide variety of historical aspects of Christianity. Collaborative projects with foreign scholars and international conferences are by no means uncommon. Thus, Professor Tao Feiya hosted an International Symposium on the Cultural Exchange of the East and West: 'Reinterpreting East Asian Christianity', 近代東西方文化交流國際學術討論會, in Shanghai in 2002, sponsored by Shanghai University and Chinese University of Hong Kong. The symposium attracted scholars not only from China but also from other parts of East Asia, Europe and North America. The proceedings were published in 2004.[18] The international young scholars' symposia, organised by the Chinese University of Hong Kong and supported by the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, are another innovative and popular venture that has been attracting younger scholars from the Mainland. The publication of their conference papers is another indication that interest in the study of Christianity is growing in China.[19]

Much of recent Chinese research has focused on secular aspects of Christianity in China, the consideration of such issues as modernisa-

---

in the Study of Christianity in Late Imperial China", in: Ku Wei-ying古偉瀛 (ed.), *Dong-Xi jiaoliushi de xinju: yi Jidu zongjiao wei zhongxin* 東西交流史的新局：以基督宗教爲中心 (New Situation of the History of East-Western Exchanges: With the Focus on Christianity), Taibei: Taida chuban zhongxin, 2005, pp. 247–307.

[18] Tao Feiya 陶飛亞 and Philip Yuen-Sang Leung 梁元生 (eds.), *Dong-Ya Jidujiao zaiquanyi* 東亞基督教再詮譯 (Reinterpreting the East Asian Christianity), Studies in Religion and Chinese Society, 9. Hongkong: Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2004.

[19] Peter Tze Ming Ng 吳梓明 and Wu Xiaoxin 吳小新 (eds.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo shehui wenhua: diyijie guoji nianqing xuezhe yantao lunwenji* 基督教與中國社會文化: 第一屆國際年青學者研討會論文集 (Studies in Christianity and Chinese society and culture: essays from the first International Young Scholar's Symposium), (Zongjiao yu Zhongguo shehui yanjiu congshu, 10; 宗教與中國社會研究叢書, 8; Anthology Series on the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, 8), Hongkong: Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2003; Peter Tze Ming Ng 吳梓明 and Wu Xiaoxin 吳小新 (eds.), *Jidu yu Zhongguo shehui* 基督與中國社會 (Studies in Christianity and Chinese society and culture: essays from The Second International Young Scholars' Symposium), (Zongjiao yu Zhongguo shehui yanjiu congshu, 10; 宗教與中國社會研究叢書, 10; Anthology Series on the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, 10), Hongkong: Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2006.

tion, education, medicine and the transmission of scientific knowledge being particularly prominent, not to mention the real or imagined links between the missionary enterprise and foreign imperialism. However, scholars are now much better equipped, in terms of conceptual tools as well as access to printed and above all archival sources to engage in rewarding research into the *religious* aspects of the Chinese-Western cultural encounter as well.[20] After all, in the past—but not only in the past, as current world affairs indicate—religion had an important place in the lives of ordinary people. It gave meaning to their existence and hope for their after-live. Since religious belief of one kind or another was virtually universal and helped sustain the lives of ordinary folk, the reasons why some people chose to convert to Christianity, develop authentic Christian communities and provide moral leadership in Chinese society ought to be more rigorously examined. At the same time, scholars may want to find out what motivated missionaries to leave familiar surroundings in their own countries for unfamiliar and often dangerous parts of the world.

Organisation of *Handbook II*

In its basic structure, *Handbook II* follows the pattern established for *Handbook I*. To some extent, a number of continuities can be discerned in the development of Christianity after 1800. For instance, many of the Chinese Catholic communities that had been established in the eighteenth century and earlier became vital bases for the expansion of the Christian faith in the nineteenth century. The Rites Controversy serves as another example, for its effects were even more keenly felt during the modern missionary era in China. Since some of the common issues and explanatory discussions have already been presented in *Handbook I*, readers will be referred to that volume for further information.

The continuities notwithstanding, Christianity (*jidu zongjiao* 基督宗教) in China has experienced significant changes and developments during the past two hundred years. The Catholic missionary enterprise became more complex with the arrival of new religious orders, congre-

[20] For a more detailed discussion, see Nicolas Standaert, "New Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in China", *Catholic Historical Review* 83.4 (October 1997), pp. 573–613.

gations and societies. At the same time, the introduction of Protestantism (*Jidu xinjiao* 基督新教) brought competition as well as infinite denominational variety to the mission field. Throughout the modern missionary era in China, relations between Roman Catholics and Protestants were often marked by rejection and undisguised hostility. The situation became even more complex on account of the involvement of foreign women in increasingly diversified missionary work. Although direct evangelisation continued to be the primary focus of missionary endeavours, educational and medical work took on greater significance towards the end of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, along with the press apostolate and what may be called 'good works'. The proliferation of Christian communities and the emergence of distinct Chinese churches, especially after 1900, pose yet another challenge to students of Christianity in China.

These developments have to be considered within the context of significant economic, social and political changes and upheavals during the last two centuries. This volume of the *Handbook of Christianity in China* has been divided into three parts which roughly coincide with the major periods in 'modern' Chinese history, namely the late Qing (1800–1912), republican China (1912–1949) and the People's Republic of China. Within the late Qing period, two key dates with particular significance for Christianity can be discerned, namely 1860 and 1900. As for the geographic setting, the first part of *Handbook II* is primarily concerned with the eighteen provinces of the old Chinese Empire, although other territories of the Manchu Qing Empire are not excluded. The spatial aspect of the second part of the volume takes into account a number of complicating factors, especially with regard to the territories of Tibet, Taiwan and Manchukuo. Throughout much of the period covered by *Handbook II*, but especially after 1949, Macao, Hongkong and Taiwan have represented distinct aspects of Christianity in China.

In view of the extraordinary complexities that characterise the history of Christianity in China after 1800, it has not been possible to provide exhaustive coverage of all aspects of this topic within the limited space allotted to the second volume of the *Handbook*. Three examples may serve to illustrate the point. Since more the four hundred Catholic and Protestant missionary societies were active in China in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, the sheer number of these organisations made it necessary to list them with the barest of details

in several tables in the Appendix at the end of *Handbook II* rather than discuss their individual histories at length in the main text. A related problem concerns the voluminous material produced by these missionary bodies in Chinese and a host of European languages (archival sources, periodical and monograph literature). With the exception of several major organisations, no attempt has been made to systematically and comprehensively list all the relevant sources. Readers are encouraged to consult appropriate reference guides for specific information. As has been indicated in the preceding discussion, there has been a growing interest in the study of Christianity amongst scholars in China and the West. Their new perspectives, new areas of investigation and innovative approaches, combined with a greater competence in Chinese as well as several European languages, have produced a substantial body of academic publications during the past two decades or so. Obviously, not all of these works can be mentioned here. It is, nevertheless, hoped that the *Handbook*, drawing on some of these resources, will offer new insights into and stimulate further studies of Christianity in China.

Acknowledgements

Volume Two of the *Handbook of Christianity in China* would not have been possible without the indispensable support from many colleagues. Above all, I would like to thank the members of the Advisory Board: Daniel H. Bays (Calvin College, Grand Rapids), Ryan Dunch (University of Alberta), Alan Hunter (Coventry University) and Jean-Paul Wiest (The Beijing Center for Chinese Studies). They provided invaluable advice during the planning stage of this volume. Special thanks go, of course, to the contributors who have shown remarkable patience and forbearance during the protracted genesis of this work.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Xiaoxin Wu, Director of the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History at the University of San Francisco, and his staff. Without their critical support and service during the latter stages of this project, the work could not have been completed. Mark Mir, Librarian at the Ricci Institute, has provided important bibliographic advice and procured rare books and articles for this project. Jan Vaeth, Research Associate at the Ricci Institute, provided valuable assistance with the creation and organisation of the tables in the Appendix. Special thanks go to Dr. Paul Torrens, M.D., a

long-time friend of the Ricci Institute, who provided crucial funding for the publication of this book.

Further, I give thanks to my former student, Mrs. Yien Lein Fisher, for serving as research assistant during the preparation of bibliographical material. Finally, I am grateful to Chen Qiong from Qinghai Normal University for helping with the preparation of the maps. Of course, none of the above is responsible for any errors or omissions, which are mine alone.

R. G. Tiedemann
Croydon, Surrey, July 2009

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Advisory Board

Daniel H. Bays
Ryan Dunch
Alan Hunter
Jean-Paul Wiest

Authors

Françoise Aubin (Jumelles, France)
Daniel H. Bays (Grand Rapids, Michigan)
P. Richard Bohr (St. Joseph, Minnesota)
Arnulf Camps (†)
Robert Carbonneau (Union City, N.J.)
Chan Kim-Kwong (Hong Kong)
Samuel H. Chao (Pasadena, California)
Jean Charbonnier (Paris)
David Cheung (Manila)
Ralph Covell (Denver)
Ryan Dunch (Edmonton)
Fredrik Fällman (Stockholm)
Hayhoe, Ruth (Toronto) with Lu Yongling
Hunter, Alan (Coventry)
Beatrice Leung Kit-fun (Hong Kong)
Ling Oi-Ki (Hong Kong)
Kathleen L. Lodwick (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania)
Aleksandr Lomanov (Moscow)
Jessie G. Lutz (Chapel Hill, N.C.)
Alan Miller
Lauren F. Pfister (Hong Kong)
Murray Rubinstein (New York)
Alan Sweeten (Turlock, California)
Tao Feiya (Shanghai)
R. G. Tiedemann (London, U.K.)

Peter Wang Chen-main (Chung-li, Taiwan)
Jean-Paul Wiest (Beijing)
John W. Witek (Washington, D.C.)
John Yieh (Alexandria, Virginia)
Jost O. Zetzsche (Winchester Bay, Oregon)

ACRONYMS OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES AND RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS*

AA	Augustinians of the Assumption
AACM	American Advent Mission Society
AAM	American Advent Mission Society
ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ABFMS	American Baptist Foreign Mission Society
ABMU	American Baptist Missionary Union; see ABFMS
ABS	American Bible Society
ABWE	Association of Baptists for World Evangelism
ACM	American Church Mission; see PEC
AEPMV	General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society
AFBM	American Friends Board of Missions
AFM	Apostolic Faith Mission
AFO	American Friends Mission
AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
AG	Assemblies of God Mission
AGM	Assembly of God–Good News Mission
ALM	American Lutheran Mission (of Shandong)
ALM	Lay Auxiliaries of the Missions (women)
AM	Antonian Sisters of Mary Queen of the Clergy
AM	School Sisters of the Third Order of St. Augustine; Augustinian Missionary Sisters
APB	Sisters Adorers of the Precious Blood
ARM	Adullam Rescue Mission
ASC	Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood
ASCJ	Apostles of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (women) (**T**)
ASFS	American Seaman's Friend Society
Aug	Augustana Synod Mission
BCDM	Baptist China Direct Mission
BCM	Bible Christian Mission
BCMS	Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society
BeM	Bethel Mission
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BFM	Berlin Women's Missionary Society
BFV	Berlin Ladies Association for China

BGC	Baptist General Conference
BHV	Berlin Missionary Association for China
BIOLA	Hunan Bible Institute
BM	Basel Mission
BMG	Berlin Missionary Society
BMI	Bethlehem Mission Immensee (charity arm of SMB) (**T**)
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
BPA	Bethel Pentecostal Assembly
BPS	Bible Presbyterian Church
BTP	Broadcast Tract Press and Faith Orphanages
CBFMS	Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society
CBM	Church of the Brethren Mission
CC	Churches of Christ
CCA	Churches of Christ in Australia
CCACZ	Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion
CCC	China Christian Council
CCC	Church of Christ in China
CCPA	Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (see CPCA)
CCV	Carmelite Sisters of Charity (**T**)
CDD	Congregation of the Disciples of the Lord
CEC	Canadian Church Mission
CES	Chinese Evangelization Society
CEZMS	Church of England Zenana Mission
CFC	Christian Brothers
CFM	Christian Faith Mission
CG	Church of God (Cleveland)
CGM	Church of God Mission (Anderson-Indiana)
CHIM	Christian Herald Industrial Mission
CHM	Canadian Holiness Movement Mission
ChMMS	China Mennonite Mission Society
CI	Chefoo Industrial Mission
CIC	Chinese Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (**HK**)
CICM	Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary
CIM	China Inland Mission
CLS	Christian Literature Society
CM	Carmelite Missionaries (women) (**T**)
CM	Christians' Mission
CM	Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists or Vincentians)
CMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
CMB	Christian Missions to Buddhists in China

CMF	Claretian Missionaries
CMM	Canadian Methodist Mission
CMML	Christian Missions in Many Lands
CMMS	China Mennonite Mission Society
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CN	Church of the Nazarene
CND	Congregation of Notre Dame (Canonesses of St. Augustine) (**HK**)
CNTM	China New Testament Mission
CovMS	Covenant Missionary Society
CP	Congregation of the Passion of Jesus Christ (Passionists)
CP	Sisters of Providence (Portieux)
CPA	Catholic Patriotic Association (see CPCA)
CPCA	Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association (also CCPA, CPA)
CPM	Canadian Presbyterian Mission
CPS	Congregation of the Stimmatini
CR	Canons Regular of St. Augustine (Grand St. Bernard)
CRB	Canons Regular of Grand St. Bernard; later CR
CRC	Christian Reformed Church Mission
CS	Congregation of the Stimmatini; see CPS
CS	Fathers of St. Charles (Scalabrinians) (**T**)
CS	Kassel Missionary Society
CSC	Sisters of Mercy of the Holy Cross (Ingenbohl); see also SCSC
CSCM	Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Mary (**T**)
CSFM	Church of Scotland Mission
CSJ	Sisters of St. Joseph (Pittsburgh)
CSJA	Congregation of St. John the Apostle (**T**)
CSJB	Congregation of St. John the Baptist (**T, HK**)
CSS	Sisters of St. Francis Solano
CSSK	School Sisters of Notre Dame (Kalocsa)
CSSp	Congregation of the Holy Spirit (**T**)
CSsR	Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer
CST	Little Sisters of St. Theresa of the Child Jesus (**T**)
CSV	Clerics of Saint Viator
CT	Community of the Transfiguration
CumPM	Cumberland Presbyterian Mission
DC	Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (see also FdlC)
DHM	Door of Hope and Children's Refuge

DMS	Danish Missionary Society
DMU	Danish Missionary Union
EAM	Evangelical Association Mission
EbM	Ebenezer Mission
EC	Evangelical Church Mission
ECF	Evangelize China Fellowship
ECFG	Emmanuel Church of the Foursquare Gospel
ELAug	Augustana Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America
ELM	Independent Evangelical Lutheran Mission
ELMo	Evangelical Lutheran Mission of Missouri and Other States
EMM	Emmanuel Medical Mission
EMS	Elim Missionary Society
EPM	English Presbyterian Mission
EUB	Evangelical United Brethren Church
EvLM	Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society for China
EvM	Evangel Mission
FaM	Faith Mission
FBC	Foreign Missionary Society of the Brethren Church
FCIM	Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Egypt
FCS	Free Church of Sweden. See Swedish Free Mission
FDCC	Canossian Daughters of Charity
FdlC	Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (see also DC)
FDM	Friedenshort Deaconess Mission
FEFM	Free Evangelical Assemblies of Norway
FES	Society for Promoting Female Education in the East
FF	Faith Fellowship
FFC	Finnish Free Missionary Society
FFMA	Friends Foreign Mission Association
FI	Daughters of Jesus (Salamanca)
FJ	Congregation of St. John (Apostle) (**T**)
FLM	Faith and Love Mission
FM	Franciscan Sisters of Mercy; see Franciscan Sisters of Luxemburg (OSF)
FM	Fundamentalist Mission
FMA	China Free Methodist Mission
FMA	Daughters of Mary Help of Christians
FMDM	Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Divine Motherhood
FMM	Franciscan Missionaries of Mary
FMMA	Brothers of Mercy of Our Lady of Perpetual Help

FMS	Disciples of Christ
FMS	Finnish Missionary Society
FMS	Marist Brothers of the Schools
FMVD	Verbum Dei Missionary Fraternity (**T**)
FSC	Brothers of the Christian Schools
FSC	Friends Mission (West China)
FSE	Daughters of the Holy Ghost
FSP	Daughters of St. Paul
FSPA	Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration
FVM	Women's Association for Christian Female Education in Eastern Countries
GBMS	General Baptist Missionary Society
GCAM	German China Alliance Mission
GEM	Grace Evangelical Mission
GM	Gospel Mission
GMC	Grace Mission
GSIC	Grey Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (see also MFIC)
GWMU	German Women's Missionary Union
HEB	Hebron Mission
HF	Swedish Holiness Union
HFM	Hephzibah Faith Mission
HHS	Helpers of the Holy Souls (see also SA)
HN	Home of the Nazarene
HSM	Hauge's Synod Mission
HVBC	Hildesheim Mission to the Blind
ICA	International Catholic Auxiliaries; see ALM = Lay Auxiliaries of the Missions
ICM	Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary; see MCSA
ILM	Independent Lutheran Mission
IMC	Sisters of Mary Most Holy Consoler
IPTCA	International Postal Telegraph Christian Association
ISME	Institute of the Foreign Missions Sisters (MEP Sisters) (**HK**)
KCM	Kiel China Mission
KFMS	Korean Foreign Missionary Sisters (**T**)
KMB	Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Mission
KMS	Catholic Foreign Missionary Society of Korea (**T**)
LBdM	Lutheran Board of Missions
LBM	Lutheran Brethren Mission
LM	Liebenzell Mission

LMS	London Missionary Society
LRMS	Lorenzo Ruiz Mission Society (**T**)
LSA	Lutheran Synod Mission of America
LUM	Lutheran United Mission
LuMS	Lund Missionary Society
MAR	Missionary Augustinian Recollect Sisters
MBK	German Women's Bible Union
MBrC	Mennonite Brethren Church
MC	Missionaries of Charity (Sisters) (**T, HK**)
MCA	Missionary Church Association
MCC	Mennonite Central Committee
MCCJ	Comboni Missionaries of the Heart of Jesus (**M**, **T**)
MCSA	Missionary Canonesses of St. Augustine
MEC	Methodist Episcopal Church
MECS	Methodist Episcopal Church (South)
MELCM	Mission of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Missouri and Other States
MEM	Milan Foreign Missions
MEP	Foreign Missions of Paris
MEQ	Quebec Foreign Mission Society
MES	Morrison Education Society
MESST	Eucharistic Missionaries of the Most Holy Trinity
MFIC	Grey Sisters of the Immaculate Conception
MG	Guadelupe Missioners, Foreign Missions Society of Mexico (**HK**)
MGC	Mennonite General Conference Mission
MH	Mission Help (Velbert)
MI	Ministers of the Sick (Camillians)
MI	Ministers of the Sick (Sisters); Camillian Sisters
MIC	Clerks Regular of the Immaculate Conception
MIC	Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception
MM	Maryknoll Fathers
MM	Maryknoll Sisters of St. Dominic
MMB	Mercedarian Missionary Sisters
MMS	Medical Missionary Society
MMS	Methodist Missionary Society
MNC	Methodist New Connexion Missionary Society
MNDA	Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of the Angels
MP	Methodist Protestant Mission
MPM	Metropolitan Presbyterian Mission
MPS	Missionaries of Our Lade of Perpetual Help (**M**)

MS	Mission to Seamen in Shanghai
MSC	Minim Sisters of the Sacred Heart
MSC	Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Issoudun)
MSC	Missionary Sisters Del Sacro Costato (**T**)
MSC	Missionary Sisters of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus
MSC	Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Codogno)
MSIC	Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God (see also SMIC)
MSP	Missionary Sisters of Providence (**T**)
MSP	Missionary Society of the Philippines (**T, HK**)
MYBM	Mid-Yunnan Bethel Mission
NBG	Netherlands Bible Society
NBSS	National Bible Society of Scotland
NCM	North Chihli Mission
NEM	Norwegian Evangelical Mission
NFEM	Norway's Free Evangelical Mission to the Heathen
NHM	National Holiness Mission
NKK	Church of Christ in Japan
NKM	North-West Kiangsi Mission
NLF	Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission
NLK	Norwegian Lutheran Mission
NMA	Norwegian Mission Alliance
NMBM	Convention of Regular Baptist Churches of British Columbia
NMC	Norwegian Mission in China
NMF	see Norwegian Alliance Mission (NorAM)
NMM	Norwegian Mongol Mission
NMS	Norwegian Missionary Society
NorAM	Norwegian Alliance Mission
NSK	Japan Holiness Church
NSKK	Anglican-Episcopal Church in Japan
NTM	New Tribes Mission
NTM	Norwegian Tibet Mission
NZG	Netherlands Missionary Society
OAR	Order of Augustinian Recollects; see ORSA
OBU	Old Baptist Union
OCD	Discalced Carmelite Nuns
OCD	Order of Discalced Carmelites
OCR	Order of Cistercians, Reformed, (Trappist); see also OCSO
OCSO	Order of Cistercian of the Strict Observance; see also OCR
OESA	Order of Hermits of St. Augustine
OFM	Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)

OFMCap	Order of Friars Minor Capuchin
OFMCon	Order of Friars Minor Conventual
OHF	Missionary Sisters Oblates of the Holy Family (**T**)
OLC	Sisters of Our Lady of China (**T**)
OM	Orebro Missionary Society
OMI	Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (**HK**)
OMS	Oriental Missionary Society
OMSC	Ursulines of the Sacred Heart (Parma)
OP	Chinese Dominican Sisters (**T**)
OP	Contemplative Nuns of St. Dominic (**T**)
OP	Dominican Sisters of Our Lady of Remedies (**T**)
OP	Dominican Sisters of St. Joseph (Ilanz)
OP	Dominican Sisters of St. Mary of the Springs
OP	Missionary Dominican Sisters of the Most Holy Rosary
OP	Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OP	Religious Missionaries of Saint Dominic
OPC	Orthodox Presbyterian Mission
ORSA	Order of Recollects of St. Augustine
OSA	Order of St. Anne
OSAD	Discalced Augustinians
OSB	Benedictine Congregation of St. Ottilien
OSB	Benedictine Congregation of St. Procopius
OSB	Benedictine Congregation of St. Vincent
OSB	Benedictine Congregation of the Annunciation
OSB	Benedictine Sisters
OSB	Olivetan Benedictine Sisters
OSC	Order of St. Clare
OSF	Franciscan School Sisters of St. Francis; see also SSSF
OSF	Franciscan Sisters of Luxemburg
OSF	Franciscan Sisters of Oldenburg (Indiana)
OSF	Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Sorrows (**T**)
OSF	Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Infant Jesus (**T**)
OSF	Hospital Sisters of St. Francis (Springfield)
OSF	School Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis (Graz)
OSF	Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi
OSF	Sisters of St. Francis of the Holy Family
OSMA	Oberlin Shansi Memorial Association
OSU	Polish Union of Ursulines
OSU	Ursulines of the Roman Union
PAC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada
PAW	Pentecostal Assemblies of the World

PBI	Pittsburgh Bible Institute
PCA	Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions
PCG	Pentecostal Church of God
PCI	Presbyterian Church in Ireland
PCK	Presbyterian Church in Korea
PCMS	Pacific Coast Missionary Society
PCNZ	Presbyterian Church of New Zealand
PCUS	Presbyterian Church in the United States (American Presbyterian, South); see also PS
PCUSA	Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (American Presbyerian, North); see also PN
PDDM	Pious Disciples of the Divine Master (women) (**HK**, **T**)
PEC	Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America
PHM	Pai Hsiang Mission
PHM	Pentecostal Holiness Mission
PHV	Pomeranian Mission Association for China
PIME	Pontifical Institute of Foreign Missions
PM	Pilgrim Mission of St. Chrischona
PMA	Pentecostal Ministerial Alliance
PMS	Palmetto Missionary Society
PMU	Pentecostal Missionary Union
PN	American Presbyterians (North), Board of Foreign Missions
PS	American Presbyterians (South), Executive Committee of Foreign Missions
PSdP	Little Sisters of the Poor
PSS	Society of St. Sulpice
RCA	Reformed Church in America
RCUS	Reformed Church in the United States
RGS	Sisters of the Good Shepherd
RMG	Rhenish Missionary Society
RMI	Claretian Sisters
RPC	Reformed Presbyterian Mission
RSCJ	Religious of the Sacred Heart
RTS	Religious Tract Society
RVM	Religious of the Virgin Mary (**T**)
SA	Helpers of the Holy Souls
SA	Salvation Army
SAG	Scandinavian Assemblies of God in the United States of America, Canada, and Foreign Lands
SAL	Sisters Announcers of the Lord (**HK**)
SAM	Scandinavian Alliance Mission

SAM	Society of Auxiliaries of the Missions
SBC	Southern Baptist Convention
SBM	Sweet Baptist Mission
SC	Sisters of Charity (Cincinnati)
SC	Sisters of Charity of Saint Elizabeth (Convent Station)
SCA	Standard Church of America
SCBM	South China Boat Mission
SCHM	South China Holiness Mission
SCIC	Sisters of Charity of the Immaculate Conception (Ivrea)
SCJ	Congregation of the Priests of the Sacred Heart of Jesus of Betharram
SCM	South Chihli Mission
SCPF	Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith
SCPHM	South China Peniel Holiness Missionary Society
SCSC	Sisters of Mercy of the Holy Cross (Ingenbohl)
SDA	Seventh-Day Advent Mission
SDB	Salesians of Don Bosco
SDB	Seventh Day Baptist Missionary Society
SDCGK	Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese (see CLS)
SDS	Sisters of the Divine Saviour
SDS	Society of the Divine Saviour
SDSH	Society Devoted to the Sacred Heart (women) (**T**)
SDUKC	Society For the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China
SEF	Milton Stewart Evangelistic Fund
SEFC	Swedish American Mission
SFA	Franciscan Angelicals
SFIC	Congregation of the Holy Family of Jesus Christ
SFM	Scarboro Foreign Mission Society
SFM	Swedish Free Mission
SHELM	Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission
SHM	Shanghai Hebrew Mission
SIBM	Swedish Independent Baptist Mission
SJ	Society of Jesus
SJC	Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny
SKM	Church of Sweden Mission
SL	Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross
SM	Society of Mary (Marianists)
SMB	Bethlehem Missionary Society
SMC	Swedish Mission in China
SMEP	Protestant Mission Society of Paris

SMF	Swedish Missionary Society
SMI	St. Martha Institute (women) (**T**)
SMIC	Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception; Sheng Kung Sisters (see also MSIC)
SMM	Swedish Mongol Mission
SNDN	Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur (Cincinnati)
SOLT	Society of Our Lady of the Most Holy Trinity (**M**)
SP	Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods
SPB	Sisters of the Precious Blood
SPC	Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
SRM	Shanghai Mission to Ricksha Men and Coolie Class
SSC	Missionary Sisters of St. Columban
SSC	Missionary Society of St. Columban
SSCC	Congregation of Picpus
SSCC	Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary
SSD	Sisters of St. Dorothy (**T**)
SSH	Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (**T**)
SSP	Pious Society of St. Paul
SSpS	Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit
SSpSAp	Holy Spirit Adoration Sisters
SSS	Sisters of Social Service
SSSF	School Sisters of St. Francis; see Franciscan School Sisters of St. Francis (OSF)
SSVM	Institute Servants of the Lord and the Virgin of Matará (women) (**T**)
SV	Sisters of the Visitation (Japanese)
SVD	Society of the Divine Word
SVL	Free Church of Finland Mission
SwAM	Swedish Alliance Mission
SwBM	Swedish Baptist Mission
SX	Foreign Missions Society of Parma
SYM	South Yunnan Mission
TBM	Tibetan Border Mission
TEAM	The Evangelical Alliance Mission; see Scandinavian Alliance Mission (SAM)
TFM	Tibetan Forward Mission
TPM	Tibetan Pioneer Mission.
TSM	Tsehchow Mission
TSPM	Three-Self Patriotic Movement

TTM	Tibetan Tribes Mission
UB	United Brethren in Christ
UBC	United Brethren in Christ Mission
UCC	United Church of Canada
UCMS	United Christian Missionary Society; see Disciples of Christ (FMS)
UECM	United Evangelical Church Mission
UFGM	United Free Gospel Mission
UFS	United Free Church of Scotland
ULC	United Lutheran Church in America; see American Lutheran Mission (Shandong)
UMC	United Methodist Church Mission
UMFC	United Methodist Free Church Foreign Mission
UMS	United Missionary Society
UNLC	United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America
UPC	United Pentecostal Church
UPC	United Presbyterian Church of North America
UPCS	United Presbyterian Church of Scotland
VE	Institute of the Incarnate Word (IVE) (**T, HK**)
VMF	Vereinigte Missionsfreunde
WABFMS	Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society
WEC	World Evangelical Crusade
WFMS	Woman's Foreign Missionary Society (of Methodist Episcopal Church)
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
WMPL	World Mission Prayer League
WUCC	Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada (UCC-W)
WUM	Woman's Union Mission
YM	Yale Foreign Missionary Society
YM	Yunnan Mission
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association of China
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association of China

Entries marked (**T**), (**HK**) or (**M**) indicate Catholic organisations that established themselves in Taiwan, Hongkong or Macao after 1950 without any prior presence in mainland China. A few of these entries concern Catholic religious communities of Chinese women that had existed as local association on the mainland before 1950 but did not receive diocesan or papal approbation until after their transfer to Taiwan or Hongkong. For details, see Table 3 in the Appendix.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	Archives, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Houghton Library, Harvard University
AFH	*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, Quaracchi-Firenze, 1908–.
Annales CM	*Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission et de la Compagnie des Filles de la Charité*, Paris, 1836–.
APF	*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*
Barnett & Fairbank	Suzanne Barnett & John K. Fairbank (eds.), *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985.
Bays, *Christianity*	Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
BCP	*Bulletin catholique de Pékin*, Pékin: [s.n.], 1913–.
BM	Robert Streit, continued by Johannes Dindinger, Johannes Rommerskirchen, Josef Metzler and Nikolaus Kowalsky (eds.), *Bibliotheca Missionum*.
VII	*Chinesische Missionsliteratur 1700–1799*, Aachen: Franziskus Xaverius Missionsverein, 1931 (repr. Rom/Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1965).
XII	*Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1800–1884*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1958.
XIII	*Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1885–1909*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1959.
XIV/1–3	*Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1910–1950*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1960–1961.
BPP	Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. *Parliamentary Papers* (Blue Books).
BUA	*Bulletin de l'Université de l'Aurore*, Shanghai, 1909–?; 3rd ser., 1939–?
CCP	Chinese Communist Party

CCS	*Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis*. Commissio Synodalis in Sinis, Beiping, 1928–1947.
CR	*The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Fuzhou: Methodist Press; Shanghai [etc.]: American Presbyterian Mission Press [etc.], Began with vol. 1 (May 1868).
CRep	*The Chinese Repository*, Canton, Vol. 1, no. 1 (May 1832) – v. 20, no. 8/12 (Aug.-Dec. 1851).
Crouch	Archie Crouch *et al.* (eds.), *Christianity in China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1989. A revised and expanded edition has been produced by Wu Xiaoxin (2009).
CSWT	*Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i*: a bulletin issued irregularly by the Society for Ch'ing Studies, 1965–1984; continued as *Late Imperial China*.
ECCP	Arthur W. Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, 2 vols., Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1943–1944; repr. in 1 vol., Taibei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1972.
EIC	(British) East India Company
FBIS-CHI	Foreign Broadcast Information Service, a translation service of the U.S. Government; reporting area: China
FEQ	*Far Eastern Quarterly*, 1941–1956 (continued by *JAS*)
FO	Foreign Office Papers, The National Archives, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, U.K.
FRUS	*Foreign relations of the United States; United States, Department of State, Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office*, 1861–1958/1960.
Handbook I	*Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635–1800*, edited by Nicolas Standaert, Leiden: Brill, 2001.
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936–.
HdKG	Hubert Jedin (ed.), *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 7 vols., Freiburg etc.: Herder, 1962–1979.
IBMR	*International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, publ. by Overseas Ministries Study Center, 1981– .
IRM	*International Review of Missions*, Geneva, 1912– .
JAS	*Journal of Asian Studies*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1956– (formerly FEQ).

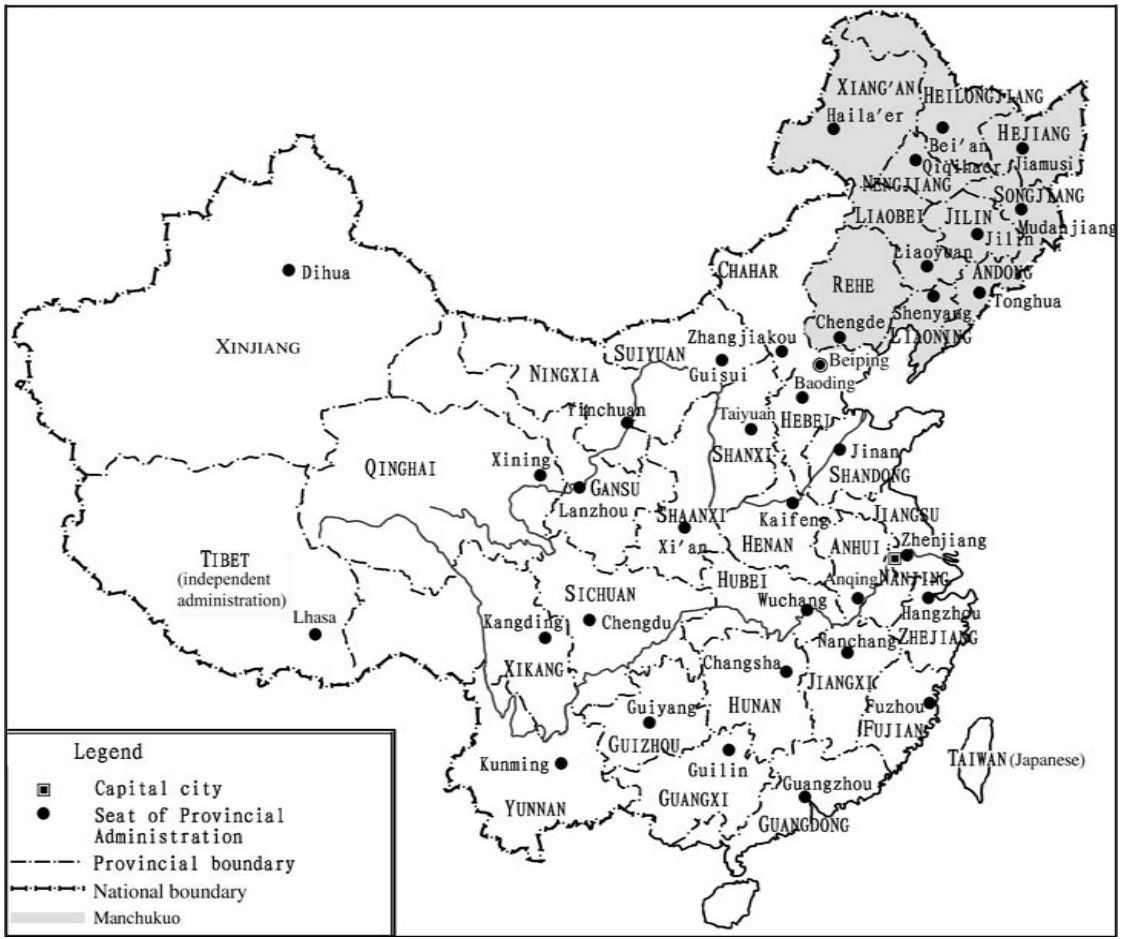
JWJAD	*Jiaowu jiaoan dang* 教務教案檔 (Files on religious affairs and religious cases [in the archives of the Zongli Yamen]), edited by Lü Shiqiang et al., Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica. Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiusuo, 1974–1981. 7 series.
KMT	Kuomintang (Guomindang)
NA	National Archives and Records Service, College Park, Maryland. Record Groups 59 and 84.
NIV	New International Version (of the Bible)
NZM	*Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft / Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire*, Beckenried, Switzerland, 1945–2004.
PBFM	Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (North), Presbyterian Historical Society, Archives and Library, Philadelphia, PA.
RAB	Religious Affairs Bureau (now SARA)
SARA	State Administration for Religious Affairs (formerly RAB)
SWCRJ	*Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, published by D. E. Mungello, 1989– ; called *China Missions Studies Bulletin* 1979–1988.
TZ	Tongzhi reign, 1861–1875
UFWD	United Front Work Department (中共中央統戰部) of the Central Committee of the CCP.
Van Damme	Kilian Menz (comp.), *Necrologium Fratrum Minorum in Sinis*, Peiping: Domus Franciscana Li-Kwang-kiao, 1948; 3rd ed. compiled by Daniel Van Damme, Hong Kong: Tan Pin Ko School, 1978.
Van den Brandt	Joseph Van den Brandt, *Les Lazaristes en Chine, 1697–1935: Notes biographiques*, Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazarists Pei-T'ang, 1936.
Wylie	Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese; Giving a List of Their Publications, and Obituary Notices of the Deceased, with Copious Indexes*, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867; repr. Taibei: Ch'eng Wen, 1967.

YWSM *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末 (A complete account of our management of barbarian affairs), Beijing: Palace Museum photolithograph, 1929–1931. 130 v. (double leaves) in 13 cases. Colophon title: *Qingdai chouban yiwu shimo* 清代籌辦夷務始末. [1] Daoguang reign: 80 *juan*; [2] Xianfeng reign: 80 *juan*; [3] Tongzhi reign: 100 *juan*.

ZLYM *Zongli Yamen*

ZM *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, Münster, Westfalen, 1911–1927; continued as *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, 1928– . In 1938–1940 the title was *Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*.

Map 1: Late Qing Empire



Map 2: Republic of China, late 1930s

Map 3: PRC and Taiwan

PART ONE

LATE QING CHINA

1. Sources 1800–1911

In the course of the nineteenth century, a vast amount of material pertaining to Christianity in China was accumulated. Emanating from a wide variety of sources, the documents were written either in Chinese or in one of several European languages. The volume of records increased dramatically during the second half of the nineteenth century as a result of the treaties of 1858 (Tianjin) and the 'conventions' of 1860 (Beijing). What would later be called the 'unequal treaties' created new opportunities for the propagation of Christianity, resulting in a significant expansion of the missionary movement in China. However, these dramatic developments also created innumerable complications and conflicts, of which the Boxer Uprising of 1900 was the most serious episode. The sources presented here are records of the internal workings of the missionary enterprise as well as accounts of its personnel and its conversion successes. But a large portion of the material deals with the—often violent—disputes between the missionaries and their converts on the one hand and Chinese society at large on the other. This introduction of the various sources follows the same pattern as that adopted in *Handbook I*.

1.1. Chinese Primary Sources

Especially with regard to the first half of the nineteenth century the records pertaining to Christianity were not filed in specific fonds but are scattered throughout the vast official Qing collections. The situation is further complicated by the fact that some of these official collections are held in Beijing as well as Taiwan. The following critically annotated guide to primary and secondary sources will help scholars navigate the complex and voluminous Qing records.

Wilkinson, Endymion. *The History of Imperial China: A Research Guide*. Cambridge: East Asian Research Center of Harvard University,

1973 (1st ed.); 1992 (5th ed.). This guide has been updated by James H. Cole, *Updating Wilkinson: An Annotated Bibliography of Reference Works on Imperial China Published Since 1973*. New York, 1991.

A completely new and much larger work, with different aims and coverage, is:

Wilkinson, Endymion Porter, *Chinese History: A Manual*, revised and enlarged edition (Harvard-Yenching Institute monograph series, 52), Cambridge, Mass.: Published by the Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2000.

This is an indispensable guide to researching the civilisation and history of China. Updated through January 2000, the second edition discusses some 4,300 primary, secondary, and reference works. The author includes biographical information, and explanations of such matters as converting traditional dates. In addition to standard histories, the survey covers historical and administrative geography, works on statecraft and archival sources.

1.1.1. *Annalistic sources*

The most important annalistic sources produced by officials of the central government for late Qing times are the Veritable Records (*shilu* 實錄), a condensation of sources from several boards or departments, arranged day by day. Although not specifically concerned with Christianity, the *shilu* mention secular events which affected the lives of Christians.

Da-Qing lichao shilu 大清歷朝實錄 (Veritable records of the Qing dynasty), Changchun: State Council of Manchuria, 1937. 60 vols.

Scholars should note that some records of the *shilu* have been revised; the Manchukuo edition in particular has been subject to selective editing for the years 1894–1895. A more complete edition is available in the First Historical Archives in Beijing.

Among several reprint editions is the following, prepared in Taiwan according to reign periods:

Da Qing Renzong Rui (Jiaqing) huangdi shilu 大清仁宗睿 **(**嘉慶**)** 皇帝實錄, vols. 28–32, Taibei: Xinwen feng chuban gongsi, 1978.

Da Qing Xuanzong Cheng (Daoguang) huangdi shilu 大清宣宗成 (道光) 皇帝實錄, vols. 33–39, Taibei: Xinwen feng chuban gongsi, 1978.
Da Qing Wenzong Xian (Xianfeng) huangdi shilu 大清文宗顯 (咸豐) 皇帝實錄, vols. 40–44, Taibei: Xinwen feng chuban gongsi, 1978.
Da Qing Muzong Yi (Tongzhi) huangdi shilu 大清穆宗毅 (同治) 皇帝實錄 vols. 45–51, Taibei: Xinwen feng chuban gongsi, 1978.
Da Qing Dezong Jing (Guangxu) huang di shilu 大清德宗景 (光緒) 皇帝實錄 [Veritable records of the Qing dynasty, reign of Guangxu], vols. 52–59, Taibei: Xinwen feng chuban gongsi, 1978.
vol. 60. 宣統

An index to the collection: *Da Qing lichao shilu zongmu* 大清歷朝實錄總目, Taibei: Xinwen feng chuban gongsi, 1978.

Another reprint edition has been prepared in Beijing:

Da-Qing lichao shilu 大清歷朝實錄 (Veritable records of the Qing dynasty), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985–1987. 60 vols. Also available as an electronic reproduction. Beijing: SuperStar, 2005. System requirements: SuperStar Reader. Available via World Wide Web.

It should also be noted that several selections have been made from this collection, arranged either by province or by topic.

The most important documents contained in the *shilu* concerning Sino-Western relations have been translated in:

Fu, Lo-shu [Fu Leshu 傅樂淑], *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations, 1644–1820*, 2 vols. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966.

In addition to the *shilu*, the second volume contains translations of other official and semi-official sources. However, only the documents from the relatively short Jiaqing 嘉慶 reign (1796–1820) are relevant to *Handbook II*.

Another important annalistic source produced by officials of the central administration is the collection known as *Donghualu* 東華錄 (Records from within the Eastern Gate), compiled by Jiang Liangqi 蔣良騏 (1723–1789) and others. According to Endymion Wilkinson, "this important annalistic source (covering from 1644 to the Yongzheng period) is so called by the fact that the first compiler, Jiang Lianqi, worked as an official in the Guoshiguan 國史館 (Historiography

Institute) which after 1756 was situated inside the Donghua Gate of the Forbidden City (the imperial archives Huangshicheng were just across the road from it). The *Shiyichao Donghualu* covers the years 1644–1874 and the much fuller *Guangxuchao Donghualu*. . . . covers the years 1875–1908. Although less detailed than the Veritable Records (upon which they were mainly based, the various *Donghualu* are a quick way of finding sources in the Veritable Records . . ." See Wilkinson, *Chinese History, a Manual*, pp. 942–943.

Donghualu 東華錄 (Records from within the Eastern Gate), [Shichao Donghualu 十朝東華錄. *Donghua xulu* 東華續錄], Wang Xianqian 王先謙. Shanghai: Guangbai Song zhai, Guangxu 17 [1891]. 116 v. in 10 cases, including: vols. 61–68, Jiaqing 嘉慶朝, 50 *juan*; vols. 69–76, Daoguang 道光朝, 60 *juan*; vols. 77–92, Xianfeng 咸豐朝, 69 *juan*; vols. 93–116, Tongzhi 同治朝, 100 *juan*.

Guangxu chao Donghua xulu 光緒朝東華錄 (Records of the reigning dynasty, Guangxu reign), compiled by Zhu Shoupeng 朱壽朋. 200 *juan*. Shanghai: Jicheng tushu gongsi, 1909. 62 vols. Reprinted in 5 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958 (1984 printing). Added title: *Donghua xulu* 東華續錄.

Reprint editions of the entire collection include:

Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Donghualu* 東華錄: [194 juan]; *Donghua xulu* 東華續錄: [230 juan], Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.

Jiang Liangqi 蔣良騏, Wang Xianqian 王先謙, Pan Yifu 潘頤福 and Zhu Shoupeng 朱壽朋, *Qing li chao donghualu; Dong hua xu lu* 清歷朝東華錄; 東華續錄. Taibei Xian Yonghe Shi: Wenhai chubanshe, 2006. 30 vols.

Jiaqing chao donghua xulu—di 14–15 ce [963–964]. *Daoguang chao donghua xulu*—di 16–17 ce [965–966]. *Xianfeng chao donghua xulu*—di 18–20 ce [967–969]. *Tongzhi chao donghua xulu*—di 21–30 ce [971–980]. *Guangxu chao donghua lu*.

1.1.2. *Official histories*

There is as yet no *Standard History* (*zhengshi* 正史) of the Qing dynasty. A draft history (*Qingshi gao* 清史稿, ed. Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽) was published in haste in 1928 (punctuated repr.: Zhonghua, 1976). An annotated version is *Qingshi gao jiaozhu* 清史稿校注, 15 vols.,

Taibei: Guoshiguan, 1986–1990, (appendix vol., 1991). A *Qingshi* 清史 (History of the Qing dynasty) was published in 1962 (Taibei: Guofang yanjiuyuan), mainly based on the *Qingshi gao*. This resource has not been consulted to any great extent by scholars of Christianity in late Qing China. For further information, see *Handbook I* (*cross-reference: 1.1.2. Official histories*).

A new and rather more ambitious project is being undertaken by the National Committee for the Compilation of Qing History, which was established by the State Council of the People's Republic of China. The project is scheduled to run for ten years with the aim of compiling a one-hundred-volume history of the Qing period. It is intended to be an international endeavour that seeks overseas academic contributions.

1.1.3. *Archival sources*

The nineteenth century saw a significant expansion of the Catholic missionary enterprise and the growth of Chinese Catholicism. The arrival of Protestant missionaries added another dimension to Christianity in China. This increasingly intense encounter between the foreign religion and Chinese society generated a vast amount of written material, much of which has been preserved in a variety of repositories. The vast majority of these documents deal with disputes and anti-Christian incidents. Other files concern bureaucratic matters, including property transactions and other aspects of the missionary presence in China. In this section two types of archives are introduced, namely national archives and local archives. In addition to the archives in Beijing and Taibei, the repositories in the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions are included in the presentation of 'national' archives. Then the findings concerning some of the provincial, municipal and county-level repositories will be considered.

Although published over a decade ago, the following general guide to Chinese archives is still a useful research tool:

Ye Wa and Joseph Esherick, *Chinese Archives: An Introductory Guide*, Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, Center for Chinese Studies, 1996. This guide provides information on 597 archives. For an online supplement, see URL: http://orpheus.ucsd.edu/chinesehistory/chinese_archives.htm

First Historical Archives of China (Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an 中國第一歷史檔案), Beijing.

1. Grand Council copies of palace memorials (*Junjichu lufu zuoche* 軍機處錄副奏摺)
   a) Sub-Category: Peasant Rebellions 農民起義類.
   b) Sub-Category: Intrusion of Imperialism 帝國主義侵略.
2. Palace memorials with imperial notations and comments 朱批奏摺 ("vermillion rescripted palace memorials")

Sub-Category: Religious Affairs 宗教事務類.

For information on and an introduction to the First Historical Archives of China, see the periodical Zhongguo di yi lishi dang'an guan, and Gugong bowuyuan (China) Ming Qing dang'an bu 中国第一历史档案馆, 故宫博物院明清档案部, *Qing dai dang'an shiliao congbian* 清代档案史料丛编, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, published irregularly since 1978.

National Palace Museum 國立故宮博物院, Shilin, Taibei, Taiwan.

Of particular interest is the Grand Council Collection, also known as the 'Grand Council Reference Collection' (*junjichu lufu zouzhe* 軍機處錄副奏折 or *junji dang* 軍機檔). It consists chiefly of Grand Council copies (*lufu* 錄副) of Palace Memorials.

For information on the digitisation of Qing Archives, see: http://tech2.npm.gov.tw/da/en-htm/about02_4.html

See also

Bartlett, Beatrice S., "Ch'ing Palace Memorials in the Archives of the National Palace Museum", *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 13.6 (January–February 1979), pp. 1–21.

Hao Yen-p'ing & K. C. Liu. "The Importance of the Archival Palace Memorials of the Ch'ing Dynasty." *CSWT* 3.1 (1974), pp. 71–94.

Institute of History and Philology (IHP), Academia Sinica 中央研究院歷史語言研究所, Taibei, Taiwan.

The Institute owns over three hundred thousand documents from the archives of the Grand Secretariat 內閣大庫檔案 of the Qing administration. These documents, including edicts, memorials, inter-ministry memorandums, legal case files, household registers and many other types of records. Current work involves preservation of the orig-

inal documents, digitalisation and management of a database accessible over the internet.

Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica 中央研究院, 近代史研究所, Nankang 南港, Taibei, Taiwan.

The archive collections include the Diplomatic Archives 外交部門檔案, 1860s to the end of the Qing.

1.) Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs (Zongli Yamen) 總理各國事務衙門 (1860–1901).
2.) Ministry of External Affairs 外務部 (1901–1911).

The archives from 1860 to 1928 have been digitalised. The files on anti-Christian cases have been published as *Jiaowu jiaoan dang* 教務教案檔 (*cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 1.1.4. Published collections of edicts and memorials*).

Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives 香港天主教教區檔案, 16 Caine Road, Hongkong.

Following the founding of a British settlement on the island of Hongkong on 26 January 1841, Rome established "Hong Kong with the surrounding six leagues" as a Prefecture Apostolic, independent from Macao Diocese, with the secular priest Theodore Joset, procurator of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, as the first prefect apostolic. In 1874 the prefecture was raised to Vicariate Apostolic of Hong Kong and enlarged to include the Guangdong districts of Xin'an, Guixin (except the city of Huizhou) and Haifeng (新安縣、歸善縣（惠州 市除外、海豐縣). For details concerning the archival holdings, see URL: http://archives.catholic.org.hk/archives/box.htm

Hong Kong Baptist University, Archives on the History of Christianity in China, Hongkong.

The collection covers both primary and secondary English and Chinese language source materials concerning Chinese Christians, missionaries to China, church history and other materials pertaining to the history of Christianity in China. The archives also hold a growing collection of microform materials, including the archival records of various American and European mission boards (Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Archives, Church Missionary Society Archives and the Archives of the London Missionary Society).

The late Rev. Carl T. Smith (1918–2008) gave the Archives over 300 manuscripts and monographs including yearbooks and anniversary reports of some Christian churches and organizations in Hong Kong and China, as well as biographies of Christian leaders and missionaries. For further information, see

Chan, K. S. Kylie, "The Archives on the History of Christianity in China at Hong Kong Baptist University Library: Its Development, Significance, and Future", *IBMR* 29.1 (2005), pp. 32–34.

Government Records Service of Hong Kong 香港政府檔案處, Kowloon, Hongkong.

The Public Records Office (PRO) 歷史檔案館 of Hong Kong was established in 1972 as the designated government archives. Records pertaining to foreign missionaries and Chinese converts as members of the local community are to be found in various government records, private records and personal papers. The Carl Smith Collection 施其樂牧師資料集 is a useful tool to help researcher identify basic data and sources of information on individuals, organisations, buildings, roads, land matters and important events relating to Hongkong, Macao and China's coastal cities from the mid 19th century onward. The Collection comprises 139,922 double-sided data cards with information extracted from a vast quantity of original records, newspapers and publications held by the Public Records Office. In 1995, the Collection was microfilmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah and a copy was donated by the Reverend Smith to the PRO in the same year. To facilitate access and use, the entire Collection has been digitised. The index can be searched online. URL: http://www.grs.gov.hk/ws/english/ps_online_cata_csc.htm#

Macao Historical Archives (Arquivo Histórico de Macau 澳門歷史檔案館), Macao.

The Arquivos Paroquiais 天主教堂區檔案 1847–1913 (Macao parochial archives) form part of the extensive microfilm collection. The Historical Archives offer researchers also microfilms of documents in the Portuguese and Chinese languages as well as other foreign languages. There are also microfilms of material from European archives (including the Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais / Torre de Tombo 葡國國立東坡塔檔案館; Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino 葡國海外歷史檔案館) on Macao's history and Portugal's relations with

the Far East. Most of this information is also available through a data base.

Provincial, Municipal and Local Archives

Many other archives, at various levels, contain files on Christianity, but access to them is variable and unpredictable. Scholars who have had experience in Chinese archives realise that the conditions governing archives use are constantly in a state of flux. The ease and extent of access to Chinese archives vary from place to place, and change over time for any given archive. Still, some archives are open to all, and require only a letter of introduction from the scholar's host institution in China. Below is a selection of some major provincial-level archives:

Beijing Municipal Archives (Beijing shi dang'an guan 北京市檔案館), Beijing. URL: http://www.bjma.org.cn/Default.ycs

Chongqing Municipal Archives (Chongqing shi dang'an guan 重慶市檔案館), Chongqing. URL: http://www.cqarchives.com.cn/

Lu Dayue 陸大鉞 et al. (eds.), *Chongqing shi dang'an guan jianming zhinan* 重慶市檔案館簡明指南 (Concise guide to the Chongqing municipal archives), Chongqing: Kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe, Chongqing fenshe, 1990.

Fujian Provincial Archives (Fujian sheng dang'an guan 福建省檔案館), Fuzhou. URL: http://www.fj-archives.org.cn/

Fujian sheng dang'an (ed.), 福建省檔案館指南 (Guide to the Fujian provincial archives), Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an, 1997.

Fuzhou Municipal Archives 福州市檔案館, Fuzhou, Fujian. URL: http://www.fzda.gov.cn/

Xiamen Municipal Archives 廈門市檔案館, Xiamen, Fujian. URL: http://www.da.xm.gov.cn/

Guangdong Provincial Archives (Guangdong sheng dang'an guan 廣東省檔案館), Guangzhou (Canton). URL: http://www.da.gd.gov.cn/webwww/

Guangdong Sheng dang'an guan = Guangdong Provincial Archives 廣東省檔案館, Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng dang'anguan, 2004.

Hubei Provincial Archives (Hubei sheng dang'an guan 湖北省檔案館), Wuhan, Hubei. URL: http://www.hbda.gov.cn/

Hubei sheng dang'an ju (guan) (ed.), *Hubei sheng dang'an ju (guan) zhi* 湖北省檔案局(館)志 (Records of the Hubei provincial archives), Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2006.

Jiangsu Provincial Archives (Jiangsu dang'an ju 江蘇省檔案局, Jiangsu dang'an guan 江蘇省檔案館), Nanjing. URL: http://www.dajs.gov.cn/

Jiangsu sheng dang'an guan 江蘇省檔案館, Jiangsu sheng dang'an guan zhinan 江蘇省檔案館指南 (Guide to the Jiangsu provincial archives), Zhongguo dang'an guan zhinan congshu (Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe, 1994).

Nanjing Municipal Archives (Nanjing shi dang'an guan 南京市檔案館), Nanjing, Jiangsu.

Qingdao Municipal Archives (Qingdao shi dang'an guan 青島市檔案館). Qingdao, Shandong.

Shanghai Municipal Archives (Shanghai shi dang'an guan 上海市檔案館), Shanghai. URL: http://www.archives.sh.cn/

Shanghai shi dang'an guan (ed.)**,** *Shanghai shi dang'an guan zhinan* 上海市檔案館指南, Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe, 1999.

The Shanghai Municipal Archives hold substantial material concerning Catholic and Protestant Christianity in China. Since Shanghai had the largest concentration of church-related organisations, the files of thirty-two Christian organisations, covering the period 1836–1963, have been deposited in the archives. The archival documents of several Christian universities, including those of St. John's University 聖約翰大學 and Aurora University 震旦大學, form part of these collections.

Ma Changlin 馬長林, Wu Xiaoxin 吳小新, *Zhongguo jiaohui wenxian mulu: Shanghai Shi dang'an guan zhencang ziliao* 中國教會文獻目錄: 上海市檔案館珍藏資料, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2002. Includes Chinese and English name and title indexes.

Yang Hong 楊紅, "Jiaohui zai jindai Zhongguo lishi bianqian de jilu: Shanghai shi dang'anguan guancang zongjiao ziliao jieshao" 教會在近代中國歷史變遷的記錄: 上海市檔案館館藏宗教資料介紹 (Records on the historical changes of the churches in modern China: introduction to the religious materials in the holdings of the Shanghai Municipal Archives), *Dang'an yu shixue* 檔案與史學 (2002.3).

The extensive archival collections in the former French Jesuit establishment at Xujiahui 徐家匯 (Archives de Zikawei) should also be noted. The bulk of this extremely valuable collection is currently not accessible. However, some Chinese documents have been reproduced in the following work:

Standaert, Nicolas 鍾鳴旦, Adrian Dudink 杜鼎克, Huang Yi-long 黃一農 and Chu Ping-yi 祝平一 (eds.), *Xujiahui cangshulou Ming-Qing Tianzhujiao wenxian* 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻 (Chinese Christian texts of the Ming and Qing from the Zikawei Library), Taibei: Furen University Divinity School, 1996. 5 vols. (*Cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 1.1.6. Published primary sources in modern collections*).

Sichuan Provincial Archives (Sichuan sheng dang'an guan 四川省檔案館), Chengdu.

For an introduction to the archives, see

Sichuan Provincial Archives (ed.). *Sichuan sheng dang'an guan guan cang dang'an gai shu* (An introduction to the holdings of the Sichuan Provincial Archives), Chengdu: Sichuan sheng shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1988.

The Sichuan Provincial Archives house most of the Ba County Archives (Ba xian dang'an 巴縣檔案). The Qing-period Baxian archives are available in microfilms and can be purchased in part.

Tianjin Municipal Archives (Tianjin shi dang'an guan 天津市檔案館), Tianjin. URL: http://www.tjdag.gov.cn/

Wuhan Municipal Archives (Wuhan shi dang'an guan 武漢市檔案館), Wuhan, Hubei.

Wuhan shi dang'an guan (ed.), *Wuhan shi dang'an guan zhinan* 武漢市檔案館指南 (Guide to the Wuhan municipal archives), Zhongguo dang'an guan zhinan congshu, Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe, 1994.

Within Wuhan municipality, separate archives are located in Wuchang and Hanyang:

Wuhan shi Wuchang qu dang'an guan 武漢市武昌區檔案館, Wuchang, Wuhan, Hubei. URL: http://daj.wuchang.gov.cn/

Wuhan shi Hanyang qu dang'an guan 武漢市漢陽區檔案館, Hanyang, Wuhan, Hubei. URL: http://www.whhyda.com/

Zhejiang Provincial Archives (Zhejiang sheng dang'an guan 浙江省檔案館), Hangzhou.

In the archival collection includes 3353 volumes (pieces) from the Qing Dynasty.

URL: http://www.zjda.gov.cn/

Zhejiang Sheng dang an guan, *Zhejiang sheng dang'an guan zhinan* 浙江省檔案館指南 (Guide to the Zhejiang provincial archives), Hangzhou: Hangzhou daxue chubanshe, 1997.

For information concerning the Ningbo Archives 寧波檔案, see URL: http://www.dangan.ningbo.gov.cn/

1.1.4. *Published collections of edicts and memorials*

The *Shang yu dang* 上諭檔 are archival collections of edicts. Unlike the Veritable Records, the *Shang yu dang* presents complete edicts as they appear in the archives, including numerous edicts not included in other collections. The Palace Museum, Taibei, and the First Historical Archives of China, Beijing, both have holdings. The First Historical Archives have begun to reprint edicts:

First Historical Archives of China 中國第一歷史檔案館, (ed.), *Jiaqing Daoguang liang chao shang yu dang* 嘉慶道光兩朝上諭檔 (Imperial edicts of the Jiaqing and Daoguang reigns), Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2000. 55 vols.

First Historical Archives of China 中國第一歷史檔案館, (ed.), *Xianfeng Tongzhi liang chao shang yu dang* 咸豐同治兩朝上諭檔, (Imperial edicts of the Xianfeng and Tongzhi reigns), Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1998. 24 vols.

First Historical Archives of China 中國第一歷史檔案館, (ed.), *Guangxu Xuantong liang chao shang yu dang* 光緒宣統兩朝上諭檔, Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1996. 37 vols.

In addition to the general collections of official source material, a number of publications have assembled documents that more specifically cover the Qing dynasty's foreign relations and the encounter with Christianity.

Qingji waijiao shiliao 清季外交史料 (Historical material on foreign relations in the late Qing). Beiping: Waijiao shiliao bian zuan chu, 1932–1933. (Cited as *WJSL*). The Guangxu and Xuantong reigns are covered in:

Wang Yanwei 王彥威, Wang Liang 王亮 and Wang Jingli 王敬立, *Qingji waijiao shiliao: Guangxu chao 218 juan, juan shou 1 juan; Xuantong chao 24 juan; fu xi xun da shi ji 11 juan, juan shou 1 juan; suo yin 12 juan; Qingji waijiao nianjian 4 juan* 清季外交史料: 光緒朝 218 卷, 卷首 1卷; 宣統朝 24卷; 附西巡大事記 11卷, 卷首 1卷; 索引 12卷; 清季外交年鑑 4卷, Beiping: Waijiao shiliao bian zuan chu, 1932. 164 vols.

Another work containing correspondence and memorials relating to China's handling of the 'Western barbarians' during the first seven decades of the nineteenth century is:

Chouban yiwu shimo 籌辦夷務始末 (A complete account of our management of barbarian affairs),. Beijing: Palace Museum photolithograph, 1929–1931. 130 v. (double leaves) in 13 cases. Colophon title: Qing dai chouban yiwu shimo 清代籌辦夷務始末.

[1] Daoguang reign: 80 *juan*; [2] Xianfeng reign: 80 *juan*; [3] Tongzhi reign: 100 *juan*

Rowe, David Nelson. *Index to Ch'ing tai ch'ou pan i wu shih mo*, Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1960.

544 of the documents from the Daoguang and Xianfeng reigns which deal with the United States from 1841 to 1861 are translated in

Earl Swisher's *China's Management of the American Barbarians: A Study of Sino-American Relations, 1841–1861, with Documents*, New Haven, Published for the Far Eastern Association by Far Eastern Publications, Yale University [1953]. Repr. ed.: New York: Octagon Books, 1972

Several reprint editions have been published over the years in Mainland China, Taiwan and Hongkong.

Wenqing 文慶 (1796–1856), *Chouban yiwu shimo: [80 juan] Daoguang chao* 籌辦夷務始末. 道光朝: [80卷], (Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan 近代中國史料叢刊, 551), [Taibei Xian Yonghe Zhen]: Wenhai chubanshe, 1970.

Volume 551, parts 1–10, covering the Daoguang reign, consists of 80 *juan*.

Jia Zhen 賈楨 (1798–1874), *Chouban yiwu shimo: [80 juan] Xianfeng chao* 籌辦夷務始末. 咸豐朝: [80 卷], (Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan 近代中國史料叢刊, 581), [Taibei Xian Yonghe Zhen]: Wenhai chubanshe, 1970.

Volume 581, parts 1–10, covering the Xianfeng reign, consists of 80 *juan*.

Bao Yun 寶鋆 (1807–1891), *Chouban yiwu shimo (Tongzhi chao): 100 juan* 籌辦夷務始末(同治朝): 100 卷, (Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan 近代中國史料叢刊, 611), Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1971.

Volume 611, parts 1–10, covering the Tongzhi reign, consists of 100 *juan*.

A Mainland China reprint edition: Wenqing, Zhen Jia, and Baoyun, *Chouban yiwu shimo:* [260 *juan*]. Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 2002. 8 vols.

A more recent edition of material from the Tongzhi reign: *Qing dai Tongzhi chao chouban yiwu shimo*. Hongkong: Fuchi shuyuan chuban youxian gongsi, 2006. 25 vols.

Zhang Deze 張德澤 and Guoli Beiping gugongbo wuyuan, wenxian guan 國立北平故宮博物院，文獻館, *Qing jige guo zhaohui mulu* 清季各國照會目錄, [Beijing]: Guoli gugong bowuyuan wenxian guan, 1936. 4 vols.

Reprint edition in the Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan 近代中國史料叢刊 series, vol. 80, Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1974. Reprint of the 1924–1925 ed. published by Gugongbo wuyuan, wenxian guan 故宮博物院文獻館, Beijing.

This work lists the subject titles of more than 3,800 zhaohui 照會 (diplomatic notes) received by the Qing government since 1839.

The memorials of seven leading officials of the late Qing have been summarised in a guide:

Guide to the Memorials of Seven Leading Officials of Nineteenth-Century China. Prepared by the staff of the Modern Chinese History Project; Edited by Chung-li Chang and Stanley Spector; Translators: Mort Bobrow [and others]; Foreword by Franz Michael. University of Washington publications on Asia, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955.

Summaries of memorials from Hu Linyi 胡林翼, Zeng Guofan 曾國藩, Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠, Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾, Zeng Guoquan 曾國全, Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 and Zhang Zhidong 張之洞.

Several compilations of documents from the late Qing period are specifically concerned with Christianity in China. The following recent compilation has selected documents from the archives of the Grand Secretariat, the Grand Council, the Palace Secret Memorial Archives, and the Imperial Household Department. They date from the fist year of reign of the Shunzhi Emperor (1644) to the thirtieth year of the Daoguang reign (1850), and include imperial decrees, edicts, memorials and reports to the throne, plus lists of gifts presented to the emperors by Catholic missionaries and deeds of land and house purchased by them.

Vols. 1–3 contain documents illustrating mission activities in various locales in China. Vol. 4 documents are from the record book of work orders in the Workshop Section of the Imperial Household Department, reflecting the tasks and services Western missionaries at the Qing court during the Yongzheng and Qianlong reigns.

Qing zhong qianqi Xiyang Tianzhujiao zai Hua huodong dang'an shiliao 清中前期西洋天主教在華活動檔案史料, compiled by the First Historical Archives of China 中國第1歷史檔案館編; the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco 美國舊金山大學利瑪竇中西文化歷史研究所; and The Beijing Center for Language and Culture 北京語言文化中心, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2003. 4 vols.

Material relating to Christianity has also been preserved in many local Chinese archives. The Sichuan Archives have published the following collections, containing some memorials on Christianity:

Sichuan sheng dang'an guan 四川省檔案館 & Sichuan daxue lishi xi 四川大學歷史系 (eds.), *Qingdai Qian-Jia-Dao Baxian dang'an xuanbia*n 清代乾嘉道巴縣檔案選編, Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1989–1996. 2 vols.

As a consequence of the 'unequal' treaties of 1858–1860, the expanding missionary enterprise increasingly clashed with Chinese society. Many of the resulting so-called 'missionary cases' (*jiaoan* 教案) were handled by the newly established "Office in Charge of Affairs of All Nations" (*Zongli geguo shiwu yamen* 總理各國事務衙門), more commonly referred to as the Zongli Yamen 總理衙門. The files of these religious cases form the basis of the collection listed below. Although this collection is quite extensive, it is important to keep in mind that not all 'religious cases' required diplomatic intervention in Beijing. Indeed, a substantial number of disputes and conflicts were resolved locally and thus are not mentioned in the Zongli Yamen files.

Jiaowu jiaoan dang 教務教案檔 (Files on religious affairs and religious cases [in the archives of the Zongli Yamen]), edited by Lü Shiqiang et al., Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica. Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiusuo, 1974–1981. 7 series. (Cited as *JWJAD*)

1st series: Xianfeng 10 (1860)—Tong zhi 5 (1866), 教務教案檔. 第 1 輯: 咸豐 10 年—同治5年, Taibei 1974. 3 vols.
2nd series: Tongzhi 6 (1867)—Tongzhi 9 (1870), 教務教案檔. 第 2 輯: 同治 6 年—同治 9 年, Taibei, 1974. 3 vols.
3rd series: Tongzhi 10 (1871)—Guangxu 4 (1878), 教務教案檔. 第 3 輯: 同治 10 年—光緒 4 年 Taibei, 1975. 3 vols.

4th series: Guangxu 5 (1879)—Guangxu 12 (1886), 教務教案檔. 第 4 輯: 光緒 5 年—光緒 12 年, Taibei, 1976. 3 vols.
5th series: Guangxu 13 (1887)—Guangxu 21 (1896), 教務教案檔. 第 5 輯: 光緒 13 年—光緒 21 年, Taibei, 1977. 4 vols.
6th series: Guangxu 22 (1897)—Guangxu 25 (1900), 教務教案檔. 第 6 輯: 光緒 22 年—光緒 25 年, Taibei, 1980. 3 vols.
7th series: Guangxu 26 (1901)—Xuantong 3 (1911), 教務教案檔. 第 7 輯: 光緒 26 年—宣統 3 年, Taibei, 1981. 2 vols.

This multi-volume collection of documents from the Zongli Yamen archives pertains to interactions of foreign missions and Chinese officialdom. It includes imperial edicts, memorials, correspondence and legal cases arising from anti-missionary and anti-Christian incidents. Chronological in structure, each series is organised by province. The table of contents is very detailed, giving the date of communication, author and topic. See also Charles Litzinger, "Bibliographical and Research Note," *CSWT* 3.1 (1974), pp. 95–99.

Qingmo jiaoan 清末教案 (Late Qing religious cases), jointly edited by the First Historical Archives of China and the History Department of Fujian Normal University; compiled by Zhu Jinfu 朱金甫, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996–2006. 6 vols.

Vol. 1: Daoguang 22 (1842)—Tongzhi 10 (1872), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996.
Vol. 2: Tongzhi 11 (1872)—Guangxu 26 (1901), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998.
Vol. 3: Guangxu 27 (1901)—Xuantong 3 (1911), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998.
Vol. 4: *Fawen ziliao xuan yi* 法文資料選譯 (selected and translated French language material, 1894–1901), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000.
Vol. 5: *Meiguo dui wai guanxi wenjian xuan yi* 美國對外關係文件選譯 (selected and translated U.S. foreign relations material, 1870–1899), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000.
Vol. 6: *Yingguo yi hui wenjian xuan yi* 英國議會文件選譯 (translated selections from British parliamentary files, 1868–1892), compiled by Chen Zenghui 陳增輝, Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 2006.

Wu Shengde 吳盛德 and Chen Zenghui 陳增輝, *Jiaoan shiliao bianmu* 教案史料編目, Beijing: Yanjing daxue zongjiao xueyuan, 1941.

Cheng Zongyu 程宗裕, *Jiaoan zouyi huibian* 教案奏議彙編: 8 *juan*, Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1901. 6 vols. Reprint: Taibei: Tailian guofeng chubanshe, 1970. 306 pp.

The occupation of Jiaozhou Bay 膠州灣 by the German navy in 1897 and the establishment of the Kiaochow leased territory in 1898 was triggered by the murder of two German Catholic missionaries in Juye county 巨野縣, western Shandong. The file concerning the 'Juye Incident' and its settlement is not included in the *Jiaowu jiaoan dang* collection but is contained in the following work:

Jiao'ao zhuan dang: Guangxu ershisan nian—Minguo yuan nian 膠澳專檔: 光緒二十三年～民國元年 (Files concerning the occupation of Jiaozhou Bay, 1897–1912), edited by Huang Fuqing 黃福慶 et al., Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo bianyin 中央研究院近代史研究所編印, Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiusuo, [1991].

Materials on the Boxer Movement (義和團運動)

The Boxer Uprising in northern China in the summer of 1900 was a devastating event in which more than two hundred missionaries and thousands of Chinese Christians were killed. As the principal targets of Boxer attacks, Christianity, its Chinese converts and foreign evangelists feature prominently in several major source material collections.

Choubi oucun: Yihetuan shiliao 籌筆偶存: 義和團史料 (Retained working notes: Boxer source material). Edited by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 中國社會科學院近代史研究所, and the First Historical Archives of China 中國第一歷史檔案館. (Jindai shi ziliao zhuankan), [Beijing]: CASS Press, 1983. (Cited as *CBOC*)

Jian Bozan 翦伯贊 *et al.* (eds.), *Yihetuan* 義和團 (The Boxers). (Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan, 9.) 3rd ed., 4 vols. Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguangshe chuban, 1953. (Cited as *YHT*.)

Liaoning sheng dang'anguan 遼寧省檔案館, and Liaoning shehui kexueyuan lishi yanjiusuo 遼寧社會科學院歷史研究所選編, *Dongbei Yihetuan dang'an shiliao* 東北義和團檔案史料, Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1981.

Liu Kunyi 劉坤一, *Liu Kunyi yiji* 劉坤一遺集 (Collected works of Liu Kunyi). 6 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959. (Cited as *LKYYJ*)

Lu Yao 路遙 et al., *Shandong daxue Yihetuan diaocha ziliao huibian* 山東大學義和團調查資料匯編 (Collection of Shandong University survey materials on the Boxers), 2 vols. Ji'nan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 2000.

This collection of material from several oral history projects is more complete than the selections published in 1980: Shandong Yihetuan diaocha ziliao xuanbian 山東大學義和團調查資料選編 (Selections from survey materials on the Shandong Boxers), Ji'nan: Qi-Lu, 1980.

Shandong Yihetuan anjuan 山東義和團案卷 (Archives on the Shandong Boxers), edited by the Editorial Section for Modern History, CASS, Ji'nan: Qi-Lu, 1980.

Shandong Yihetuan diaocha ziliao xuanbian (Selected survey materials on the Boxers in Shandong). Ji'nan: Qi-Lu shushe, 1980. (Cited as *SDYHTDC.*)

Sichuan sheng dang'an guan (ed.), *Sichuan jiaoan yu Yihequan dang'an* 四川教案與義和拳檔案 (Archives on Sichuan religious cases and the Boxers), Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1985.

Yihetuan dang'an shiliao 義和團檔案史料 (Archival materials on the Boxers), edited by the Ming-Qing Archives Division of the Palace Museum. 2 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959. (Cited as *DASL.*)

Yihetuan dang'an shiliao xubian 義和團檔案史料續編 (Archival materials on the Boxers, sequel), edited by the First Historical Archives of China 中國第一歷史檔案館. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990.

Zhi-Dong jiaofei diancun 直東剿匪電存 (Telegrams concerning the suppression of the Boxers in Zhili and Shandong), compiled by Lin Xuezhen 林學瑊. Facsimile of the 1906 ed. Taibei: Wenhai, 1972.

1.1.5. *Local histories*

Local histories or 'local gazetteers' (*difangzhi* 地方志) can yield a variety of information about the environment in which missionaries operated and Chinese Christians lived. The local histories that were compiled in the late Qing or in the republican period generally do not have much information on Christianity. Such publications are nevertheless useful because they do have reference to and sometimes biographical accounts of local notables with whom the missionaries interacted. Gazetteers were produced at several levels within the Chinese administrative hierarchy. At the lowest level were the district (*xian* 縣) and department (*zhou* 州) gazetteers. At the next level one finds the gazetteers of prefectures (*fu* 府) and independent departments (*zhili zhou* 直隸州). In more insecure parts of the Chinese administrative area a relatively small number of sub-prefectures (*ting* 廳) and independent sub-prefectures (*zhili ting* 直隸廳) were found. Finally, provincial gazetteers

(*tongzhi* 通志) provide important information on office holders and successful examination candidates with whom missionaries had dealings. The gazetteer of Shandong province, for instance, lists civil and military *juren* 舉人 and *jinshi* 進士 for every district, including the year in which they passed the examination, as well as the government officials at all levels of the administrative hierarchy in the province.

Shandong tong zhi 山東通志 (Gazetteer of Shandong province), compiled by Sun Baotian 孫葆田, 1915.
Reduced print of the 1910 edition, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1934. There are also several more recent editions.

Since the structure and nomenclature of administrative jurisdictions have changed significantly since the late Qing, the following reference works are essential to reconstruct the historical situation and account for changes during the Qing dynasty:

Niu Pinghan 牛平漢 (comp.), *Qingdai zhengqu yan ge zongbiao* 清代政區沿革綜表 (Qing period administrative and political divisions), Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1990.
Electronic reproduction. Beijing: SuperStar, 2005. System requirements: SuperStar Reader. Available via World Wide Web.
Zhongguo lishi dituji 中國歷史地圖集 (The Historical Atlas of China), edited by Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 (chief editor). Vol. 8: *The Qing Dynasty Period* 清時, Hongkong: Joint Publishing (H.K.) Co., Ltd., 1992.
This work was also published in simplified characters in Beijing: Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1982–1987.

New gazetteers have been published for virtually every county and higher-level administrative jurisdiction in Mainland China since the 1980s. Many have sections on Catholicism and Protestantism. However, the quality and extent of coverage varies considerably, depending on the expertise and enthusiasm of the local gazetteer editorial committee. Some gazetteers offer only a few lines, others devote several pages to Christianity. One notable example of substantial coverage is the volume devoted entirely to religion of Yunnan province:

Yunnan sheng difang zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 雲南省地方志編纂委員會, *Yunnan sheng zhi* 雲南省志 (Gazetteer of Yunnan province).

Juan 66: *Zong jiao zhi* 宗教志 (Gazetteer of religions), Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1995.
This volume provides many details about local Christianity that are not otherwise available for the late Qing, republican and People's China.

Since access to the several thousand gazetteers is difficult, the passages covering Christianity are now available on the internet for most counties and higher-level jurisdictions, including autonomous regions such as Xinjiang. These online passages have been extracted from about 80% of the existing gazetteers by Chan Kim-kwong 陳劍光 and others. URL: http://www.hsscol.org.hk/fangzhi/main.htm.
This web site has an index that enables researchers to find the relevant local gazetteer and view the pages dealing with Christianity.

1.1.6. *Published primary sources in modern collections*

Standaert, Nicolas, et al. (eds.), *Xujiahui cangshulou Ming-Qing Tianzhujiao wenxian* 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻 (Chinese Christian texts of the Ming and Qing from the Zikawei Library), Taibei: Furen University Divinity School, 1996. 5 vols.

The following documents concern Catholicism in China after 1800:

Volume 4:

25. Luo Mingyao 羅明堯 (Daxi shanji 大西山畸, Duoma shi 多瑪氏), Gezhi aolüe 格致奧略 (1820).

Volume 5:

26. Mgr. Ludovico Conte de Besi (Vicar Apostolique of Jiangnan), ben zhujiao Leisi Luo 本主教類思羅 (pastoral instructions, ca. 1845).
27. Anon. (Catechist), *Zhaoran gonglun* 昭然公論 (Ash Wednesday 1846, Pamphlet against Mgr. de Besi and his Vicar General *Daimu* 代牧 Gotteland)
28. Claude Gotteland (Nan Gelu 南格祿), *Wubanglun* 誣謗論 (ca. 1846, refutation of no. 26).
29. Huang Entong 黃恩彤, censor, memorial (1848) in favour of Christianity; *Huang Entong hujiao zoushu* 黃恩彤護教奏疏.

30. Mgr. Joseph-Martial Mouly 孟振生, *Tianzhujiao zouzhe* 天主教奏摺 (Catholic memorial, 1855).
31. Anon., *Xingxin bian* 醒心編 (anti-Christian, 1868, extracts from Pixie jishi 闢邪紀事).
32. Anon., *Shengjiao yu gao* 聖教諭稿, *fuza* 附雜 (Jiangnan, 1867–1886).
33. Pierre Hoang 黃伯祿, *Zhuzha Shanghai zhujiao Zhong-Fa zhiguan biao* 駐劄上海主教中法職官表 (tables, 1846–1908).
34. Anon., *Jiaotang maidi gongjian* 教堂買地公件 (1865–1892).
35. Anon., *Tianzhu Tang jishi ji* 天主堂基石記 (1863–1892, preceded by twelve inscriptions, notes, etc. from the period 1635–1800).
36. *Li Gong Wenyu shuzha* 李公問漁書札 (letters by and to Li Di 李杕, d. 1911).
37. Anon., *Jiangnan Yuying Tang ji* 江南育嬰堂記(卷二), draft history of the T'ou-se-wei (Tushanwan 土山灣) orphanage at Zikawei (1864–1912).

For description of all 37 texts, see the catalogue of the Fujen Zikawei collection in *SWCRJ* 18 (1996).

1.1.7. *Libraries with important Chinese collections*

Throughout the nineteenth century foreign missionaries and their Chinese collaborators—the earliest of whom were Liang Fa 梁發 and He Jinshan 何進善—were deeply involved in the production of Christian literature in the Chinese language. However, they wrote and printed not only religious works but through their books and serial publications introduced a broad range of Western knowledge and concepts, especially as key translators of modern science, natural history, medicine and international relations. Although some Catholic priests—most notably the Jesuits at Shanghai—were making some contributions in this area, it was above all Protestant missionaries who became involved in the transmission of new scientific knowledge.[1] Some even tried their hand at writing Chinese literary pieces.[2] The magnitude of Chinese

[1] On modern science and the Protestants, see Benjamin A. Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550–1900*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005, chapters 8 and 9.

[2] See Patrick Hanan, "The Missionary Novels of Nineteenth-century China", *HJAS* 60.2 (December 2000), pp. 413–443.

language imprints produced by Protestant missionaries can be gauged from the many publications listed in

Wylie, Alexander, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese: Giving a List of Their Publications, and Obituary Notices of the Deceased, with Copious Indexes*, Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867. Reprinted Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1967.

By the early twentieth century even more Chinese language material had been published:

MacGillivray, Donald, *Descriptive and Classified Missionary Centenary Catalogue of Current Christian Literature*, Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1907.

During the later decades of the nineteenth century, the *Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese* 同文書會, subsequently known as the Christian Literature Society for China 廣學會, became active in the "publication and circulation of literature based on Christian principles [in China], her colonies, dependencies, and wherever Chinese are found, especially periodical literature adapted for all classes." Along with Alexander Williamson 韋廉臣 (1829–1890) and Timothy Richard 李提摩太 (1845–1919), the Methodist Episcopal (South) missionary Young John Allen 林樂知 (1836–1907) played an important role in this venture. He had published a religious weekly, *Jiaohui xinbao* 教會新報 (Church news), between 1868 and 1874. It was a precursor of the *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報 (Globe Magazine, also known as Review of the Times), which Allen had published since 1875 at his own expense.[3] In 1888 it became the principal means of the Christian Literature Society to disseminate useful knowledge. For indexes to the *Jiaohui xinbao* and *Wanguo gongbao*, see

Bennett, Adrian Arthur, *Research Guide to the Chiao-Hui Hsin-Pao (The Church News) 1868–1874 = Jiaohui xinbao mulu daoyao* 教會新報目錄導要, (Research aids series, no. 1). San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1975.

[3] Adrian Arthur Bennett, *Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and His Magazines, 1860–1883* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1983.

Bennett, Adrian Arthur, *Research guide to the Wan-kuo kung-pao ("The Globe magazine"), 1874–1883 = Wanguo gongbao mulu daoyao* 萬國公報目錄道要, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1976.
Whitefield, Douglas Brent, "The Christian Literature Society for China: The Role of Its Publications, Personalities and Theology in Late-Qing Reform Movements", Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2001.

Whereas Young J. Allen was primarily a writer and translator, the erstwhile Church of England missionary John Fryer 傅蘭雅 (1839–1928) was also active as a practical scientiest and educator.

Bennett, Adrian Arthur, *John Fryer: The Introduction of Western Science and Technology into Nineteenth Century China*. Harvard East Asian monographs, no. 24. Cambridge, Mass: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1967.
Dagenais, Ferdinand, *John Fryer's Calendar: Correspondence, Publications, and Miscellaneous Papers: with Excerpts & Commentary*, Berkeley, Calif: Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2003. "A work in progress, Version 3a, October 2003".

Virtually all major university and national libraries have important general Chinese collections. This section is, however, concerned with libraries holding substantial collections of Chinese language material produced by the missionaries and their native co-workers. Most of these collections consist of material created to further the dissemination of Christianity. One notable exception is the Wellcome Library, one of the world's major resources for the study of medical history.

Wellcome Library, 183 Euston Road, London, United Kingdom.

The History of Medicine Collection of the Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine contains several works pertaining to Chinese medical missions and Chinese medical practice.

Walravens, Hartmut, *Catalogue of the Chinese Books and Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine*, London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1994.

Note also that the Wellcome Archives hold the papers of Benjamin Hobson 合信 (1816–1873) who arrived in China as a medical mis-

sionary of the London Missionary Society in 1839. Hobson produced several works science, anatomy, and medical issues.

The growing missionary enterprise became even more involved in the production of religious texts in Chinese, several libraries have substantial collections of such materials. Although Catholic priests were also involved, scholarly attention has focused primarily on the contributions of Protestant missionaries and their native co-workers. On the production of Christian tracts, see:

Zhonghua Jidujiao shubao faxin he hui, *Zhonghua Jidujiao wenzi suoyin* (Hua Ying he bi) 中華基督教文字索引(華英合璧): *A Classified Index to the Chinese Literature of the Protestant Christian Churches in China*, Shanghai: Published for the Christian Publishers' Association of China by the Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 1933. A later print: 1938. Preface signed: M. Verne McNeely.

Spillett, Hubert W., *A Catalogue of Scriptures in the Languages of China and the Republic of China*, London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1975.

For a recent study of the production of Christian texts, see also

Lai, John Tsz Pang [黎子鵬], "The Enterprise of Translating Christian Tracts by Protestant Missionaries in Nineteenth-century China", D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 2005.

Major Chinese collections produced by Catholic missionaries are to be found in the following libraries (*cross-reference: Handbook I, 1.1.8 Libraries with imporant collections*):

Bibliotheca Zi-Ka-Wei, Xujiahui 徐家匯, Shanghai, China.

The former Jesuit theologate library at Xujiahui (now known as the Zikawei Bibliotheca of the Shanghai Municipal Library) houses not only Chinese and Western-language Christian works but also the library of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The library has a extensive collection of newspapers. For a dated introduction to the library, see

King, Gail, "The Xujiahui (Zikawei) Library of Shanghai", *Libraries & Culture* 32.4 (Fall 1997), pp. 456–469.

East China (Huadong) Theological Seminary 華東神學院, Library, Qingpu District, Shanghai Municipality 上海市青浦區, China.

The library of the East China Theological Seminary (China Christian Council / Three-Self Patriotic Movement) is known to hold Chinese language material on Protestant Christianity in China, including books and periodicals. Access to the collections may, however, be difficult. Other Protestant and Catholic seminaries may also hold relevant material.

Biblioteca, Pontificia Università Urbaniana, Via Urbano VIII, 16, Vatican City.

The Library of the Pontifical Urbaniana University that we know is actually the result of two libraries: the Library of the Urban College and the Pontifical Missionary Library, formerly housed on the premises of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples. Consequently, the holdings on world Christianities, including Christianity in China, are rather extensive. A separate catalogue for the Chinese collections is available.

Note that the Library also holds about 50,000 microfiches containing documents from the following archives: Council for World Mission Archives, 1775–1940, and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (London).

Fonds chinois de la Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Lyon, France.

Among the substantial holdings are the Chinese collections of the former Jesuit Library of Fontaines, Chantilly (about 12.000 vol.), both religious and scientific texts. Another (large) part of this collection is the personal library of André Yacinthe Rocquette, called André d'Hormon (1881–1965), who worked at the Sino-French University in Beijing from 1906 to 1955.

Chinese Memorial Library, Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, K. U. Leuven, Belgium.

"Scheut Memorial Library" is a tribute to the pioneering work of Belgian missionary-scholars in China and adjacent areas prior to 1949. The library holds about 4,000 Chinese books.

Several British libraries hold relevant Chinese language material. A Union Catalogue of major Chinese language collections in the UK, namely those in the British Library, as well as the university libraries of

Oxford (Bodleian Library), Cambridge, London (SOAS Library), Leeds (Brotherton Library), Edinburgh and Durham has been prepared by the China Library Group, *Chinese Union List of Serials*. London: British Library, Oriental Collections, 1992.

Bodleian Library, Department of Oriental Collections, University of Oxford, Oxford, United Kingdom.

Helliwell, David, *Alexander Wylie's Books* (A Catalogue of the Old Chinese Books in the Bodleian Library, 2), Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1985.

Helliwell, David, "Two Collections of Nineteenth-century Protestant Missionary Publications in the Bodleian Library", *Chinese Culture* 31.4 (1990), pp. 21–38.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London, United Kingdom

The nucleus of the Library was formed from a collection of oriental books owned by the London Institute, which contained, among the printed books and manuscripts, about 15,000 Chinese items collected by the missionary Robert Morrison when he worked in China during the early part of the 19th century.

Andrew C. West 魏安 (comp.), *Catalogue of the Morrison Collection of Chinese Books* 馬禮遜藏書書目, London: School of Oriental & African Studies, 1998.

The British Library, Chinese Secion, Asia Pacific & Africa Collections [formerly Oriental & India Office Collections], London, United Kingdom.

The Chinese collections of the Asia Pacific & Africa Collections comprise the majority of the British Library's holdings of Chinese language material.

Bibliotheek, Sinologisch Instituut, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, The Netherlands.

General library on all aspects of Chinese language culture, with a number of rare book collections. Of particular interest are the 124 Chinese-language tracts produced by Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff 郭實獵 (1803–1851), sometimes using the Chinese pseudonyms 愛漢and 善德. Gützlaff had been sent to the Dutch East Indies by the

Netherlands Missionary Society and he maintained close contact with the NZG after his departure for China as an independent missionary. The Chinese tracts were originally part of the NZG collection.

The library also hold the Chinese-language imprints produced by Walter Henry Medhurst 麥都思 (1796–1857); Robert Morrison 馬禮遜 (1782–1834); William Milne 米憐 (1785–1822), including revised editions by his son William Charles Milne 美魏茶 (1815–1863).

For details, consult the CHINABASE online catalogue, URL: http://www.picarta.nl/DB=2.39/

Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York.

Among the holdings of the Missionary Research Library are many Chinese Christian publications:

Union Theological Seminary (New York, N.Y.), *Chinese Christian Monograph Collection: An Index to Chinese Christian Monographs Filmed from the Union Theological Seminary Library Collection by the Board of Microtext, American Theological Library Association*. New York: The Library, 1979.

Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

This library has one of the most comprehensive collections of Protestant missionary works in the Chinese language.

Irick, Robert L., Ying-Shih Yü and Kwang-Ching Liu, *American-Chinese Relations, 1784–1941: A Survey of Chinese-language Materials at Harvard. Chung Mei kuan hsi shih shu mu* 中美關係史書目, (Research aids for American Far Eastern policy studies, no. 3), Cambridge: Committee on American Far Eastern Policy Studies, Dept. of History, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press, 1960.

Harvard-Yenching Library and Yung-hsiang Lai, *Catalog of Protestant Missionary Works in Chinese, Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University*. Boston, Mass: G. K. Hall, 1980.

The Protestant Chinese-language publications in the Harvard-Yanjing Library have been placed on 1,750 microfiches (in 39 containers) by Inter Documentantion Co. of Zug, Switzerland.

An *Inventory List of the Harvard Yenching Protestant Missionary Works in Chinese*, Compiled by the Centre for the Study of Christianity in Asia, Trinity Theological College, Singapore, October 2004, has been made available on the internet by Michael Nai Chiu Poon (revised January 2006): URL: http://www.ttc.edu.sg/csca/epub/guides/hy/hy-1.html

Library of Congress, Asian Division, Washington D.C., U.S.A.

The Library holds many valuable missionary publications such as those found in the William Gamble Collection. William Gamble 姜別利 (1830–1886) was an American printer who was sent to China by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (American Presbyterians, North) in 1858. The Gamble collection consists of some 277 Chinese scriptures and tracts in 493 volumes and 120 items in English and other languages, dating mainly from the first half of the nineteenth century. The collection includes Christian publications in Chinese by several early Protestant missionaries and translations of Western works on subjects such as geography, astronomy, and mathematics.

The Arthur Probsthain Collection also includes rare books and materials that Probsthain acquired from missionaries in China in the nineteenth century. Publications by well-known early missionaries and Chinese Christians such as Robert Morrison 馬禮遜 (1782–1834), Elijah Coleman Bridgman 裨治文 (1801–1861) and Liang Fa 梁發 (1789–1855) can also be found in the Cushing and Rockhill collections.

Huang, Hanzhu, and David Hsü, *Chinese Periodicals in the Library of Congress*, Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1988.

Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, U.S.A.

Although the emphasis is on the Jesuit missions of the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, the Institute library has has a number of Chinese items that pertain to Christianity after 1800.

National Library of Australia, Canberra, Australia.

The London Missionary Society's collection of unusual and at times rare Chinese language works was purchased by the National Library of Australia (NLA) from The Council for World Mission in 1961, amounting to approximately 600 volumes of Chinese publications,

and including an important collection of materials on the Taiping Rebellion.

The Centre for the Study of Christianity in Asia, Trinity Theological College, Singapore 新加坡三一神學院亞洲基督教研究中心.

The Centre is the mission research arm of Trinity Theological College. Michael Nai Chiu Poon 潘乃昭 prepared Chinese-language material for viewing online, including:

1. Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui 中華聖公會 Source Documents. Compiled by Michael Nai Chiu Poon, Centre for the Study of Christianity in Asia, Trinity Theological College, Singapore. Most documents on Anglican church history date from the twentieth century, but some selections are from the late Qing period; URL: http://www.ttc.edu.sg/csca/skh/index.html
2. *The Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, Volume 3–14 (1818–1820), a mission periodical published at Malacca by William Milne of the LMS. URL: http://www.ttc.edu.sg/csca/rart_doc/icgleaner.htm
3. Guide to the Microfilm Collection of Karl Gützlaff's Works in Trinity Theological College, Singapore, compiled by Michael Poon, December 2004. URL: http://www.ttc.edu.sg/csca/epub/guides/gut_micro.html
   The following material can be viewed online: *Ai Han zhe lunji* (愛漢者論集): one microfilm roll held in the TTC library, containing 25 titles of Gützlaff's works published in Singapore.
4. An *Inventory List of the Harvard Yenching Protestant Missionary Works in Chinese*, Compiled by the Centre for the Study of Christianity in Asia, Trinity Theological College, Singapore, October 2004, has been made available on the internet by Michael Nai Chiu Poon (revised January 2006): URL: http://www.ttc.edu.sg/csca/epub/guides/hy/hy-1.html
   Note that the TTC collection of microfiche on Church History and Biographies comes under Section E of the Harvard-Yenching Collection produced by IDC. The National University of Singapore possesses the entire microfiche collection. The IDC Guide: *China and Protestant Missions. A Collection of their earliest Missionary Works in Chinese* is available in the Microfilm Room in the Library.

The preceding entries have shown that Christian missionary presses published a bewildering array of materials in Chinese in the course

of the nineteenth century. The need for a comprehensive annotated bibliographic database of these thousands of publications for the years from 1800 to 1911 has been recognised by Ryan Dunch. His searchable draft version of the database currently contains well over 2,000 titles, not including periodicals, Bibles, or Bible portions. It is available at: URL: https://ra.tapor.ualberta.ca/Endnote/display_form_search.php

His ultimate aim is to analyse the role of missionary publishing in Chinese in altering the intellectual and social landscape of late Qing China. The great majority of these database sources was authored by Protestants.

1.2. Western Primary Sources

In the course of the nineteenth century foreign missionaries produced an abundance of manuscript material in China. Although much of this material consists of routine reports from the mission field, there were nevertheless numerous individuals in that international community who as keen observers of the local environment made important contributions to Western knowledge about China. As Paul Rule has pointed out recently, "missionary records have begun to be used by historians of China on issues that tend to escape the indigenous reports—officials, local gentry and Confucian literati—with their class and gender bias. Foreign eyes were often better than native ones for observing the common-place."[4] This knowledge was, however, recorded and transmitted in a variety of ways.

1.2.1. *Typological Survey*

In the course of the nineteenth century a vast amount of Western manuscript and printed material was generated by foreign missionaries (and occasionally by Chinese Christians). The unpublished sources were written by hand and thus can be difficult to read. The task is made more difficult because they were produced in a great variety

[4] Paul Rule, "Why Have Missionaries Got a Bad Name?", in Noël Golvers and Sara Lievens (eds.), *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jeroom Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute K. U. Leuven, 2007, p. 518.

of European languages, including Latin. For example, the untrained scholar will find the old German handwriting and *Fraktur* typeface in printed material a particular challenge.

This section deals with the various types of Western manuscript and printed sources on China. Communications between missionaries and their superiors back home in the form of letters and reports usually make up the bulk of the source material. Letters tended to be informal and were sent more frequently to inform their respective organisations in Europe and North America of events and developments in the China mission. Reports, on the other hand, usually were more formal. The larger, well organised missionary societies required their personnel in the field to produce accounts of their work and observations on a regular basis, usually in the form of quarterly or annual reports. The 1882 Mission Regulations of the Berlin Mission Society, for instance, state: "Every missionary is obliged to…(inform) us in precise detail about his work as a missionary…and about the state of affairs in his region in a carefully kept diary which he has to send quarterly to the Committee." Moreover, the Berlin missionaries were enjoined to provide "detailed descriptions of the history, customs, superstitions, morals, sins and all that is characteristic of the heathen peoples".[5] Of course, not all missionaries were able or inclined to periodically write such comprehensive reports. Nevertheless, these materials form the core of what is usually referred to as 'missionary archives', kept either by the missionary societies themselves or in university libraries or other official repositories. In addition, many hundreds of private collections have survived the ravages of time, consisting of personal letters sent by the missionaries to relatives, friends and acquaintances in their home parishes. Personal diaries, private journals and other memorabilia may form part of missionary archives and/or other repositories, or may still be in private hands.

---

[5] *Missionsordnung der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der evangelischen Mission unter den Heiden zu Berlin*, 1882, Section Seven, Paragraph 59, I, p. 66ff.; and Section Four, Paragraph 25, p. 22, quoted in Reiner Oelsner, "Das Archiv der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft als Primärquelle für historische Forschungen", *NZM* 42.4 (1986), p. 279. It should be noted that the Berlin Missionary Society had its early mission fields in southern Africa. It was not until 1882 that it took over the work of the small Berlin Missionary Association for China in Hongkong and neighbouring districts of Guangdong province.

One category of missionary writings that is difficult to access nowadays concerns the internal records on the mission field. Not only did missionaries correspond amongst themselves, but in the larger missions they prepared detailed journals and station reports for each mission district. As the Jesuit missionary Rosario Renaud observed with regard to the mission in northern Jiangsu, at the end of each year every 'parish priest' presented his annual report (*relations annuelles*) to the vicar apostolic of Jiangnan who was based in Shanghai. Renaud, who had access to these materials when collecting material for his *Süchow, Diocèse de Chine, 1882–1931*, later observed: "Fortunately, the French Jesuits have preserved in their archives of Zikawei thousands of letters written by the missionaries working in Xuzhou, generally quite detailed letters from which the author has extracted nearly the entirety of this volume." (p. 485). Alas, except for copies of such letters and reports in Western archives, such China-based source material is no longer—or not yet—accessible to researchers.

Many of the official and personal writings were produced with publication in missionary and religious journals in mind, to enlist financial support from individuals, parishes and auxiliary agencies in the home countries. Such writings described in some detail various aspects of rural life in China, but tended to stress that which was novel and exotic. These strange tales from a distant land made interesting reading for a pious readership back home, thereby gaining sympathy and funding for the missionary cause. Naturally, stories concerning infanticide, famine and foot binding feature prominently in these popular religious publications. Since publicity was important to missionary operations, virtually every society published one or several serial publications, or in the case of smaller associations, at least a newsletter. Since they are so numerous, only the most important periodicals have been listed in the relevant section below. Here mention should also be made of the serial publications intended for internal consumption in religious congregations and societies. In particular, the French Jesuit periodical *Lettres de Jersey* contains rich data from the Jiangnan and Southeast Zhili mission fields. As the bibliographical section indicates, missionaries also left published and unpublished reminiscences of their time in China. Hagiographies and scholarly biographies are yet another type of resource that ought to be considered by researchers.

Certain missionaries contributed to more learned journals in China and the West. The following were particularly important: *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, published by Protestant missionaries

from 1867 on the China coast; the *China Review: Or, Notes and Queries on the Far East* (1872–1901); the *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Jesuit periodical *Etudes*, published in Europe, likewise began to carry from time to time scholarly missionary contributions on conditions in China. The regular and occasional missionary contributions to China coast Western language newspapers, most notably the *North-China Herald* (Shanghai), the *China Mail* (Hongkong) and the *Celestial Empire* (Shanghai) should also be noted. The contributions entitled "From the Outports" in the *North-China Herald* were usually unsigned, but nearly always originated from missionaries. Finally, it should be noted that several Christian Chinese-languge papers were in circulation by the end of the nineteenth century.

Letters and reports from the mission field were sent not only to the missionary home boards and families and friends, but also to consular and diplomatic representatives in China. In the second half of the nineteenth century such missionary reports were usually produced in connection with so-called 'missionary cases' (*jiaoan*), that is to say, cases involving disputes between missionaries and their Christians, on the one hand, and non-Christians on the other. Moreover, after 1900 some foreign consuls began to rely on missionary 'intelligence reports' to obtain information from the interior of China. The diplomatic archives in various Western countries are, therefore, a rich source of relevant data.

In view of the vast amount and large variety of material, not all of the documents are of equal value to the scholar. All relevant missionary and non-missionary documents pertaining to specific events or aspects of Chinese society need to be analysed and decoded to find the true underlying motives for writing them. Disparities in the quality of the writings and their inherent contradictions can to some extent be explained by the fact that they were written for different purposes and different audiences. For example, a missionary article in a learned China coast journal naturally contained more specific and precise details than one published in popular church publications read by pious old ladies in darkest Europe. Moreover, a comparison of the original letter and its published version may reveal considerable editorial alterations effected by the mission board back home. A missionary may have said things in a private letter that he would not mention in the official correspondence. As far as *jiaoan* are concerned, it is not uncommon to find contradictory versions of a particular incident in

the reports sent by the missionaries to the consular authorities and the official Chinese accounts, as indicated in the *Jiaowu jiaoan dang*. Such major discrepancies are most likely a reflection of the intensely adversarial approach in the traditional Chinese legal process, which needs to be taken into account by the modern scholar.

Finally, one has to be aware of the different kinds of missionaries in China. For one thing, Catholic and Protestant attitudes and approaches were fundamentally different. Catholics showed a greater degree of uniformity, in view of their strict hierarchical structures. The Protestant missionary enterprise, on the other hand, was marked by considerable denominational diversity. Furthermore, Protestant missionaries displayed a high degree of individualism. Other factors that influenced the value of missionary documents reflect the educational attainment of the writer: the artisan-preacher versus the scholar-missionary; the Evangelical versus the 'secular' missionary (i.e. the professional educator, medical doctor or agricultural specialist). When the not uncommon factor of personal animosities and conflicts within missionary communities is taken into account, the problem of bias in the various resources takes on even greater significance.

Nevertheless, collectively the materials preserved in archives and a variety of publications provide valuable—and often unique—insights into the lives and times of ordinary folk living in large cities and well as the remote countryside of China. Archie Crouch, in his "Introduction" to *Christianity in China: A Scholars Guide*, put it rather well:

> Living close to the Chinese people for extended periods of time, often for a professional lifetime of thirty to forty years, the missionaries learned the language and customs of the people and thus became the agents of cross-cultural communication between China and the West. Most of them were required to prepare detailed and regular reports and to keep in constant touch with relatives and friends in their home communities. (p. xxxi)

Their observations were not confined to ecclesiastical matters but touched social and political issues as well as activities in the fields of agriculture, education, medicine, famine relief, science and many other concerns. These resources have now become indispensable not only for research into the history of missions and Christianity but also for the study of China as a whole.

1.2.2. *Bibliographies of Western Primary Sources*

General Bibliographies

The following are important introductions to Christianity in China, with some listings of primary sources:

Cordier, Henri (comp.), *Bibliotheca Sinica: Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire chinoise*, 3 vols., 1893–1895; rev. ed. 4 vols., Paris: E. Guilmoto, 1904–1908; repr. with a supplementary vol. 5, Paris: P. Geuthner, 1922–1924; repr. (5 vols.): Beijing, 1938/39; Taibei, 1966; New York: Franklin, 1968. *Author Index* (based on the edition in five volumes), compiled, issued and distributed by The East Asiatic Library, Columbia University Libraries, New York, 1953.

For Catholic missions in China, the following volumes are an essential research tool:

Streit, Robert, continued by Johannes Dindinger, Johannes Rommerskirchen, Josef Metzler and Nikolaus Kowalsky (eds.), *Bibliotheca Missionum* (*BM*),
vol. VII, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur 1700–1799*, Aachen: Franziskus Xaverius Missionsverein, 1931 (repr. Rom / Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1965).
vol. XII, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1800–1884*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1958.
vol. XIII, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1885–1909*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1959.

Bibliographies Arranged by Roman Catholic Religious Orders

Dominicans
González, José María, *Historia de las Misiones Dominicanas de China*.Vol. 5: *Bibliografias*, Madrid, 1967.

Lazarists
Van den Brandt, Joseph, *Les Lazaristes en Chine, 1697–1935: Notes biographiques*, Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazarists Pei-T'ang, 1936.

1.2.3. *Topographical Survey*

Periodical Literature

Periodical literature represents an essential aspect of the missionary enterprise, for it publicised the work and the spiritual and material needs of its agents—which required both the spiritual and material support of the home constituencies. Although many hundreds of periodicals were published by missionary societies and auxiliary organisations, only the most influental ones are mentioned in this sections.

Two compilations of general periodical collections pertaining to China were produced several decades ago:

Britton, Roswell Sessoms, *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800–1912*, Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1933. Reprint: Taipei: Ch'eng-Wen Pub. Co., 1966.

King, Frank H. H., and Prescott Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers, 1822–1911* (Harvard East Asian monographs, 18.), [Cambridge]: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1965.

Mainstream academic periodicals in several disciplines are beginning to publish contributions on aspects of Christianity in China. Relevant bibliographic references can be found in the bibliographic compilations of the Association for Asian Studies:

Association for Asian Studies, *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1941–1965: Author Bibliography*, Boston, Mass.: G. K. Hall, 1970., Boston, Mass.: G. K. Hall & Co., 1970.

Association for Asian Studies. *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1966–1970: Subject Bibliography*, Boston: G. K. Hall, 1972.
Originally published in *Far Eastern Quarterly*, later *Journal of Asian studies*, as: "Far Eastern Bibliography", later: "Bibliography of Asian Studies", 1941–1970. From 1971 the bibliography was published as a separate volume:

Bibliography of Asian Studies, [Ann Arbor, Mich.]: Association for Asian Studies, 1971–1991.
Subsequent bibliographies were published as an online resources. As of June 2008, the *BAS* online version contains close to 708,000 references to books, journal articles, individually-authored monographs, chapters in edited volumes, conference proceedings, anthologies, and *Festschriften*, etc., published from 1971 until the present day. It encompasses the full content of the annual printed volumes of the *BAS* from the 1971 to the 1991 editions (the 1991 edition was the last volume available in print form, but was not published until 1997).

Catholic periodical literature

The various popular Catholic missionary periodicals in which foreign and Chinese priests published articles, letters and reports can be found in the relevant volumes of *Bibliotheca Missionum*. In the nineteenth century the most important and most widely distributed serial publications were:

Annales de la Propagation de la Foi (Lyon) 1822–. This journal contains many letters and reports from China. It was published in several other languages, including English editions, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* (Dublin edition, 1837–; New York edition, 1837–; London edition, 1839–); and German editions: *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens* (Strasbourg, 1828–) and (Einsiedeln, Switzerland,1832–). The Ludwigs-Missionsverein in Bavaria published the *Annalen für die Verbreitung des Glaubens* (Munich, 1839–); continued as: *Weltmission der katholischen Kirche*: Zeitschrift *und Vereinsgabe* der *Päpstlichen Missionswerke in Bayern* (München, 1918–1963).

In 1868 the Society for the Propagation of the Faith began to issue a second periodical in France, namely *Les Missions Catholiques*: bulletin hebdomadaire illustré de l'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi (Paris, 1868–1964), followed by publications in several European languages, including *Le Missioni Cattoliche*: bullettino illustrato dell'Opera, 'La Propagazione della Fede' (Milano, 1872–1968); *Die Katholischen Missionen*: illustrierte Monatsschrift des Vereins der Glaubensverbreitung in den Ländern deutscher Zunge mit den Zentralen Aachen, München, Wien und Teplitz-Schönau (Freiburg: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1873–1938); *De Katholieke Missiën* (Overijse: Missionarissen van Steyl, 1874–1967).

Of equal importance, especially with regard to fund raising, were the *Annales de l'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance* (Paris, 1846–). This magazine, too, was subsequently published in a number of other languages, including *Annals of Holy Childhood* (London 1854–1855); continued as *Annals of the Society of the Holy Childhood* (London, 1855–).

Some of the larger Catholic congregations published their own missionary magazines to appeal to the ordinary faithful in Europe and North America:

The Lazarists (Vincentians) issued the

Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission, ou, recueil de lettres édifiantes écrites par les prêtres de cette congrégation et par les Filles de la Charité, (Paris, 1836–).

During the first few decades after their return to China in the early 1840s, the Jesuits did not have a proper periodical publication. Their reports and letters from the China missions were produced for limited

distribution by means of lithographic printing of handwritten manuscripts:

Lettres des nouvelles missions de la Chine, S.l.: s.n., Vol. I (1841–1846; Vol. II (1846–1852); Vol. III (1852–1857); Vol. III/2 (1857–1860); Vol. IV (1861–1862); Vol. V (1863–1865); Vol. VI (1866–1868). This was not widely distributed. For details concerning the individual letters in the *Lettres des nouvelles*, see *BM* XII, pp. 147ff.

Subsequently the Jesuit missionaries published the *Nouvelles de la Mission* on an irregular basis at Shanghai during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. It carried news primarily from the Jiangnan mission field. This publication was not widely distributed. The late Rosario Renaud also mentions *Lettres annuelles* and *Bulletin de Nouvelles* as having been held in the Zikawei archives.

The publication of a regular Jesuit mission periodical started in November 1898 with

Chine et Ceylan. Lettres des missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus (Province de Champagne). (Abbeville), November 1898; continued as *Chine, Ceylan, Madagascar*.

The Paris province followed suit a few years later with the publication of

Relations de Chine, revue trimestrielle publiée par les Jésuites de Paris pour faire connaître leur mission de Chine. (Paris), 1903–.

It was not until the very end of the nineteenth century that the Foreign Misisons of Paris started a regular periodical. However, reports from the China missions were carried in the annual publication

Compte rendu des travaux de l'année… / Société des Missions-Etrangères, (Paris: Séminaire des Missions-Etrangères), 1840–.

The Spanish friars of the Dominican Province of the Philippines (*Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas de la Orden de Predicadores*) published letters from their missions in Fujian and Taiwan in the

Correo Sino-Anamita (Manila), 1866–1916; continued as *Misiones Dominicanas* (Madrid, 1917–1950).

The principal periodicals, in Flemish and French versions, of the Scheut Fathers (CICM):

Missiën in China en Congo, Vol. 1 (CICM, Scheut, Brussel), 1889–1907, continued as: *Missien in China, Congo en Philippijnen*, 1908–1913.
Missions en Chine et au Congo, Vol. 1 (CICM, Scheut, Bruxelles), 1889–1907; continued as *Missions en Chine, au Congo et au Philippines*, 1908–1921.
Annalen der Missionarissen van Scheut. Missiën in China, Mongolie, Congo en Philippijnen. Vol. 1 (Sparrendaal te Vught, Netherlands, 1901). From 1936: *Annalen van Sparrendaal*.

The Steyl missionaries (SVD) published

Die Heilige Stadt Gottes: illustrierte Zeitschrift für das katholische Volk (Steyl), 1878–1893. Afterwards called *Stadt Gottes*.
Kleiner Herz-Jesu-Bote. Vol. 1–27 (Paderborn; Steyl), 1874–1899/1900; continued as *Steyler Herz-Jesu-Bote*. Vol. 28–29 (Steyl), 1900/1901–1901/1902; then as *Steyler Mission-Bote*. Vol. 30–68 (Steyl), 1902/03–1940/41.

Protestant periodical literature

For a substantial list of serial titles published by missionary agencies and Christian institutions in China, with information on location and extent of holdings in repositories in the United States of America, see Crouch, pp. 407–486. The Crouch guide has extracted data from and is modelled on the *Union List of Serials in the Libraries of the United States and Canada.*

Protestant Periodicals published in China

The Chinese Repository, Canton, Vol. 1, no. 1 (May 1832)—v. 20, no. 8/12 (Aug.–Dec. 1851), was an influential periodical published by the ABCFM missionary Elijah Coleman Bridgman in May 1832. He served as its editor until he left for Shanghai in 1847. His cousin, James Granger Bridgman, then succeeded him as editor, till September 1848 when Samuel Wells Williams took charge of the work. However, Elijah Bridgman continued to be an extensive and constant contributor. The

Repository, known as 中國叢報 in Chinese, served a necessary function by forcing the missionaries to keep up with what was happening in China and then to attempt to organise this scattered data into a coherent, literate form. The information was then published and provided both the local foreign community and the home body with a wealth of insights into the nature of conditions in China.

Vol. 1. No. 1–12, from May, 1832, to April, 1833; vol. 2, May 1833—April 1834; vol. 3. From May 1834, to April 1835; vol. 4. From May 1835, to April 1836; vol. 5. From May, 1836, to April, 1837; vol. 6. From May 1837, to April 1838; vol. 7. From May, 1838, to April, 1839; vol. 8. From May, 1839, to April, 1840; vol. 10. From January to December, 1841; vol. 11. From January to December, 1842; vol. 12. From January to December, 1842; vol. 13. From January to December, 1844; vol. 14. From January to December, 1845; vol. 15. From January to December, 1846; vol. 16. From January to December, 1847; vol. 18. From January and December, 1849; vol. 19. From January to December 1850; vol. 20. From January to December, 1851.

Reprint editions include: Tōkyō: Maruzen Kabushiki Kaisha, 1941–; [Boston, Mass.]: Elibron Classics, 2005–2008. 20 vols.

The volumes are also available online on Google Book Search. URL: http://books.google.com/

An overviews of the character of this journal in Chinese history is presented in Elizabeth L. Malcolm, "The *Chinese Repository* and Western Literature on China, 1800 to 1850," *Modern Asian Studies* 7:2 (April 1973), pp. 165–178. Note that the author reflects the secularizing values of her own day in her interpretation. For a Chinese analysis, see Wu Yixiong 吳義雄, "*Zhongguo congbao* yu Zhongguo lishi yanjiu" ("The Chinese Repository and Chinese Historical Studies") 〈《中國叢報》與中國歷史研究〉, *Zhongshan daxue xuebao: shehui kexue ban* 中山大學學報 (Zhongshan University Academic Bulletin: Social Sciences Edition) No. 48 (2008.1), pp. 79–91.

The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal. Fuzhou: Methodist Press; Shanghai [etc.]: American Presbyterian Mission Press [etc.], Began with vol. 1 (May 1868); suspended publication June 1872–Dec. 1873, inclusive; it changed name several times, ending as *The Chinese Recorder and Educational Review*. Shanghai, vol. 70, no. 1 (Jan. 1939)—vol. 72, no. 12 (Dec. 1941). Its predecessor of one year: the *Missionary Recorder*, Fuzhou: Methodist Press, 1867.

For most of its existence, the *Chinese Recorder* was published monthly by the Protestant missionary community in China, and was the only English-language publication to last for 72 years. It served as a link between the various missions that were part of the rise and heyday of the Western effort to Christianize the Far East. It provided information about individual missionaries and mission activities, recounting their progress on evangelical, educational, medical, and social fronts. It featured articles on China's people, history, and culture. Although it was intended primarily for the missionaries in China, the *Chinese Recorder* was also circulated to mission supporters and theological schools in the home countries.

A comprehensive index to this long-run missionary periodical has been published by

Lodwick, Kathleen L. *The Chinese Recorder Index: A Guide to Christian Missions in Asia, 1867–1941*. 2 vols. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1986.

The core of this monumental work consists of three separate indexes:

1. The Persons Index includes every individual who is mentioned at least four times over the run of the journal. Index entries for each person are keyed to indicate the location of such biographical information as his or her title, denominational affiliation, dates and locations of service in China, and names of spouse and children, as well as any articles he or she contributed to the Recorder.
2. The Missions and Organizations Index includes references to mission locations, personnel, finances, converts made, attacks sustained, and other data, and to hospitals, schools, opium refuges, and orphanages.
3. The Subject Index includes references to the many topics covered in the Recorder.

Following these indexes are lists that provide quick reference to specific information, such as persons and missions by location, women, and medical doctors.

China Review: or, Notes and Queries on the Far East, Hong Kong: "China Mail" Office, 1872–1901. This serial was begun by Nicholas Belfield Dennys, editor of the *China Mail* newspaper in Hongkong. The second editor of the *China Review* was Ernst Johann Eitel 艾德 (1838–1908), former missionary of the Basel Mission and London Missionary Society. Although not a missionary or church-related periodical, missionaries were frequent contributors to it.

The periodical literature published by the individual mission societies or institutions cannot be listed here. There simply were too many societies and therefore too many magazines. An online finding aid for British missionary periodicals is the *Missionary Periodicals Database.* It aims to record all periodicals on foreign missions published in the United Kingdom, between the eighteenth century and the 1960s, by missionary societies and commercial publishers, giving full bibliographical details, information on contents and locations. The database is hosted by the Yale University Divinity School Library: URL: http://research.yale.edu:8084/missionperiodicals/index.jsp

For periodicals in repositories in the United States of America, see Crouch, pp. 407–486.

Mission Study Journals

A number of general Christian periodicals have published and continue to publish historical acounts of missionary and indigenous agency.

Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift: Monatshefte für geschichtliche und theoretische Missionskunde. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1874–1923; continued as *Neue allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1924–1939.

Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft, Berlin: A. Haack, 1886–1939. Published by Allgemeiner Evangelisch-Protestantischer Missionsverein. (Protestant)

Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1911–1927; continued as *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, 1928–. In 1938–1940 the title was *Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*. (Catholic)

Another periodical concerned with mission history which regularly contains articles on the China missions is the now defunct

Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft = Nouvelle revue de science missionaire (Schöneck/Beckenried, Schweiz: Seminar Schöneck/Beckenried, 1945–2004).

An index of the vols. 1–50 (1945–1994), arranged by author and subject, was published in 1997 (Immensee: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft).

Since 1979 David E. Mungello has been publishing a specialised periodical, first called *China Mission Studies (1550–1800)*; after the title was changed to *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* in 1989, it also contains contributions on the post-1800 history of Christianity in China, along with reviews of new publications in the field.

Also important for bibliographical information on new publications are *Bibliographia Missionaria* (Rome), published since 1933; *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (New Haven, Connecticut), published since 1977; *China heute* (Sankt Augustin, Germany), published since 1982.

Journal of the History of Christianity in Modern China 近代中國基督教史研究集刊 A bi-lingual (Chinese and English) periodical published by the Department of History, Hong Kong Baptist University since 1998.

1.2.4. *Published collections of primary sources*

Since the treaty settlements between the Qing Manchu Empire and the foreign powers was of crucial importance to the missionary enterprise in the nineteenth century, the following collections are still useful to scholars.

China. *Treaties, Conventions, Etc., between China and Foreign States*, 2d ed, published by order of the Inspector General of Customs. (Inspectorate General of Customs. Imperial maritime customs. III. Miscellaneous series, no. 30), 2 vols., Shanghai, Pub. at the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1917. Reprint ed.: New York: AMS Press, 1973.

Contents: I. Russia, International protocol, Great Britain, United States of America, France, Import tariff agreement.—II. Belgium, Sweden and Norway, Germany, Portugal, Denmark, The Netherlands, Spain, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Japan, Peru, Brazil, Congo Free State, Mexico, Korea.

Hertslet, Edward, Godfrey Edward Proctor Hertslet, and Edward Parkes. *Hertslet's China Treaties. Treaties, &C. between Great Britain and China; and between China and Foreign Powers; and Orders in Council, Rules, Regulations, Acts of Parliament, Decrees, &C. Affecting British Interests in China. In Force on the 1st January, 1908*. 3rd

ed., rev. under the superintendence of the Librarian of the Foreign Office, by G. E. P. Hertslet, with the assistance of E. Parkes London: Printed for H. M. Stationery Off., by Harrison and Sons, 1908. 2 vols.

MacMurray, John Van Antwerp, *Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China, 1894–1919; A Collection of State Papers, Private Agreements, and Other Documents, in Reference to the Rights and Obligations of the Chinese Government in Relation to Foreign Powers, and in Reference to the Interrelation of Those Powers in Respect to China, During the Period from the Sino-Japanese War to the Conclusion of the World War of 1914–1919*, New York [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 1921. Reprint ed.: Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004.

Mayers, William Frederick (ed.), *Treaties between the Empire of China and Foreign Powers, Together with Regulations for the Conduct of Foreign Trade*, Shanghai: J. Broadhurst Tootal, North-China Herald Office, 1877. Reprint ed.: Taipei: Ch'eng-Wen Pub. Co, 1966.

Publications of official documents

France. Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Documents diplomatiques français* ('livres jaunes'), 1871–1914, 1ère série, 1871–1900, volumes 1–16; 2e série, 1901–1911, volumes 1–14; Paris: Impr. nationale, 1929–1959.

Affaires de Chine. Paris, 1885.

Affaires de Chine et du Tonkin, 1884–1885. Paris, 1885.

Chine 1894–1898, Paris, 1898.

Chine 1898–1899, Paris, 1900.

Chine 1899–1900, Paris, 1900.

Chine 1900–1901, Paris, 1901.

Chine juin-octobre 1901, Paris, 1901.

Germany. Reichstag. *"China Debatte". 1900–1901*. 10. Legislatur-Periode. II. Session. 1900/1901. 3. bis 6. u. 49. Sitzung. Berlin: Druck und Verlag der Norddeutschen Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt, [1901]. (Extracted from *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages*.)

Die große Politik der europäischen Kabinette 1871–1914. Sammlung der Diplomatischen Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes. Im Auftrage des Auswärtigen Amtes herausgegeben von Johannes Lepsius, Albrecht Mendelsohn-Bartoldy, Friedrich Thimme. 40 vols., Berlin: Deutsche

Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1922–1927. 2nd ed. 1924–1927.

Vol. 9: *Der Nahe und Ferne Osten* (1924); Vol. 14/I+II: *Weltpolitische Rivalitäten (1924)*; Vol. 16: *Die Chinawirren und die Mächte 1900–1902* (1924).

The volumes pertaining to East Asia were reprinted as *Die Sammlung der deutschen diplomatischen Akten, über die Vorgehen der europäischen Mächte in Ostasien, gewählt aus 'Die grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette 1871–1914'*. Vol. 1. Peking, 1940.

Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. *Parliamentary Papers* (Blue Books). Relevant papers include:

China. No. 2 (1869). Correspondence Respecting the Attack on British Protestant Missionaries at Yang-chow-foo, August 1868.

China. No. 3 (1869). Correspondence Respecting Missionary Disturbances at Che-foo and Taiwan (Formosa).

China. No. 8 (1869). Correspondence with Sir Rutherford Alcock Respecting Missionaries at Hankow, and the State of Affairs at Various Ports in China.

China. No. 9 (1869). Papers Respecting the Proceedings of Her Majesty's Ship "Janus" at Sharp Peak Island, near Foo-chow-foo.

China. No. 10 (1869). Further Correspondence Respecting the Attack on British Protestant Missionaries at Yang-chow-foo, August 1868.

China. No. 9 (1870). Correspondence Respecting Inland Residence of British Missionaries in China.

China. No. 1 (1871). Papers Relating to the Massacre of Europeans at Tien-tsin on the 21st June, 1870.

China. No. 3 (1871). Circular of the Chinese Government Communicated by the French Chargé d'Affaires.

China. No. 5 (1871). Correspondence Respecting the Revision of the Treaty of Tien-tsin.

China. No. 1 (1872). Correspondence Respecting the Circular of the Chinese Government of February 9, 1871, Relating to Missionaries.

China. No. 3 (1891). Correspondence Respecting Anti-Foreign Riots in China. c. 6431.

China. No. 1 (1892). Further Correspondence Respecting Anti-Foreign Riots in China. c. 6585

China. No. 1 (1899). Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of China. c. 9131.

China. No. 1 (1900). Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of China. cd. 93.
China. No. 3 (1900). Correspondence Respecting the Insurrectionary Movement in China. cd. 257.
China. No. 4 (1900). Reports from Her Majesty's Minister in China Respecting Events in Peking. cd. 364.
China. No. 1 (1901). Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of China. cd. 436.
China. No. 3 (1901). Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of China. cd. 442.
China. No. 4 (1901). Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of China. cd. 443.
China. No. 5 (1901). Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of China. cd. 589.

The parliamentary papers concerning nineteenth-century China have been collected and printed in 42 volumes as:

British Parliamentary Papers. (Irish University Press Area Studies Series. China), Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971–1972. Vol. 29 deals specifically with missionaries: "Correspondence, dispatches, circulars and other papers respecting missionaries in China, 1857–1872".

Note also Lo Hui-min, *Foreign Office Confidential Papers Relating to China and Her Neighbouring Countries, 1840–1914*. With an additional list 1915–1937, The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1969.

Italy. Ministero degli Affari Esteri. Documenti Diplomatici presentati al Parlamento Italiano dal Ministro degli affari esteri (Prinetti).

1. *Avvenimenti di Cina (dal gennaio al dicembre 1900)*, presentati alla Presidenza della Camera il 10 luglio 1901. Rome: Tipografia della Camera dei Deputati, 1901 (Atti Parlamentari. Legislatura XXI—Sessione 1900–1901. Camera dei Deputati N. XXXI).
2. *Avvenimenti di Cina (dal gennaio al settembre 1901)*, presentati all Presidenza della Camera l'8 settembre 1901. Rome: Tipografia della Camera dei Deputati, 1901 (Atti Parlamentari. Legislatura XXI—Sessione 1900–1901. Camera dei Deputati N. XXXIbis).

American Diplomatic and Public Papers: the United States and China. Series 1: The Treaty System and the Taiping Rebellion, 1842–1860, Jules Davids, Editorial Director, Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1973. 20 vols.

American Diplomatic and Public Papers: the United States and China: Series 2, the United States, China, and Imperial Rivalries, 1861–1893, Jules Davids, Editorial Director, Wilmington, Del.: Scholary Resources, 1979. 18 vols.

American Diplomatic and Public Papers: the United States and China: Series III, the Sino-Japanese War to the Russo-Japanese War, 1894–1905, Jules Davids, Editorial Director, Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1981.

United States Congress. House of Representatives. *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*. (*FRUS*). Published annually since 1868.

Records of the Catholic Church

Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, *Collectanea S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, seu decreta, instructiones, rescripta pro apostolicis missionibus ex tabulario eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis deprompta*, Rome: Typographia polyglotta, 1893. Covering the years 1622–1892. nos. 1–2206.

Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, *Collectanea S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide seu Decreta instructiones rescripta pro apostolicis missionibus*, Rome: Ex Typographia Polyglotta S. C. de Propaganda Fide, 1907. 2 vols. Reprint: Farnborough: Gregg International, 1971. Vol. 1: 1622–1866. Nos. 1–1299; Vol. 2: 1867–1906. Nn. 1300–2317.

Glazik, Josef (ed.), *Päpstliche Rundschreiben über die Mission: von Leo XIII. bis Johannes XXIII.*, Münsterschwarzach: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 1961.

Noll, Ray R. (ed.), and Donald F. St. Sure (trans.), *100 Roman Documents Concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy (1645–1941)*, (Studies in Chinese-Western Cultural History, 1), San Francisco, Calif.: The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, 1992.

In 1879 Pope Pius IX gave his approval to a proposal of Propaganda Fide to divide the 28 Chinese mission territories into five ecclesiastical regions and to hold regional synods regularly (*cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 3.2. Ecclesiastical administrations*). It was intended

that the regional synods would ensure greater uniformity in missionary operations and foster closer links between the vicars apostolic who belonged to different missionary congregations and nationalities. There had, of course, been the earlier Sichuan synod of 1803, but from 1880 periodic regional synods became a regular feature of the ecclesiastical establishment in China. The synodal records were subsequently published. For an indication of the extent and nature of these records, see, for example:

Synodus Vicariatus Sutchuensis in districtu civitatis Tchong-Kin Tcheou habita anno 1803 diebus secunda, quinta, et nona Septembris, Hongkong: Typis Societatis Missionum ad Exteros, 1918.

Caubrière, Joseph-Marie, *Synthesis decretalium sinarum e decretis regionalium synodorum ab anno 1803, ad annum 1910 habitarum in Sinis: necnon aliquibus documentis ab anno 1784, ad annum 1884 a S.C. de P. Fide editis seu approbatis*, Hongkong: Typis Nazareth, 1914.

For a history of the Catholic regional synods in China, see:

Metzler, Josef, *Die Synoden in China, Japan und Korea, 1570–1931*, (Konziliengeschichte. Reihe A, Darstellungen), Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1980.

Beatification and canonisation

Since martyrdom was not an uncommon experience in late Qing China, especially during the Boxer Uprising of 1900, the consequent lengthy process of causes for beatification and canonisation of martyrs and confessors of the faith has yielded a voluminous collection of documentation. They can be a rich source of information on individuals and the local environment in which they lived. Below are a few examples:

"Acta Martyrium Vicariatus Apost. Shantung sept. Anno 1900 pro Fide Catholica interfectorum", *Communicationes pro missionariis Vicariatus Shantung Sept.* 4 (1925), pp. 14–15, 25–37, 54–61, 72–75; 5 (1926), pp. 3–8, 29–32. The record of the investigations of the circumstances of Catholic martyrdom in northwest Shandong. The Vicariate Apostolic of North Shandong was under the care of Italian

Franciscans until 1904 when this mission was transferred to German Franciscans.

Archivio della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (ACCS), D 40:

A. *Sinarum beatificationes seu declarationis martyrii servorum Dei Gregorii Grassi Episcopi Orthosiensis et sociorum in odium fidei, ut fertur, interemptorum.*
   1. *Positio super introductione causae*. Vol. I–II, Romae 1926.
   2. *Positio super introductione causae*. Informatio super Litterae Postulatoriae disquisitio, Romae 1926.
   3. *Numerus et Nomina eorum quorum signata est Commissio Introductionis Causae*, Romae 1927.

B. Sinarum beatficationis seu declarationis martyrii servorum Dei Gregorii Grassi, Ep. Orthosiensis, Francisci Fogolla, Ep. Bagensis, Theotimi Verhaeghen, Ep. Sienensis, ex ordine Fratrum Minorum et sociorum in odium fidei, ut fertur, interemptorum.
   1. *Positio super non cultu*, Romae 1927.
   2. *Positio super validitate processuum*, Romae 1931.
   3. *Positio super martyrio et causa maryrii*, Romae 1932.
   4. *Vota quinque de Ratione Maryrii servorum Dei a parte persecutorum*, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis 1934.
   5. *Nova Positio super martyrio eiusque causa*, Romae 1936.
   6. *Novissima Positio supr martyrio eiusque causa*, Romae 1937.
   7. *Positio super tuto*, Romae 1943.
   8. *Positio super reassumptione causae*, Romae 1948.

Archivio della Postulazione Generale della Compagnia di Gesù (APG), Cause recenti, Armadio C, Scaffali 1–2: *Sinarum seu Vicariatus Apostolici Shien-Hsien. Beatificationes seu declarationis martyrii servorum Dei Leonis Ignatii Mangin et Pauli Denn, sacerdotum Societatis Jesu; Petri Tchou, viri laici; Annae Wang, virginis secularis, et sociorum; sacerdotum atque Christifidelium in odium fidei, uti fertur, interfectorum.*

   1. *Copia Publica Processus Ordinarii super fama Maryrii*, vols. I–IX, Romae 1938.
   2. *Informatio super Introductione Causae*, Romae 1939.
   3. *Positio super Introductione Causae*, Introduction historique par J. Simon S.I., Romae 1939.

4. *Copia Publica super Non-Cultu*, Romae 1946.
5. *Positio super Introductione Causae*, Romae 1947.
6. *Positio—Summarium super Martyrio*, vols. I-V, Romae, s.a.
7. *Copia Publica Processus Apostolici super Martyrio*, Romae 1951.
8. *Positio super validitate Processuum*, Romae 1951.
9. *Positio super Martyrio*, Romae 1954.
10. *Nova Positio super Martyrio*, Romae 1954.
11. *Novissima Positio super Martyrio*, Romae 1954.
12. *Positio super Tuto*, Romae 1955.

This is a record of the investigations in connection with the beatification of missionaries and Chinese Christians killed by the Boxers in the Jesuit mission of Southeast Zhili in 1900, including the Jesuits Ignace Mangin and Paul Denn. For further details, see *Bibiotheca Missionum* Vol. XIII, p. 173.

[Nanetti, Barnaba], *Barbarie e trionfi. Ossia, le vittime illustri del San-Si in Cina nella persecuzione del 1900*, Parma: Tipografia Egidio Ferrari, 1908. 552 pp.

The 2nd edition, with new documents and many illustrations, collected by Giovanni Ricci OFM, was published "per cura dell'Associazione Nazionale per Soccorrere i missionari cattolici italiani". Florence: Tipografia Barbèra Alfani e Venturi Proprietari, 1909 [al. 1910]. viii + 853 pp.

With brief accounts of all the Catholic priests and sisters killed at Taiyuan, Shanxi, on 9 July 1900.

Planchet, Jean-Marie (comp.), *Documents sur les martyrs de Pékin pendant la persécution des Boxeurs*, Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1920. Later ed.: Beijing: Impr. des Lazaristes, 1922–1923. 2 vols.

Ricci, Giovanni, *Acta Martyrium Sinensium Anno 1900 in Prov. San-Si occisorum historice collecta a P. Joanne Ricci O. F. M. ex ore testium singulis in locis ubi martyres occubuere. Relatio Ex-Officio E Parte Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) propre Florentiam: Ex Typgraphia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1911.

Investigation of individual Christian martyrs in Shanxi province killed at the time of the Boxer uprising. 1,764 names are listed. Reprinted as: «Acta Martyrium Sinensium anno 1900 in Provincia San-si occisorum historice collecta ex ore Testium singulis in locis ubi Martyres occubuere. Relatio ex-officio ex parte Ordinis Fratrum Minorum", in: *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* 30 (Quaracchi

1911), pp. 96–100, 181–185, 211–215, 278–289, 299–307, 327–335, 355–367, 389–398; 31 (1912), pp. 22–29, 45–55, 86–93, 106–114, 138–143, 158–165, 185–189, 256–257, 300–304, 325–330, 337–343; 32 (1913), pp. 13–17, 31–41, 87–91, 125–126, 157–160, 191–196, 222–227, 251–258, 292–295, 319–325, 350–352.

Translations of Chinese documents

Couvreur, S[éraphin], *Choix de documents. Lettres officielles, proclamations, édits, mémoriaux, inscriptions*. Texte chinois avec traduction en français et en latin par S. Couvreur S.J., 4th ed., Ho Kien Fou, 1906.

Tobar, Jérôme (tr. and comp.), *Kiao-ou ki-lio* 教務紀略; *'Résumé des affaires religieuses' publié par ordre de S. Exc. Tcheou Fou: traduction, commentaire et documents diplomatiques, appendices concernant les plus récentes décisions*, (Vairétées sinologiques, No. 47), Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission catholique, 1917. Authored by Li Gangji 李剛己 (1872–1915).

Tobar, Jérôme (tr. and comp.), *Koang-Siu et T'se Hi, Empereur de Chine et Impératrice-Douairière. Décrets Impériaux 1898*. Traduits du chinois par Jérôme Tobar S. J., avec préface, tables et notes explicatives par J. Em Lemière, rédacteur en chef de l'Echo de Chine, Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Presse orientale, 1900.

Zhang, Zhidong, and Jérôme Tobar. *K'iuen-hio p'ien = Exhortations à l'étude*. Nouvelle éd. enrichie du texte chinois par le Père Jérome Tobar, Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1909.

Translation of: *Quanxue pian* 勸學篇 (1898), authored by Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909). French & Chinese texts.

An online edition is available at: Chicoutimi: Bibliothèque Paul-Émile Boulet de l'Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, 2007. URL: http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/tchang%5Ftche%5Ftong/Kiuen%5Fhio%5Fpien/Kiuen%5Fhio%5Fpien.html

Records of Protestant missionaries

With the expansion of the Protestant missionary enterprise after 1860, bringing with it greater denominational variety as well as theological and nationalistic differences, the need for a general meeting of all missionaries in China was felt to reassess missionary policy and practices. Consequently, in order to discuss these as well as a number of

other issues, three major missionary conferences were convened at Shanghai in 1877, 1890 and 1907. The conference records provide good indications concerning the views held by individuals and groups within the (essentially mainline) Protestant missionary community in China.

Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Held at Shanghai, May 10–24, 1877, Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878. Reprint: Taibei: Ch'eng Wen Pub. Co, 1973.

Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Held at Shanghai, May 7–20, 1890, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890.

Records, China Centenary Missionary Conference, Held at Shanghai, April 25 to May 8, 1907, Shanghai: Centenary Conference Committee, 1907; New York: American Tract Society, n.d.

See also Donald MacGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807–1907), Being the Centenary Conference Historical Volume*, Shanghai: printed at the American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907. Reprint edition: [Boston]: Elibron Classics, 2006.

Regional conferences were organised in China at more frequent intervals. In a few cases published accounts of such meetings have been preserved. Note, for example:

Report of the Tenth Session of the Foochow Woman's Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, n.p., 1909.

Shantung Missionary Conference, *Records of the First Shantung Missionary Conference* (At Ch'ing-chow-Fu, 1893), Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1894.

Shantung Missionary Conference, *Records of the Second Shantung Missionary Conference* (At Wei-hien, 1898), Shanghai: Presbyterian Press, 1899.

The World Missionary Conference, a worldwide ecumenical conference of Protestant missionaries that convened in Edinburgh, Scotland, 14–23 June 1910, significantly influenced subsequent developments in China.

World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910. 9 vols.

1.) *Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World. Report of Commission I*: with supplement: Presentation.
2.) *The Church in the Mission Field. Report of Commission II: with supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 16th June 1910.*
3.) *Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life. Report of Commission III. With Supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report.*
4.) *The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions. Report of Commission IV: with supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 18th June 1910.*
5.) *The Training of Teachers. Report of Commission V: with supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 22nd June 1910.*
6.) *The Home Base of Missions. Report of Commission VI: with supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 23rd June 1910.*
7.) *Missions and Governments. Report of Commission VII: with supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 20th June 1910.*
8.) *Co-operation and the Promotion of Unity. Report of Commission VIII: with supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 21st June 1910.*
9.) *The History and Records of the Conference. Together with Addresses Delivered at the Evening Meetings.*

Edinburgh &, London, New York: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier., F. H. Revell Company, 1910.

All nine volumes can be viewed online via the History of Missiology Web site, a collaborative project of the Boston University Theology Library and the Center for Global Christianity and Mission. URL: http://digilib.bu.edu/mission/

On the occasion of John R. Mott's visit to China on behalf of the Continuation Committee of the World Missonary Conference in 1913, the China Continuation Committee was formed at a meeting in the Martyrs' Memorial Hall of the Shanghai YMCA building.

World Missionary Conference. Continuation Committee, *The Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, 1912–1913: A Brief Account of the Conferences together with Their Findings and Lists of Members*, New York: Continuation Committee, 1913.

For an account of Protestant missionary work towards the end of the nineteenth century, including brief background notes on missionary societies and statistical details, see:

The China Mission Hand-Book, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1896. Reprint edition: Taibei: Ch'eng Wen Pub. Co, 1973.

1.2.5. *Manuscript sources in archives*

This section will introduce major collections of manuscript sources in Europe and North America (but not excluding China). On account of the rapid expansion of the missionary enterprise and the proliferation of missionary societies, a vast amount of material relating to Christianity in China was generated in the course of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries. This rich accumulation of primary material has been deposited in hundreds of repositories in Europe, North America, Australia and East Asia, for which no comprehensive research guide has yet been prepared. The closest thing to such a guide is R. G. Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2009). This guide endeavours to account for all the missionary societies that were active in China, but it provides only basic information on individual missionary societies' institutional archives—if their location is known. In other words, this 'rough guide' is in many ways an initial attempt to account for more than 400 Catholic and Protestant missionary organisations. Considerably more time, effort and funding would be required to produce a comprehensive and accurate world-wide research guide along the lines of Archie Crouch's considerably more detailed *Scholar's Guide* to a great variety of relevant resources in the libraries and archives of the United States.

Whereas Catholic religious congregations generally continue to maintain their own archives, the manuscript collections of many Protestant societies are now housed in secular archives and libraries. Since

the personnel of vicariates and prefectures apostolic in China tended to be drawn from particular foreign nations, it should be noted that some larger Catholic organisations maintain not only central archives, usually in Rome, but also 'provincial' archives in various countries in Europe and North America. Whereas the archives of male religious congregations are now generally accessible, the same cannot be said of the Catholic religious communities of women. In the following the major archives and libraries are introduced by country. The collections of the smaller organisations cannot be accommodated in the limited space available.

Finally, it should be remembered that many of the files in the diplomatic and consular archives contain Chinese-language documents, usually in the form of enclosures with despatches or in particular case files.

Belgium

Archives of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (A-CICM).

The archives of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM), also known as Scheut Fathers, have been moved from Rome and are now maintained at KADOC—Documentation and Research Centre for Religion, Culture and Society, Leuven, Belgium.

For the inventory, see

Renson, Raymond (ed.), *The Archives of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM-Scheut), 1862–1967*, 2 vols., (Institut Historique Belge deRome Bibliothèque—Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, Bibliotheek 37), Bruxelles & Rome: Brepols, 1995.

Vanysacker, Dries, (ed.), *The Archives of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM-Scheut) 1862–1967*, (Institut historique belge de Rome. Bibliothèque; 36–37), Turnhout: Brepols, 1995. 2 vols.

In the course of the late nineteenth century, the CICM established Christian communities throughout Inner Mongolia, as well as in Gansu.

Provincial Archives of the Flemish Franciscans (Order of Friars Minor), Vlaamse Minderbroeders, Sint-Truiden, Belgium.

A catalog of the relevant China material has been prepared by

Sara Lievens, *The China Archives of the Belgian Franciscans: Inventory*, Louvain: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K. U. Leuven, 1998.

Central Archief, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (**Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères**), Service des Archives, Brussels.

The collections contain dossiers concerning Belgian Scheut fathers in Inner Mongolia; Belgian friars minor in Hubei; and religious protectorates.

Canada

United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria University Archives, Toronto.

Of the churches that merged into the United Church of Canada in 1925, the Methodists and Presbyterians had existing missionary work in China. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Canada established a mission in northern Henan province in 1888 and a separate work in Jiangmen [Kongmoon], Guangdong. Note, however, that But the Canadian [Free] Presbyterian Church missionary George Leslie Mackay (1844–1901) had already gone to Taiwan, then called Formosa, in 1871–72 to commence evangelistic work in the northern part of the island. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, entered China in 1891. The archival holdings are from the following China missions:

1. Presbyterian Church in Canada, Foreign Missions Board (to 1925)
2. Canadian Methodist Mission (to 1925)
3. United Church of Canada, Board of Overseas Missions (after 1925)

It should, however, be noted that the Taiwan mission and a few 'continuing' Presbyterians chose to remain outside the United Church framework. The material of the 'continuing' Presbyterian Church mission has been deposited in the Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, National Office of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 50 Wynford Drive, Toronto

Finland

Arkistolaitos (National Archives Service), Helsinki.

Archival material of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission 1859–1966.

The first missionaries of the Finland Missionary Society arrived in Shanghai in 1901. In 1902 a station was opened in Hunan. By 1916 four mission stations had been built on the Li River. Medical work was started in 1907, and the first boarding schools were built at about the same time. The name Finnish Missionary Society was adopted in 1913, instead of Finland Missionary Society.

France

In the nineteenth century the majority of Catholic missionaries in China were French, representing several religious congregations. Moreover, after 1860 France exercised a religious protectorate over all Catholics in China, regardless of nationality. (It was not until 1890 that the French monopoly was broken and Germany assumed the protection of her Catholic missionaries in China.)

Archives des Missions Étrangères de Paris (AMEP), 128, rue du Bac, Paris.

The Foreign Missions Society of Paris came into being on 29 July 1658 with the nomination by Pope Alexander VII of the first two vicars apostolic: François Pallu (1626–1684) and Pierre Lambert de la Motte (1624–1679). Subsequently, MEP missionaries were sent to China under the authority of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome. In the nineteenth century the MEP had missionaries in Sichuan (including the 'Tibet' mission), Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Guangdong and Manchuria. It was one of the largest Catholic missionary organisations in East Asia and the archives, along with the Bibliothèque Asiatique, represent a major resource for the study of Christianity in China. It should be noted that the annual reports from bishops, missionary biographies and obituaries and other material have been put online: http://archivesmep.mepasie.net/recherche/index.php

Archives historiques, Congrégation de la Mission (ACM), Maison-Mère, 95, rue de Sèvres, Paris.

In the nineteenth century most Lazarists in China were French, but before 1850 there were also some Portuguese in what until 1856 were the *padroado* dioceses of Macao, Nanjing and Beijing.

Archives, Filles de la Charité de Saint Vincent de Paul, Maison Mère, Paris.

The first French Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul to China left France at the end of October 1847 and arrived at Macao in 1848; on account of difficulties with the Portuguese authorities, the sisters were transferred to Ningbo (Zhejiang) four years later, arriving there on board the French warship *Cassini* on 21 June 1852. Subsequently they established themselves in other parts of China, working closely with the Lazarist (Vincentian) missionaries.

For the archives of the American provinces of the Daughters of Charity with work in China, see Crouch, *Scholars' Guide*.

Archives de la Province de France de la Compagnie de Jésus, 15 rue Raymond Marcheron, Vanves.

In 1841 the first missionaries of the new Society of Jesus departed from France for China, namely the Savoyard Claude Gotteland 南格祿 (1803–1856) and the two Frenchmen Benjamin Brueyre 李秀芳 (or Bruyère, 1810–1880) and François Estève 艾方清 (1807–1848), to assist in and eventually take over the evangelisation in the *padroado* Diocese of Nanking 南京教區. When the *padroado* dioceses of Nanking and Peking were suppressed in 1856, Jesuits (mainly from the Jesuit provinces of Champagne and Paris, France) were assigned to the newly established vicariates apostolic of Kiang-Nan 江南代牧區 (Jiangsu and Anhui) and South-East Zhili 直隸東南代牧區, respectively.

Archives de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi, Centre de Documentation et d'Archives, Oeuvres Pontificales Missionnaires, 12, rue Sala, Lyon, (for pre-1922 archival material).

The Society for the Propagation of the Faith was established in 1822 by Marie Pauline Jaricot at Lyon, France, to raise funds in support of the Catholic missionary enterprise. The movement rapidly spread to other countries. In 1922 the society was raised to the status of "Pontifical Society for the Propagation of the Faith" and its headquarters moved from Lyon to Rome.

Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (AMAE), 3, rue Suzanne Masson, La Courneuve, suburban Paris.

As the protector of Catholics in China, France became deeply involved in missionary affairs after 1860. The despatches sent by French diplomatic and consular officials from China as well as from Rome (Vatican and Quirinal) and other European capitals to the French Foreign Ministry often deal with religious affairs and missionary issues in China. Moreover, the French protectorate over Catholics in China was challenged by other European nations during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The following sections are particularly relevant:

1. Mémoires et Documents, Série Chine (MD)
2. Correspondance Politique (CP), Rome (Saint-Siège)
3. Nouvelle Série (NS). Chine.
4. Nouvelle Série (NS). Saint-Siège.

Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN), 17, rue de Casterneau, Nantes.

The diplomatic archives in Nantes contain the archival collection of the French legation in Beijing and the repatriated material of some of the French consular posts in China. Since antimissionary and anti-Christian incidents were not uncommon in all the provinces of China at this time, the diplomatic and consular records contain numerous files on so-called 'missionary cases' (*jiaoan* 教案). The reports sent by Catholic missionaries to the French consuls or the French minister in Beijing tend to be more detailed and accurate than the material on Chinese religious affairs found in the Archives of the French Foreign Ministry. Moreover, since many *jiaoan* were settled locally, the consular archives contain cases that never reached Beijing and thus are not included in the Zongli Yamen collection (*Jiaowu jiaoan dang*).

A. Archives of the French Legation in Beijing (Pékin)
   1. Série A: 1198 cartons (numérotés 1 à 772), 1721–1969. (For material relevant to the China missions, see Inventaire, Pékin, A. Quilichini, décembre 1961.)
      Missionary affairs tend to be organised by Chinese province. It is important that the relevant boxes are ordered under the old French transliteration system, e.g. Shandong = Changtong.

On the establishment of the French legation in Beijing in 1861, see Maurice Degros, "Les créations de postes diplomatiques et consulaires français de 1850 à 1870", *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* (1986), pp. 3–4, 261–265. See also Bruno Ricard, "Les sources [de l'histoire de la présence française en Chine] conservées au Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes", in *La France en Chine, 1843–1943*, collection Enquêtes et Documents, Centre de recherches sur l'histoire du monde atlantique, université de Nantes, No. 24 (1997), pp. 249–256.

2. Série D (régistres): 766 articles, 1843–1964. (See the Répertoire numérique, André Bors, chargé de mission, septembre 2000, 81 pp. typescript.)

B. Archives of French consular posts in China

1. Amoy 廈門 (consulate)
   a.) Série A: (minutiers de la correspondance), 24 items, 1902–1946. (Inventaire analytique, Roger Pérennès, juillet 1992, typescript.)
   b.) Série B: 94 items, 1871–1946. (Etat de versement, Roger Pérennès, juillet 1992, typescript.)
2. Foutcheou 福州 (consulate)
   In 1864 theconsulate at Ningbo (est. 1864) was transferred to Fuzhou. 50 cartons, 1861–1941. (Inventory: Roger Pérennès, s.d., 20 pp., typescript.
3. Shanghai 上海 (consulate general)
   a.) Série B (formerly 'série rose'): 128 cartons (numérotés 1 à 76), 1844–1921. (Série inventoriée).
   b.) Série C: 479 volumes, 1847–1952. (Répertoire numérique, CADN, mars 1990, 31 pp., typescript.
4. Swatow 汕頭 (consulate)
   50 items, 1866–1941. (État de versement dactylographié).
5. Tchefou 煙台 (vice-consulate)
   82 items, 1863–1926. (Répertoire numérique, André Bors, chargé de mission, Nantes, mars 2000, 40 pp., typescript.)
6. Tchongking 重慶
   The consular archives were lost or destroyed. The Chongqing material kept in Nantes are of a different type and from a later period.
7. Tientsin 天津 (consulate general)
   418 items, 1861–1952, but very little before 1900. (Répertoire numérique, André Bors, septembre 1999, 172 pp. typescript; index of personal names.)

Archives Nationales

Archives de France, 56, rue des Francs-Bourgeois, Paris.

Religious affairs are covered in Sous-série F^{19}: Cultes. F^{19}6242 deals with missions (incl. China), An XI-1900.

For more details, see B. Mahieu. "Les Archives nationales de Paris, source de l'Histoire des missions", *NZM* 7.2 (1951). See also "Inventaire des documents concernant les missions catholiques aux Archives nationales", par Albert Mirot. On French archival material in general, see

Commission française du Guide des Sources de l'Histoire des Nations, *Sources de l'histoire de l'Asie et de l'Océanie dans les archives et bibliothèques françaises*. Munich: K. G. Saur, 1981. 2 vols.

GERMANY

Archiv der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft (BMG), Bethaniendamm 29, Berlin.

The BMG collections are now part of the *Archiv des Berliner Missionswerkes*, housed in the *Evangelische Landeskirchliche Archiv in Berlin* (ELAB).

In 1882 the Berlin Mission Society took over the Hongkong and Guangdong work commenced by the Berlin Missionary Association for China. In 1898 a second mission field was opened in and around the newly acquired German leasehold of Kiaochow 膠州 in Shandong province.

The archival collection includes some of the material generated by the missionaries of the Berlin Missionary Association for China (Berliner Hauptverein für die evangelische Mission in China = BHV). This association was established in 1850 on the occasion of Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff's visit in Europe. During the 1850s the BHV worked in conjunction with the Pomeranian (PHV) and Kassel (CS) missionary societies in the ambitious but shortlived Protestant Union for China (*Evangelischer Gesammtverein für China*).

Parallel to the BHV, the Berlin Ladies Association for China (Berliner Frauen-Missions-Verein für China) was founded in 1850 and taken over by the Berlin Missionary Society in 1882. It then became known as the Berlin Women's Missionary Society for China (Berliner Frauen-Missionsverein für China). It was in charge of the Bethesda Foundling Home, which had been established in Hongkong in 1854.

After the First World War the organisation's name was changed to Berliner Frauenmissionsbund.

Note that the *Evangelische Zentralarchiv in Berlin* (EZA = Central Archives of the Evangelical Church in Berlin) is located at the same address. Its collections contain a few files relevant to the history of German Protestant Christianity in China.

Archiv der Deutschen und der Schweizerischen Ostasienmission

Im Zentralarchiv der Evangelischen Kirche der Pfalz, Speyer. For a detailed inventory, see: http://www.zentralarchiv-speyer.findbuch.net/free.php?ar_id=3667&kind=te&id=16

The General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society (Allgemeiner Evangelisch-Protestantischer Missions-Verein = AEPMV) was formed on inter-denominational lines in Weimar, Germany, in 1884. In 1885 the Society secured the well known missionary and sinologist Ernst Faber, formerly of the Rhenish Mission, as its first worker in China. Following Faber's untimely death in 1899, his place was taken by the renowned sinologist Richard Wilhelm.The program of this Society differed from that of most missions, in that it did not seek to add another church to the many existing in China at the time. It specialised in educational, literary and philanthropic work, handing over to other societies those Chinese who through its teaching became Christians. The organization later became known as the East Asia Mission (Ostasienmission).

Archiv der Vereinten Evangelischen Mission, Archiv- und Museumsstiftung Wuppertal.

The archives contain the collections of the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft (RMG = Rhenish Missionary Society), which was founded at Barmen (now part of Wuppertal), Germany, in 1828. The first RMG missionaries arrived in China in 1847. Along with the Basel missionaries, they established permanent stations in a number of Guangong villages on the mainland well before 1860. The Rhenish missionaries worked primarily amongst the Cantonese (*bendi* 本地).

Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde

Until 1990 this archive was called Zentrales Staatsarchiv (ZStA), Potsdam (German Democratic Republic). Following German reunification, it became the Bundesarchiv Potsdam. It was subsequently

transferred to is current location in Berlin-Lichterfelde. In *Abteilung Deutsches Reich (R)* two collections are of particular interest to the study of Christianity in China:

1. Auswärtiges Amt. Vols. 38899–38902: Das Missionswesen in China, 1870–1907.
2. Deutsche Botschaft [Gesandtschaft] China: R 9208
   a.) Vol. 218 Aufstand von 1900 (Boxeraufstand)
   b.) Vol. 307 Missionswesen in China. Allgemein. 1871–1897.
   c.) Vol. 308–312 Missionare in China, 1886–1890.
   d.) Vol. 313–339 Katholische Missionen, 1872–1900
   e.) Vol. 342–348 Missionswesen in China, Protestantische Missionare
   f.) Vol. 357–418 Rebellionen, Ruhestörungen, antifremde Bewegungen, 1862–1917.

Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin (AAPA).

The pertinent collections in the archives of the German Foreign Office are:

China I.B.4.: Acta betreffend die chinesischen Zustände.
China 1: Schriftwechsel mit der Kaiserlichen Gesandtschaft in Peking sowie mit anderen Missionen und fremden Kabinetten über die inneren Zustände und Verhältnisse Chinas.
China 6: China 6. Stellung der chinesischen Regierung zur christlichen Kirche.
China 20.1 secr.: China 20. Geheim. Nr. 1: Beabsichtigte Erwerbungen der Großmächte anläßlich des chinesisch-japanischen Krieges.
China 22: China 22. Kiautschou und die deutschen Interessen in Schantung.

Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK), Archivstraße 12–14, Berlin (Dahlem).

III. Hauptabteilung. Ministerium für auswärtige Angelegenheiten (III. HA MdA):

I, 12548. 1847 Aug. Sept.: Entsendung einer gemeinsamen deutschen evangelischen Mission nach China und Gründung einer deutsch-chinesischen Stiftung durch den evangelischen Missionsverein in Kassel.

Rep. 109—acc. 3/47, 4270. Gützlaff an Eichhorn, Hongkong, 18. Dez. 1843, als Kopie in Eichhorn an den königlichen Commissarius der Preußischen Seehandlung, Christian von Rother, Nr. 776, Berlin, 23. März 1844, in: Acta betreffend verschiedener Missions-Angelegenheiten. 1844.

ITALY

Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Archivum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide) (APF**).**

Archivio Storico, Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli o 'de Propaganda Fide', Via Urbano VIII, 16, Rome.

Sections relevant to Christianity in China:

1. Acta Sacrae Congregationis
2. Acta Congregationis Particularis super rebus Sinarum et Indiarum Orientalium (Acta CP). 1665–1856. 24 vols. (Vol. 24 covers 1850–56). (For contents of this section, cf. *BM* XII 83–85 for the years 1822–31, and specific annual entries for later years.)
3. Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali (SOCG)
4. Scritture Originali della Congregazione Particolare dell'India e Cina (SCOP). 1667–1856. 78 vols. + 3 Miscellana.
5. Scritture riferite nei Congressi. (SC). Cina e regni adiacenti (1798–1892) 35 vols. + 10 miscellanee.
6. Lettere della Sacra Congregazione e Biglietti di Mons. Segretario
7. Udienze di nostro Signore
8. Sinodi diocesani (19 vols. And 2 Miscellanea). Of special interest are the two volumes of Miscellanea, namely:
   (a) *Esame del Sinodo Sutcinense celebrato nel 1803, approvato nel 1822* (Examination of Sichuan Synod, China, held in 1803, approved in 1822).
   (b) *Sinodo del Sutchuen 1803*.

   For a history of the East Asian synods, see Metzler, Josef, *Die Synoden in China, Japan und Korea, 1570–1931*, (Konziliengeschichte. Reihe A, Darstellungen), Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1980.

9. Collezione d'Istruzioni, Circolari e Decreti a stampa
10. Istruzioni diverse
11. Decreti
12. Informationum Liber pro Missione Sinensi
13. Nuova Serie (NS), Rubrica (Rubr.) 130: Cina. At the beginning of 1893 the AP filing system was radically changed. The system of the new series (NS) operates with code numbers (*Rubriche*) within each year. China has the code number 130. In 1923 'subtitles' (*Sottorubriche*) were introduced.

Note that material from the period after February 1939 is not yet accessible.

For a guide to the Propaganda archives, see

Kowalsky, Nikolaus, and Josef Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or 'de Propaganda Fide'*, 3rd enlarged edition, (Studia Urbaniana, XXXIII). Rome: Pontificia Università Urbaniana, 1988.

Metzler, Josef, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum, 1622–1972; 350 anni a servizio delle missioni; 350 Years in the Service of the Missions*. Rome: Herder, 1971–1976. Vol. I, Parts 1 & 2: 1622–1700. Vol. II: 1700–1815; Vol. III, Parts 1 & 2 (1815–1972).

The Archives of the Procura of Propaganda Fide in the Far East, transferred from Guangzhou to the Propaganda archives, contain the original letters of about 360 missionaries in China. 47 vols. (not yet available for consultation).

Metzler, Josef, "Das Archiv der Missionsprokur der Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Canton, Macao und Hong Kong", in Ugo Marazzi and Carlo Gallotta (eds.), *La conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, (Collana 'Matteo Ripa', IV), vol. 2, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1985, pp. 75–139.

For an introduction to the separate Propaganda library, now called Biblioteca, Pontificia Università Urbaniana, Via Urbano VIII, 16, I-00165 Rome, see

Metzler, Josef, "The Pontifical Missionary Library 'de Propaganda Fide'", in Josef Metzler (ed.), *De Archivis et bibliothecis missionibus*. Rome, 1968, pp. 347–360.

The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was founded in Rome in 1622 to superintend and co-ordinate the work of the various Roman Catholic missionary orders, congregations, and societies not subject to Portuguese or Spanish royal patronage.

Although not a sending agency in the normal sense of the word, Propaganda Fide did send a number of missionaries directly to China between the late seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century Propaganda Fide sent primarily secular priests either as procurators (e.g. the elusive Raffaele Umpierres and Theodor Joset) or as apostolic administrators (Count Ludovico de Besi) to China. In the twentieth century the Vatican appointed Celso Costantini (1876–1958) as apostolic delegate to China as a means to circumvent the French religious protectorate. Since 1988 the original Propaganda Fide is known as the "Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples" (*Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelizatione*).

Archives of the Pontifical Society of Missionary Childhood (Pontificia Opus a Sancta Infantia), Rome.

The founding of the Society of the Holy Childhood (l'Œuvre de la Sainte-Enfance) was encouraged by Mlle Marie Pauline Jaricot and organized in 1843 by Charles-Eugène de Forbin-Janson, bishop of Nancy, France, for the purpose of rescuing and supporting abandoned children, especially in China. The response to Bishop Forbin-Janson's appeal was extraordinary. In a few years, the unique concept of "children helping children" spread not only throughout his native France, but all over Europe, then to North America, Latin America and Asia. Along with the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (*Association de la Propagation de la Foi*), it became an essential support and fund-raising organisation on behalf of the Catholic missionary movement. Some reports from the mission fields were published in *Annales de l'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance* (Paris, 1846–). Subsequently published in a number of other languages, including *Annals of Holy Childhood* (London 1854–1855); continued as *Annals of the Society of the Holy Childhood* (London, 1855–).

In 1922 the headquarters of the Society of the Holy Childhood were moved to Rome and the the society became an organisation of the Holy See and is know known as the Pontifical Society of Missionary Childhood or Holy Childhood (Pontificia Opus a Sancta Infantia).

For a brief account of the early history, with particular reference to China, see:

Harrison, Henrietta, "'A Penny for the Little Chinese': The French Holy Childhood Association in China, 1843–1951", *American Historical Review* 113 (February 2008), pp. 72–92.

Sauret, Alain, "China's Role in the Foundation and Development of the Pontifical Society of the Holy Childhood", in Jeroom Heyndrickx (ed.), *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K. U. Leuven, 1994, pp. 247–272.

For its general history, see:

Paul Lesourd, *Histoire générale de l'Oeuvre Pontificale de la Sainte-Enfance depuis un siècle* (Paris: Les Presses Continentales, 1947)

Vatican Secret Archives (Archivio Segreto Vaticano) (ASV), Vatican City; includes:

1. Archivi dell Rappresentanze Pontificie
   a.) Nunziatura di Monaco [Munich, Bavaria] (Arch. Nunz. Monaco)
   b.) Nunziatura di Parigi (Arch. Nunz. Parigi)
2. Archivio della Segretaria di Stato (Seg. Stato); Rubr. 242: Alta Diplomazia (Affari di Francia, Germania, etc.; Relazioni della S. Sede con la Cina; Protettorato Francese in Cina).
3. Archive of the Second Section of the Secretariat of State (former Congregation of the Extraordinary Ecclesiastic Affairs). Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinarii (periodo I–III: fine sec. XVIII–1922).

"The Vatican Secret Archives is the body for the permanent preservation of the historical archives of the Holy See and constitutes its Central Archive" (*Motu proprio* by John Paul III of 25th March 2005, tit. II, capo II, art. 13, published in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 97.4 of 1 April 2005). For a general account of the structure and the contents of the Vatican archives, see:

Blouin, Francis X., Jr., et al. (eds.), *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See*, New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Di Giovanni, Francesca, Sergio Pagano and Giuseppina Roselli (eds.), *Guida delle fonti per la storia dell'Africa del nord, Asia e Oceania nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani, 37), Città del Vaticano: Archivio segreto vaticano, 2005.

See also the downloadable *Collection Index and related description and research resources*, Vatican City, 2008–2009: http://asv.vatican.va/download/indicefondi/Indice_fondi_en.pdf.zip

Archivio, Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane, Casa Generalizia, Rome.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools were founded by Jean-Baptiste de la Salle (1651–1719) at Rheims, France, in the early 1680s. From there the institute's educational apostolate spread to other parts of France and the world. In Hongkong, vicar apostolic Giovanni Timoleone Raimondi secured the services of the Christian Brothers to meet the educational needs of Catholic boys in the British colony. On 7 November 1875, the six pioneers who formed the first Community of the Christian Brother Schools landed in Hongkong. They took charge of St. Joseph's College 聖若瑟書院.

Rigault, Georges, *Histoire générale de l'Institut des Frères des écoles chrétiennes*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1937–1953)

Archivio Storico dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli (AION), Naples.

This is the repository of the archival material pertaining to the Congregation of the Holy Family of Jesus Christ and the Collegio dei Cinesi (Collegium Sinicum). The Chinese College was founded by Matteo Ripa (1692–1746) in 1732 for the formation of Chinese priests. When the college was taken over by the Italian state in 1869, a total of 106 Chinese had come to Naples, of whom 82 were ordained priests.[6]

[6] For the list of Chinese priests trained in Naples, see Joseph Kuo, *Elenchus Alumnorum, Decreta det Documenta quae spectant ad Collegium Sacrae Familiae Neapolis*, Shanghai: ex typographia Missionis Catholicae in Orphanotrophio T'ou-sè-wè, 1917. On the later history of the college, see Karl Josef Rivinius, *Das Collegium Sinicum zu Neapel und seine Umwandlung in ein Orientalisches Institut. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte* (Collectanea Serica), Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2004.

Fatica, Michele, "L'Istituto Orientale di Napoli come sede di scambio culturale tra Italia e Cina nei secoli XVIII e XIX", *Scritture di storia*, no. 2, (2001), pp. 83–121.

Archivio Generale degli Agostiniani, Curia Generalizia Agostiniana, Via Paolo VI, 25, Rome.

Spanish friars of the Order [of Hermits] of St. Augustine had been sent to China from the Augustinian Province of the 'Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas' before 1800. In 1879 Spanish Augustinians from the Philippines started a new mission in Hunan province. In the same year the Vicariate Apostolic of North Hunan was detached from the Vicariate Apostolic of Hunan and entrusted to these Spanish Augustinians. (Note also the provincial archives in Spain.)

Archivio Generale, Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere (PIME General Archives), Rome.

The Lombard Seminary for Foreign Missions was established near Milan, along the lines of the Paris Foreign Missions. In 1858 the first missionaries of the Milan Foreign Missions arrived in China to take charge of the prefecture apostolic of Hongkong. In 1869 Rome entrusted the Lombard Seminary for Foreign Missions with the apostolate in the Vicariate Apostolic of Henan, hitherto in the care of the Lazarists (or Vincentians). In 1926 the Milan Foreign Missions merged with the Pontifical Seminary of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul of Rome to form the Pontifical Foreign Missions Institute (Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere or PIME).

Archivio, Canossiane (Figlie della Carità) (ACR), Rome.

Founded in 1808 at Verona, Italy, the first Canossian Daughters of Charity (FDCC) arrived in Hongkong in 1860. Later the Canossians were present in other parts of China as well, usually in the PIME missions. They were primarily involved in education, pastoral work, medical and social welfare work, "according to the needs of the time and the places".

Archivio Storico della Curia Generalizia dell'Ordine dei Frati Minori (A-OFM), Rome.

In the course of the nineteenth century the Franciscans came to represent the largest Roman Catholic missionary enterprise in terms of friars and mission territories under their care. Moreover, the spe-

cific Franciscan missions took on a distincly national character, especially after the Portuguese *padroado* dioceses of Beijing and Nanjing had been abolished in 1856 and all of China divided into vicariates apostolic 宗座代牧區. By the late nineteenth century it had become customary to assign friars from a particular European OFM province to their own independent mission (*missio sui iuris*) 自治區, prefecture apostolic 宗座監牧區 or vicariate apostolic in China.

In addition to the Generalate collections, the various Franciscan provincial archives may also hold relevant material. In Italy this includes, *inter alia*, the *Archivio storico della Provincia di Cristo Re dei Frati Minori dell'Emilia-Romagna*, Bologna. The Province of Christ the King of the Friars Minor of Emilia-Romagna was created in 1946 to combine the hitherto separate provinces of the Friars Minor of the Strict Observance or Reformed Franciscans (Province of St. Catherine) and the Friars Minor of the Regular Observance (Province of the Holy Redeemer).

Franciscan Archives, Convento di S. Michele in Isola, Venice.

The archives contain material collected in China after 1800, known as *Archivum Archidiocesis de Hankow*, Sectio B.

Archivio, Francescane Missionarie di Maria, Via Giusti, 12, Rome.

Founded 1877 at Ootacamund, India, by Hélène Marie Philippine de Chappotin de Neuville, in religion Mary of the Passion (1839–1904), the first Franciscan Missionaries of Mary to China established themselves at Yantai [Chefoo], Shandong, in 1887. FMM sisters were subsequently found in many locations throughout China. As an international religious institute, they became involved in education, health care, and the formation of Chinese virgins and sisters.

Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum (AGOP), Rome (Convento Santa Sabina).

In the course of the nineteenth century, following the disruptions of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the Spanish friars of the the Dominican Province of the Philippines (*Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas de la Orden de Predicadores*) returned in increasing numbers to Fujian. In 1859 Spanish Dominicans resumed the evangelisation of Taiwan. Note also the *Archivo de la Provincia del Santisimo Rosario, Orden de Predicadores* (APSR), Convento Santo Tomás, Avila, Spain.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Borgo S. Spirito 4, Rome.

ARSI is the official central archives of the Society of Jesus worldwide. Although the Society of Jesus was re-established by Pope Pius VII 1814, it was not until 1841 that the first missionaries of the new Society arrived in China to assist in and eventually take over the evangelisation in the *padroado* Diocese of Nanking 南京教區. When the dioceses of Nanking and Peking were suppressed in 1856, Jesuits (mainly French) were assigned to the newly established vicariates apostolic of Kiang-Nan 江南代牧區 (Jiangsu and Anhui) and South-East Zhili 直隸東南代牧區. See also the *Archives de la Province de France*, Vanves, France. In China, the Jesuits maintained archives at Xujiahui (Shanghai) and Xianxian (Hebei). Unfortunately these important and comprehensive local missionary collections are currently not accessible.

For further information on Jesuit archives worldwide, see

McCoog, Thomas M., *A Guide to Jesuit Archives*, St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources; Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 2001.

Archivum Generalatus SVD (AG-SVD), Società del Verbi Divini, Rome.

The Society of the Divine Word was founded by the German priest (Saint) Arnold Janssen in 1875 at Steyl, near Venlo, The Netherlands. In 1879 the first two missionaries of the newly established Catholic missionary congregation arrived in Hongkong and spent some time with the Milan missionaries (MEM) while the search was on for a mission field. Having transferred to the Italian Franciscan (OFM) mission in the Vicariate Apostolic of Shandong, in 1882 the SVD missionaries were assigned to the southern part of the province. In 1885 that part of Shandong was detached from the OFM vicariate and transferred to the Society of the Divine Word to become the Vicariate Apostolic of South Shandong. In spite of its international character, the SVD was generally considered to be a German missionary society.

Spain

Archivo de la Provincia del Santisimo Rosario (APSR), Orden de Predicadores (OP), Convento Santo Tomás, Avila.

In the nineteenth century, following the disruptions of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, Spanish friars of the the Dominican Province of the Philippines (*Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de*

Filipinas de la Orden de Predicadores) re-established themselves in Fujian province. In 1883 the Vicariate Apostolic of Amoy 廈門代牧區 was detached from the Vicariate Apostolic of Fujian [Fokien] 福建代牧區. The archival collections of the Dominican province of the Philippines have been transferred from Manila to Avila.

Archivo de la Provincia Agustiniana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas, Valladolid.

In 1879 Spanish Augustinians (OSA) from the Philippines started a new mission in Hunan province.

Sweden

ArkivCentrum Örebro Län, Örebro.

In 1997 the Swedish Holiness Union, Free Baptist Mission (Scandinavian Independent Baptist Union), and Örebro Mission merged to form *Nybygget—kristen samverkan*. Since 2002 the organization is known as *Evangeliska Frikyrkan* in Sweden and InterAct internationally. All three had been active in China.

1. The first Swedish Holiness Union (Helgelse Förbundet HF) missionaries arrived in China in 1890 and were assigned to Shanxi province as associate missionaries of the China Inland Mission.
2. The Orebro Missionary Society (Örebro Missionsforening; Örebromissionen), formerly associated with the Swedish Alliance Mission in China, but after 192 administered an independent work in the Shanxi field.
3. The Swedish Independent Baptist Mission (Fribaptistsamfundets Mission; Svenska Fribaptisternas Mission) commenced its China work at Yulin (Shaanxi) in 1913.

The ArkivCentrum's online catalogue lists the holdings of Helgelseförbundets Närkesmission and Örebro Missionsforening/Örebromissionen

Riksarkivet (Swedish National Archives), Marieberg, Stockholm.

1. Svenska missionens i Kina och Japan arkiv, 1887–1982. The committee for the support of the Swedish Mission in China was founded in 1887 to assist missionary Erik Folke and his colleagues in Henan, Shanxi, and Shaanxi. It was an associated mission of

the China Inland Mission. In 1982 the Swedish Mission in China merged with the Swedish Mongol Mission to form the Evangeliska Östasienmissionen.

2. Svenska missionsförbundet (The Swedish Mission Union or Swedish Mission Covenant Church), since 2003 called Svenska Missionskyrkan, was engaged in missionary work in Central China since 1890. In Hubei the mission cooperated with the Covenant Missionary Society of the United States. Swedish Missionary Society commenced a separate work in the rather challenging environment of Xinjiang.

Switzerland

Archiv, mission 21, Evangelisches Missionswerk Basel, Missionsstrasse 21, Basel.

The Evangelical Missionary Society of Basel (or Basel Mission) was created in 1815 by the German Society for Christianity (Deutsche Christentums-Gesellschaft). With its headquarters in the Swiss border city of Basel, support for mission work and the workers in the field came principally from Switzerland, the southwestern German states, and Alsace. Encouraged by K. F. A. Gützlaff, the China work commenced in 1847. The Basel missionaries worked primarily among the Hakka 客家 in two areas of Guangdong: Hongkong and the mainland area opposite the island (referred to as *Unterland* in the Basel records) and the northeastern region of Guangdong along the East and Mei rivers (*Oberland*).

Online photographic collection: http://www.bmpix.org/

United Kingdom

Marchant, Leslie Ronald, *A Guide to the Archives and Records of Protestant Christian Missions from the British Isles to China 1796–1914*, Nedlands, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press, 1966.

This guide is largely out of date. For an introductory guide, see:

Seton, Rosemary, and Emily Naish (comps.), *A Preliminary Guide to the Archives of British Missionary Societies*, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1992.

A less detailed but up-to-date online guide to missionary archives in the United Kingdom is "MUNDUS: Gateway to Missionary Collections in the United Kingdom", URL: http://www.mundus.ac.uk

Archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.

Letters from foreign correspondents, including a large number from China, 1804–1897. The letters are mostly original 1804–1856, and mostly transcripts 1857–1897. They are to be found in the main Foreign Correspondence Inwards series D1/2, the copybooks D1/5–6, Agents Books D1/7, Editorial Correspondence Books E3/1. A name search can be made on Janus: http://janus.lib.cam.ac.uk/

The BFBS Archives also hold the Miscellaneous Papers of Alexander Wylie (BSA/F3/Wylie).

Archives, Manuscripts and Rare Books Division, The Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

The manuscript collections of several major British missionary societies as well as personal papers of former missionaries (e.g. James Legge, William Lockhart, David Hill) have been deposited in the SOAS archives. SOAS is the leading centre in the United Kingdom for mission studies.

Archives of the Council for World Mission (London Missionary Society). Archives, dated 1795–1970, including LMS work in China and and South East Asia, consisting of minutes, correspondence, reports, personal papers (e.g. Robert Morrison). See *The Archives of the Council for World Mission (incorporating the London Missionary Society); an Outline Guide*, SOAS, 1973. New guide in preparation.

Archives of the Methodist Missionary Society (mainly the collection of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society). See Elizabeth Bennett, *Guide to the Archives of the Methodist Missionary Society*, 1979.

Archives of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission). The collection consists of the CIM Minutes, 1872 to 1951, of the London Council of the CIM and of its Finance Committee; Minutes, 1886–1947 and 1951, of the mission's China Council; Registers of missionaries, some correspondence, private papers and various publications including *Chinese Missionary Gleaner* 1853–1959 and *China's Millions* 1875–1964. (Note that the records of the CIM

headquarters in Shanghai seem to have been lost or were destroyed when the CIM left mainland China.)

In a separate section are the substantial papers of the mission's founder, James Hudson Taylor (1832–1905) which include some records c. 1850–1860 of the Chinese Evangelization Society. Also, four boxes relating to the Chefoo Schools, founded by Hudson Taylor at Yantai 煙台, including registers of pupils. 161 boxes, 394 volumes. The records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission)—Collection 215, Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, IL, U.S.A.

See also Archives of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, United Kingdom; Records of the Australian Home Council, Library, Bible College of Victoria, Lilydale, Victoria, Australia; and Archives of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, OMF International, Singapore.

Archives of the Presbyterian Church of England, Foreign Missions Committee and Women's Missionary Association (English Presbyterian Mission). English Presbyterian Missionaries worked chiefly in southeastern China and Formosa (Taiwan), but not much pre-1900 material has survived.

Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, The Presbyterian Historical Society, Church House, Belfast, NORTHERN IRELAND.

The Irish Presbyterian Mission to China began in 1869. It was based in the southern part of Manchuria, or what is now Liaoning province.

Archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) was established in 1701 under royal charter to provide Anglican chaplains in the colonies. In 1874 SPG missionaries arrived in China to start missionary operations in Shandong and Zhili (now Hebei). It is now known as the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Baptist Missionary Society Collection, Library and Archives (Angus Library), Regent's Park College, Oxford.

The Baptist Missionary Society (BMS; originally known as the Particular Baptist Missionary Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, and since the year 2000 as BMS World Mission) was established in 1792. It was the first Protestant society to be founded

specifically for the purpose of overseas mission. The English Baptist Zenana Mission (EBZM) worked in China since 1893 in connection with the BMS.

The archival papers for the years 1860–1914 have been microfilmed and are available in several major libraries.

Baptist Missionary Society, *Papers Relating to China 1860–1914*, catalogued by Mary M. Evans, London: Baptist Missionary Society, [1965].

Special Collections, Main Library, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

The following significant collections with reference to Christianity in China are:

1. Church Missionary Society Archives, including the manuscript material of Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (founded 1880), the Female Education Society (founded 1834), and the Loochoo Naval Mission (founded 1843). See Rosemary Keen, "The Church Missionary Society archives", *Catholic Archives*, No. 12 (1992), pp. 21–31; Church Missionary Society, *Catalogue of the Papers of the China Missions 1834–1934*, catalogued by Christopher Jeens, London, 1980; and Rosemary Seton and Emily Naish, *A Preliminary Guide to the Archives of British Missionary Societies,* London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1992, pp. 19–32, 58–59, 86–87. Note that micropublication of the Church Mission Society Archive is being undertaken by Adam Matthews Publications; URL: http://www.adam-matthew-publications.co.uk/index.aspx for specific holdings and catalogues of papers. Searches can also be made via the university's Online Archive Catalogue, URL: http://calm.bham.ac.uk/DServeA/
2. Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers. Moule Family Papers. This collection comprises the personal papers of members of the Moule family as CMS missionaries in China and Japan, including the writings of China missionaries George Evans Moule and Arthur Evans Moule and six of their children followed them to work in Zhejiang province; Papers of Eleanor Harrison, Papers of Eliza Hope, Papers of Lilian Bull.
3. Dr Karl Gützlaff Collection, Papers of Richard Ball, manuscript correspondence and papers, including transcripts of addresses by Dr Karl Gützlaff, printed material including pamphlets and printed

correspondence, and photocopies, 1849–1853. The papers relate to Gützlaff's Chinese Union in Hong Kong, and also to the efforts of individual missionaries and missionary societies to evangelise China and Asia, including the Cassel Missionary Conference Respecting China, 1850, Gützlaff's visit to Europe, 1849–1850, the death of Gützlaff in August 1851 and the continuation of the Chinese Union in Hongkong, 1851–1853 These papers are kept in University of Birmingham Information Services, Orchard Learning Resources Centre, Selly Oak Campus (formerly Selly Oak Colleges).

National Library of Scotland, Manuscripts Division, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Archives of the Church of Scotland Board of World Mission. The Scottish Foreign Missions collection contains the surviving foreign mission records to 1929 of the churches which in that year reunited to form the Church of Scotland, namely the (Established) Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland. The latter was itself the product of the union in 1900 between the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church.

The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland had commenced missionary work in China in 1865. After some years in Ningbo, Zhejiang, and subsequently in eastern Shandong, the UPCS transferred its operations to Manchuria. The 'old' Church of Scotland established its mission at Yichang, Hubei province, in 1878.

Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World (CSCNWW), School of Divinity, New College, University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

The Church of Scotland China (Manchuria) Collection, 1870–c. 1986 (mainly to 1950), contains certain materials pertaining to the Foreign Mission Committees of the United Presbyterian Church, subsequently the United Free Church and the Church of Scotland concerned with Manchuria, China. In addition, the CSCNWW collection includes the personal papers of former China missionaries, among which are the papers of CIM missionary George William Clarke (1849–1899); Alfred James Broomhall (1911–1994); and copies of K. F. A. Gützlaff material.

Archives of the Friends Foreign Mission Association

The Library of the Religious Society of Friends, Friends House, London.

The first Quaker missionaries arrived in China in 1886 and settled first at Hanzhong, Shaanxi; in 1888 they moved to Chongqing, Sichuan. They helped set up West China Union University in Chengdu, Sichuan.

The National Archives (formerly Public Record Office), Kew, Richmond, Surrey.

Foreign Office Papers

1. FO 17. Foreign Office: Political and Other Departments: General Correspondence before 1906, British Legation, China.
2. FO 228: Consulates in China: General Correspondence to and from Legation, Series I.
3. FO 371: Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906–1966.
4. FO 677. Foreign Office: Superintendent of Trade, Legation, Peking, China: General Correspondence and Diaries, 1759–1874. (Complementary to FO 228).
5. Records of British Consulates in China:
   a.) FO 663: Consulate, Amoy [Xiamen 廈門]: General Correspondence (1834–66).
   b.) FO 665: Consulate, Foochow [Fuzhou 福州]: General Correspondence and Various Registers (1846–1946).
   c.) FO 666: Consulates, Hankow and Hangchow: General Correspondence and Various Registers (1865–1951).
   d.) FO 670: Consulate, Ningpo: General Correspondence and Various Registers (1843–1933).
   e.) FO 671: Consulate, Shanghai: General Correspondence (1845–1955).
   f.) FO 672: Consulate, Shanghai, China: Miscellanea (1836–1864).
   g.) FO 673: Consulate, Taku: General Correspondence and Various Registers (1862–1876).
   h.) FO 674: Consulate, Tientsin: General Correspondence, Various Registers and Supreme Court Records (1860–1952).
   i.) FO 678: Various Consulates, China: Deeds.

On the history and organisation of the Britsh consular service in China, see P. D. Coates, *The China Consuls: British Consular Officers, 1843–1943*, Hongkong: Oxford University Press, 1988.

The National Archives also hold copies of captured records of the German, Italian and Japanese Governments, 1839–1945 (available in microform). The following categories have data on Christianity and the missionary enterprise in China (the original records are in the German Foreign Office Archives in Berlin):

GFM 10 includes selections from:

GFM 10/42/3 to GFM 10/58/1. China No.20 No.1 Secreta. Beabsichtigte Erwerbungen der Grossmächte anlässlich des orientalisch [*sic*: chinesich]-japanischen Krieges. 1894–1912. 75 vols.

GFM 13 includes selections from:

(1) GFM 13/36 to GFM13/54. China No. 1. Schriftwechsel mit der Kaiserlichen Gesandtschaft . . . über die inneren Zustände und Verhältnisse Chinas. 1879–1917. 118 vols.
(2) GFM 13/84 to GFM 13/88.China 22. Kiautschou und die deutschen Interessen in Shantung. 1899–1919. 31 vols.
(3) GFM 13/142 to GFM 13/147. China 6. Stellung der chinesischen Regierung zur christlichen Kirche. 1885–1914. 51 vols.

This extensive microfilm collection, available in several major repositories, contains files relevant to the German missionary enterprise in China. For references, consult *A Catalogue of files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1867–1920* (Oxford, 1959).

See also Record Group 242 in the National Archives of the United States.

The United States

On the manuscripts and other materials available in the collections of the United States, the following publication is an essential guide:

Crouch, Archie, et al. (eds.), *Christianity in China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1989.

A revised and expanded edition of this guide, incorporating much new material, is forthcoming:

Wu, Xiaoxin (ed.), *Christianity in China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*, second edition, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 2009.

American Baptist Historical Society, 3001 Mercer University Dr., Atlanta, Georgia.

In 1814 the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions was established. Since delegates met every three years, the new organisation was called The Triennial Convention, and also the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. The name American Baptist Missionary Union (ABMU) was adopted in 1845 (after the Southern element had withdrawn to form the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention). In 1910 the ABMU changed its name to American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS), and is now known as the Board of International Ministries, American Baptist Churches. The China mission was started in the late 1830s.

Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Manuscript Department, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

The ABCFM was the first Protestant mission from the United States in China. The South China Mission was opened by Elija Coleman Bridgman in 1830. The Fujian Mission commenced the wake of the First Opium War. In 1860 another mission was started in northern China.

Archives of the American Presbyterian Missions (North and South)

In 1983 the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (UPCUSA), the so-called "northern branch", reunited with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (PCUS), the so-called "southern branch", to form the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). However, their archival collections are kept at separate locations. The material of the former Board of Foreign Missions of the northern Presbyterians is maintained at the Board of Foreign Missions at the Philadelphia Office of the **Presbyterian Historical Society**, Archives and Library, Philadelphia, PA. The northern Presbyterians had missions in Guangdong (including Hainan), Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Anhui, Hunan, Shandong and Zhili (now Hebei).

Finding aid: Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Board of Foreign Missions. Secretaries files: China Missions, 1891–1955. Record Group 82.

Online finding aid: URL: http://www.history.pcusa.org/finding/phs%2082.xml

For records before 1891, consult the general finding aids.

The archival material of the southern Presbyterians is found at the Montreat Office of the **Presbyterian Historical Society**, Montreat, NC. The mission of the southern Presbyerians was confined to Jiangsu province, exept for two stations in northern Zhejiang.

Archives, Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York, NY, U.S.A.

Relevant manuscript sources are part of the Missionary Research Library Collection which was founded in 1914 by John R. Mott following the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910. The China collection contains both institutional and personal papers, some of which pertain to the late Qing period.

In addion, the Missionary Research Library Archives, Section 12, hold the World Missionary Conference Records, Edinburgh, 1910. Finding Aid: URL: www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/img/assets/6398/MRL12_WMC_FA.pdf

Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois

The archives serve as repository of unpublished documents relating to mainly North American nondenominational Protestant mission work.

1. Records of the Woman's Union Missionary Society—Collection 379. Work began in China in 1869 with the opening of a girl's boarding school in Peking. This school merged with the Bridgman Memorial School in Shanghai in 1880. Dr. Elizabeth Reifsnyder established the Margaret Williamson Hospital in Shanghai in 1891, which later sponsored the Women's Christian Medical College.
2. Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), BGC Collection 215, Billy Graham Center. The North America Council of the China Inland Mission was created in 1901 as a recruitment and support agency in the United States and Canada. See also Archives of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, United Kingdom; Records of the Australian Home Council, Library, Bible College of Victoria, Lilydale, Victoria, Australia; and Archives of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, OMF International, Singapore.

3. A substantial collection of private papers, including the correspondence, diaries, manuscripts and oral histories of former China missionaries.
4. Major microfilm collections (Archives of the Baptist Missionary Society; Archives of the Council for World Mission, including the LMS collection; Methodist Missionary Society Archives).

For further details concerning the collections, especially the private papers, see Crouch, *Christianity in China*, pp. 106–115. More detailed informtion is available on the BGC website. Note that some of the oral history transcripts can be downloaded.

Christian and Missionary Alliance, **National Archives**, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Canadian-born Dr. Albert Benjamin Simpson established the Evangelical Missionary Alliance in 1887. The Evangelical Missionary Alliance became known as the International Missionary Alliance in 1889. In 1897 the International Missionary Alliance merged with the Christian Alliance to form the Christian and Missionary Alliance. Missionary operations in China started in the 1890s, focused on southern and central China as well as Gansu province. In northern China, the Mission established a promising work in northern Shanxi (outside the Great Wall) and the eastern plain of Mongolia. This work was assigned to a large contingent of Swedish workers.

Covenant Archives and Historical Library, The F. M. Johnson Archives and Special Collections, Brandel Library, North Park University, Chicago, Illinois.

The Covenant Church was founded by Swedish immigrants in the United States in 1885 as a voluntary covenant of churches committed to working together. Initially known as the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America, it is now known as the Evangelical Covenant Church. The Covenant Missionary Society supported mission work in Hubei in co-operation with other Swedish Lutheran groups since 1890.

Archives of the Disciples of Christ, Library, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Indianapolis, Indiana.

The first missionaries of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society, also called United Christian Missionary Society and Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), arrived in China in 1886.

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA), Region 3 Archives, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Hauge's Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church Mission Papers, Record Group 4.

General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church, United Methodist Archives and History Center Archives, Madison, New Jersey.

Electronic Guide to the Records of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, 1840–1912, 1912–1949: URL: http://www.gcah.org/inventory.htm The United Methodist Archives include:

1. Archives of the Board of Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church.
2. Archives of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South
3. Evangelical United Brethren Church (EUB) which was formed in 1946 by the merger of the Evangelical Church with the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

All the above organisations undertook missionary work in China.

Archives of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

The collections include the archives of the Domestic and Foreign Mission Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church (PEC), also known as the American Church Mission (ACM).

After two shortlived attempts in 1835 and 1841, permanent missionary work was started in Shanghai in 1845. Further stations were established along the Yangzi River, centred on Anqing and Wuhan.

Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin, Ohio.

In January of 1881, a group of twelve students, primarily from Oberlin's Graduate School of Theology, applied to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to volunteer their services as a group, the Oberlin Band, for mission work, preferably in China. The ABCFM approved the plan and between 1882 and 1900, American missionaries served at Taigu in Shanxi province under the auspices of ABCFM. At the height of the Boxer Uprising, the missionaries and many of their Chinese helpers and converts were killed.

Kong Xiangxi (H. H. Kung) 孔祥熙, an Oberlin graduate, was among those who escaped.

In addition to a number of personal papers, the Records of the Oberlin Shansi Memorial Association, 1890–1991, (Group 15), are held by the college archives.

Archives of the Reformed Church in America, Gardner A. Sage Library, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Initially the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Dutch Church worked under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in China, being represented by David Abeel 雅裨理 (1804–1846). Later this sending agency was known as the Reformed Church in America (RCA), Board of Foreign Missions. Autonomous China work began with the transfer of the ABCFM work in southern Fujian to the RCA under John Van Nest Talmage (1819–1892) 打馬字 in 1857.

Archives of the Reformed Church in the United States, Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Lancaster Central Archives and Library, Philip Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

The China work began in 1901 in Hunan province. In 1934 the Reformed Church in the U.S. united with the Evangelical Synod of North America to form the Evangelical and Reformed Church. The mission agency became the Evangelical and Reformed Church (Board of International Missions), which united with the General Council of the Congregational Churches in 1957 to become the United Church of Christ (Board of World Ministries).

Archives of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America, TEAM, Wheaton, Illinois.

The formation of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America (SAM) in 1890 was inspired by the Swedish-American evangelist Fredrik Franson. In January 1891 the first group of 35 missionaries embarked for China. SAM's work in Gansu and Shaanxi was affiliated with the China Inland Mission. The mission to the Mongols was maintained as a separate endeabour, not affiliated with the CIM. In 1949 the Scandinavian Alliance Mission changed its name to The Evangelical

Alliance Mission (TEAM). The archival material is uncatalogued and not easily accessible.

Library and Archives, Southern Baptist Convention Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.

Baptist missionaries from the southern United States had been in South China since 1836 (Jehu Lewis Shuck and Issachar Jacox Roberts). These missionaries came under the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) when it was organised in 1845. The SBC became one of the largest Protestant mission enterprises in China, with establishments in several regions of the country.

Interchurch Center, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY.

Most of the Library's archival records relating to missions are in book form, including pamphlet literature. Box # 4 (Individual Methodist missions) contains the records of Margaret Williamson Hospital & Woman's Christian Medical College (Shanghai). Methodist work in Shanghai dates back to the arrival there of medical missoinary Charles Taylor (1819–1897) in 1850. In a885 the nondenominational Woman's Union Missionary Society of American opened the Margaret Williamson Hospital for women and children, to which was joined the Shanghai Union School of Nursing in 1921. In 1924, the hospital and nursing school became the site for the Woman's Christian Medical College.

Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, U.S.A.

Among the manuscript collections are

1. ***xerox copies*** of original materials from the archives of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Canton administered by the Paris Foreign Missions Society (MEP). Approximately 10,000 documents, consisting of correspondence, reports, records and other printed materials in French, Latin, English, Italian, Chinese and Portuguese. Documents are arranged in tied bundles. For descriptions, see the online notes. URL: http://riccilibrary.usfca.edu/view.aspx?catalogID=3982
2. The archival material from Jinling 金鈴 (Gin-ling) Women's College (Nanjing), 20th century, was compiled by Sr. Madeleine Chi. Materials include the accomplishments and biographies of Zeng

Guofan's descendants, Zeng Baosun (great-granddaughter of Zeng Guofan), Zeng Jifen, Nie Jiguan, Zeng Jize, Zeng Jihong, Yu Dawei, Hao Gengsheng, Dorothy Kao (Gao Zi). Wu Yifang. Some official correspondence, list of materials from PRC archives, Matilda (Mrs. Lawrence) Thurston materials, Union Theological Mission Research Library, letters of personal wartime experience, articles (Chinese) on Wu Yifang, 1970–80's newsletters (English), Jinling Girls Middle School (Sanchong, Taipei) articles (Chinese), Mrs. New Way-seng and family, Li Mangui, Daisy Wu, Gao Zi photos and interview transcripts.

3. Manuscript (zipped computer files and printout) of the Marist Brothers correspondence concerning the China Mission, from 1891–1950 in sections: *Aurore de la Province de Chine: documents sur l'implantation des Frères Maristes en China, 1891–1896. Petit Historique de la Province de Chine (1891–1941)*, by Fr. Jean Émile (Marist Brothers). *Account of voyage from St. Genis Laval to St. Francis Xavier's College, Shanghai, 1895. Relation de mon voyage en Chine, a bord "Le Tourane"*, by Henri Inard, 1904, 1912.

   The Inard account can also be accessed on the internet: "La vie quotidienne à bord des paquebots des Messageries Maritimes: Un voyage de Marseille à Shangai en 1907 à bord du paquebot *Tourane*", récit sauvegardé et publié par Michel Inard. URL: http://www.es-conseil.fr/pramona/tourane2.html

Yale Divinity School Library Special Collections, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven, CT.

Yale Divinity School is the major repository of missionary collections in the United States. The archival collection contains archives of organisations, family papers, China Records Project, and microfilm and microfiche collections of missionary archives deposited in other repositories.

Smalley, Martha Lund (comp.), *Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections at the Yale Divinity School Library* (Yale Divinity School Library, Occasional Publications, No. 7), New Haven: Yale Divinity School Library, 1995.

See also the online Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections: URL: http://www.library.yale.edu/div/colgpers.htm (personal papers) http://www.library.yale.edu/div/colgarch.htm (organisations)

For an overview of the collections at Yale Divinity School, see also Crouch, pp. 40–55 (Special Collections) and pp. 55–58 (Library).

For a guide to mission pamphlets (formerly the Mission Pamphlets Collection), see:

Smalley, Martha Lund (comp.), *Mission Pamphlet Collection* (Record Group 31), Yale Divinity School Library, Archives and Manuscripts, New Haven: n.d.

1. *China Records Project Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection*, Record Group No. 8, Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library. The China Records Project Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection is an open collection. It currently contains material from more than 325 individuals, primarily Protestant missionaries to China. The time period covered is approximately from 1834 to 1998. The China Records Project was initiated by the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A in 1968. The aim of the project was to insure the preservation of the personal records of former missionaries to China and to provide a central repository where these papers would be available to historians. The Yale Divinity School Library was chosen as this central repository in 1969 and has continued to solicit and accept China-related papers since that time. In addition to the personal papers of former China missionaries, the project includes oral history transcripts.

   Guide to the China Records Project Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection, compiled by Nungshitula Jamir and Martha Lund Smalley, Yale University Library, 2004: http://webtext.library.yale.edu/xml2html/divinity.008.con.html#seriesN1340

Microfilm and microfiche collections

2. *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)*: Index of ABCFM archival material on microfilm: http://www.library.yale.edu/div/fa/ABCFM.htm

   Online index of ABCFM missionaries, with reel listing: Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: Missionary Index; Reel Listing": http://microformguides.gale.com/Data/Download/3097000R.pdf
3. *Baptist Missionary Society Archives*—Film Ms56; missionary journals and correspondence to 1914. For details, see http://www.library.yale.edu/div/fa/BMS.htm

4. *China Inland Mission* (Microfilm: Film Ms 397)
5. *Church Missionary Society*, Microfilm: Film Ms.109: CMS archives, filmed from originals at University of Birmingham and CMS headquarters. Includes surviving material of the *Church of England Zenana Missionary Society* and the *Society for Promoting Female Education in China, India and the East*. Section I: East Asia Missions.
6. *Council for World Mission* (Microfiche: Fiche Ms.59). Records of *London Missionary Society* and Commonwealth Missionary Society work in Africa, Asia, and South America (1795–1970). IDC Guide: http://www.idcpublishers.com/pdf/137_guide.pdf
7. *Methodist Church (U.S.)*, Board of Missions (Microfilm: Film Ms. 171, Film Ms. 186). Missionary correspondence from China, Japan, Korea, Mexico, South America, West Indies/Puerto Rico (1912–1949) (*Methodist Episcopal Church, North* and *South* merged to form Methodist Church in 1939); originals located at the General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church, Drew University. (149 reels)
8. *Methodist Episcopal Church*, Board of Foreign Missions (Microfilm: Film Ms. 170, Film Ms.184). Missionary correspondence from China, Japan, Korea, Mexico, South America, West Indies/ Puerto Rico (1846–1915); originals located at the General Commission on Archives and History, United Methodist Church (160 reels)
9. *Methodist Missionary Society* (Microfiche: Fiche Ms. 69). British Methodist mission agency, incorporating the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Women's Work, and Primitive Methodist Missionary Society, with work in Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, the Caribbean, and North American (1749–1948) (8,700+ fiche).
10. *Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, Board of Foreign Missions (Microfilm: Film Ms.11). Documentation of work in Africa, Asia, and South America (1833–1911). (298 reels). For Finding Aid, see Presbyterian Historical Society. Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Board of Foreign Missions. Secretaries files: China Missions, 1891–1955. Record Group 82. http://www.history.pcusa.org/finding/phs%2082.xml
11. *Presbyterian Church of England*, Foreign Missions Committee/ Women's Missionary Association (Microfiche: Fiche Ms.91). Documentation of work in China, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, and India (1847–1950). (2,841 fiche).

Yale University, Department of Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Library, 120 High Street, New Haven, Connecticut.

Several collections of family papers, including the Samuel Wells Williams Family Papers (MS 547); Records of the Yale-China Association (YRG 37–A), 1869–1976.

National Archives and Records Service (NARA), College Park, Maryland.

State Department Records in the National Archives:

A. Central File. Record Group 59. General Records of the Department of State. (available on microfilm). All State Department correspondence with U.S. diplomatic and consular offices in foreign countries, with foreign diplomatic and consular offices in the United States, and almost all other State Department correspondence and memorandums, are in the central file.
   1. Despatches from United States Ministers to China, 1843–1866. Vols. 1–23 (Microcopy 92).
   2. Diplomatic Instructions of the Department of State, 1801–1906. (Microcopy 77).

These series were discontinued in 1906 when the Department of State adopted the practice of filing incoming and outgoing correspondence by subject, the State Department Decimal File.

Many of the records, reports from American diplomatic and consular representatives, are also useful for the study of the missionary enterprise in China.

   3. Despatches to the Department of State from United States Consular Officals in:
      a. Amoy [Xiamen], 1844–1906 (Microcopy 100)
      b. Antung [Andong], Manchuria, 1904–1906 (Microcopy 447)
      c. Canton [Guangzhou], 1790–1906 (Microcopy 101)
      d. Chefoo [Yantai], 1863–1906 (Microcopy 102)
      e. Chinkiang [Zhenjiang], 1864–1902 (Microcopy 103)
      f. Chungking [Chongqing], 1896–1906 (Microcopy 104)
      g. Foochow [Fuzhou], 1849–1906 (Microcopy 105)
      h. Hangchow [Hangzhou], 1904–1906 (Microcopy 106)
      i. Hankow [Hankou, now part of Wuhan], 1861–1906 (Microcopy 107)

j. Hong Kong [Xianggang], 1844–1906 (Microcopy 108)
k. Macao [Aomen], 1849–1869 (Microcopy 109)
l. Mukden [Shenyang], 1904–1906 (Microcopy 457)
m. Nanking [Nanjing], 1902–1906 (Microcopy 110)
n. Newchwang [Yingkou], 1865–1906 (Microcopy 115)
o. Ningpo, 1853–1896 (Microform 111)
p. Shanghai, 1847–1906 (Microform 112)
q. Swatow [Swatow], 1860–1881 (Microcopy 113)
r. Tientsin [Tianjin], 1868–1906 (Microcopy 114)

B. Records of Foreign Service Posts. Record Group 84 (manuscripts in bound volumes). These are records originally filed at American embassies, legations and consulates. Not all the U.S. consular archives were transferred from China to the United States and may now be lost.
1. United States Legation in China, 1843–.
2. Consular Records for Amoy [Xiamen], 1885–1914.
3. Consular Records for Antung [Andong], Manchuria, 1904–1927.
4. Consular Records for Canton [Guangzhou], 1845–1948.
5. Consular Records for Chefoo [Yantai], 1854–1942.
6. Consular Records for Chungking [Chongqing], 18??–1949.
7. Consular Records for Hankow [Hankou, now part of Wuhan], 1861–1915.
8. Consular Records for Hong Kong [Xianggang], 1858–1935.
9. Consular Records for Kiukiang [Jiujiang], 1862–1877.
10. Consular Records for Kunming, 1922–1943.
11. Consular Records for Mukden [Shenyang], 1906–1936.
12. Consular Records for Nanking [Nanjing], 1911–1948.
13. Consular Records for Newchwang [Yingkou], 1862–1915.
14. Consular Records for Shanghai, 1851–1949.
15. Consular Records for Swatou [Shantou], 1861–1941.
16. Consular Records for Taipei (Taihoku in Japanese), 1887–1912.
17. Consular Records for Tientsin [Tianjin], 1862–1949.
18. Consular Records for Tsinan [Ji'nan], 1918–1940.
19. Consular Records for Tsingtao [Qingdao], 1906–1948.

The *Foreign Relations of the United States* (*FRUS*), Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, series presents the official documentary historical record of major U.S. foreign policy decisions and significant

diplomatic activity. The series, which is produced by the State Department's Office of the Historian, began in 1861. Some of the printed volumes contain reports concerning missionaries, especially at the time of the Boxer Uprising in China.

National Archives Collection of Foreign Records Seized (Record Group 242)

Captured German Records Microfilmed at Whaddon Hall, U.K.; microfilm publications of records of the German Foreign Ministry, 1867–1945.

This extensive microfilm collection, available in several major repositories, contains files relevant to the German missionary enterprise in China. For references, consult *A Catalogue of files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1867–1920* (Oxford, 1959).

This collection is also available in The National Archives of the United Kingdom.

1.3. Secondary Sources and Reference Works

1.3.1. *Bibliographies*

Sinology

For general and specialised Western, Chinese, or Japanese bibliographies in the field of sinology, see:

Cordier, Henri (comp.), *Bibliotheca Sinica: Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire chinoise*, Paris: Leroux, 1878–1895. 2 vols. and supplement.
2nd, revised and augmented edition: Paris: E. Guilmoto, 1904–1908. 4 vols.
Repr. with a supplementary vol. 5, Paris: P. Geuthner, 1922–1924. The 5-volume set was in turn reprinted: Beijing, 1938/39; Taibei, 1966; New York: Franklin, 1968.
Author Index (based on the edition in five volumes), compiled, issued and distributed by The East Asiatic Library, Columbia University Libraries, New York, 1953.

Gordon, Leonard H. D., and Frank Joseph Shulman (eds.), *Doctoral Dissertations on China: A Bibliography of Studies in Western Languages, 1945–1970*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1972.
For continuation, see Shulman.

Hoffmann, Rainer, *Bücherkunde zur chinesischen Geschichte, Kultur und Gesellschaft* (Arnold-Bergstrasser-Institut: Materialien zur Entwicklung und Politik, 2), Munich: Weltforum Verlag, 1973.

Fairbank, John King, Masataka Banno, and Sumiko Yamamoto, *Japanese Studies of Modern China; A Bibliographical Guide to Historical and Social-Science Research on the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (Harvard-Yenching Institute studies, 26), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Kamachi, Noriko, Chūzō Ichiko and John King Fairbank, *Japanese Studies of Modern China Since 1953: A Bibliographical Guide to Historical and Social Science Research on the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Supplementary Volume for 1953–1969*,

Cambridge, Mass., and London: Published by East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1975.
Note Section 6.6.: Christianity in Modern China, pp. 297–304.

Lowe, C. H., (comp.), *Notable Books on Chinese Studies: A Selected, Annotated, and Subject-divided Bibliographic Guide*, compiled and edited, with introductory essays, by C. H. Lowe. Taibei: China Printing, Ltd., 1978.

Ma Zhao 馬釗 (ed.), *1971–2006 nian Meiguo Qing shi lunzhu mulu* 1971–2006 年美國清史論著目錄 (Bibliography of Qing history research published in the United States, 1971–2006), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2007.
This reference book was produced under the auspices of The National Committee for the Compilation of Qing History in China. It contains citations for monographs, journal articles, articles from conference volumes and Ph.D. dissertations that were produced on various topics in Qing history between 1971 and 2006.

Shulman, Frank Joseph (ed.), *Doctoral Dissertations on China, 1971–1975: A Bibliography of Studies in Western Languages*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978.
Continued in Frank Joseph Shulman (ed.), *Disssertations on Asia*, published semiannually for the Association for Asian Studies by Xerox University Microfilms, starting with Vol. 1.1 (Winter 1975).

Skachkov, Petr Emel'ianovich, *Bibliografiia Kitaia*, 2nd ed., Moscow: Izd-vo vos. Lit-ry, 1960. First published in 1932.

Skinner, G[eorge] William (ed.), *Modern Chinese Society: An Analytical Bibliography* 近代中國社會研究: 論著類目索引, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973. 3 vols.
Vol. 1. *Publications in Western language, 1644–1972*, edited by G[eorge] William Skinner, assisted by Deborah B. Honig and Edwin A. Winckler.
Vol. 2. *Publications in Chinese, 1644–1969*, edited by G. William Skinner and Winston Hsieh, assisted by John R. Ziemer.
Vol. 3. *Publications in Japanese, 1644–1971*, edited by G. William Skinner and Shigeaki Tomita, assisted by John R. Ziemer.

Taylor, Louise Marion (comp.), *Catalog of Books on China in the Essex Institute*, Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1926.
The collection now forms part of the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass., U.S.A.

Teng Ssu-yü [Deng Siyu 鄧嗣禹], *Protest and Crime in China: A Bibliography of Secret Associations, Popular Uprisings, Peasant Rebellions*, New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1981.

Tsien Tsuen-hsuin (comp.), *China: An Annotated Bibliography of Bibliographies*, compiled by Tsuen-hsuin Tsien in collaboration with James K. M. Cheng, Boston: G. K. Hall, 1978.

Yuan Tung-li, *China in Western Literature: A Continuation of Cordier's Bibliotheca Sinica*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958.

Zurndorfer, Harriet, *China Bibliography: A Research Guide to Reference Works about China Past and Present*, Leiden: Brill, 1995.

For essays introducing the history of the late Qing dynasty, consult *The Cambridge History of China* (Dennis Twitchett & John K. Fairbank, general editor):

Vol. 10, John K. Fairbank (ed.), *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911*, part I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 11 chapters with thematic introductions: the old order, dynastic decline and the roots of rebellion, Opium War, treaty system, Taiping rebellion, Qing restoration, self-strengthening. See especially Paul A. Cohen, "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900", pp. 543–590 and bibliographical notes on pp. 611–614.

Vol. 11, John K. Fairbank and Kwang-Ching Liu (eds.), *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911*, Part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 10 chapters with thematic introductions: economic trends in the late Qing empire, foreign relations, military challenges, intellectual change, reforms and revolution.

Christianity in China

Although the data is by no means complete, the most comprehensive bibliographic reference work on Catholic missions in the late Qing empire is the *Bibliotheca Missionum*. The principal monographs and articles published each year from 1800 to 1909 with reference to China are found in the following volumes:

Streit, Robert, continued by Johannes Dindinger, Johannes Rommerskirchen, Josef Metzler and Nikolaus Kowalsky (eds.), *Bibliotheca Missionum* (*BM*),
Vol. I, *Grundlegender und allgemeiner Teil*, Münster: Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, 1916.
Vol. VII, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur 1700–1799*, Aachen: Franziskus Xaverius Missionsverein, 1931 (repr. Rom / Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1965).
Vol. XII, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1800–1884*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1958.
vol. XIII, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1885–1909*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1959.

Bibliografia Missionaria, compiled by Johannes Rommerskirchen and others (Rome); published annually since 1933 by Unione Missionaria del Clero in Italia; starting with Vol. 12 (1948) by Pontificia Biblioteca Missionaria di Propaganda Fide; with Vol. 34 (1970) by Pontificia Biblioteca Missionaria della Sacra Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli. For details on the earlier volumes, see *BM* XXII, pp. xxi–xxii.

Bibliographies by individual modern authors

Chao, Jonathan T'ien-en, *A Bibliography of the History of Christianity in China: A Preliminary Draft*, Waltham, Mass.: China Graduate School of Theology, preface dated 1970.

Chu, Clayton H., *American Missionaries in China. Books, Articles and Pamphlets Extracted from the Subject Catalogue of the Missionary Research Library*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. 3 vols.

Hayford, Charles, W., *American China Missions: An Introductory Bibliography*, (Evanston, Ill., 2003). URL: http://www.library.yale.edu/div/ChinaMissionsBibliog.pdf

The voluminous writings of the long-lived Jesuit priest (later bishop) Manuel Teixeira (1912–2003), focusing primarily on the history of the church and society in Macao, are listed in an online bibliography prepared by the Macao Central Library:

Catálogo da Bibliografia do Monsenhor Manuel Teixeira. Coleccionada pela Biblioteca Central de Macau. URL: http://www.library.gov.mo/ManuelTC/pmain2.htm

Catholic congregations

Dominicans

González, José María, *Historia de las Misiones Dominicanas de China*, vol. 5: *Bibliografias*, Madrid: Juan Bravo, 1967.

Lazarists

Congrégation de la Mission (Lazaristes), *Répertoire historique contenant la liste des supérieurs de la Congrégation de la Mission et de la Compagnie des Filles de la*

Charité; le tableau des Assemblées Générales et des établissements, etc.; une liste des Actes Apostoliques se rapportant aux deux communautés de Saint-Vincent de Paul et la Table Générale des Annales de la Congrégation e la Mission depuis leur origine jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1899, Paris: La Procure de la Congrégation de la Mission, 1900.

Of particular interest is the annotated index to the *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission*, with reference to China.

Missions Etrangères de Paris

Moussay, Gérard, and Annie Salavert, *Bibliographie des Missions étrangères: civilisations, religions et langues de l'Asie*, Paris: Indes savantes, 2008.

Protestants in General

Wylie, Alexander, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese; Giving a List of Their Publications, and Obituary Notices of the Deceased, with Copious Indexes*, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867; repr. Taibei: Ch'eng Wen, 1967.

British and Foreign Bible Society

British and Foreign Bible Society, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles*, London: 1911.

Bibliography of mission and church histories

The Cambridge History of Christianity. Volume 8: *World Christianities ca. 1815–c. 1914*, edited by Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

This volume provides useful background discussions of such topics as religious revivals in Europe and North America, the rise or re-emergence of the missionary spirit and the nineteenth-century histories of Christianity in various parts of the world. Chapter 30, "Christianity in East Asia: China, Korea and Japan", has been prepared by Daniel H. Bays and James H. Grayson.

Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission, edited by Stephen Neill, Gerald H. Anderson and John Goodwin, London: Lutterworth Press, 1970; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971.

A Dictionary of Asian Christianity, edited by Scott W. Sunquist, Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001.

"This dictionary is the first basic reference work for the study of Asian Christianity in the past and at present. Describing Christianity in the region from Pakistan to Japan and from Mongolia to Indonesia, this volume's 1,260 signed articles include biographies of important Asian church leaders as well as reliable, up-to-date information on the political, cultural, and religious movements that have shaped the Christian faith in this part of the world."

Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione, edited by Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca, 10 vols., Rome: Edizioni Paoline. 1974–2003.

This multi-volume reference work provides background information on most Catholic religious institutes, with references to missionary works in China. In addition to foreign Catholic religious communities of men and women, *DIP* has brief entries on Chinese religious sisterhoods and associations, some of which were founded during the last decades of the Qing dynasty.

Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions, Camden, N.J.: T. Nelson, 1967.
Alphabetical listing of mission sending agencies. Although outdated, it provides useful information on the historical development and name changes of the agencies.
Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions, edited by A. Scott Moreau, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 2000.

General histories of Christianity in China

Charbonnier, Jean, *Histoire des Chrétiens de Chine*, Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2002.
English translation: *Christians in China: A.D. 600 to 2000*, tr. M. N. L. Couve de Murville, San Francisco: 2007.
Chinese translation: Sha Baili 沙百里, *Zhongguo jidutu shi* 中國基督徒史, Taibei: Guangqi wenhua shiye 光啓文化事業, 2005.
Gu Changsheng 顧長聲, *Chuanjiao shi yu jindai Zhongguo* 傳教士與近代中國 (Missionaries and modern China), 1st, 2nd and 3rd editions (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1981; 1991; 2004).
With each new edition, the author has moderated his ideological line.
Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *A history of Christian missions in China*, Taipei 臺北: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co. 成文出版社, 1973. Reprint. Originally published: London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929.
Tang Qing 湯清 [Christopher Tang], *Zhongguo Jidujiao bainian shi* 中國基督教百年史 (The first hundred years of Protestant mission in China), Hongkong and Taibei: Daosheng Publishing House, 1987. 2nd ed. 2001.
This work covers the first hundred years of Protestantism in China.
Whyte, Bob, *Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity*, London: Collins Fount Paperbacks, 1988.
Yamamoto, Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China: The Indigenization of Christianity*, Tokyo: Tōhō Gakkai, 2000.
Zhongguo Jidujiao sanzi aiguo yundong weiyuanhui 中國基督教三自愛國運動委員會; Zhongguo Jidujiao lianhui 中國基督教協會 (eds.), *Chuanjiao yundong yu Zhongguo jiaohui* 傳教運動與中國教會 (The missionary movement and the Chinese church), Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2007.
A collection of articles published by the Three-Self Patriotic Movement of China and the China Christian Council to provide a different perspective on the 200th anniversary of the arrival of Robert Morrison in China (1807).

Bibliography of histories of selected Catholic mission societies

During the first half of the nineteenth century a number of religious orders, congregations and societies (Franciscans, Dominicans, Lazarists, Jesuits, Paris Foreign Missionary Society) resumed their apostolate in China. During the second half of that century several new new societies (Milian missionaries, Scheut fathers, Steyl missionaries), established specifically for missionary work, entered the China field. More would follow after 1900. The following works provide brief introductions to the various religious institutes:

Arens, Bernard, *Handbuch der katholischen Missionen*, 2nd, rev. ed., Freiburg: Herder & Co, 1925.
French edition:
Arens, Bernard. *Manuel des missions Catholiques*. Louvain: Éditions du Museum Lessianum, 1925.
Day, Peter, *A Dictionary of Religious Orders*, Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 2005.

Heimbucher, Max Josef. *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*, 3rd, rev. ed., 2 vols. Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1933–34. Repr. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoningh; Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1965.

Jesuits

[Bernard, Henri], *La Compagnie de Jésus en Chine. L'Ancien vicariat apostolique du Tchéli sud-est—ses filiales, ses annexes*, Tianjin: Procure de la Mission de Sienhsien, 1940.

Bortone, Fernando, *Lotte e trionfi in Cina: i Gesuiti nel Ciannan, nel Celì e nel Cuantun: dal loro ritorno in Cina alla divisione del Ciannan in tre missioni indipendenti (1842–1922)*, Casamari/Veroli: Tip. dell'Abbazia, 1975.
A history of the new Jesuit missions in Jiangnan, Zhili (Hebei) and Guangdong.

Colombel, Augustin-M., *L'histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan*. Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission catholique à l'Orphelinat de T'ou-sè-weè, 1899. (Autographié). 3 parts in 5 vols. Part III, vol. 2: 1644–1840; Part III, vol. 3: 1840–1865, contain obituaries of deceased Jesuits in the Jiangnan Mission.

La Servière, Joseph de, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiangnan: Jésuites de la Province de France (Paris) (1840–1899)*. Tome I. *Jusqu'à l'établissement d'un vicaire apostolique jésuite (1840–1856)*. Tome II. *Mgr Borgniet (1856–1862), Mgr Languillat (1864–1878)*, Zikawei, Shanghai: Mission Catholique, 1914. A third volume exists in manuscript form.

Chinese translation: Shi Shihui 史式徽; Tianzhujiao Shanghai jiaoqu shiliao yixiezu yi 天主教上海教區史料譯寫組譯, *Jiangnan chuanjiao shi* 江南傳教史, Shanghai: Shanghai yiwen chubanshe, 1983. 2 vols.

La Servière, Joseph de, *La nouvelle mission du Kiang-Nan (1840–1922)*, Shanghai: Orphelinat de T'ou-sè-wè, 1925.

Renaud, Rosario, *Süchow, Diocèse de Chine, 1882–1931*, Montreal: Les Editions Bellarmin, 1955.

Note that Bortone and Renaud had access to the voluminous Jesuit archives at Xujiahui just before they became inaccessible after 1950. As concerns the Xujiahui institutions, see the following glossy illustrated bilingual publication:

Song Haojie 宋浩杰, Zhou Xiufen 周秀芬 et al. (eds.), *Lishi shang de Xujiahui* 歷史上的徐家匯—*Zikawei in History*, Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 2005.

Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists; Vincentians)

Ferreux, Octave. *Histoire de la Congrégation de la Mission en Chine (1699–1950)*. Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission, t. 127. Paris: [Maison-Mère de la Congrégation de la Mission], 1963.
Chinese translation (by Wu Zongwen 吳宗文): *Qianshi hui zai Hua chuanjiao shi* 遣使會在華傳教史, Taibei: Huaming shuju 華明書局, 1977.

Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission. Edited by Gabriel Perboyre CM (cousin of the martyred China missionary Jean-Gabriel Perboyre CM). Paris: Maison principale de la Congrégation de la Mission, 1863–1867. 9 vols.
A new, revised, augmented and expurgated edition pertaining to China was prepared by Alfred Milon CM after 1900: *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission (Lazaristes). La Congrégation de la Mission en Chine*. 3 vols.
Vol. 1, *Les premiers prêtres de la mission en Chine au XVIIIème*, Nouvelle éd., rev., augm. et continuée, Paris: Procure de la Congrégation de la Mission, 1911.
Vol. 2, *La mission française de Pekin*, Nouvelle éd., rev., augm. et continuée, Paris: Procure de la Congrégation de la Mission, 1912.

Vol. 3, *Les vicariats apostoliques (depuis 1831)*, nouvelle éd., rev., augm. et continuée. *Paris*: Procure de la Congrégation de la Mission, 1922.
Thomas, A. [pseudonym of Jean-Marie Planchet], *Histoire de la Mission de Pékin depuis l'arrivée des Lazaristes jusqu'à la révolte des boxeurs*, Paris: tirage privée, 1925.

Dominicans

Fernandez, Pablo, *One Hundred Years of Dominican Apostolate in Formosa (1859–1958)*. Extracts from the Sino-Annamite letters, Dominican missions and Ultramar; compiled and edited by Pablo Fernández and translated into English by Félix B. Bautista and Lourdes Syquia-Bautista (Quezon City, 1959).
Gentili, Tommaso Maria, *Memorie di un missionario domenicano nella Cina*, Rome: Tip. Poliglotta, 1887–1888. 3 vols.
González, José María, *Historia de las Misiones Dominicanas de China*. Vol. 3: *1800–1900*, Madrid, 1960.

Franciscans

Camps, Arnulf, and Pat McCloskey, *The Friars Minor in China (1294–1955), especially the years 1925–55*, based on the research of Friars Bernward Willeke and Domenico Gandolfi, OFM, Rome: General Secretariate for Missionary Evangelization, General Curia, Order of Friars Minor, 1995.
Cerasa, Nicola, *Breve storia della missione di Taiyuan Shansi Cina*, Roma: Provincia Romana dei Frati Minori, 1988.
Dujardin, Carine, *Missionering en moderniteit. De Belgische minderbroeders in China 1872–1940*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996.
Gubbels, Noël, *Trois siècles d'apostolat. Histoire du catholicisme au Hu-kwang depuis les origines 1587 jusqu'à 1870*, Wuchang: Imprimeur 'Franciscan Press', 1934; Paris, 1934.
Lange, Vitalis, *Das Apostolische Vikariat Tsinanfu. Franziskanische Missionsarbeit in China*, Werl: Provinzial-Missionsverwaltung, 1929.
Ricci, Joannes [Giovanni], *Vicariatus Taiyuanfu, seu, Brevis historia antiquae franciscanae missionis Shansi et Shensi a sua origine ad dies nostros (1700–1928)*, Pekini: [ex typographia] Congregationis Missionis, 1929.
Timmer, Odoricus, *Het Apostolisch Vicariaat van Zuid-Shansi in de eerste vijf-en-twintig jaren van zijn bestaan (1890–1915)*. Gedenkschrift samengesteld door Odoricus Timmer, Leiden: Théonville, 1915.

Franciscan Missionaries of Mary (FMM)

Yuen Sau-Mei, Teresa, [Ruan Xiumei] 阮秀美, "Maliya fangji chuanjiao xiuhui zai Hua zhi chuanjiao shiye" 瑪利亞方濟傳教修會在華之傳教事業 (The Franciscan Missionaries of Mary in China); Master of Philosophy dissertation, Department of Chinese, University of Hong Kong, 1994.

Helpers of the Holy Souls; Auxiliatrices des Ames du Purgatoire (SA)

Du Passage, Henri, *Seng-Mou-Yeu, Le Jardin de la Sainte Mère: fleurs vivantes au pays des bambous, Auxiliatrices des Âmes du Purgatoire*, Paris: Dillen & Cie, 1931.
Six sisters of the Helpers of the Holy Souls arrived in Shanghai in 1867 and took charge of the *Shengmu yuan* 聖母院 at Xujiawei, where they undertook the superintendence of a congregation of Chinese Catholic 'virgins' and widows; the preparation of converts for reception into the Church; the direction of a native orphanage

and of European schools for the wealthier classes. The Chinese community of religious women, known as Présentandines 聖母獻堂會, were trained by the Helpers.

Missions Étrangères de Paris (Paris Foreign Missions; MEP)

Launay, Adrien, *Histoire generale de la societe des missions-etrageres*, Paris: Pierre Tequi, 1894. 3 vols. Facsimile reproduction, Paris: Missions Étrangères de Paris, Les Indes savantes, 2003.
Launay, Adrien, *Histoire de la Mission du Thibet*, Lille: Desclée, de Brower et Cie., 1903, 2 vols. Facsimile reproduction, Paris: Missions Étrangères de Paris, Les Indes savantes, 2001.
Launay, Adrien, *Histoire des missions de Chine: Mission du Kouang-Si*, Paris: 1903. Facsimile reproduction, Paris: Missions Étrangères de Paris, Les Indes savantes, 2002.
Launay, Adrien, *Histoire des missions de Chine: mission du Kouy-Tcheou*, [Paris]: Société des missions étrangères, 1907–1908. 3 vols. Facsimile reproduction, Paris: Missions Étrangères de Paris, Les Indes savantes, 2002.
Launay, Adrien, *Histoire des Missions de Chine: Mission du Kouang-Tong: monographies des districts*, Paris: Tequi, 1917. Facsimile reproduction, Paris: Missions Étrangères de Paris, Les Indes savantes, 2002.
Launay, Adrien, *Histoire des Missions de Chine. Mission du Setchoan*, 2 vols., Paris: Téqui, 1920. Facsimile reproduction, Paris: Missions Étrangères de Paris, Les Indes savantes, 2002.
Guennou, Jean, *Missions Etrangères de Paris*, Paris: Apostolat des éditions, 1963.
Launay, Marcel, and Gérard Moussay, *Les Missions Étrangères: trois siècles et demi d'histoire et d'aventure en Asie*, Paris: Perrin, 2008.
Moussay, Gérard, & Brigitte Appavou, *État de la Société des Missions Étrangères: 1658–1998, ordre chronologique*, Paris: Eglises d'Asie, 1998.

Milan Foreign Missions (MEM)

Tragella, Giovanni Battista, *Le Missioni Estere di Milano nel quadro degli avvenimenti contemporanei*, 3 vols., Milano: Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere, 1950–1963.
Lazzarotto, Angelo, "The Lombard Seminary for Foreign Missions in Hong Kong and Henan", in: Agostino Giovagnoli and Elisa Giunipero (eds.), *The Catholic Church and the Chinese World: Between Colonialism and Evangelization (1840–1911)*,Roma: Urbaniana University Press, 2005), pp. 155–177.
Cannone, Domenico, *L'evangelizzazione della provincia cinese del Ho-Nan nella seconda metà del secolo XIX*, Napoli: Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere, 1986). Exc. diss. (Miss. D.), Pontificia Università Urbaniana.

Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM); Scheut Fathers

Gu Weiying 古偉瀛 (ed.), *Saiwai chuanjiao shi* 塞外傳教史 (Mission beyond the Great Wall), Taibei: Guangqi wenhua shiye, 2002.
Taveirne, Patrick, *Han-Mongol Encounters and Missionary Endeavors: A History of Scheut in Ordos (Hetao) 1874–1911*, (Leuven Chinese Studies, 15), Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K.U. Leuven and Leuven University Press, 2004.
Verhelst, Daniël, and Hyacinth Daniëls (eds.), *Scheut vroeger en nu: geschiedenis van de Congregatie van het Onbevlekt Hart van Maria C.I.C.M.*, Leuven: Universitaire pers Leuven, 1991.
Verhelst, Daniël, and Hyacinth Daniëls and Raymond Renson (eds.), *Scheut hier et aujourd'hui 1862—1987: histoire de la Congrégation du Coeur Immaculé de Marie C.I.C.M.* (Verbistiana: Studia Congregationis Immaculati Cordis Mariae, 3), Louvain: Presses universitaires de Louvain, 1993.

Verhelst, Daniël, and Nestor Pycke (eds.), *CICM Missionaries: Past and Present, 1862–1987*, (Verbistiana, 4), Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1995.

Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres (SPC)

Vaudon, Jean, *Histoire générale de la Communauté des Filles de Saint-Paul de Chartres*, Paris: Téqui, 1922–1927. 3 vols.

Sisters of Providence (Portieux) (CP)

Cinquante ans d'apostolat, 1875–1925. Les Soeurs de la Providence de Portieux en Mandchourie, Hongkong, 1925.

Society of the Divine Word (SVD); Steyl missionaries

Bornemann, Fritz, *Der selige P. J. Freinademetz 1852–1908. Ein Steyler Chinamissionar. Ein Lebensbild nach zeitgenössischen Quellen*, Bozen: Freinademetz-Haus, 1977. Although this is primarily a biography of the SVD missionary Josef Freinademetz (canonised in 2003), the book provides much historical background information. The English-language version comes without the detailed endnotes and the copious appendices:

Bornemann, Fritz, *As Wine Poured Out: Blessed Joseph Freinademetz SVD: Missionary in China 1879–1908*, tr. John Vogelgesang. Rome: Divine Word Missionaries, 1984.

Hartwich, Richard, *Steyler Missionare in China. I. Missionarische Erschliessung Südshantungs 1879–1903. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte* (Studia Instituti Missiologici Verbi Divini, 32), St. Augustin: Steyler Verlag, 1983.

Hartwich, Richard, *Steyler Missionare in China. II. Bischof A. Henninghaus ruft Steyler Schwestern 1904–1910. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte* (Studia Instituti Missiologici Verbi Divini, 36), Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1985.

Kuepers, J. J. A. M., *China und die katholische Mission in Süd-Shantung 1882–1900. Die Geschichte einer Konfrontation*, Steyl, 1974.

Canossian Daughters of Charity (FDCC)

The Centenary of the Canossian missions in the Far East, 1860–12th April–1960, Hongkong: printed Tang King Po School, [1960?].

Cinquant'Anni di Apostolato delle Madri Canossiane di Han-Kow (Cina) 1868–1918. Per cura dell'Associazione Nazionale per soccorrere i Missionari Italiani all'Estero, Milano: Istituto delle Missioni Estere, 1919.

Rossoni, Maria, "The Canossian Sisters", in: Agostino Giovagnoli and Elisa Giunipero (eds.), *The Catholic Church and the Chinese World: Between Colonialism and Evangelization (1840–1911)*, Roma: Urbaniana University Press, 2005, pp. 235–252.

St. Joseph's School 1911–1936. Catholic Mission Hankow, Hankow: Catholic Mission Press, n.d.

Teixeira, Manuel, *As Canossianas na diocese de Macau. I centenário (1874–1974)*, Macau: Missão do Padroado, 1974.

Bibliography of histories of selected Protestant missionary societies

American Baptist Missionary Union (ABMU), from 1910 known as the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS)

Torbet, Robert G., *Venture of Faith; The Story of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1814–1954.* With a Foreword by Jesse R. Wilson, Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1955.

Gallimore, Arthur Raymond 賈理模 et al., *Jinhui zai Hua budao bai nian lüe shi* 浸會在華佈道百年略史 (Brief historical sketches of Baptist missions in China, 1836–1936), Shanghai: Zhonghua Jinhui shuju, 1936. 2nd Chinese ed., edited by Lila Florence Watson [Wu Lile 吳立樂] and revised by Princeton S. Hsu 徐松石, Kowloon, Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1970.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

Carlson, Ellsworth C., *The Foochow Missionaries, 1847–1880*, Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1974.

Matthews, Harold Shepard (comp.), *The Foochow Mission of the American Board, 1847–1951: Including the Shaowu Mission, 1918–1949*, Claremont, Calif., 1970.

Matthews, Harold Shepard (comp.), *Seventy-five years of the North China Mission*, Peking: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1942.

American Presbyterians

Bear, James Edwin, Jr., "The Mission Work of the Presbyterian Church of the United States in China: 1867–1952". 5 vols. Unpublished manuscript, William Smith Morton Library, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia

Brown, G. Thompson, *Earthen Vessels and Transcendent Power: American Presbyterians in China, 1837–1952*, New York: Orbis Books, 1997.
This volume covers the missionary work in China of the American Presbyterians (North) and American Presbyterians (South).

Baptist Missionary Society

Stanley, Brian, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792–1992*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992.

Williamson, H[enry] R[aymond], *British Baptists in China 1845–1952*, London: The Carey Kingsgate Press, 1957.

Basel Missionary Society

Klein, Thoralf, *Die Basler Mission in Guangdong (Südchina) 1859–1931* (Erfurter Reihe zur Geschichte Asiens, 3), Munich: IUDICIUM Verlag, 2002.

Schlatter, Wilhelm, *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1815–1915*. Vol. 2: *Die Geschichte der Basler Mission in Indien und China*, Basel: Missionsverlag, 1916.

Berlin Missionary Society

Richter, Julius, *Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft 1824–1924*, Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner ev. Missionsgesellschaft, 1924. For the China missions, see pp. 504–631.

Sauberzweig Schmidt, [Gabriel], *Drei Jahrzehnte deutscher Pioniermissionsarbeit in Süd-China 1852–1882*, Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft, 1908.

This slim volume describes the work in Hongkong and adjacent Guangdong province of the Berlin Missionary Association for China which had been established in 1850 on the occasion of Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff's visit in Europe. The Berlin Missionary Society absorbed this organisation in 1882.

British and Foreign Bible Society

Batalden, Stephen, Kathleen Cann and John Dean (eds.), *Sowing the Word: The Cultural Impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1804–2004*, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004.
Canton, William, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, London: J. Murray, 1904–10. 4 vols.

Canadian Presbyterian Mission

Brown, Margaret H., "History of the Honan (North China) Mission of the United Church of Canada, Originally a Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1887–1951". 4-volume typescript in United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, 1970.
Grant, W. Harvey, *North of the Yellow River: Six Decades in Honan, 1888–1948*, Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1948.
Mackenzie, Murdoch, *Twenty-five Years in Honan*, Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of Foreign Missions, 1913.

China Inland Mission

Austin, Alvyn, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832–1905*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2007.
Broomhall, A[lfred] J[ames], *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century*, 7 vols., Sevenoaks, Kent: Hodder & Stoughton and The Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1981–1989.
Loane, Marcus L., *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand, 1890–1964*, Sydney: Published at the request and on behalf of the China Inland Mission Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1965.

Christian and Missionary Alliance

Liang Jialin 梁家麟, *Huaren Xuandaohui bai nian shi* 華人宣道會百年史 (Centenary history of the Chinese Christian and Missionary Alliance), Hongkong: Jiandao shenxue yuan, 1998.

Church Missionary Society

Hewitt, Gordon, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society, 1910–1942*, 2 vols., London: SCM Press, 1971–1977.
Stock, Eugene, *The History of the Church Missionary Society, Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, 3 vols., London: Church Missionary Society, 1899; supplementary volume London: Church Missionary Society, 1916.

Church of England Zenana Missionary Society

Hume-Griffith, Mary Eliza (Welchman), *Dust of Gold: An Account of the Work of the C.E.Z.M.S. Among the Blind and Deaf of India, China and Ceylon*, London: Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 1925.
Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, *Lamps of Hope: Glimpses of Medical Work Among the Women and Girls of India and China in the Hospitals and Dispensaries of the C.E.Z.M.S.* A compilation, with a foreword by E. G. Stuart. (London, [1925]).

Church of Scotland Mission (CSFM)

Fulton, Austin, *Through Earthquake Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria 1867–1950; the Work of the United Presbyterian Church, the United Free Church of Scotland, the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church in Ireland with the Chinese Church in Manchuria*, Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1967.
Hewat, Elizabeth Glendinning Kirkwood, *Vision and Achievement, 1796–1956: A History of the Foreign Missions of the Churches United in the Church of Scotland*, London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1960.
Morrison, James Horne, *The Scottish Churches' Work Abroad*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927.
One aim: overseas work of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh: Overseas Council, 1972.
Swan, Annie S., *Seed Time and Harvest: The Story of the Hundred Years' Work of the Women's Foreign Mission of the Church of Scotland*, London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1937.
Weir, Robert W., *A History of the Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1900.
The old Church of Scotland mission had commenced a work in Hubei in 1878. The United Free Church of Scotland mission was primarily based in Manchuria. Following the merger of these societies in 1929, the name 'Church of Scotland' was adopted by the re-united church.

Covenant Missionary Society (CovMS)

Matson, Peter, *Our China Mission: A Story of the Mission Covenants Work in China*, Chicago: Covenant Book Concern, 1934.

Disciples of Christ

Osgood, Elliott I., and Edwin Marx, *The China Christian Mission: Completing Fifty Years of Service*, Indianapolis: United Christian Missionary Society, 1935.

English Presbyterian Mission

Band, Edward, *Working His Purpose Out: The History of the English Presbyerian Mission, 1847–1947*, London: Presbyterian Church of England, 1948.
Hood, George A., *Mission Accomplished? The English Presbyterian Mission in Lingtung, South China: A Study of the Interplay between Mission Methods and Their Historical Contexts*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986.

Finnish Missionary Society

Holmio, Armas K. E., *The Finnish Missionary Society 1859–1950*, Hancock, Mich.: Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, 1950.
Saarilahti, Toivo, *Suomen Lähetysseuran työ kiinassa vuosina 1901–1926*, Helsinki: Suomen Lähetysseura—FMS, 1960.
Aho, Ilma Ruth, "A Record of the Activities of the Finnish Missionary Society in Northwest Hunan, China, 1902–1952", n.d., manuscript in the ELCA Archives, St. Paul, Minnesota. (Masters Thesis: University of California, 1953).

Friends Foreign Mission Association

Hodgkin, Henry Theodore, *Friends beyond Seas*, London: Headley Bros. Publishers, 1916.

The Past is Prologue: 100 Years of Quaker Overseas Work, 1868–1968, London: Friends' Service Council,1968.

General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society (Allgemeiner Evangelisch-Protestantischer Missions-Verein)

Hahn, Ferdinand (ed.), *Spuren…: Festschrift zum hundertjährigen Bestehen der Ostasien-Mission*, Stuttgart: Evang. Missionswerk in Südwestdeutschland, 1984.

Drescher, Lutz, (ed.*), Aus der Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Mission: international—interkulturell—interreligiös; 120 Jahre Ostasienmission*; Symposium der Ostasienmission, 23.–26. September 2004 in Weimar, Stuttgart: Ems, 2005.

German China Alliance Mission (Deutsche China-Allianz-Mission)

Zimmermann, Kurt, *Fünfzig Jahre Allianz-China-Mission. Grundsätzliches über Wesen und Arbeitsweise einer Allianz-Mission in Mittel-China*., Witten/Ruhr: Bundesverlag, 1939.

Schweizer Allianz-Mission (ed.), *100 Jahre Schweizer Allianz-Mission*, Winterthur: Schweizer Allianz-Mission, 1989.

Franz, Andreas, "Die Deutsche China-Allianz-Mission", in idem., *Mission ohne Grenzen. Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen*, Giessen / Basel: Brunnen Verlag, 1993, pp. 79–125.

Hauge's Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church Mission

Bruce, Gustav Marius, *A Brief History of the China Mission of Hauge's Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod of America*, [Chicago?]: Published by the Chicago district federation of Young people's societies, 1916.

Himle, Thorstein, *Evangeliets seier; festskrift for Hauge synode Kinamissions 25 aars jubilæum 1891–1916*, redigeret af pastor Th. Himle med bistand af pastor H. N. Rønning og pastor A. O. Oppegaard., Minneapolis, Minn.: K. C. Holter, 1916.

Ronning, Talbert Rorem, "The Hauges Synod Christian Missionary Enterprise in China", Thesis, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1930.

Syrdal, Rolf, *White Unto Harvest in China: A Survey of the Lutheran United Mission of the N.L.C.A., 1890*–1934, Minneapolis: Board of Foreign Missions, 1934.

London Missionary Society

Lovett, Richard, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795–1895*, London: H. Frowde, 1899. 2 vols.

Goodall, N[orman], *A history of the London Missionary Society, 1895–1945* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954).

Methodist Episcopal Church

Baker, Richard Terrill, *When the Methodists Came to China, 1847–1848, 1947–1948*, New York: World Outlook, 1947.

Barclay, Wade Crawford, *History of Methodist Missions*, New York: Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, 1949–1973. 4 vols.

Vol. 3: *The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845–1939: Widening horizons, 1845–95* (1957).

Barclay, Wade Crawford, *The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845–1939*, New York: Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, 1957.

Methodist Episcopal Church, South

Shen, Joseph Stephen, "A History of the Southern Methodist Church in China", Thesis (B.D.), Emory University, 1925.

Work and progress in China [microform]: of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, from 1848 to 1907 Nashville: s.n., 1907.

Methodist New Connexion Missionary Society

Hedley, John, *Our Mission in North China: Being a Short Record of Methodist New Connexion Missionary Work*, London: Geo. Burroughs, [1907].
In 1907 the Methodist New Connexion merged with the United Methodist Free Church and the Bible Christians to form the United Methodist Church, which in turn amalgamated with the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to form the Methodist Missionary Society (now the Methodist Church Overseas Division).

Pilgrim Mission of St. Chrischona (PM)

Edgar Schmid (ed.), *Wenn Gottes Liebe Kreise zieht: 150 Jahre Pilgermission St. Chrischona, (1840–1990)*, Giessen; Basel: Brunnen-Verlag, [1990].

Presbyterian Church in Ireland

Boyd, R. H., *Waymakers in Manchuria: The Story of the Irish Presbyterian Pioneer Missionaries to Manchuria*, Belfast: The Foreign Missions Office, Church House, 1940.

Weir, Jack, "China", in: Jack (Thomas John) Thompson (ed.), *Into All the World: A History of 150 Years of the Overseas Work of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (Belfast: Overseas Board of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1990), pp. 52–82.

Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America (PEC); American Church Mission

Boone, Muriel, *The Seed of the Church in China* (Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1973).

Gray, G. F. S.; with editorial revision by Martha Lund Smalley, *Anglicans in China: A History of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui (Chung Hua Sheng Kung Huei)*. ([S.l.]: Episcopal China Mission History Project, 1996).

Lin Mei-mei, "The Episcopalian Missionaries in China, 1835–1900", Thesis (Ph. D.), University of Texas at Austin, 1994.

Lin Mei-mei, 林美玫, *Fu nü yu chai chuan: shijiu shi ji Meiguo Shenggonghui nü chuanjiaoshi zai Hua chai chuan yanjiu* 婦女與差傳: 十九世紀美國聖公會女傳教士在華差傳研究 (Women in missiology: the Episcopal women missionaries and their evangelical work in nineteenth-century China), Taibei: Liren 里仁 初版, 2005 [民國 94].

Reformed Church in America (RCA)

De Jong, Gerald F., *The Reformed Church in China, 1842–1951*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1992.

Reformed Church in the United States (RCUS)

Casselman, Arthur Vale, *From Six to Sixty to Six: A Narrative of the China Mission of the Reformed Church in the United States and the Later Evangelical and Reformed Church*, Philadelphia: Board of International Missions, Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1951. Also published as *It Happened in Hunan* (1953).
Dunn, David, *A History of the Evangelical and Reformed Church*, New York: Pilgrim Press, 1990.

Rhenish Missionary Society

Bonn, Alfred, *Ein Jahrhundert Rheinische Mission*, Barmen: Missionshaus, 1928.
Kempgen, Wilhelm, *Glaubenskampf am Tigertor. Not und Verheißung einer hundertjährigen Missionsarbeit*, Wuppertal: Verlag der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft, 1948.

Scandinavian Alliance Mission (SAM)

Princell, Josephine (ed.), *Alliansmissionens tjugufemårsminnen* [25th anniversary reminiscences of the Alliance Mission], Chicago: Skandinaviska Alliansmissionen, 1916.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG)

O'Connor, Daniel, et al., *Three centuries of mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1701–2000*, London: Continuum, 2000.
Thompson, Henry Paget. *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701–1950*. London: S.P.C.K, 1951.

Swedish Baptist Mission (SwBM)

Danielson, Hjalmar, and K. A. Modén, *Femtio år i Kina; kort historik över Svenska Baptistsamfundets verksamhet i Kina, 1891–1941*, Stockholm: Baptistmissionens Bokförlags, 1941.

Swedish Mission in China (SMC)

Lindén, Martin, (ed.), *Sändebud till Sinims land: Svenska Missionens i Kina 60–års berättelse*, Stockholm: Svenska missionens i Kina förlag, 1947.

Swedish Missionary Society (Swedish Mission Covenant Church)

Hultvall, John, *Mission och revolution i Centralasien. Svenska Missionsförbundets mission i Östturkestan 1892–1938*, (Studia Missionalia Uppsaliensia, 35), Falköping: Gummesons Tryckeri AB, 1981.
Hultvall, John, *Mission and Change in Eastern Turkestan*, Renfrewshire, Scotland: Heart of Asia Ministries, 1987.
Jonsson, Fredrik, *60 år för Gud i Kina: Svenska Missionsförbundet i Hubei 1890–1951*, Stockholm Chinese Studies Occasional Papers 2. Stockholm: Centre for Pacific Asia Studies, 1997.

United Church of Canada Mission (including the former Canadian Methodist and Presbyterian missions to China)

Grant, W. Harvey, *North of the Yellow River: Six Decades in Honan, 1888*–1948, Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1948.

Brown, Margaret H., "History of the Honan (North China) Mission of the United Church of Canada, Originally a Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1887–1951". (1970). 4–volume typescript in United Church Archives, Toronto.

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

Findlay, G[eorge] G[illanders], *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, 5 vols. London: Epworth Press, 1921–1924. China is covered in Vol. 5.
Rose, John, *A Church Born to Suffer; Being an Account of the First Hundred Years of the Methodist Church in South China, 1851–1951*, London: Cargate Press, 1951.
Chinese translation:
Rose, John 盧約翰 and Yang Lin 楊林, *Ku'nan chong chong de jiaohui: Xundao gonghui Huanan jiaoqu kai ji yibainian de lishi (yibawuyi zhi yijiuwuyi)* 苦難重重的教會: 循道公會華南教區開基一百年的歷史(一八五一至一九五一), Xianggang: Xun dao wei li lian he jiao hui wen zi shi gong wei yuan hui, 1984.

Woman's Union Missionary Society

MacLeod, Judith A., *Woman's Union Missionary Society: The Story of a Continuing Mission*, Upper Darby, Pa.: InterServe, 1999.
History of the Woman's Union Missionary Society, including its merger with the Bible and Medical Missionary Society in 1974 to form the International Service Fellowship (InterServe).

Local histories of Christianity

In recent years Chinese scholars have begun to produce historical accounts of Christianity in particular provinces or of particular Christian communities.

Chen Cunfu 陳村富, *Zhuan xingqi de Zhongguo Jidujiao: Zhejiang Jidujiao ge an yanjiu* 轉型期的中國基督教: 浙江基督教個案研究 (Chinese Christianity in transition: Research into some cases of Zhejiang Christianity), Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2005.
Liu Dingyin 劉鼎寅 and Han Junxue 韓軍學, *Yunnan Tianzhujiao shi* 雲南天主教史 (History of Catholicism in Yunnan), Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2005.
Luo Yu 羅漁, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao: Henan Sheng Tianzhujiao shi* 中國天主教—河南省天主教史 (Chinese Catholicism: The history of Catholicism in Henan province), Tabei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2003.
Kang Zhijie 康志傑, *Shang Zhu de putao yuan: E xibei Mopan Shan Tianzhujiao shequ yanjiu, 1634–2005* 上主的葡萄園: 鄂西北磨盤山天主教社區研究 (In the Lord's vineyard: a study of northwest Hubei's Mopan shan Catholic community), Taibei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2006.
Qin Heping 秦和平, *Jidu zongjiao Sichuan chuanbo shigao* 基督宗教在四川傳播史稿 (Draft history of the propagation of Christianity in Sichuan), Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 2006.
Tao Feiya 陶飛亞 and Liu Tianlu 劉天路, *Jidu jiaohui yu jindai Shandong shehui* 基督教會與近代山東社會 (Protestantism in modern Shandong), Ji'nan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1995.
Wang Xue 王雪, *Jidujiao yu Shaanxi* 基督教與陝西 (Christianity and Shaanxi), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2007.
Xiao Yaohui 肖耀輝 and Liu Dingyin 劉鼎寅, *Yunnan Jidujiao shi* 雲南基督教史 (History of Protestantism in Yunnan), Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 2007.
Xiao Yaohui 肖耀輝 and Xiong Guocai 熊國才, *Yunnan Jidujiao* 雲南基督教, Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2004.

Xie Cheng 解成 (comp.), *Jidujiao zai Hua chuanbo xi nian: Hebei juan* 基督教在華傳播系年: 河北卷 (Chronology of the propagaton of Christianity in China: Hebei volume), Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2008.

Boxer movement bibliographies

The events of 1898–1900, culminating in the fateful Boxer uprising, had a decisive impact on the missionary enterprise and Chinese Christian communities not only in north China but in other parts of the Qing empire as well. Many of the items in the bibliographies listed below pertain to missionaries and Chinese converts either as observers or as victims.

Zhang Hongying 張洪英and Jiang Xiuli 蔣秀麗, "Zhongwen lunzhu mulu. 1. Lunwen, ziliao" 中文論著目錄. 一. 論文、資料 (Bibliography of Chinese language publications. 1. Essays, source material), in: Su Weizhi 蘇位智 and Liu Tianlu 劉天路 (eds.), Yihetuan yanjiu yibai nian 義和團研究一百年 (One hundred years of Boxer studies), Ji'nan: Qi-Lu shushe, 2000); pp. 350–542.

Su Lidan 蘇麗丹 and Guan Jiazheng 關家錚, "Zhongwen lunzhu mulu. 2. Zhuzuo, tushu" 中文論著目錄. 二. 著作、圖書 (Bibliography of Chinese language publications. 2. Works, books), in: Su Weizhi 蘇位智 and Liu Tianlu 劉天路 (eds.), Yihetuan yanjiu yibai nian 義和團研究一百年 (One hundred years of Boxer studies), Ji'nan: Qi-Lu shushe, 2000); pp. 543–609.

Du Jidong 杜繼東, "Zhongwen lunzhu mulu. 3. Taiwan, Xianggang diqu yanjiu lunzhu mulu" 中文論著目錄. 三. 台灣、香港地區研究論著目錄 (Bibliography of Chinese language publications. 3. Bibliography of research publications in Taiwan and Hongkong), in: Su Weizhi 蘇位智 and Liu Tianlu 劉天路 (eds.), Yihetuan yanjiu yibai nian 義和團研究一百年 (One hundred years of Boxer studies), Ji'nan: Qi-Lu shushe, 2000); pp. 610–622.

Di Deman 狄德滿 [R. G. Tiedemann], "Waiwen lunzhu mulu — Yingwen; Fawen; Dewen; Yidaliwen; qita Xiwen" 外文論著目錄—英文、德文、意大利文、其他西文 (Bibliography of foreign language publications [on the Boxer movement]—English; German; French; Italian; miscellaneous Western languages), in: Su Weizhi 蘇位智 and Liu Tianlu 劉天路 (eds.), Yihetuan yanjiu yibai nian 義和團研究一百年 (One hundred years of Boxer studies), Ji'nan: Qi-Lu shushe, 2000); pp. 623–780.

Bokeshaning 博克沙寧, "Waiwen lunzhu mulu — Ewen", 外文論著目錄—俄文 (Bibliography of foreign language publications—Russian), in: Su Weizhi 蘇位智 and Liu Tianlu 劉天路 (eds.), Yihetuan yanjiu yibai nian 義和團研究一百年 (One hundred years of Boxer studies), Ji'nan: Qi-Lu shushe, 2000); pp. 781–795.

Satō Kimihiko 佐藤公彦, "Waiwen lunzhu mulu—Riwen" 外文論著目錄—日文 (Bibliography of foreign language publications—Japanese), in: Su Weizhi 蘇位智 and Liu Tianlu 劉天路 (eds.), Yihetuan yanjiu yibai nian 義和團研究一百年 (One hundred years of Boxer studies), Ji'nan: Qi-Lu shushe, 2000); pp. 796–823.

Historiographical surveys

Several articles deal with the rather recent changes in the historiography of Christianity in China, or give surveys of the different methods used in this historiography:

Bays, Daniel, "Preface", in Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China* (1996), pp. vii–x.

Heyndricks, Jeroom, CICM (ed.), *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Louvain Chinese Studies, I.), Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K. U. Leuven, 1994.

Standaert, Nicholas, "New Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in China", *Catholic Historical Review* 83.4 (October 1997), pp. 573–613.
Zhang Kaiyuan, "Chinese Perspective—A Brief Review of the Historical Research on Christianity in China", in: Stephen Uhalley Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, pp. 29–39.

1.3.2. *Biographies*

General biographical dictionaries

Anderson, Gerald H. (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998.
Anderson, Gerald H., Robert T. Coote, Norman A. Horner and James M. Phillips (eds.), *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1994.
Bautz, Friedrich Wilhelm, continued by Traugott Bautz (eds.), *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 14 vols., Herzberg: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 1970–1998. An expanded and updatd version of this work can be found on the internet: http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/.
Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Jindaishi yanjiusuo fanyishi 中國社會科學院近代史研究所翻譯室, *Jindai lai Hua waiguo renming cidian* 近代來華外國人名辭典 (Biographical dictionary of foreigners who came to China), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1981.

For quick references and solid biographies of important Chinese in the late Qing, the following biographical dictionary is still useful:

Hummel, Arthur W. (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943; Taibei: Ch'eng-wen, 1976.

Chinese Christians

Although Chinese Christians played a vital role in the propagation of Christianity during the late Qing period, they are rarely mentioned by name in missionary accounts. However, occasionally information was gathered on some of them, as the following work on Chinese Protestants indicates.

Bentley, William Preston, *Illustrious Chinese Christians; Biographical Sketches*, Cincinnati: Standard Pub. Co, 1906.
Biographies of well-known Chinese Catholics (as well as Western missionaries) are found in:
Fang Hao 方豪, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao shi renwu zhuan* 中國天主教史人物傳, 3 vols., Hongkong / Taizhong: Gongjiao zhenli hui / Guangqi, 1967–1970 (repr. Beijing, 1988); vol. 3 (Mid-Qing to modern period): 154 persons.
Fang's work has been reproduced in vol. 65 (persons of Qing times) of:
Zhou Junfu 周駿富 (ed.), *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊: 附索引, 205 vols., Taibei: Mingwen, 1985–1986; a compilation of 150 Qing biographical collections.
This compilation has been indexed on names, courtesy names (*zi* 字) and sobriquets (*hao* 號) of persons who have a biography in this collection. In addition to references to Fang's work, one may find references to other biographies of Christians or people who were either sympathetic or opposed to Christianity.

Zhou Junfu 周駿富 (comp.), *Qingdai zhuanji congkan suoyin* 清代傳記叢刊索引, 3 vols., Taibei: Mingwen, 1986.
Zha, James Shijie 查時傑, *Zhongguo Jidujiao renwu xiao zhuan* 中國基督教人物小傳 [Concise biographies of important Chinese Christians], Taibei: Zhonghua fuyin shenxueyuan chuban [China Evangelical Seminary Press], 1983–.
For information on the Chinese clergy in the Jiangnan region, see
Zi-ka-wei, Chine, Bureau sinologique, *Clergé chinois au Kiang-nan sous les Ta-tsing en excluant les jésuites et les élèves due séminaire de Nan-king*, Shanghai: Impr. de T'ou-sè-wè, près Zi-ka-wei, 1933. Compiled by Joseph de Moidrey SJ.
For information on the Chinese clergy in Sichuan, see
Gourdon, F. M. J. [Gu Luodong], *Catalogus cleri indigenae in provincia Se-tchouan, 1702–1858*, Chongqing: Typis Missionis Catholicae, 1919.

Persecutions and martyrdom: biographical compilations

See also the section on published collections of primary sources (*cross-reference Handbook II, Part I, 1.2.4. Published collections of primary sources*).

Broomhall, Marshall, *Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission,* With a Record of the Perils & Sufferings of Some Who Escaped, London: Morgan & Scott, 1901.
Charbonnier, Jean, *Les 120 martyrs de Chine: canonisés le 1er Octobre 2000*, (Eglises d'Asie), Paris: Églises d'Asie, 2000.
Forsyth, Robert Coventry (comp. and ed.), *The China Martyrs of 1900.: A Complete Roll of the Christian Heroes Martyred in China in 1900: with Narratives of Survivors*, London: The Religious Tract Society, 1904.
Hattaway, Paul, *China's Book of Martyrs (AD 845–present)*, (The 'Fire & Blood' series, vol. 1). Carlisle: Piquant, 2007. A shorter version:
Paul Hattaway, *China's Christian Martyrs*, Oxford, U.K., & Grand Rapids, Mich.: Monarch Books, 2007.
Launay, Adrien. *Les cinquante-deux serviteurs de Dieu Français—Annamites—Chinois, mis à mort pour la foi en Extrême-Orient de 1815 a 1856, dont la cause de Béatification a été introduite en 1840, 1843, 1857; Biographies*. Paris: Téqui, 1893.
Moidrey, Joseph de, *Confesseurs de la foi en Chine 1784–1863*, Shanghai: Imprimerie de Tòu-sè-uè, pres Zi-ka-wei, 1935.
Politi, Giancarlo, *Martiri in Cina: "Noi non possiamo tacere" (Atti 4,20): i martiri cattolici della Cina imperiale e repubblicana e della Repubblica popolare cinese*, Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana, 1998. German trans. in *China heute*.
Ricci, Giovanni, *Franciscan Martyrs of the Boxer Rising. The authentic Account of the Sufferings and Death of Some of the Victims of the Boxer Rising, China, 1900*. By Rev. John Ricci O.F.M. and member of the Commission for the Cause of their beatification. Adapted into English by Jerome O'Callaghan. Dublin: Franciscan Missionary Union, 1932.
Ricci, Giovanni, *Pagine di eroismo cristiano. I Terziari Cinesi martiri nello Shan-si Settentrionale (Persecuzione dei Boxers—1900)*. Edito a cura della Pia Opera dei Fratini di S. Antonio (Vicenza) Lonigo. by Lonigo: Tipografia Moderna, 1925.
This work lists some of the Chinese Franciscan Tertiaries killed in northern Shanxi in 1900.
Taiwan Regional Bishops' Conference 天主教台灣地區主教團宣聖委員會, *Zhonghua xundao shengrenzhuanlue* 中華殉道聖人傳略 (The newly canonised martyr-saints of China). Taibei: 天主教教務協進會, 2000.

Members of a Roman Catholic religious order or congregation

For members of a religious order or congregation (mainly Western but also including Chinese) it is important to identify the religious order or congregation to which they belong. If it is not known to which order or congregation a certain missionary belonged, *Bibliotheca Missionum* should be checked, for it gives short biographical information on many Catholic missionaries (see the pages indicated by an asterisk in the index of authors or of persons):

Streit, Robert, continued by Johannes Dindinger, Johannes Rommerskirchen, Josef Metzler and Nikolaus Kowalsky (eds.), *Bibliotheca Missionum* (*BM*),
vol. VII, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur 1700–1799*, Aachen: Franziskus Xaverius Missionsverein, 1931 (repr. Rom / Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1965).
vol. XII, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1800–1884*. Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1958.
vol. XIII, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1885–1909*. Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1959.

Zhao Qingyuan 趙慶源,, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao jiaoqu huafen jiqi shouzhang jieti nianbiao* 中國天主教教區劃分及其首長接替年表, Tainan: Wendao chubanshe, 1980.

Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists; Vincentians)

Van den Brandt, Joseph, *Les Lazaristes en Chine, 1697–1935: Notes biographiques*, Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazarists Pei-T'ang, 1936.

Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM), Scheut Fathers

Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariæ (C.I.C.M.), *Elenchus sodalium defunctorum. List of all the deceased confreres. Liste de tous les confrères (2001.12.31)*, Rome, 2002.
This list of deceased CICM members indicates the individual's full name, date and place of birth, date of departure for the mission as well as date and place of death. For the Chinese version see *Zai Hua Shengmu shengxin huishi minglu 1865–1955* 在華聖母聖心會史名錄, ed. by Dirk Van Overmeire, with Ku Wei-ying 古偉瀛 and Pan Yuling 潘玉玲, Taibei: Jianzheng yuekan, 2008.

Gu Weiying 古偉瀛 (ed.), *Saiwai chuanjiao shi* 塞外傳教史 (Mission beyond the Great Wall), Taibei: Guangqi wenhua shiye, 2002.
A list of CICM missionaries, arranged chronologically by date of arrival in the China missions, is found on pp. 363–428. In addition to the information given in the preceding *Elenchus sodalium defunctorum*, this work also contains information on Chinese secular priests in the Scheut missions, on pp. 431–461.

Dominicans

González, José María, *Historia de las Misiones Dominicanas de China*, vol. 3 (1800–1900), Madrid: Juan Bravo, 1960.

Franciscans

Menz, Kilian (comp.), *Necrologium Fratrum Minorum in Sinis*, Peiping: Domus Franciscana Li-Kwang-kiao, 1948; 3rd ed. compiled by Daniel Van Damme, Hong Kong: Tan Pin Ko School, 1978.

Jesuits

The following is a general biographical dictionary of Jesuits:

Domínguez, Joaquín M., and Charles E. O'Neill, *Diccionario histórico de la Compañia de Jesús: biográfico-temático*, Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I.; Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001. 4 vols.

Colombel, Augustin-M., *L'histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan*. Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission catholique à l'Orphelinat de T'ou-sè-weè, 1899. (Autographié). 3 parts in 5 vols.
Part III, vol. 2: 1644–1840; Part III, vol. 3: 1840–1865, contain obituaries of deceased Jesuits in the Jiangnan Mission.

The periodic lists of missionaries, the *Status* and 'catalogues' of personnel, are annual lists of all the priests and lay brothers in the Jesuit missions of Jiangnan and Southeastern Zhili. These lists give basic biographic details as well as the Chinese names of missionaries. Chinese secular priests are also listed. For the vicariate apostolic of Jiangnan, the following lists were printed:

Societatis Jesu, *Status Missionis Nankinensis*, (Zikawei),1882–1932.

Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum S.J.: qui Evangelio Christi propagando in Sinis adlaboraverunt, Shanghai: Ex typographia Missionis Catholicae, 1908. Pars 2. 1842–1908. Addito Catalogo sacerdotum saecularium missionis Nankinensis.
Introd. signed: Ignatius Henricus Dugout, S.J.

Missions Étrangères de Paris

Launay, Adrien, *Mémorial de la Société des Missions-Étrangères*, Paris: Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, 1916. 2 vols.

Moussay, Gérard, and Brigitte Appavou, *Répertoire des membres de la Société des missions étrangères, 1659–2004: ordre alphabétique suivi de l'ordre chronologique*. Paris: Archives des missions étrangères, 2004.

For biographical sketches and obituary notices of MEP missionaries, see also the website of the Archives des Missions-Étrangères de Paris: URL: http://archivesmep.mepasie.org/recherche/index.php

Members of Protestant Missionary Societies

Wylie, Alexander, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese; Giving a List of Their Publications, and Obituary Notices of the Deceased, with Copious Indexes*, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867; repr. Taibei: Ch'eng Wen, 1967.

Lodwick, Kathleen L., *The Chinese Recorder Index: A Guide to Christian Missions in Asia, 1867–1941*. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources Inc, 1986.

Gu Changsheng 顧長聲, *Cong Ma Lixun dao Situ Leideng: lai Hua xinjiao chuanjiaoshi pingzhuan* 從馬禮遜到司徒雷登: 來華新教傳教士評傳 (From Robert Morrison to John Leighton Stuart: critical biographies of Protestant missionaries to China), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1985. A later edition was published in Shanghai: Shiji, 2005.

The Yale Divinity School Library *Guide to the China Records Project Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection, Record Group No. 8* includes brief biographical notes.
URL: http://www.library.yale.edu/div/fa/008.htm.

The Billy Graham Centre usually have a biographical sketch of the individuals concerned.

Brief biographical notes of Norwegian Protestant missionaries to China, representing a number of Norwegian missionary societies, are found in the

Norsk Misjonsleksikon. Utgitt med tilsludning fra Norsk Misjonsråd og de misjoner dette representerer. Redaksjon: Fridtjov Birkeli et al., Stavanger, Norway: Nomi, 1965–1967. 3 vols.

Church Missionary Society

Church Missionary Society, *The Church Missionary Atlas: Maps of the Various Missions of the Church Missionary Society, with illustrative letter-press, and a register of the Society's agents*, 5th ed., London: Published for the Society by Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1873.

Church Missionary Society, *Register of Missionaries (Clerical, Lay & Female) and Native Clergy from 1804 to 1904*, in two parts, [s.l., s.n., s.a.].

London Missionary Society

Whitehouse, John Owen (comp.), *A Register of Missionaries and Deputations, from 1796 to 1877*, London, 1877; 3rd ed., *Register of Missionaries, Deputations, etc.: from 1796 to 1896*, London: London Missionary Society, 1896; 4th ed., prepared by James Sibree, *A Register of Missionaries, Deputations, Etc., from 1796 to 1923*, London: London Missionary Society, 1923.

Reformed Church in America

Vandenberge, Peter N. (ed.), *Historical Directory of the Reformed Church in America 1628–1965*, New Brunswick, NJ: Commission on History, Reformed Church in America, 1966. Successor to C.E. Corwin's *A manual of the Reformed Church in America (formely Reformed Protestant Dutch Church) 1628–1922*. 5th ed., 1922.

This work has been periodically updated. For the latest edition see:

Gasero, Russell L., *Historical Directory of the Reformed Church in America, 1628–2000* (Historical series of the Reformed Church in America, no. 37.), Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 2001.

Electronic databases

In recent years several online biographical databases have been launched, with the intention of producing brief biographical sketches of foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians. They are works in progress.

Ricci 21st Century Roundtable Database on the History of Christianity in China, hosted by the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, includes a biographical section with information on individuals who have played a role in the history of Christianity in China. This section includes, but is not limited to, missionaries, teachers, doctors, ordained and lay Chinese converts, critics, and the literati.

URL: *http://ricci.rt.usfca.edu/roundtable.html*

Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity 華人基督教史人物辭典, administered by the Global China Center, Charlottesville, Virginia, U.S.A.

This resource intends to record the "Life Stories of Significant Figures in Chinese Christianity Across the Centuries and Around the World". Since this project is still in its initial stages, most of the entries thus far have been copied from published

general biographical dictionaries, especially from the *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (1998), which contains biographical sketches of mainly Western missionaries.
URL: http://www.bdcconline.net

Miscellaneous Online Resources

Sources for Research: Missions and World Christianity:
URL: http://www.library.yale.edu/div/MissionsResources.htm
Note, for instance, the **Internet Mission Photography Archive** which offers historical images from Protestant and Catholic missionary collections in Britain, Norway, Germany, and the United States. The photographs reveal the physical influence of missions, visible in mission compounds, churches, and school buildings, as well as the cultural impact of mission teaching, religious practices, and Western technology and fashions. Indigenous peoples' responses to missions and the emergence of indigenous churches are represented, as are views of landscapes, cities, and towns before and in the early stages of modern development. URL: http://digarc.usc.edu/impa/controller/index.htm
An associated project is the Basel Mission picture archive: http://www.bmpix.org/index.html
The online database "RESEARCHING WORLD CHRISTIANITY: Doctoral Dissertations on Mission Since 1900" lists 242 dissertations on Chinese Christianity:
URL: http://resources.library.yale.edu/dissertations/srchresults.asp.

2. Actors

2.1. Catholic Missionaries (1800–1860)

Arnulf Camps[1]

In spite of the proscription of Christianity in 1724 and the sporadic persecutions that followed, there still remained approximately 210,000 Catholics in the three *padroado* dioceses (Macao, Beijing and Nanjing) and the vicariates apostolic of Sichuan, Shaanxi-Shanxi and Fujian in 1810, cared for by seven bishops and vicars apostolic, 80 Chinese priests and 23 foreign missionaries. It is obvious that the overall number of clergy was exceedingly low at the beginning of nineteenth century and the presence of European priest was precarious and negligible.

In many respects the Synod of Sichuan 四川教會第一次大會, convened by the vicar apostolic Gabriel-Taurin Dufresse 徐德新 MEP (1750–1815)[2] at Chongqing 重慶 in the Vicariate Apostolic of Sichuan in 1803, illustrates this point rather well. The synod was attended by two European missionaries, namely Dufresse and Jean-Louis Florens 羅 MEP (1756–1841), and by thirteen Chinese priests. Two Europeans, coadjutor bishop Pierre Trenchant 黃 MEP (1766–1806) and Thomas-Julien-Charles Hamel 劉 MEP (1745–1812), as well as six Chinese priests, living in remoter parts of Sichuan, were not able to attend. The proceedings of the synod consist of very detailed prescriptions that clearly reflect a European, or rather French-Italian, ecclesiastical style and mentality. Whatever the feelings of the Chinese people may have been, they had to give way and conform to the Roman form even in matters of little importance. Although Chinese priests were overwhelmingly in the majority at the synod—thirteen out of a total

[1] This essay has been adapted from an earlier version published by the late Arnulf Camps OFM (1925–2006) as "Foreign Missionaries and Chinese Catholic Communities During the Late Qing China (1800–1860)", *NZM* 60 (2004), pp. 273–286; modified and updated by R. G. Tiedemann.

[2] Gabriel-Taurin Dufresse, who called himself Louis-Gabriel-Taurin Dufresse, had his name changed to Joannes Gabriel Taurinus Dufresse in the beatification records. Having arrived in China in 1776, he took the name Li Duolin 李多林. Upon his expulsion from China in 1785, he secretly returned to Sichuan in 1788 under the name Xu Dexin. For details, see F. M. J. Gourdon, *Beati Martyres provinciæ Setchouan in Sinis 1815–1823*, Cha-p'in-pa: Typis missionis Se-tch'ouan orientalis, 1901, pp. 1–55. Dufresse was beheaded during the Sichuan persecution of 1815. He was beatified in 1900 and canonised in 2000.

of fifteen—, it was they who voted in favour of these regulations. It would seem, therefore, that they had become imbued with the spirit of French theology during their studies abroad.[3]

The persecutions of 1804, 1811, 1818–1820, 1827 and 1836–1839 notwithstanding, the number of Catholics had increased to 264,000 by 1838. However, at that time none of the dioceses had a bishop in residence, whereas three European vicars apostolic and two coadjutors were directly involved in the running of their ecclesiastical jurisdictions, assisted by 71 Chinese priests and an unspecified but smaller number of foreign missionaries.[4] Although the number of foreign priests had increased to 84 by 1848, in addition to the 16 vicars and prefects apostolic, they were still outnumbered by the 135 Chinese priest.[5] Indeed, the number of Chinese priests had almost doubled since 1838. Given the relative paucity of European personnel, it is important to note that the number of Catholic faithful, in spite of the periodic persecutions, had increased by about 100,000 by the middle of the nineteenth century. At the same time, priestly duties were performed primarily by the Chinese clergy. They were assisted by male catechists and lay leaders as well as by a good number of female 'virgins' (*zhennü* 貞女). As a matter of fact, Chinese Catholics had developed their own patterns of church life. In other words, it could be argued that the Catholic community in China had been moving towards the establishment of a Chinese Catholic Church. This development was, however, interrupted by the return of Western missionaries, by the imposition of Western forms and by political and ecclesiastical changes starting in the 1840s. Thus, by the early 1860s the situation had changed considerably. Now some 336,000 Chinese Catholics were looked after by 167 Chinese priests and 193 foreign missionaries in 22 vicariates and prefectures apostolic.[6]

---

[3] For details, see Josef Metzler, *Die Synoden in China, Japan und Korea 1570–1931*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1980, pp. 43–55.

[4] Fortunato Margiotti, "La Cina cattolica al traguardo della maturità", in Josef Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, vol. III,1 *(1815–1972)*, Rome/Freiburg: Herder, 1975, pp. 510, 516.

[5] Pasquale M. d'Elia, *Catholic Native Episcopacy in China: Being an Outline of the Formation and Growth of the Chinese Catholic Clergy, 1300–1926*. Shanghai: T'usewei Print Press, 1927, p. 50.

[6] D'Elia (1927), p. 64.

It should be noted that contemporary authors of mission history were not fully aware of these developments during the first six decades of the nineteenth century. Patricius Wittmann, for instance, assumed that the number of the faithful remained static at 200,000. Although he recognised that Chinese priests were more numerous than foreign missionaries, he nevertheless considered the foreigners to be the real heroes and the Chinese the supporting agents.[7] J. J. E. Roy, on the other hand, mentioned the persecutions as well as the increase of the faithful. However, he insisted that the most important event of the entire history of China was the Opium War between Britain and China, concluded by the treaty of Nanjing in 1842. Furthermore, the subsequent treaty between France and China in 1844 created more favourable conditions for Chinese Catholics and introduced "the Occidental element" which China had hitherto always rejected.[8] T. W. M. Marshall was well informed about the heroic faith of many Chinese martyrs but added that they, inspired by "that divine religion", followed the model of the French, Spanish and Italian missionaries.[9]

Clearly, not much attention was paid to native agency in the older literature. Nor does there seem to have been any awareness of the resistance European priests encountered in the Catholic communities when they set out to resume missionary activities and impose the European ecclesiastical model in the first half of the nineteenth century. Even today a China-centred approach is still rare in studies of the history of Christianity in China. Jean Charbonnier, for example, devotes many pages to the role of the Chinese clergy, the lay leaders and catechists as well as the virgins, but does not consider the extent to which their lives and sacrifices contributed to or had the potential to shape the Sinicisation of the Catholic Church.[10] Angelo Lazzarotto deplores the unequal treaties, as they left deep wounds in the self-confidence of Chinese intellectuals. He writes that various European

---

[7] Patricius Wittmann, *Die Herrlichkeit der Kirche in ihren Missionen seit der Glaubensspaltung: eine allgemeine Geschichte der katholischen Missionen in den letzten drei Jahrhunderten*, Bd. II, Augsburg: Karl Kollmann, 1841, pp. 208–209.

[8] J. J. E. Roy, *Histoire abrégée des missions catholiques dans les diverses parties du monde depuis la fin du XV^e^ siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, 9th ed., Tours: Alfred Mame et fils, 1880, pp. 146–150 (first edition 1855).

[9] T. W. M. Marshall, *Les Missions Chrétiennes*, Vol. I, Paris: Ambroise Bray, 1865, pp. 91–104.

[10] Charbonnier, pp. 205–224.

missionaries were convinced that Chinese priests were not suitable to become bishops, but does not regard this situation as a lost opportunity to build a genuinely indigenous church.[11] Only Bob Whyte has commented on this issue:

> The return of the missionaries bringing a degree of protection to the vulnerable and persecuted Catholic communities was not an unmixed blessing. Quite apart from the reinforcement of the image of Christianity as a foreign faith, Chinese Catholics had developed their own patterns of life. Unfortunately for them, these patterns did not necessarily conform to the rigid notions of authority that marked the nineteenth-century Catholic missionaries. There is no doubt that isolation had produced confusion over doctrinal matters in some areas, and the fears of the missionaries were not without foundation.

However, Whyte concludes that "the imposition of European forms on what was now an indigenous church was to inhibit the growth to maturity of the Chinese Catholic Church. One might even say that the present-day divisions and agonies of Chinese Catholics can be traced back to the policies of the missionaries in the middle years of the nineteenth century."[12]

The imposition of a borrowed church

It was not only the treaties of 1842–1844 that created certain expectations in Western missionary movements. Following lengthy negotiations between the French envoy Marie-Melchior-Joseph-Théodose de Lagrené (1800–1862) and Qiying 耆英 (d. 1858), governor-general of Liang-Guang, the Daoguang Emperor issued an edict on 26 February 1846, revoking the Qing proscription of Catholicism and ordering the return of confiscated church property.[13] Although there is little evidence that the edict was implemented and foreigners were in any case still not legally permitted to preach in the interior of China, more

---

[11] Angelo Lazzarotto, "Le missioni cattoliche in Cina negli ultimi due secoli", in Francesco D'Arelli and Adolfo Tamburello (eds.), *La Missione Cattolica in Cina tra i secoli XVII–XVIII. Emiliano Palladini (1733–1793)*, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1995, pp. 40–45.

[12] Bob Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter. China and Christianity*, London: Collins, 1988, p. 107.

[13] On the French negotiations, see Angelus Francis J. Grosse-Aschhoff, *The Negotiations between Ch'i-Ying and Lagrené, 1844–1846*. St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: Franciscan Institute, 1950. This study is based on translations from *YWSM*.

missionaries were nevertheless sent out in anticipation of a new situation that would be more favourable to the propagation of the Christian faith. The expanding missionary enterprise prompted Rome to divide the existing six ecclesiastical territories into fifteen. In this process, the three *padroado* dioceses underwent fundamental change in 1856: the dioceses of Beijing and Nanjing were abolished and divided into vicariates apostolic; the diocese of Macao was reduced to the Portuguese settlement of Macao and—until 1858—the province of Guangdong (except for the territory of the Prefecture Apostolic of Hong Kong which had been detached from Macao in 1841).[14] Those Catholic missionary orders and institutes already in China, namely the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Lazarists (or Vincentians) and the members of the Foreign Missions of Paris, were eager to increase the number of their missionaries. Furthermore, the priests of the new Society of Jesus, the first three of whom had reached their destination in China in 1842, took charge of the newly erected Vicariate Apostolic of Jiangnan (Jiangsu and Anhui provinces) in 1856. The first European religious sisters arrived in China in 1848, namely the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul and the Sisters of St Paul de Chartres.[15]

During this period what would later be called the 'unequal treaty' system came into being, including the cession of Hongkong to Britain, the opening of 'treaty ports' to Western merchants and missionaries, the introduction of extraterritoriality and the most-favoured-nation clause. Initially these treaty agreements did little "to alleviate the condition of 'wandering and hunted' Catholic priests in China or of the Catholic communities with which they were associated in inland China."[16] It was the French treaties of 1858 and 1860 and

[14] Georgius Mensaert, "Sinae II: tempore hodierno (1579–1957)", in *Historia Missionum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, vol. I: *Asia centro-orientalis et oceania*, Rome: Secretariatus Missionum OFM, 1967, pp. 155–156; Roman Malek, "Macau: Chronologie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Missions- und Religionsgeschichte", in Roman Malek (ed.), *Macau. Herkunft ist Zukunft*, Sankt Augustin and Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2000, p. 81.

[15] Jozef Jennes (1942), p. 143; Johannes Beckmann, "Die Missionen von 1840 bis 1870", in Hubert Jedin (ed.), *HdKG*, vol. VI,1, pp. 630–632. The French Daughters of Charity, having left France in 1847, arrived at Macao in 1848; on account of Portuguese difficulties the sisters were transferred to Ningbo, Zhejiang, where they arrived on 21 June 1852. They subsequently established themselves also in other parts of China, working closely with the Lazarist missionaries.

[16] Ralph R. Covell, *Confucius, the Buddha, and Christ. A History of the Gospel in Chinese*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1986, p. 82.

subsequent arrangements, as well as the imposition of the French religious protectorate in the 1860s that significantly improved the missionary situation. As Ralph Covell has observed with regard to the French protectorate,

> the French government, seeking a greater sphere of influence in China, took the responsibility for protecting and aiding Catholic missionaries and Christians in China. This included providing special passports for Catholic missionaries, seeking to exempt local Christians from taking part in pagan festivals, backing Catholic missionaries as they assisted Chinese Christians in lawsuits, supporting the missionaries in efforts to repossess confiscated property, and resolutely insisting, in accord with treaty privileges, that missionaries be allowed to rent or buy land in inland China.[17]

This conjuncture of various political and religious events was understood by the Chinese people to be an integral part of a deliberately planned policy by the West. The gospel was perceived as a gospel of power, a foreign religion imposed by barbarians. It is against this background that the battle for control of the Chinese Church must be studied. It was especially French power that enabled the missionaries to reassert the Western political and religious form of the Catholic Church. According to Jean-Paul Wiest, the foreign missionaries who entered China in the 1840s

> succeeded in planting the church institution, but—deliberately or not—they repeatedly blocked the emergence of the local church. Indeed, by unduly retaining for them control over leadership, finances, and forms of religious expression, many foreign missionaries prevented the church from sinking its roots into the surrounding Chinese context and from being nourished by it.[18]

Still, the leadership roles assumed by the European priests amongst the Chinese Catholics did not always go unchallenged. Note, for instance, the existence of tensions between the European missionaries and the native clergy mentioned in Emmanuele Conforti's report of his visitation in Shanxi at the end of the eighteenth century.[19] This case is par-

---

[17] Covell (1986), p. 82.

[18] Jean-Paul Wiest, "Learning from the Missionary Past", in Edmond Tang and Jean-Paul Wiest (eds.), *The Catholic Church in Modern China: Perspectives*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1993, p. 196.

[19] On the problems in Shanxi, see Bernward H. Willeke, "The Report of the Apostolic Visitation of D. Emmanuele Conforti on the Franciscan Missions in Shansi, Shensi and Kansu (1798)", *AFH* 84.1–2 (1991), pp. 197–271.

ticularly interesting, since the visitation was ordered by Propaganda Fide as a consequence of the discord between the Italian vicar apostolic, Giovanni Battista Cortenova 吳若翰 (also known as Giambattista da Mandello, 1746–1804) and his indigenous priests and Catholic lay groups over the imposition of stricter church discipline, which, Conforti claimed, "had gravely declined during and after the great persecution [of 1784–1785]". This conflict between European religious idealism and Chinese pragmatic adaptation to particular local circumstances would surface again later in the nineteenth century.

With the arrival of European reinforcements in greater numbers in the 1840s, these differences became more pronounced. The struggle was particularly fierce in the *padroado* diocese of Nanjing where tensions between missionaries and the Chinese clergy had already emerged in the 1830s. This area was one of the strongholds of Catholicism in China, tracing its origin back to Matteo Ricci's famous convert, Paulus Xu Guangqi. During the long years of suppression, Catholics had created a distinctive form of organisation. Chinese priests, lay community leaders (*huizhang* 會長) and virgins had been instrumental in the formation of tightly knit local Christian communities. The Christian *huizhang* were leading public prayers, presided over weddings and funerals, administered baptisms in absence of a priest, and made converts.

In the 1830s, insofar as it was possible, spiritual care was provided by a few Portuguese, French[20] and Chinese Lazarists as well as some Chinese secular priests. Yet the Portuguese Lazarist Domingos-José de Santo Estêvam Henriques (1804–1901), vicar general of the diocese between 1833 and 1837, was rather critical of the clergy, informing Propaganda Fide of "bad priests" in his jurisdiction. Whereas the two Portuguese missionaries were described as "naturally very good", five of the eleven Chinese clergy were said to have caused problems.[21] When the Chinese priests learned of these accusation, nine of them expressed their objections in a letter of defence, dated 7 April 1839. However, disaffection was rife not only among the Chinese clergy but also among the Catholics in general. According to the Jesuit mission

[20] The French Lazarists Jean-Ferdinand Faivre 盛 (1803–1864) and Pierre Lavaissière 石 (1813–1849) arrived in 1838 and 1839, respectively.

[21] Henriques, report dated 15 February 1835, mentioned in Ignazio Song, "Mons. Lodovico de Besi, missionario in Cina", Dissertatio ad Lauream, Gregorian University, Rome, 1968, p. 19.

historian Joseph de la Servière, the local Christians had sent several petitions to Pope Gregory XVI between 1833 and 1839, requesting that Jesuit priests be sent to the Jiangnan region to replace the Lazarists.[22]

At the request of Count Ludovico Maria de Besi 羅類思 (1805–1871), an Italian secular priest who had been sent to China by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (or 'Propaganda Fide') in 1833 and who became the vicar apostolic of Shandong and administrator of the diocese of Nanjing in 1840, the French Jesuits returned to China and settled in the Jiangnan region. When the Jesuits arrived in 1842, the Lazarists—with the exception of two Chinese—left the Jiangnan mission.[23] However, Chinese Catholic euphoria about the Jesuit return was short-lived. Like the Lazarists before them, the Jesuits were rather critical of the Jiangnan believers. They asserted that the local Christians had introduced many abuses due to the lack of priestly visits during the time when Christianity was proscribed. Moreover, they were accused of cowardice and timidity because they had bribed local officials in order to be left in peace. These remarks offended the Chinese Catholic communities, many of whom had sacrificed their wealth in order to preserve their faith. The fact that the *huizhang* exercised considerable financial autonomy produced further conflict when new missionaries decided to take control of these financial matters. According to Joseph de la Servière, a local catechist produced pamphlets "full of hatred… It was a formal attack on the bishop and on the European missionaries who supported him. They [the foreigners] were reproached for violating all Chinese customs, for not having respect for the traditions of the ancestors… and for being ignorant of the national language and literature".[24] Although most Chinese priests were said to

---

[22] Joseph de la Servière, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan. Jésuites de la Province de France (Paris) (1840–1899)*. Vol. I: *Jusqu'à l'établissement d'un vicaire apostolique jésuite 1840–1856*, Zikawei, Shanghai, preface dated 1914, pp. 35–37.

[23] Henriques, the last Portuguese Lazarist to actually reside in the diocese of Nanjing, left the area for Macao in 1837 and returned to Portugal in 1841. The first three Jesuits were the Savoyard Claude Gotteland 南格祿 (1803–1856) and the Frenchmen Benjamin Bruyère 李秀芳 (1810–1880) and François Estève 艾方濟 (1807–1848). On De Besi, see *BM* XII, Chinesische Missionsliteratur 1800–1884, Freiburg: Herder, 1958, p. 191. See also Ignazio Song (1968). For further details on this episode, including an analysis of the key Chinese documents, see the recent study be Xiaojuan Huang, "Christian Communities and Alternative Devotions in China, 1780–1860", Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2006, Chapter 4: "Conflict and Community in Jiangnan, 1840–1860".

[24] Joseph de la Servière, Vol. I, p. 92. One pamphlet critical of the Western priests was called *Zhaoran gonglun* 昭然公論 [Open Letter]. For a discussion of this pamphlet

be old and timid, one of them, the Lazarist Matthaeus Shen Jinglun 沈經綸 (Sequeira) (c. 1790–1879), since 1844 a priest in Songjiang, was particularly active in his support of the Christians' struggle against de Besi. The latter insisted on having the Chinese priest removed and Shen eventually moved to a small, distant Christian community and did not return to Songjiang until after de Besi's departure for Europe in 1847 and his resignation the following year.[25]

It could be argued that the Vatican's challenge to Portugal's role in the ecclesiastical affairs of China had contributed to the tensions between foreign missionaries and indigenous Christians. For one thing, the fear of losing important subsidies which the Macao government paid the Chinese priests may have been an important factor in the struggle against de Besi and other non-Portuguese clergy. At the same time, the developments described in the preceding paragraphs coincided with the nomination of the Lazarist José Joaquim Pereira de Miranda, Sr., 米 (1776–1856)[26] as bishop of the *padroado* diocese of Nanjing by the Portuguese Queen Maria II (reigned 1826–1853), because the queen had not given her assent to the appointment of Bishop de Besi. In view of the tensions between the European priests and the local Christians, it is not surprising that some Christian communities, having requested the return of the Society of Jesus in the 1830s, now sent petitions against the Jesuits to Rome and to the court at Lisbon. The Catholics of Songjiang explained their grievances to the queen and offered premises for a residence to the Portuguese appointee. The Chinese priests decided at a meeting in Suzhou to send gifts to Miranda in Macao, and a letter promising him an enthusiastic welcome on the condition that he come to Jiangnan with Roman approbation. However, Miranda did not receive the 'confirmatur' and never left Macao, where he died in 1856.

Another source of conflict in the 1840s concerned the ecclesiastical position and power of women, especially the 'virgins'. The foreign priests appreciated their dedication, but also considered them a source of scandal. The Lazarist Pierre Lavaissière wrote in 1840 that he was

---

and Gotteland's refutation *Wubang lun* 誣謗論 [On Slander], see Xiaojuan Huang, pp. 125–126.

[25] Joseph de la Servière, Vol. I, pp. 93–96, 107. See also the biographical note for Matthaeus Shen in Van den Brandt, #69, p. 27, with his additional names of Shen Jingwei 沈經緯, Shen Ziyu 沈子漁, and Shen Bangyan 沈邦彥. See also Wei, *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine*, p. 471.

[26] On Pereira de Miranda, see *BM*, Vol. XII, p. 100; Van den Brandt, no. 45.

endeavouring to eliminate night visits by the virgins and to compel them to show less familiarity with their relatives and neighbours. The newly arrived missionaries were particularly incensed by the virgins' liturgical role. In the prefectural city of Songjiang a confrontation between missionaries and Chinese arose over virgin participation in religious services. When Count de Besi ordered the prayers to be recited by the entire congregation, men and women alternately, a storm of protest broke out, since such 'public conversation' between men and women offended Chinese moral sensibilities.[27] *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 2.4.1. Chinese Catholics in the early nineteenth century)*

Some scholars have identified Bishop de Besi as the villain of the piece. According to Louis Wei, the conflict in Jiangnan was to a large extent provoked by de Besi's impolitic behaviour: "Besi was of an uncouth, violent and authoritarian disposition…extremist and brutal".[28] Yet as two letters sent to Rome by some Jiangnan Catholics after de Besi's resignation indicate, he seems to have had Chinese supporters as well, who were prepared to praise him for his contribution to the mission.[29] In any case, the incidents in the diocese of Nanjing are more generally indicative of the growing tensions between Chinese Christians and foreign—Lazarist as well as Jesuit—missionaries in the 1840s.[30]

Several factors brought about a settlement of the Jiangnan controversies. As an immediate step, Mgr. Francesco Saverio Maresca 趙方濟 (1806–1855), a member of the Congregation of the Holy Family of Jesus Christ who had been a professor at the 'Chinese College' in Naples and since 1846 Count de Besi's coadjutor, was appointed administrator of

---

[27] This contest between Catholic interest groups in Jiangnan, including Chinese priests, local *huizhang*, and virgins, has been mentioned in several publications: A. Thomas, *Histoire de la Mission de Pékin*, vol. II, Paris: tirage privé, 1925, pp. 144–145; La Servière, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiangnan*, Vol. I, pp. 91–92; Louis Hermand, *Les étappes de la mission du Kiang-nan, 1842–1922 et de la mission de Nanking, 1922–1932*, Zicawei: Jesuites-Province de France, 1933; Eric O. Hanson, *Catholic Politics in China and Korea*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1980, pp. 17–20; Eric O. Hanson, "Political aspects of Chinese Catholicism", in James D. Whitehead, Yu-ming Shaw and N. J. Girardot (eds.), *China and Christianity. Historical and future encounters*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1979, pp. 137–141.

[28] Wei, *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine*, pp. 470, 471.

[29] The Chinese letters requesting that de Besi's decision to resign be reversed are mentioned by Huang Xiaojuan, p. 127.

[30] For a recent study of this conflict, see D. E. Mungello, "The Return of the Jesuits to China in 1841 and the Chinese Christian Backlash", *SWCRJ* 27 (2005), pp. 9–46.

the diocese. He defused the tense situation by lessening the penalties imposed by the bishop and offering a liturgical compromise.[31]

As far as the 'virgins' were concerned, the Jesuits were determined to 'regularise' their religious life. One of the earliest and somewhat unusual proposals was put forward by the Jesuit priest Luigi Maria Sica 薛孔昭 (1814–1895) in 1855. Since so many girls had been rescued and raised in orphanages by fervent virgins, he wanted to make some of them instruments of conversion. Sica thus proceeded to open an educational facility near Shanghai for selected young girls rescued thanks to the support of the Holy Childhood. The 'orphans', aged around twelve years, would be living a communal life, with a rule of discipline. In this manner at least some of the Jiangnan virgins were encouraged to organise themselves into an indigenous religious congregation, which later became known as the Association of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin (*Présentandines*), under the authority of the French mission superior and the spiritual guidance of French sisters, the Helpers of the Holy Souls.[32] However, the old 'institute of virgins' continued to function. "While the virgins strengthened local autonomy, the Presentandines extended French ecclesiastical control."[33]

The process of subordinating Chinese priests and converts to foreign missionary control accelerated in the 1850s. The first Jesuit vicar apostolic of Jiangnan, Mgr. André Borgniet 年文思 (1811–1862), ordered the Chinese priests to take up residence in Jesuit houses and be subject to Jesuit discipline.[34] During the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864), many Catholic villages were destroyed and their inhabitants fled to Shanghai and, often penniless and vulnerable, submitted to Jesuit protection. The Jesuits with European money later rebuilt the rural churches. Moreover, more and more Jesuits arrived from France. In this way the foreign missionaries were able to impose their form of Catholicism on the Chinese believers. As the Jesuit historian Auguste M. Colombel put it:

---

[31] On Mgr. Maresca, see *BM* XII, p. 217.

[32] The noviciate of the Presentation was opened on 8 September 1869. See "Les Vierges Présentandines du Kiang-nan", *Relations de Chine* 6 (Jan–Apr 1919), p. 160.

[33] Hanson (1980), p. 18; Hanson, (1979), op. cit., p. 139.

[34] On Borgniet, see *BM* XII, p. 287.

> From that time even in the temporal order the [foreign] priest was under no obligation to the Christians, but on the contrary the Christians received almost everything from the priest. The relations of the priest to his Christians were no longer what they had been before the rebellion. The priest was really master of his *chrétienté* [community of Christians].[35]

Not only in Jiangnan was the Chinese form of the church organisation destroyed. The Lazarists, too, relegated the Chinese clergy to a second-class status. Missionary congregations imposed European domination on the Church of China and subordinated Chinese Christians to an ever more numerous and powerful foreign leadership. Between 1843 and 1857 58 new Jesuit missionaries entered China. The Franciscans had 26 missionaries in 1845 and in 1882 approximately 50 friars worked there.[36]

The role of the foreign missionaries

Up to about 1844 foreign missionaries were underground missionaries. Afterwards they can be called treaty missionaries.[37] The role of these two kinds of missionaries was rather different. The life of an underground missionary can best be illustrated by the life of the French Lazarist Jean-Gabriel Perboyre 董文學 (1802–1840). He arrived in Macao in August 1835 and toward the end of the year travelled through the provinces of Fujian, Jiangxi and Hunan to his destination in the province of Hubei. As this was a dangerous journey for a foreigner, he travelled disguised as Chinese. For the time being he worked in Hunan, but in January 1838 he was transferred to Hubei. Often he had to travel by night and to meet the Christians secretly. This roving life came to an end when a catechumen betrayed Perboyre. Severe interrogations in several places followed and finally he was brought to the city of Wuchang. After a trial of four months he was branded with the following Chinese characters: "This is someone who spreads

---

[35] Quoted in Hanson (1980), p. 19.

[36] Whyte, pp. 109–110. Arnulf Camps and Pat McCloskey, *The Friars Minor in China (1294–1955), especially the years 1925–1955*, based on the research of friars Bernward Willeke and Domenico Gandolfi OFM, St. Bonaventure: St. Bonaventure University / Rome: General Secretariat for Missionary Evangelisation OFM, 1995, pp. 19–20.

[37] Carine Dujardin, *Missionering en Moderniteit. De Belgische Minderbroeders in China 1872–1940*, Leuven: Universitaire Pers, 1996, pp. 73–76.

the bad religion". On 11 September 1840 an imperial decree arrived and condemned him to death by strangulation. The order was immediately executed. Christians buried him next to the grave of François-Régis Clet 劉方濟 CM, who had suffered martyrdom in 1820. In 1889 Perboyre was beatified and in 1996 his canonisation took place in Rome.[38]

Many missionaries shared a similar fate. Francesco Maria Lantrua 藍月旺 (in religion Giovanni da Triora OFM) (1760–1816) was one of them. He too passed through Macao and laboured in Canton, Hankou, Xi'an (Shaanxi), Hanzhong (Shaanxi), in Mian district near Hanzhong, where a catechist betrayed him, and in the provinces of Hubei and Hunan. In July 1815 he was caught in the city of Leiyang and transferred to the governor of the capital city of Changsha. He died by strangulation on 7 February 1816. In 1900 he was beatified together with 48 other Chinese, Vietnamese and foreign martyrs.[39]

These wandering missionaries had to live such a life both because foreign priests in China were very few and because it was safer to change places for the continuation of their underground activities. This situation began to change around 1844: in the 'unequal' treaties a beginning was made to protect the missionaries, the Chinese priests and the faithful. As the persecutions did not stop at once, no clear-cut transition from the underground missionary to the treaty-missionary can be indicated. The ambiguity of the situation can be illustrated by the experiences of two Vincentian missionaries, Évariste-Régis Huc 古伯察 (1813–1860) and Joseph Gabet 秦 (1808–1853), who between 1844–1846 undertook a journey from the North of China through Mongolia and Tibet to the South of China with Macao as the final destination. The travel report published by Huc made a great impression in Europe and was translated into many languages. It contributed

[38] Gerard van Winsen CM, *Jean-Gabriël Perboyre CM (1802–1840), missionaris en martelaar*, Panningen: Missiehuis, 1996; André Sylvestre CM, *Jean-Gabriel Perboyre, prêtre de la Mission, Martyr de Chine*, Moissac: Imprimerie Mothes, 1994; *Het leven en de marteldood van den Gelukzaligen J.-Gabriel Perboyre, Priester van de Congregatie van de Missie, genaamd der Lazaristen, gesticht door den heiligen Vincentius van Paulo, door een Priester derzelfde Congregatie*, Amsterdam: C. L. van Langenhuysen, 1897.

[39] Giuseppe Antonelli, *Un Martire di Cina. Il b. Giovanni da Triora, frate minore*, Roma: Editrice Sallustiana, 1900; Pacifique-Marie Chardin OFM, *Les missions franciscaines en Chine. Notes géografiques et historiques*, Paris: Auguste Picard, 1915, pp. 134–135, 171–172; Salvatore Zavarella, *Missione e martirio. Missionari francescani martiri in Cina*, Roma: Postulazione generale dell'Ordine dei Frati Minori, 2000, p. 83.

much to a renewed interest in China and the Chinese missions. But it would be too much to state that this journey proved that missionaries could travel freely throughout China. When Huc and Gabet were on the point of leaving 'China Proper', they decided to avoid contact with Christian communities. They had understood that both the Mongols and the 'Tatars' (i.e. Manchu) knew very well that Christianity was proscribed in China.[40] They also changed their Chinese dress into the secular dress of Tibetan Lamas.[41] During their stay at Lhasa they were well received by the Tibetan religious and secular authorities, but Qishan 琦善 (1790–1854), the imperial resident (also known as the *amban*), mistrusted them and ordered them back into China. Evidently Qishan feared that the popularity of the two missionaries in Tibet would spread to China.[42] Returning from Lhasa to Macao they passed through many Catholic communities in Southern China, but the Christians did not dare raise their heads for fear of being persecuted.

The evolution from underground missionary to treaty-missionary became evident in the life and apostolate of the French Lazarist Joseph-Martial Mouly 孟振生 (1807–1868). As Jean Charbonnier has put it:

> From 1840 up to 1900 the foreign missionaries, first hunted down and subsequently rather protected, exercised step by step supervision over the life of the Church in China. It is another famous Lazarist, Mgr. Mouly, who takes the lead of that evolution. 'In his person, writes A. Thomas, the Catholic destiny of the country is fixed during nearly thirty years.'[43]

Mouly arrived in Beijing in 1835 and was received by the Chinese Lazarist priest, Joseph Han 韓 (1772–1844), who was serving the faithful both in Beijing and in Xiwanzi 西灣子 in Inner Mongolia, to which

---

[40] Evariste-Régis Huc, *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Thibet pendant les années 1844, 1845 et 1846*, nouvelle édition annotée et illustrée par J. M. Planchet CM, vol. I, Pékin: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1924, p. 36. On Huc, see *BM* XII, pp. 230–238. On Gabet, see *BM* XII, pp. 204–208. A. Thomas, pp. 188–233. Michel Jan, *Le voyage en Asie Centrale et au Tibet, anthologie des voyageurs occidentaux du Moyen Age à la première moitié du XX^e siècle*, Paris: Robert Laffont, 1992, pp. 1059–1336 passim. Huc's letters were published by Jacqueline Thevenet, *Joseph Gabet, Évariste Huc: Lettres de Chine et d'ailleurs, 1835–1860*, Paris, Les Indes Savants, 2005.

[41] Huc, (1924), vol. I, p. 43.

[42] Huc, (1924), vol. II, p. 323.

[43] Jean Charbonnier, *Histoire des Chrétiens de Chine*, Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2002, p. 205. On Mouly, see *BM* XII, pp. 98–100.

region many Catholics of Beijing had fled after the persecution of 1829. Joseph Han gave all honours, due a new superior of the mission, to Mouly who was 28 years of age and possessed not yet one year of missionary experience. Mouly continued his journey to Xiwanzi, a remote settlement beyond the Great Wall where another Chinese Lazarist, Matthaeus Xue 薛瑪竇 (1780–1860), had already been superior of the Lazarist missions for fifteen years. He, too, immediately submitted to the authority of the young missionary, Mouly. In 1841 Mouly was appointed vicar apostolic of the newly erected vicariate apostolic of Mongolia. When he was additionally appointed administrator of the diocese of Beijing in 1846, the Beijing Christians, who a decade or so earlier had sent letters to Europe requesting that Jesuits be sent to replace the Lazarists,[44] objected to the appointment. At the same time, they asked that the status quo of the Beijing diocese be maintained, with the Portuguese Lazarist João de França Castro e Moura 趙 (1804–1868) to be their resident *bishop* rather than their vicar apostolic. At the same time, they refused to recognise Mouly as the new administrator. When the administrator excommunicated the dissident Christians, including some priests, a kind of schism developed in the diocese.[45]

However, the Holy See insisted on the abrogation of the padroado diocese of Beijing, dividing it into three vicariates apostolic under the direct control of Propaganda Fide in 1856. Mouly became the first vicar apostolic of North Zhili and took up his residence at the Beitang 北堂 (North Church) in Beijing. The Sino-French agreements of 1858 and in 1860 and the French religious protectorate of Catholics in China further strengthened the vicar apostolic's hand. On the occasion of reopening the Nantang 南堂 (South Church), decked with the French tricolour, in Beijing in 1860, he enthusiastically sang the

[44] The Beijing Christians had sent a collective letter, dated 7 May 1832, to Jan Roothaan (1785–1853), the superior general of the Society of Jesus, as well as one to Pope Gregory XVI in 1833. For a more recent detailed examination of this episode, based partly on Chinese documentation, see Xiaojuan Huang, "Christian Communities and Alternative Devotions in China, 1780–1860", chapter 3: "Conflict and Community in Beijing: 1780–1840". On Matthaeus Xue, see *BM* XII, p. 61.

[45] Wei, *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine 1842–1856*, p. 467, based on the collective letter of the Beijing Christians to the Pope, dated July 1847; see also A. Thomas, *Histoire de la Mission de Pékin*, Vol. II, p. 256. For the Chinese text and English translation of a letter from the Beijing Christians of the South Church to Pope Pius IX, dated July 1848, see Huang, pp. 240–244. On Castro, see Van den Brandt, pp. 31–32.

invocation *Domine salvum fac imperatorem nostrum Napoleonem* (God save our emperor Napoleon). During the Corpus Christi procession a year later, members of the French legation carrying the canopy and the Chinese Catholics were introduced to the Gregorian chant. In 1862 Mouly felt confident enough to bring French Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul to Beijing and Tianjin.[46]

The case of Joseph-Martial Mouly, who during his long ministry in northern China set the pace for the coming decades, may serve as an example of the changing relationship between foreign missionaries and Chinese Catholic communities in the late Qing China. He arrived in China as an underground missionary and died—more than thirty years later—as the paragon of a 'treaty missionary'. One gets an ever stronger impression that an European church was imposed on Chinese Catholics, who were well on the way to become a Chinese Catholic Church. How Chinese believers responded to this transition in the longer run is rather more difficult to assess.

Bibliography

Antonelli, Giuseppe, *Un martire di Cina: il b. Giovanni da Triora, frate minore*, Roma: Tipografia editrice Sallustiana, 1900.

Beckmann, Johannes, "Die Missionen von 1840 bis 1870", in Hubert Jedin (ed.), *HdKG*, vol. VI: *Die Kirche in der Gegenwart*. Halbband 1, *Die Kirche zwischen Revolution und Restauration*, Freiburg: Herder, 1971, pp. 615–649.

Camps, Arnulf, "Foreign Missionaries and Chinese Catholic Communities During the Late Qing China (1800–1860)", *NZM* 60 (2004), pp. 273–286.

Camps, Arnulf, and Pat McCloskey, *The Friars Minor in China (1294–1955), especially the years 1925–1955*, based on the research of friars Bernward Willeke and Domenico Gandolfi OFM, St. Bonaventure: St. Bonaventure University / Rome: General Secretariat for Missionary Evangelisation OFM, 1995.

Charbonnier, Jean, *Histoire des Chrétiens de Chine*, Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2002.

Chardin, Pacafique-Marie, *Les missions franciscaines en Chine: notes géographiques et hitoriques*, Paris: Auguste Picard, 1915.

Covell, Ralph R., *Confucius, the Buddha, and Christ. A history of the Gospel in Chinese*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1986.

D'Elia, Pasquale M., *Catholic Native Episcopacy in China: Being an Outline of the Formation and Growth of the Chinese Catholic Clergy, 1300–1926*, Shanghai: T'usewei Printing Press, 1927.

Dujardin, Carine, *Missionering en Moderniteit. De Belgische Minderbroeders in China 1872–1940*, Leuven: Universitaire Pers, 1996.

[46] Charbonnier, (2002), p. 210.

Gourdon, François-Marie-Joseph, *Beati Martyres provinciæ Se-tchouan in Sinis 1815–1823*, Cha-p'in-pa [Shapingba 沙坪壩, Chongqing]: Typis missionis Se-tch'ouan orientalis, 1901.
Grosse-Aschhoff, Angelus Francis J., *The Negotiations between Ch'i-Ying and Lagrené, 1844–1846*, St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: Franciscan Institute, 1950.
Hanson, Eric O., *Catholic Politics in China and Korea*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1980.
Hanson, Eric O., "Political aspects of Chinese Catholicism", in James D. Whitehead, Yu-ming Shaw and N. J. Girardot (eds.), *China and Christianity. Historical and future encounters*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1979.
Hermand, Louis, *Les étappes de la mission du Kiang-nan, 1842–1922, et de la mission de Nanking, 1922–1932*, Zi-ka-wei: Impr. de la Mission, Orphelinat de T'ou-sè-wè, 1933.
Huang, Xiaojuan, "Christian Communities and Alternative Devotions in China, 1780–1860", Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2006.
Huc, Evariste Régis, *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Thibet pendant les années 1844, 1845 et 1846*. Nouvelle éd. Annotée et illustrée par J.-M. Planchet, 2 vols., Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1924. One of many editions, including several English and Chinese translations.
Jan, Michel, *Le voyage en Asie Centrale et au Tibet, anthologie des voyageurs occidentaux du Moyen Age à la première moitié du XX^e siècle*, Paris: Robert Laffont, 1992.
La Servière, Joseph de, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan. Jésuites de la Province de France (Paris) (1840–1899)*, vol. I: *Jusqu'à l'établissement d'un vicaire apostolique jésuite 1840–1856*, Zikawei, Shanghai, preface dated 1914.
Lazzarotto, Angelo, "Le missioni cattoliche in Cina negli ultimi due secoli", in D'Arelli, Francesco, and Adolfo Tamburello (eds.), *La missione cattolica in Cina tra i secoli 17.–18.: Emiliano Palladini (1733–1793), congregato della Sacra Famiglia di Gesù Cristo, procuratore della Sacra Congregazione Propaganda Fide a Macao : atti del Convegno, Lauria, 8–9 ottobre 1993* (Collana Matteo Ripa, 11), Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1995.
Malek, Roman (ed.), *Macau. Herkunft ist Zukunft*, Sankt Augustin and Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2000.
Margiotti, Fortunato, "La Cina cattolica al traguardo della maturità", in Josef Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, vol. III,1 *(1815–1972)*, Rom/Freiburg: Herder, 1975.
Marshall, T[homas] W[illiam] M., *Les Missions chrétiennes*. Ouvrage traduit de l'anglais avec l'autorisation de l'auteur, augmenté et annoté par Louis de Waziers. Vol. I, Paris: Ambroise Bray, 1865.
Mensaert, Georgius, "Sinae II: tempore hodierno (1579–1957)", in *Historia Missionum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, vol. I: *Asia centro-orientalis et oceania*, Rome: Secretariatus Missionum OFM, 1967.
Metzler, Josef, *Die Synoden in China, Japan und Korea 1570–1931*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1980.
Mungello, D. E., "The Return of the Jesuits to China in 1841 and the Chinese Christian Backlash", *SWCRJ* 27 (2005), pp. 9–46.
Roy, J[ust-]J[ean-]E[tienne], *Histoire abrégée des missions catholiques dans les diverses parties du monde depuis la fin du XV^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, 9th ed., Tours: Alfred Mame et fils, 1880; (first edition 1855).
Song, Ignazio, "Mons. Lodovico de Besi, missionario in Cina", Dissertatio ad Lauream, Gregorian University, Rome, 1968.
Tang, Edmond, and Jean-Paul Wiest (eds.), *The Catholic Church in Modern China: Perspectives*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1993.

Thevenet, Jacqueline, *Joseph Gabet, Évariste Huc: Lettres de Chine et d'ailleurs, 1835–1860*, Paris, Les Indes Savants, 2005.
Thomas, A. [pseud. for Jean-Marie Planchet CM], *Histoire de la Mission de Pékin. Vol. 2: Depuis l'arrivée des Lazaristes jusqu'à la révolte des Boxeurs, Paris: tirage privé*, 1925; re-issued Paris: Vald. Rasmussen, 1933.
Wei Tsing-sing, Louis [Wei Qingxin 衛青心], *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine 1842–1856. L'ouverture des cinq ports chinois au commerce étranger et la liberté religieuse*, Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1960.
Willeke, Bernward H., "The Report of the Apostolic Visitation of D. Emmanuele Conforti on the Franciscan Missions in Shansi, Shensi and Kansu (1798)", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 84.1–2 (1991), pp. 197–271 (also as separate offprint: Grottaferrata, 1991).
Winsen, Gerard van, *Jean-Gabriël Perboyre C.M. (1802–1840): missionaris en martelaar in China*, Panningen: Lazaristen Missiehuis Panningen, 1996.
Wittmann, Patricius, *Die Herrlichkeit der Kirche in ihren Missionen seit der Glaubensspaltung: eine allgemeine Geschichte der katholischen Missionen in den letzten drei Jahrhunderten*, Bd. II, Augsburg: Karl Kollmann, 1841.
Zavarella, Salvatore, *Missione e martirio. Missionari francescani martiri in Cina*, Roma: Postulazione generale dell'Ordine dei Frati Minori, 2000.

2.2. Protestant Missionaries

2.2.1. *The Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1807–1860*

Murray A. Rubinstein

The Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1807–1841

The years from 1807 to 1841 mark the first period in the modern phase of the Protestant missionary enterprise in China. An earlier Protestant attempt to convert Chinese and minority peoples living in Chinese-dominated areas had taken place in the seventeenth century: Dutch Reformed missionaries had worked on Taiwan among the Yuanzhumin 原住民 (Taiwanese aborigines) and the Han Chinese immigrants from southern Fujian during the nearly forty years (from 1622–1662) that the Dutch East India Company had controlled southern and central Taiwan.[1] This effort ended abruptly when the Dutch were driven from the island by Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (in the West popularly known as Koxinga 國姓爺), the anti-Qing leader supporting restoration of the Ming dynasty. *(cross-reference: Handbook I, 2.4 Dutch Protestant Mission in Taiwan)*

Two distinct sub-periods can be discerned during the first phase of the nineteenth century enterprise. The first of these began with Robert Morrison's arrival in Canton in September of 1807 and ended in early 1830, when Morrison awaited the coming of the first of the American Board missionary, Elijah Coleman Bridgman. The second sub-period began with Bridgman's arrival and ended in 1841 when he and other Western missionaries left Guangzhou (Canton) during the hostilities of the First Opium War (1839–1842).

This section traces the development of this Anglo-American benevolent effort to transform the spiritual life of the Chinese in these crucial years in the history of Qing China and the industrialising and aggressively expansionist West. These two sub-periods, when considered as a

[1] On this period see William Campbell's edited volume on the Dutch missionary enterprise, *Formosa Under the Dutch Described from Contemporary Records: With Explanatory Notes and a Bibliography of the Island*, Kegan Paul, Trubner & Co., London, 1903. Republished in 1987 by SMC Publishing, Taipei; Chinese translation: 甘爲霖牧師 Wm. Campbell, *He ju xia de Fu'ermosha* 荷據下的福爾摩莎, Li Xionghui 李雄揮 (trans.), Taibei: Qianwei chubanshe, 2003.

whole, served as the prelude for the dramatic expansion of the multinational mission effort that would evolve in the new diplomatic environment—and under the protective envelope that was created by the Qing regime's forced acceptance of the 'unequal treaties' of Nanjing (1842), Tianjin (1858) and Beijing (1860). Profiles are given of the key missionaries in the evolution of a multi-levelled experiment in spiritual and cultural imperialism.

Questions of Background

Robert Morrison 馬禮遜 (1782–1834) was the son of a Scottish Presbyterian who settled in northern England. Robert, one of eight children and the youngest of the couple's sons, was born near Morpeth, Northumberland, in 1782. Three years later the family moved to Newcastle-on-Tyne where Morrison's father took up his trade of shoe-last maker and boot-tree maker.

The Evangelical Revival that swept through England during these decades served to deepen the already strong faith of the family and Robert found his own life redefined when in his teens he experienced a powerful spiritual conversion. The religious experience that the young man had gone through awakened in him a desire to know more about his own faith and about the larger secular world that faith challenged with its message of personal rebirth and universal millennial transformation. He worked in his father's trade but in what little time he had read and studied what books he could find. So deep was his piety and so earnest were his efforts to better himself that he attracted the attention of a local cleric, the Reverend William Laidlaw, who became his tutor in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Laidlaw and others recognised Morrison's intellectual ability and his talent for learning but the young man could not take the difficult step of leaving his family until his mother died. Soon after her death Robert Morrison moved to London to begin more formal education in the Dissenting Academy of Hoxton, the crown jewel of the Nonconformist school system.[2]

Hoxton changed Morrison. He became both a solid and thoughtful student and an even more committed Evangelical who saw the minis-

[2] See Morrison's own account of his conversion and his early education in Eliza A. Morrison, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D.*, London, 1839. See also Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China, 1807–1840*, pp. 46–49.

try as his calling in life. He then went further and began to see himself as a missionary to the 'heathen'. This call proved to be almost as central an event in his life as his actual conversion, for he now volunteered to follow a path that would define him as a man and give him a place in the history of his church, his mission board, and in the history of the Western encounter with China. While at Hoxton, he began to learn Chinese from a young Cantonese, Yong Sam Tak, as a means of preparing himself for working in Canton (Guangzhou).

In the spring of 1807, Morrison started his journey to China via the United States, the British East India Company having refused him passage in one of their ships. The voyage from New York took over three months. He landed at Macao 澳門 in early September 1807 and after spending a few days there took a boat to Whampoa 黃埔 and then to the Thirteen Factory District of Canton. It was here that he took the first halting steps to begin his mission to the Chinese.

Morrison in China: the Many Lives of a Missionary Exemplar 1807–1834

In South China, Morrison built a working relationship with the members of the Western merchant community, serving as intermediary between the traders and Chinese officials, translating Chinese documents and texts into English and English religious works into Chinese, evangelising quietly among the Cantonese with whom he was in contact, and providing guidance and emotional support to a group of LMS missionaries scattered throughout Southeast Asia. Christianity was still proscribed in China and Western missionaries were *persona non grata*. Morrison could not be what he was, at least officially, and had to live with that reality during his twenty-eight-year sojourn in China. With the help of Sir George Staunton (1781–1859), chief of the British East India Company's (EIC) Select Committee in Canton, he secured a tutor in Chinese, a Catholic named Abel Yun. Morrison thus began a more intense study of the Canton dialect and Mandarin soon after his arrival. He persevered in his studies and gained familiarity with both the language and the local customs. Those who followed him would also work with Chinese teachers and many of these men became collaborators in a variety of translation projects.

A new phase of Morrison's life began in February 1809: he married Mary Morton and began a secular career as the official translator for the EIC. These two events redefined his existence and the nature of

the LMS mission in Guangdong. He now had a wife and a responsible and well paying position that enabled him to support her. Thus began Morrison's formal career as the translator and cultural intermediary for the Select Committee and as LMS missionary evangelist in Canton. His wife, on the other hand, was left alone with her servants in Macao, because no foreign women were permitted to reside beyond the Portuguese settlement. Morrison's numerous and heavy responsibilities as EIC translator included the translation of official documents and works such as the *Beijing Gazette* 京報, a sort of newspaper carrying Chinese government announcements. This publication would prove invaluable to the Western merchants and to later missionaries alike as a basic source of information about official China. Morrison also prepared a major text book, *A Chinese Grammar of the Chinese Language*, which was printed at the Mission Press in Serampore, India, in 1815 and subsequently widely distributed.

Morrison also felt he had to serve the LMS and did what he could to maintain the work of his one man mission. Thus, over the course of these years, with funds provided by various British religious societies, he prepared Chinese versions of passages from the Bible and Christian tracts for distribution. Such tracts were a mainstay of Western Protestant evangelism and would become the major 'weapon' in the British and American attempt to win souls to Christ. Finally, as proof that his evangelism and bearing witness to the truths of Christianity were not in vain, a Cantonese man he had been working with, Ci Ako (Tse A-ko), converted to Christianity and was baptised. The missionary also felt it was necessary to provide his superiors at the LMS and his employers in the Select Committee with translations of important ancient Chinese works such as the Four Books and the Five Classics. However, as will be seen, it was Morrison who was recognised as defining the role of the missionary as translator and China scholar and thus preparing the way for later messengers of the gospel.

In July of 1813 William Milne 米憐 (1785–1822)[3] came to Canton in an attempt to work with Morrison as a member of the South China branch of what would become the LMS Ultra-Ganges Missions 恆河

[3] Based on Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Missionaries to the Chinese*, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867, pp. 12–21. Wylie's still useful set of brief biographies remains the best introduction to the Protestant actors in the China mission field from its beginnings to the 1860s. On Milne, see also P. Richard Bohr, "The Legacy of William Milne", *IBMR* 25.4 (October 2002), pp. 173–178.

外方傳教會.[4] The two men shared similar outlooks and ideas, complementing each other well. Milne saw in Morrison a man he could work with and work for. Morrison saw in Milne an intelligent, brave and generous soul who possessed an ambition close to his own and talents and skills in the realm of printing and publishing. However, the newly arrived missionary soon found that he would not be able to live and work in South China. The Select Committee had allowed Morrison to continue to work as a missionary only because they needed him to serve as their translator. They knew full well the Qing view of missionaries and of Christianity and thus felt that having Milne based in China was an unacceptable risk. He was told that he could stay, but only for a limited time and then had to find a new home for himself and his family. Consequently, in February 1814, Morrison decided to send Milne on a reconnaissance mission to Southeast Asia. The most attractive site was Penang, an area controlled by the EIC. Here the British Resident made it clear that the authorities were anxious to have a missionary such as Milne among them. In the end, Milne and family established an LMS mission in Malacca in 1815, a place thought to offer the most advantage of those he had visited in Southeast Asia.

As concerns Morrison, the EIC board of directors in England decided in 1814 that the formal relationship they had with him was too dangerous. He was informed that his work on the New Testament and the other tracts were against Chinese law and that by engaging in this activity Morrison endangered the work of the Company. Since the directors realised just how valuable Morrison was to them, the break with the Company was defined as *formal* but not *actual*. Morrison would continue to serve the EIC but would do so in a way that would not link his name with that of the Company. Yet two years later, he was recruited for an assignment that would give him the opportunity to see the China that had been closed to him and most other Westerners. Morrison was chosen to be one of the interpreters on Earl Amherst's embassy to Beijing in 1816. The missionary would capitalise on his experience and his new-found first-hand knowledge in the years ahead.

---

[4] The name "Ultra-Ganges Missions" was adopted by Robert Morrison and William Milne in the "Resolutions of the Provisional Committee of the Ultra-Ganges Missions", signed by them on 2 November 1817. See William Milne, *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China*, Malacca: printed at the Anglo-Chinese Press, 1820, pp. 198–201.

After Morrison's return to Canton, he set out to organise the Anglo-Chinese College 英華書院 with Milne's help at Malacca. This became a central project in which, when under way and functioning as an institution, the two men took great pride. They then went a step further and established the Provisional Committee of the Ultra-Ganges Missions. This body defined the nature of missions in this region and discussed the idea that the missions in the Nanyang needed to speak to the LMS directorate with one united voice.[5]

In 1823 Morrison returned to his mother country for a long-needed furlough that quickly turned into a triumphal grand tour and reaped the rewards of his many years as missionary pioneer. He had left an obscure just-ordained Nonconformist minister. He returned as a man seen as both mission pioneer and exemplar and as one who was regarded as one of the most important sinologists of his day. During his period in London he began to lobby for support of the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca. He wrote to and talked to the heads of various evangelical societies in an effort to make his case. He also discussed related matters of mission policy in East and Southeast Asia, using his knowledge and influence to good effect. Finally, Morrison used his time to make the case for Chinese studies in Great Britain. He wanted to see the development of a school where the languages and cultures of the East Asian nations might be taught. With the support of some key figures, such as the Anglican evangelical and reformer, William Wilberforce, was able to secure funds and set up the Language Institute. He showed how deep his commitment was by teaching Chinese at the new school.[6]

Calling for the Americans 1826–1830

By 1826, accompanied by his children and his second wife, Eliza, Morrison returned to Canton and resumed his work. He re-established contact with a number of American merchants and worked with them to promote the establishment of an American missionary presence in South China. Key to this was the renewal of the friendship that had developed between Morrison and the pious New York merchant

[5] Morrison's effort is discussed in Rubinstein, *The Origins*, pp. 139–149.
[6] Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. II, pp. 300–302.

D. W. C. Olyphant. The two men had met in the early 1820s.[7] When Morrison came back to his East Asian home, he discovered that Olyphant was still the pious evangelical of old and willing to use his wealth and influence to promote the spread of the Gospel among the Chinese. Their collaboration would now prove most fruitful.

The two men and the small circle of merchants who worshipped with Morrison discussed the issue of an American presence and called upon the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to send missionaries to Canton. In the autumn of 1827 the small evangelical community of Canton asked Robert Morrison to draft a letter, calling upon the American Board's Prudential Committee to send men to China. The traders offered both passage and support for such men.[8] The Board's officers reacted positively to the letter and began to recruit two men for the mission.[9]

The first man the Board chose for its China mission was Elijah Coleman Bridgman 裨治文 (1801–1861). He was a native of Belchertown, Massachusetts, who had attended Amherst College and Andover Seminary, the centre of the evangelical Orthodox Trinitarian tradition. He had undergone his personal conversion at age twelve and shown himself to be a sober, sincere and devout Christian—as well as an able and intelligent young man. He was drawn to the mission field and willing to consider China.[10]

The second man chosen was to work as preacher to the Western sailors. The American Seamen's Friend Society and the Board recruited David Abeel 雅裨理 (1804–1846). A native of New Brunswick, New Jersey, he too came from a deeply religious family and had been raised as a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. Having studied medicine at Rutgers University, he changed his mind and decided upon a

---

[7] On Morrison and David Washington Cincinnatus Olyphant (1789–1851) during this first period, see Rubinstein, *The Origins*, pp. 217–219.

[8] Robert Morrison and D. W. C. Olyphant to the American Board, 19 November 1827, Olyphant Papers, Missionary Research Library, Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York. See also Phillips, *Protestant America*, pp. 173–174; and Rubinstein, *The Origins*, pp. 220–221.

[9] Rubinstein, *The Origins*, pp. 220–221.

[10] The basic biography of Bridgman is by his widow, Eliza Gillett Bridgman, *Pioneer of American Missions to China: The Life and Labors of Elijah Coleman Bridgman*, New York: Ason D. F. Randolph, 1864. For a recent biography, see Michael C. Lazich, *E. C. Bridgman (1801–1861): America's First Missionary to China*, Lewiston; Queenston; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000.

career in the ministry and attended the Brunswick Theological Seminary. Abeel was eventually recruited by officers of the ABCFM and the Seamen's Friend Society and appointed as pastor to the Whampoa-based sailors.[11]

Expanded Protestant Mission Presence in South China, 1830–1841

Bridgman and Abeel reached Macao in February 1830 and soon after took boats upriver to Canton. The morning after their arrival they were welcomed by Robert Morrison, the now legendary pioneer. The coming of the Americans changed the nature of the missionary community in important ways. What had been a one-man operation now became a decidedly joint trans-national effort that was able to make important progress almost from the start. The arrival of the two Americans marks the beginning of the second stage of the first period in the evolution of the Protestant evangelical missionary enterprise in China. They began to work with Morrison and Liang Fa 梁發 (1789–1855), one of the first Chinese converts to Protestant Christianity. Abeel began to preach to foreign seamen at the Whampoa anchorage.[12]

When the trading season was ended the men settled downriver at Macao, joining Morrison and his family. Macao in the nineteenth century was a unique Sino-Western entity with its blend of Portuguese architecture and crowded Chinese communities and Catholic churches and temples to the major Chinese gods. The full force of Chinese 'paganism' assaulted these men even here in an ostensibly Western enclave and gave them pause to ponder the enormity of their tasks of evangelism and conversion. Back in Canton, the Americans and Morrison jointly established the Christian Union in China. This 'church' became during the 1830s a body that provided institutional support for many of the Anglo-American missionary activities.

While Abeel preached his last sermon at Whampoa on 28 December 1830 before leaving on an exploratory voyage to Southeast Asia on behalf of the ABCFM, Bridgman continued his Chinese language studies and was making enough progress to help Liang Fa prepare

---

[11] For a manuscript biography of Abeel, see Milton Stauffer, "Our Beloved Brother, David Abeel", New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, NJ. On his recruitment and family background, see Rubinstein, *The Origins*, pp. 225–226, 238–247.

[12] Bridgman to Evarts, 20 October 1830, in ABC 16.3.8., vol. 1.

Chinese tracts. Distribution of these tracts had become the main tactic of the missionaries and the few Chinese converts working with them. *Liang you xiang lun* 兩友相論 (The Two Friends), written by William Milne, was one of the most widely distributed tracts and had its own unique history as a work of religious literature.[13] Bridgman was becoming more adept at preparing these materials, but remained concerned about the problem of just how to have them distributed so that they could readily reach the Chinese audience. Here Liang Fa continued to play a vital role, creating an embryonic network of Christian workers who would distribute texts on various occasions.[14]

In early 1832 Bridgman started the publication of a Canton-based English language magazine about China, the *Chinese Repository*. It would provide the Western merchants with a body of useful information, and with a forum where they could discuss their ideas and their visions of China and the China trade. It was a publication that would by its very nature and content provide a wider audience in the English-speaking world with useful information. Morrison had long advocated the publication of just such a magazine and Bridgman was now helping to make that monthly publication a reality.[15] The *Chinese Repository* took up much of his time during the second half of the 1831–1832 trading season, but he remained attentive to his other tasks. Working with Morrison, he drafted a circular titled *Address to the Churches of Christ in Europe and America and Elsewhere*. This appeal reviewed the development of the Protestant mission presence in East and Southeast Asia that Morrison had pioneered and then laid out the nature of that effort as it stood in 1832. They then called upon the churches in the West to expand the enterprise by sending more workers to China.[16] It can be seen as strong evidence that the Anglo-American enterprise was an organisational collaboration.

On 29 October 1832 Edwin Stevens 史迪芬 (1802–1837) reached China. Stevens was a native of Connecticut who had trained for the ministry at Yale—one of the centres of evolving American evangelical

---

[13] See Daniel H. Bays, "Christian Tracts: The Two Friends", in John K. Fairbank and Suzanne Barnett, eds., *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985, pp. 19–34.

[14] Bridgman to Evarts, 8 October 1831, in ABC 16.3.8., vol. 1.

[15] Bridgman to Anderson, 5 May and 26 May 1832, in ABC 16.3.8., vol. 1. Rufus Anderson had become the Corresponding Secretary and would lead the Board in that position for the better part of the next three decades.

[16] "Circular Letter", in Morrison, *Memoirs*, vol. II, pp. 470–472.

tradition. He had accepted a call as Abeel's replacement as the Seamen's Friend Society chaplain and, after a few years of service, would become a missionary of the American Board. He would prove to be a valuable member of the small Protestant community and would, as Jonathan Spence has recently argued, have an important impact on the larger history of China.[17]

It was around this time that a new man entered the scene, namely Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff 郭實獵 (1803–1851). Gützlaff is a rather astonishing figure. He was born in Pyritz in what until 1945 was Prussian Pomerania. While working as a brazier's apprentice in Stettin, he felt his call to missions. After studies in Johannes Jänicke's Missionary Institute in Berlin and the mission seminary in Rotterdam, he was ordained in 1826 and sent to the Dutch East Indies as a missionary for the Netherlands Mission Society. After a brief sojourn with Walter Henry Medhurst in Batavia (now Jakarta), Gützlaff moved to Riau. Having married Miss Maria Newell (1794–1831) of the LMS in Malacca in 1829, the couple moved to Bangkok where Mrs. Gützlaff died in childbirth in early 1831. Shortly afterwards he left a Chinese junk bound for China. He explored the China coast and then made his home in Macao and Canton where he met Morrison and the American missionaries.[18]

---

[17] Spence's portrait of Stevens and his discussion of his role can be found in his brilliant (and novelistic) new study of Hong Xiuquan, the founder of the Taiping movement. See Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son*. For a brief biography of Stevens, see Wylie, pp. 84–85.

[18] See "Karl Friedrich Gutzlaff" in Wylie, pp. 54–66. The very size of the entry in this key work suggests how productive and significant a figure Gützlaff was in the eyes of his contemporaries and in the eyes of the next generation of missionaries to come to China. For analyses of Gützlaff's career in China, see Herman Schlyter, *Karl Gützlaff als Missionar in China*, Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1946; Herman Schlyter, *Der China-Missionar Karl Gützlaff und seine Heimatbasis*, Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1976; Jessie G. Lutz, "Karl F. A. Gützlaff: Missionary Entrepreneur", in: Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank (eds.), *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985, pp. 61–87; Jessie G. Lutz, "The Grand Illusion: Karl Gützlaff and Popularization of China Missions in the United States in the 1830s", in: Patricia Neils (ed.), *United States Attitudes and Policies toward China. The Impact of American Missionaries*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1990, pp. 46–77; Jessie G. Lutz, *Opening China: Karl F. A. Gützlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827–1852* (Studies in the History of Christian Missions), Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008. He also was the subject of an international symposium in Erfurt, Germany, in 2001. The symposium papers were published as: Thoralf Klein and Reinhard Zöllner (eds.), *Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851) und das Christentum in Ostasien. Ein Missionar zwischen den Kulturen*, Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica, [2005].

Gützlaff's activities over the course of the two decades he spent in Southeast Asia and China would have a profound and lasting effect on the small mission community and on the course of the Protestant enterprise in China. Some such as Bridgman wondered in their reports to their superiors how positive that effect was. That they were suspicious of Gützlaff did not mean that they would not work with him. He became, indeed, an important force in the evolving community of Evangelical-Pietistic missionaries who dominated the early nineteenth century Protestant enterprise in China.

At this moment in time Gützlaff was being both praised and damned. He had just returned from two more voyages along the coast of China. These voyages were taken on Western opium ships. Gützlaff was on these vessels serving as translator for the opium traders. However, he was also there in his capacity as missionary, distributing tracts and Bible chapters and bearing witness to his faith. These were voyages of reconnaissance for both the opium dealers and the missionaries. He would then write up accounts of these voyages, omitting the fact that they were in fact drug selling expeditions. These chapters were first included in issues of the *Chinese Repository* and then published as a book in the West.[19]

In June 1833 the American Board sent two more men to China: Samuel Wells Williams 衛三畏 (1812–1884) and Ira Tracy 杜里時 (1806–1875). Williams was born into a pioneer family at Utica in the Mohawk Valley frontier of upstate New York. His father was a printer and publisher who had married into the Wells family and had raised a large and eventually very distinguished family. The family lived in what would become known as the Burned-Over District, an area touched by the flames of evangelical spirituality that a number of students of the Second Great Awakening have examined in detail.[20] S. Wells Williams was the first layman to serve in the Canton Mission. He was not an ordained minister nor did he experience a deep 'calling' for mission work, thus unformed and suspect in the mind of Rufus Anderson and his colleagues on the Prudential Committee. This stigma would remain

[19] See Karl Friedrich August (Charles) Gützlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832, and 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-choo Islands*, London: Thomas Ward and Company, 1834.

[20] The classic modern work on this topic is Whitney Cross, *The Burned Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in New York*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1950.

throughout his more than two decades of service with the American Board in China.[21]

Williams' companion on his long journey to South China was Ira Tracy, a native of Vermont who was trained at Andover Seminary. He was recruited by the Board and was ordained on 28 September 1832. Tracy was thus more acceptable religiously than his travelling companion. He was also trained in the craft of printing and would serve as head of the American Board's press in Singapore after what would be a brief period of service in Canton.[22]

Williams soon demonstrated importance to the mission. By the late autumn of 1833, he had reorganised the print shop, which made it easier for Bridgman and Morrison to publish the *Chinese Repository*. He soon became a contributor to the increasingly well accepted magazine.[23] The money earned from its sale allowed Williams to purchase the necessary fonts to set up a Chinese language press by the late winter of 1834.[24] In the meantime, Ira Tracy had moved to Singapore in the spring of 1834 to run the mission press located in the British outpost at the tip of the Malay Peninsula.

Bridgman and Stevens worked closely with Liang Fa and by the early winter of 1833 this relationship was beginning to show results. Liang Fa had proven to be an excellent evangelist as well as a writer of easily understood tracts. The missionaries saw him as a pioneer evangelist and as the point man of an army of Cantonese Christians who could spread the Gospel and convert their brethren to their newfound faith.[25] By the spring of 1834 the men of the China mission of the American Board were optimistic about the future and were now looking ahead to a dramatic change in the relationship between the Westerners and the Qing authorities, for the Napier Mission was on its way to China. Like the foreign traders, the missionaries advocated a more aggressive policy towards the Qing which would profit them as well as the merchants.

---

[21] On Samuel Wells Williams' youth, see Rubinstein, *The Origins*, pp. 247–256. The standard nineteenth-century biography is by his son Frederick Wells Williams, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams: Missionary, Diplomatist, Sinologue*, New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1889.

[22] See Wylie, pp. 79–80.

[23] Williams to Anderson, 19 Dec 1833, ABC 16.3.8., Vol. 1.

[24] Williams to Anderson, 14 Mar 1834, ABC 16.3.8., Vol. 1.

[25] Joint letter to Anderson, 4 March 1834, ABC 16.3.8., Vol. 1.

The missionaries were interested in but not objective observers of the events of 1834. They wanted Lord Napier to succeed not only because it would help the Western merchants achieved their aims but also because Napier appeared to be friendly to Christianity, and, by extension, to the missionary dream of a China open to Christian evangelists. Although the British Parliament and the Foreign Office had not yet committed themselves to take more aggressive steps, the missionaries tracked the ensuing crisis day by day and realised that they were witnessing an evolving confrontation.[26]

Even before the crisis had become serious, the missionaries experienced a painful loss: the death of Robert Morrison. Morrison had been ill for most of the 1833–34 trading season. Already weakened, Morrison had accompanied Lord Napier to Canton, serving as his translator. When he reached the city he fell ill once again and his condition rapidly deteriorated. He died on 31 July 1834. A long memorial essay appeared in the August 1834 issue of the *Chinese Repository*,[27] an early indication that he would soon be revered as a model missionary whose life was to be glorified and whose methods were to be followed. The Napier initiative, on the other hand, proved to be a disastrous failure. Lord William Napier died on 11 October 1834, with Bridgman at his bedside.[28] The missionaries, like their merchant friends were directly affected by the crisis. The Chinese teachers and the boys left the missionaries during these disturbed weeks. Furthermore, the missionaries' co-workers were threatened and forced to stop their work of evangelism and tract distribution.

The South China mission of the American Board expanded with the arrival of Peter Parker 伯駕 (1804–1888), a clergyman and physician, in late October 1834. Parker, the son of a farmer from the town of Framingham, Connecticut, had undergone what was an intense spiritual conversion and decided to commit himself to evangelistic work. Having attended Amherst College for a few years, he completed an undergraduate degree at Yale and then studied both theology and medicine. He was recruited by the American Board and ordered by the Prudential Committee to train as an ophthalmic surgeon. This

---

[26] On the nature and intentions of the Napier Mission, see Glenn Melancon, "Peaceful Intentions: The First British Trade Commission in China, 1833–5", *Historical Research* 73 (2000), pp. 33–47.

[27] "Obituary of Dr. Robert Morrison," in *Chinese Repository* (August, 1834).

[28] Williams to Anderson, October 11, 1834 in ABC 16.3.8, vol. 1.

provided the men of the Anglo-American missionary community a with an excellent opportunity to expand the scope of their work in an important way. Having opened his ophthalmic clinic in November of 1835, Parker was soon a man in much demand. The Cantonese had many types of medical problems and Parker was forced to deal with a host of conditions ranging from the diseases of the eye to hernias and cancerous tumours. The patients seemed willing to listen to his words about the Gospel—they were after all a captive audience—and thus Parker could report that he was introducing both Western forms of medicine and the sweet balm of the Gospel as he performed his examinations and his on-the-spot operations on his many patients.[29] Later Parker, Bridgman and other missionaries were involved in the establishment of the Medical Missionary Society. This body gave him both a separate institutional base within the merchant/missionary community and a way of obtaining funds that could be used to expand the scope of his already successful medical missionary station.[30]

The 1835–36 trading season began with a crisis caused by the Anglo-American mission community. The Qing authorities had obtained copies of the tracts that Walter Henry Medhurst 麥都思 (1796–1857) of the LMS and Edwin Stevens had distributed during their voyage along the Chinese coast in the late summer of 1835 and determined that they were filled with heterodox and alien religious messages. They thus acted to root out the Cantonese Christians who were associated with those illegal aliens of the LMS and the American Board. Cantonese suspected of distributing texts were arrested and the officials threatened to raid the mission's press. The Chinese printers working for Williams fled, refusing to work for the missionaries. However after this initial surge of activity the wave of persecution fizzled out.

The 1835–36 trading season also saw the South China Mission evolve as an institutional entity. The missionaries began to hold monthly and semi-annual meetings. They also organised themselves into a church. The 'union church' became a centre where the missionaries and like-minded merchants such as Olyphant could meet and

---

[29] On the work of Parker see Edward V. Gulick, *Peter Parker and the Opening of China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973).

[30] On the early medical missions, see also Christoffer H. Grundmann, "Contextualizing the Gospel by 'Imitating Christ': The Emergence of Medical Missions in Nineteenth Century China", in: Peter Chen-main Wang (ed.), *Contextualization of Christianity in China: An Evaluation in Modern Perspective* (Collectanea Serica), Sankt Augustin, Germany: Monumenta Serica, 2007.

pray. At this moment in time no Cantonese could join in worship but the missionaries could and did write to the Board and tell them that an Evangelical Trinitarian Church did exist, as a counterpart to the Anglican Church where members of the Select Committee and other merchants worshipped.

In early September of 1836 the members of the ABCFM South China mission assembled in Canton for a few days of discussion, prayer and report writing.[31] One topic of discussion was the arrival of Jehu Lewis Shuck 淑末士 (1812–1863) and his wife Henrietta Hall (1817–1844). Shuck was a member of the southern wing of Triennial Convention of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. He was even more evangelically intense than were his northern Baptist brethren and was more willing to engage in what were seen as dangerous and provocative evangelistic expeditions. While in Canton, he preferred to keep a low profile and the American Board missionaries refused to have much to do with him.

However, Shuck' itineration had set a precedent. Thus, in early autumn Samuel Wells Williams and G[eorge] Tradescant Lay 李太郭 (1799–1845), a pious Evangelical agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, decided to take excursions into the countryside near Macao (now Zhongshan County) to talk to the local villagers and distribute tracts. Elijah Bridgman was also active in this more aggressive form of evangelism even as he preached to the seamen based at the Lintin anchorage.[32] Early December saw one such expansion of mission-centred activities. Edwin Stevens and his friend Lay boarded the *Huron* and, accompanied by Liang Fa and his son Liang De, they sailed to Southeast Asia to visit the Overseas Chinese (*Huaqiao* 華僑) communities in what the Chinese call the Nanyang 南洋 region. This voyage proved to be ill-fated, however, for Edwin Stevens took ill onboard ship and died in January 1837.

Bridgman had begun to work on books for the Society For the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China (SDUKC) 中國益智會. This organisation had been set up by missionaries and merchants to the

[31] "History of the China Mission," ABC16.3.11. The "History" is a handwritten account of the South China Mission written by the men who served it. It was begun in the late 1830s and each year was amended to create an ongoing record of the development of that mission. It is found in the American Board's archives housed at Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[32] See Rubinstein, *The Origins*, p. 327.

introduce knowledge of the West among Chinese. The plan was for Bridgman and Gützlaff to prepare books and magazines in a form of *guwen* 古文 ('classical Chinese') that could be read by the educated classes. Over the next few years Bridgman and others would produce a number of important books and distribute these to the people of Canton. The foreign merchants saw this a pragmatic effort that did not involve them directly in spreading the Gospel and were, therefore, willing to support it with their contributions.[33]

Using the *Chinese Repository* as their vehicle, the foreign traders began to voice opinions about the growing tensions with the Qing government. Captain Charles Elliot, the British Chief Superintendent of Trade in China, had been pressing the Qing officials and they, in turn had been pressuring those Western merchants who traded in opium. The missionaries supported Elliot's efforts to force the Chinese to open the country but could not support the trade in opium. That trade was clearly growing more and more central to the conflict between the British and the Qing officials.[34]

There was a growing tension within the mission as well. The missionaries felt that the American Board was being too critical of them even as its leaders neglected them. They resented what they viewed as criticism of the work they had been doing in China and they also resented the fact that Board would not listen to their suggestions or their pleas for more help. For example, they wanted to have Ira Tracy reassigned to Canton to replace Edwin Stevens. They voiced these concerns in October of 1837 and again in April of 1838 when they met for their first large scale meeting of the new year.[35]

The men of the mission were also busy helping with the work of the benevolent societies they had organised. The Medical Missionary Society was one of these and another was the Morrison Education Society

---

[33] On the work of the SDUKC and related Canton Mission organisations, see the articles by Jessie Lutz, Fred Drake, and Jane Leonard in Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John K. Fairbank, eds. *Christianity in China: The Early Missionary Writings* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986). See also Michael C. Lazich, "The Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China: The Canton Era Information Strategy", in: Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff (eds.), *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, Leiden: Brill, 2004.

[34] On the missionaries use of the *Chinese Repository* a means of making a case for war with China see Murray A. Rubinstein, "The War They Wanted," in *American Neptune* 48,4 (Fall, 1988), pp. 271–282.

[35] Bridgman to Anderson, October 18, 1837 in ABC 16.3.8, vol. 1 and Members of the China Mission, "Semi-annual Report, March 1838, in ABC 16.3.11.

which the missionaries had also organised, again with the help of the Western merchants. This organisation was to set up schools in South China and hired Samuel Robbins Brown 布朗 (1810–1880), an American teacher who arrived in 1839.[36] In the same year the LMS medical missionary William Lockhart 雒魏林 (1811–1896) was among a number of new missionary sent to East Asia.

The concluding phase of this period in Protestant mission history in China took place during the battle over opium between the British merchants and the Chinese that led to armed conflict between the Qing state and the British government. During these hectic and crisis filled months the missionaries came to play unique roles and as reporters of the evolving Anglo-Chinese confrontation. In January of 1839 a new actor enter the stage. The newly appointed Commissioner Lin Zexu 林則徐 now began to exert very visible pressure on the Westerners and the Chinese involved in the wholesale importation of opium from India and Turkey. These events, a prelude to the First Opium War, also affected the missionaries and most of their activities had to be halted. Parker's hospital had to be closed and the small mission school was abandoned. The missionaries also found that their tutors had deserted them. Their only solace was that they were not driven from Canton.[37] However, when the armed conflict began in earnest, it became clear to the member of the Anglo-American missionary community that Canton was now a war zone and that the best thing they could do was to move to the relative safety of Macao. The first phase of the Protestant missionary enterprise in China was now at its end. The war would rage in fits and starts until 1842 when the Treaty of Nanjing, the first many 'unequal treaties', was signed.[38]

---

[36] For the way the board used this semi-annual report see American Board, *Nineteenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1839), 118–119. On Brown's arrival, see "History of the South China Mission," 1839, in ABC 16.3.11, vol. I. See also William Elliot Griffis, *A Maker of the New Orient: Samuel Robbins Brown, Pioneer Educator in China, America, and Japan: The Story of His Life and Work*, New York: F. H. Revell, 1902.

[37] Rubinstein, *The Origins*, 338–339.

[38] The standard works on the Opium War are Hsin-Pao Chang, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964; and Peter Ward Fay, *The Opium War*, New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1975. See also Maurice Collis, *Foreign Mud*, London: Faber and Faber, Ltd, 1946; Frederic Wakeman Jr., *Strangers at the Gate*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966; and Glenn Melancon, *Britain's China Policy and the Opium Crisis*. The missionaries' own masterly accounts of the war are found in the *Chinese Repository* for the period 1839 to 1843.

Expansion of the Protestant Mission Enterprise, 1842–1860

The Old Canton System died with Opium War and with its death came the end of the first phase of the Protestant missionary enterprise in China. The three years of war saw the missionaries retreat to Macao. The termination of hostilities and the negotiation of the first set of treaties (1842–1844) initiated a nineteen-year span that made up the first phase of the Treaty Port Era and second phase of the Protestant enterprise in China. It would see missionaries move north and follow the merchants and the diplomats as they established themselves in Amoy (Xiamen) , Foochow (Fuzhou), Ningpo (Ningbo) and Shanghai, in addition to Canton. Some of the missionaries of the LMS, the American Board and the other societies that had sent personnel to South China returned to Canton, now formally opened to Westerners as one of the five 'treaty ports'. Others established themselves on Hongkong, the island the British had claimed as a spoil of war and now began to develop into a commercial centre.

The British Treaty of Nanjing (1842) did not specifically discuss the work of missions but it did open the gate to China for the missionaries in some important ways. Caleb Cushing, the American negotiator, assisted by the ABCFM translators Peter Parker and Elijah Bridgman, was able to include similar clauses in the Treaty of Wangxia (1844) and thus obtain the same rights as the British. The clauses gave permission for foreigners to build houses, construct schools and hospitals and establish places of worship in the treaty ports. The ability to construct such facilities was basic to the overall Protestant mission effort.

The years from 1842 to 1860 saw a dramatic expansion of the Protestant missionary presence. Step by step more missionaries were sent out by an increasing number of societies. The older and more established bodies such as the LMS, the American Board, and the American Baptists sent their missionaries back to those areas they were familiar with as well as to some of the new treaty ports. Missionaries representing other boards and societies from Europe and North America also came to China and began their own work either in the new British port of Hong Kong, in Canton, or in the other four newly opened cities of the Chinese littoral.

Hongkong as a base of the Protestant missionary enterprise

The London Missionary Society, the first Protestant body to work in China, began to expand its operation during this first treaty port period. It made a major commitment to Hongkong and to use Hong Kong, the newly won British colony, as the base of its expanding enterprise. The British early on had recognised the strategic importance of Hongkong and its value as deep water port. With the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing, Hongkong became a British colony. After 1842, even before the protections afforded by the new treaties went into effect, missionaries from the LMS and other societies began to move into the embryo of a city that would become the modern urban masterpiece. Hongkong, the new British colony was not formally a treaty port but was an island now wholly owned by the British. It developed both as the centre point of British trade with China as well as the base of the expanding Anglo-American and Continental missionary enterprise. It became in effect a laboratory for mission work and a safe haven to which missionaries could retreat from the new and more dangerous treaty ports and as a shelter in the storms of rebellion and war that would soon sweep through coastal China. The missionaries established chapels where they could preach to their still small Chinese flocks. They also attempted to engage in various forms of mission activities, starting schools, running hospitals and developing what would now be called social work agencies. Furthermore, they set up publication facilities and printing presses. Finally they transplanted or established centres for training or acclimatising the missionaries who had made the long journey to East Asia. During this initial period in the life of British Hongkong, from 1842 to 1860, LMS missionaries quickly made the area their base camp for the Christian conquest of China, but its work in Hongkong would be surpassed or replaced by the Church Missionary Society—the Evangelical missionary wing of the Church of England—as well as by other groups over the next few decades.

Among the early LMS arrival in Hongkong was James Legge who had come to China via Melaka [Malacca], transferring the Anglo-Chinese College to Hong Kong in the process. Legge would spend three decades in China, teaching, preaching and preparing English translations of Chinese texts. He would have two careers, one as a missionary and the second and overlapping one as a sinologist. In the second phase of his

life he would leave mission work behind him and play a major role at Oxford working with Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900) and other nineteenth century students of Asian thought and religion.[39]

Walter Henry Medhurst had already proven himself to be a man of great talents as translator and writer of tracts before he came to Hongkong. He had spent years in Southeast Asian stations of the LMS, mostly at Batavia, working as missionary printer, educator and evangelist before coming to China to take over the position held by the mission pioneer Robert Morrison.

Another new arrival was Benjamin Hobson 合信 (1816–1873). He had trained as a doctor at the University of London and was recruited by the LMS to serve as one of its medical missionaries. He came to China in 1839 on the same ship that carried James Legge and William Charles Milne 美魏茶 (1815–1863). Hobson landed in Macao where he soon joined the Medical Missionary Society 中國醫藥會 (MMS), the body that Parker and the Old China Trade hands had established a year earlier. With the help of Bridgman and others, he helped found a hospital that operated under MMS auspices. In 1843 he moved to Hongkong to head the MMS hospital there. He remained in the city until 1845 when he returned to England with his wife who died within sight of its shores. He remained in England for year and found a new bride, the daughter of Robert Morrison, returning to Hong Kong in July of 1847. Here he took up his old posts head of the MMS hospital before moving to Canton to begin work there.[40]

A second LMS missionary doctor to arrive in Hongkong was the Jewish convert Henry Julius Hirschberg (1814–1874) who was born in the Prussian part of Poland. He reached Hongkong in July of 1847 and served there until 1853, whereupon he became a member of the LMS mission in Xiamen, returning to England on account of ill-health in 1858.[41]

---

[39] For comprehensive biographies, see Lauren F. Pfister, *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man': James Legge and the Scottish Protestant Encounter with China*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004; Norman J. Girardot, *The Victorian Translation of China: James Legge's Oriental Pilgrimage*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

[40] On Benjamin Hobson, see Wylie, pp. 125–128.

[41] See James Sibree, *A Register of Missionaries, Deputations, Etc.*, (London: London Missionary Society, 1923), pp. 60–61.

Treaty port missionaries

The LMS and its ally of the 1830s, the American Board, decided to send men back to Canton. But Canton did not prove to be an easy port in which to re-establish a mission. Local officials and the people attempted and often succeeded in the mid-1840s to make the implementation of the new Western system of extraterritoriality a very difficult task for diplomats, merchants or missionaries. Frederic Wakeman has shown how the local populace attempted to drive out foreigners in his masterful monograph, *Strangers at the Gate*. H. B. Morse demonstrates in his pioneering and valuable study of Chinese international relations, that the opening of Canton was a long and sometimes torturous process that took over a decade to bring about.[42]

As a result of this opposition by the officials and the people, missionaries found it difficult to establish or re-establish a presence in the city. This can be shown by examining the career of one LMS missionary, William Gillespie (1819–). Gillespie was a member of the Presbyterian United Secession Church who had been recruited by the LMS. He reached Hongkong in July of 1844 and remained there for a year. In 1845 he attempted to begin mission work in Canton but was driven out by the hostile populace. Two years later, in October of 1847, he again went upriver to Canton and met with a favourable reception. However he soon returned to Hongkong to start on his voyage back to Great Britain. Having married in 1848, he returned to China alone in 1849, leaving his wife behind in Scotland. He worked for a year in the LMS mission at Canton before returning to his homeland once more to become a pastor of United Presbyterian churches in Shiels, Aberdeenshire, and Edinburgh. His term of service in China had been brief and often fraught with danger. It indicates both the impact of circumstances in treaty-port Canton and the demands that family has on the career of a would-be evangelist of the Gospel.[43]

Xiamen (Amoy) was the third port to which the LMS sent missionaries. John Stronach 施敦力約翰 (1810–1888) was one of those

[42] Hosea Ballou Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, Vol. I, Chapter XIV: "Chinese Hostility and the Right of Entry to the City of Canton".

[43] On Gillespie, see Sibree, Register of Missionaries, p. 58. Tang Qing, *Zhongguo Jidujiao bainian shi*, p. 723, has 紀里士卑 for Gillespie's Chinese name, but it is not known whether this was his actual Chinese name or a subsequent invention.

who pioneered this effort, moving there from Singapore in 1844. He and the other LMS missionaries worked closely with ABCFM members who began to move there around the same time in the 1840s. The American missionaries at Xiamen were in fact members of the Reformed Dutch Church working under the auspices of the American Board. In 1857 the ABCFM transferred its mission to what by then was known as the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America. The two bands of missionaries evangelised and worked among the people of city and the outlying areas wandering as far west as Zhangzhou and helping to begin revivals and make converts. In 1855 the two mission bodies drafted a United Communion defining their co-operation.[44]

The LMS also developed a presence in Shanghai. In the early 1830s the EIC agent Hugh Hamilton Lindsay was able to visit the city on the *Lord Amherst* and wrote his impressions of the city.[45] He recognised that it was the commanding entrepôt on the Yangzi and was superior even to Canton. By then Shanghai had emerged as a major economic centre in the heavily commercialised region of the Yangzi Delta. It was captured by British forces toward the end of the First Opium War and became the northern-most of the five 'treaty ports'.

Walter Henry Medhurst came to Shanghai in 1843 after working for many years in Southeast Asia. He served as missionary translator and was one of the major figures of the efforts to created the Delegates version of the New Testament.[46] William Muirhead 慕維廉 (1822–1900) arrived in 1847 and remained well into the 1860s. He was a prolific translator and writer of religious and secular publications in Chinese and in English. These works demonstrate both the direction and the depth of the LMS publication programme.[47] Benjamin Hobson, one of the medical pioneers at Canton, moved to Shanghai in 1857 and served in the LMS's hospital there until 1859 when he decided to return to England for reasons of health—the common toll of a long career in the field.

---

[44] For details, see David Cheung (Chen Yiqiang 陳貽強), *Christianity in Modern China: The Making of the First Native Protestant Church* (Studies in Christian Mission, 28), Leiden: Brill, 2004.

[45] For the published version, see H. H. Lindsay, *Report to the Hon. East India Company on a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China 1832*.

[46] Jane Kate Leonard, "W. H. Medhurst: Rewriting the Missionary Message", in Barnett and Fairbank, pp. 47–59.

[47] For a long list of Muirhead's publications, see Wylie, pp. 168–172.

The American Board would also see its ranks and its presence in China expand during this first treaty port period. Bridgman, Williams and Parker all returned to Canton for part of the 1840s to settle into their well established routines. Bridgman would continue to anchor the effort though it was clear by the early 1850s that he was more than ready to move up the coast to the northern most of the treaty ports, Shanghai. The American Board also began to send new men to the city, in the face of the local government's attempt to keep missionaries and merchants out. Among the new arrivals were Elijah Coleman Bridgman's cousin, James Granger Bridgman 卑雅各 (1820–1850), and Samuel William Bonney 邦呢 (1815–1864). These two men had strikingly different careers in South China. Bonney would go on to a long and fruitful career as missionary educator. The younger Bridgman, however, spent a relatively short career in Canton. By the late 1840s he had begun to show signs of instability and depression. His cousin had suffered similar bouts during his first years in China but had overcome them. The younger Bridgman could not and committed suicide in 1850.[48]

The American Board also sent men to Xiamen after the first military phase of the Opium War had been fought and a treaty had been signed, for it recognised that the city was perfectly situated to serve as a gateway to southern Fujian. David Abeel, who had returned to Canton in 1839 only to be forced out of the city in 1840, took the lead here, finding a residence on Gulangyu 鼓浪嶼 island. In 1844 the American Board sent Elihu Doty 羅啻 (1809–1864) and William John Pohlman 波羅滿 (1812–1849) to Xiamen. Both had been missionaries to the Chinese in Southeast Asia. John Van Nest Talmage 打馬字 (1819–1892) arrived in 1847. All three were ordained ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church in the United States.

Fuzhou was the third treaty port to which the American Board sent its missionaries. In 1847 Stephen Johnson 詹思文 (1803–1886) entered the city. He had been one of the ABCFM missionaries who had worked in Southeast Asia during the 1830s. Having found a residence, he proceeded to learn the Fuzhou dialect as a prerequisite to his itinerations. In 1849 he married Caroline Selmer, a Swedish missionary, as his third wife and would remain in Fuzhou until 1852. Johnson returned to the United States and retired from the American Board after more than

[48] For further details, see Wylie, pp. 134, 149–151.

two decades of service. Caleb Cook Baldwin 摩憐 (1820–1911) arrived a year later and after a brief stay at Hongkong he moved with his wife to Fuzhou. He was one of the missionaries who worked in *Fuzhou-hua* (福州話 Hók-ciŭ-uâ) the dialect of the city, and produced tracts and a catechism for his converts and would be converts.

Perhaps the most famous of the ABCFM's Fuzhou hands was Justus Doolittle 盧公明 (1824–1880). He was born in Rutland, New York and educated at Hamilton College. Having subsequently attended Auburn Theological Seminary, he began a career in the ministry before applying to the American Board. Doolittle arrived with his first wife Sophia Acland Hamilton (1818–1856) in 1850 and would remain in China until 1872. He focused on tract preparation, publication and distribution as well as to the study of Chinese society, culture and religion and produced a number of works that were highly regarded in the nineteenth century.[49]

The American Board also recognised the potential of Shanghai and began sending its men their in the late 1840s. The pioneer of this mission was Elijah Coleman Bridgman. Having started his missionary career in Canton in 1830, he first came to Shanghai in 1847 to work with the Bible translation committee. In 1853 he returned to Shanghai as the first permanent member of the ABCFM's mission there. More missionaries would be sent by the Board American Board in subsequent years. William Aitchison 愛 (1826–1859) had a rather adventurous and ultimately tragic career. Born in Scotland, he went with his family to the United States in 1834 and in due course studied for the ministry and was ordained. He was Blodget's travelling companion and settled in Shanghai in 1854 but then spent the next few years exploring Zhejiang with John Shaw Burdon 包約翰 (1829–1907) of the Church Missionary Society. He finally decided, quite against the spirit and letter of the first set of treaties, to settle at Pinghu 平湖 in Zhejiang. In 1859 he was appointed assistant interpreter, along with William Alexander Parsons Martin 丁韙良 (1827–1916) of the American Presbyterian Mission at Ningbo, to help John Elliott Ward, minister plenipotentiary of the United States, with negotiations in Beijing. Aitchison was by then suffering from dysentery and he died on his way

[49] Suzanne Wilson Barnett, "Justus Doolittle at Foochow: Christian Values in Treaty Ports", in Barnett & Fairbank, pp. 107–119, 195–198.

back to the coast from Beijing in August of 1859. The elements of itineration and diplomatic work mark Aitchison's all too short career.[50]

The Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church of America was established after the church decided to split from the Board. By the 1840s they had sent men to a number of major sites along the China coast. Members of the American Presbyterian mission attempted to enter the city in the mid 1840s, but met resistance on the part of Qing officials and local people, in spite of the existence of the first set of treaties. They had to wait in Macao for a few years and were only able to enter the city in 1847. Andrew Patton Happer 哈巴安德 (1818–1894), John B. French, and William Speer moved to the city to serve there. Happer, a Pennsylvanian and graduate of Jefferson College and the Western Theological Seminary, devoted a long career to producing tracts and books on Christianity in Chinese.[51]

John Booth French 花蓮治 (1822–1859) was a native of Washington D.C. and attended the Columbian College and the Princeton Theological Seminary. He served as both minister and writer of tracts before becoming a missionary for the Presbyterian Church. He first settled in Macao and in 1847 moved to Canton. He served there until his home was burned down during the British attack on Canton during the 'Arrow War'. He attempted to return to Canton after the hostilities were concluded but then was so ill that he was forced to attempt to go back to the United States. He died in the early days of the voyage and his body was "committed to the deep".[52]

William Speer 施比爾 (1822–1904), having studied medicine at Jefferson College, Philadelphia, subsequently graduated from the Theological Seminary in Alleghany, Pennsylvania. He arrived in Macao in December of 1846 where his wife died a few months later. Speer subsequently went to Canton but served only until 1849 and returned to the United States. After a brief spell as missionary to the American Indians, he worked among Chinese of San Francisco until his retirement in 1857.[53] John Glasgow Kerr 嘉约翰 (1824–1901), another graduate

[50] Charles P. Bush, *Five Years in China: or, The Factory Boy Made a Missionary*, Philadelphia: Presbyterian publication committee, 1865.

[51] Wylie, pp. 144–146; Henry V. Noyes, "In Memoriam: Rev. A. P. Happer, M.D., D.D., LL.D.", *CR* 26 (January 1895), p. 31. See also Loren W. Crabtree, "Andrew P. Happer and Presbyterian Missions in China, 1844–1891", *Journal of Presbyterian History* 62 (1984), pp. 19–34.

[52] Wylie, pp. 157–158.

[53] Wylie, pp. 156–157.

of Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, arrived at the American Presbyterian mission in Canton to take over the medical work started by Peter Parker. He had a long and successful career in China. In 1898 he opened the first mental hospital in China.[54]

Following the first set of treaty settlements, the American Presbyterians developed Ningbo as a major mission station. In 1844 Divie Bethune McCartee 麥嘉締 (1820–1900) was able to enter Ningbo and embark on a long career as physician, scientist, educator, diplomatist, scholar, author and evangelist.[55] Of those who followed him, John Livingston Nevius 倪維思 (1829–1893) was one of the most scholarly and ambitious of this second generation of missionaries, joining the Ningbo mission in 1854. After the second set of treaties he would move to Shandong and plant an American Presbyterian mission there.[56] Yet another American Presbyterian who became famous and well know name in Chinese as well as American circles was W. A. P. Martin. A graduate of Indiana University and the Presbyterian theological seminary at New Albany, Indiana, he came to Ningbo in 1850. Martin would serve as a missionary and subsequently as interpreter to the U.S. envoy John E. Ward, 1859–1861. Afterwards he founded the Presbyterian mission in Beijing, was president and professor of international law at the Tongwenguan 北京同文館, the first modern language school of China (est. 1862), and ended his career as the first president of the Imperial University 京師大學堂 of China.[57]

The American Baptists had been active in China since the mid-1830s. The 1840s were a time of troubles for the denomination in the United States, leading to the creation of two churches, the Southern Baptist Convention and the American (or Northern) Baptist Convention. Each group would set up its own mission board: the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) and the American Baptist Missionary Union (ABMU). Consequently, since the two Bap-

---

[54] William Warder Cadbury and Mary Hoxie Jones, *At the Point of a Lancet; One Hundred Years of the Canton Hospital, 1835–1935*, Shanghai [etc.]: Kelly and Walsh, limited, 1935.

[55] For a long list of McCartee's publications, see Wylie, pp. 135–139. See also Robert E. Speer, *A Missionary Pioneer in the Far East; A Memorial of Divie Bethune McCartee*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1922.

[56] Samuel Hsiang-en Chao, "John Livingston Nevius (1829–1893): A Historical Study of His Life and Mission Methods", Ph.D. diss., Intercultural Studies, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1991.

[57] Ralph R. Covell, *W. A. P. Martin, Pioneer of Progress in China*, Washington, D.C.: Christian University Press, 1978.

tist missionaries already in China joined the SBC, Hongkong became one of the central stations of the Southern Baptist mission. Jehu Lewis Shuck had visited Hongkong as early as November 1838 for reasons of his wife's health. When learning of the loss economic support from his home board, he became very much the missionary entrepreneur and a model of sorts for Tarleton Perry Crawford 高第丕 or 高樂福, also 高泰培 (1821–1902), who would later become his SBC companion in the Shanghai mission. During this financially difficult period Shuck worked as an editor of the *Friend of China* newspaper. He also found that he could also his continue his evangelistic work and helped build two chapels, preached to Chinese and Westerners on the Sabbath and, with his wife, started a school. His wife Henrietta Hall having died in childbirth, Shuck returned to the United States and there married again. He returned to Hongkong in 1847, now formally as a missionary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention.[58] At this time Issachar Jacox Roberts 羅孝全 (1802–1871), another Baptist pioneer, also moved from Canton to Hongkong.

In 1845 the Southern Baptists chose Canton in 1845 as the base for what would be an expansive mission enterprise in south China. Rosewell Hobart Graves 紀好弼 (1833–1912) became one of the most important members of this mission. He arrived in Canton in 1856. Graves devoted himself to evangelisation and tract preparation and Bible commentary and by the mid 1860s had published both types of materials. Later in his career he also wrote books about mission work in Canton.[59]

The Southern Baptists also sent men to Shanghai. Matthew Tyson Yates 晏馬太 (1819–1888) and his wife, who arrived in 1847, were able to adjust to life in the city and remained until 1857. Through the ill-health or removal of other workers, they were the sole SBC representatives in the city for over twenty years. M. T. Yates died in Shanghai.[60]

American Methodists from both the northern and southern wings of their church entered the China mission field in the 1840s. In 1847 the (northern) Methodist Episcopal Church began a China mission by

---

[58] On Shuck, see Wylie, pp. 90–93.

[59] R. H. Graves, *The Story of the South China Mission*, Richmond, VA: Foreign Mission Board, 1892; Rosewell Hobart Graves, *Forty Years in China; Or, China in Transition*, Wilmington, Del: Scholarly Resources, 1972.

[60] Ferrebee Catharine Bryan, *At the Gates: Life Story of Matthew Tyson and Eliza Moring Yates of China*, Nashville: Broadman Press, 1949.

sending Judson Dwight Collins 柯林 (1822–1852) and Moses Clark White 懷德 (1819–1900) and their wives to Fuzhou. They met with discouragement and the antagonism of the local people. In 1851 Collins returned to the United States on account of failing health and died there a year later. White, whose wife died in 1848, returned to his homeland in 1853.[61] It was a decade before MEC mission could point to the conversion of Chinese and the establishment of a viable church community.

The Southern Methodist Church (MECS) separated from their northern brethren in 1844 and organised a mission society in 1846. Their first missionaries, the Rev. Charles Taylor 戴 (1819–1897) M.D., and Benjamin Jenkins 秦右 (d. 1871) were sent to Shanghai and began their work there in 1848.

Through the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, the Anglicans of the United Kingdom placed representatives in a number of the ports in China. An early exploratory visit to East Asia was undertaken by Edward Burnard Squire 施愛華 (1804–1876) between 1837 and 1840. In view of the warlike hostilities along the coast of China, he reported "no opening" and terminated his connection with the CMS. When the CMS received an anonymous donation of £6,000 in 1842 for work in China, a second exploratory mission was sent out in 1844. George Smith 四美 (1815–1871) and Dublin-born Thomas McClatchtie 麥麗芝 or 麥克開拉啓 (1813–1885) were instructed to survey the field. During his fact-finding mission, Smith visited Hongkong, Canton, Shanghai, Ningbo, Fuzhou and Xiamen before returning to England in 1846. His favourable report formed the basis for the early CMS missionary activities in China.[62]

McClatchie having in the meantime established himself in Shanghai, further representatives of the CMS arrived in 1848. Robert Henry Cobbold 哥伯播義 (d. 1893) and William Armstrong Russell 祿賜悅理 (d. 1879) were assigned to Ningpo and established their missionary enterprise alongside that of the American Presbyterians. Cobbold returned to England in 1857 to take the position of Rector of Brosely

---

[61] Wylie, pp. 166–167.

[62] George Smith, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China*, London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1847; Gillian Bickley, "The Right Reverend Dr. George Smith, Anglican Bishop of Victoria (1849–1865): His Advice to the Church Missionary Society and His Missionary Travels on the Chinese Mainland", *Ching Feng* n.s. 8.1–2 (2007), pp. 5–30; Wylie, pp. 141–143.

in Shropshire. While in China, he proved to be an active evangelist and translator of religious tracts into Chinese, including some Romanised versions in the Ningbo dialect. Thus he had an effective presence during nearly decade of service.[63] His companion Russell, too, proved to be adept at translation, preparing among other works a Ningbo dialect version of the New Testament and two tracts. In 1852 he married Mary Ann Leisk, an adopted daughter of the independent missionary at Ningbo, Miss Mary Ann Aldersey 艾迪綏 (1797–1868).[64] Having been consecrated bishop in 1872, he died in Ningbo on 5 October 1879. Mrs. Russell continued her work in Ningbo till her death in 1887.[65]

Having been consecrated in Canterbury cathedral as bishop of the newly-formed Anglican see of Victoria in China in 1849, George Smith returned to China with a new group of CMS missionaries in 1850. Some of these missionaries established themselves in Fuzhou, joining the missionaries of the American Board and the Methodist Episcopal Church who had settled in that city. Their work went slowly, as did that of the other missionaries in this often hostile environment and its survival was not assured until 1860.

The Chinese mission of the English Presbyterian Church can be seen as a model of the post-Opium War missionary enterprise in China. Hence its development deserves to be covered in some detail here. The story of these men and those English Presbyterians appointed to the Taiwan mission during the second treaty port period was laid out in Reverend James Johnston's 認信 (1819–1906) detailed and well written book, *China and Formosa*.[66] The pioneer of this mission was the Scotsman William Chalmers Burns 賓惠廉 (1815–1868). Upon the completion of his studies at King's College in Aberdeen and theological training in Glasgow, he served as a revival preacher in Scotland and Canada. In 1847 Burns was recruited and sent to China by the newly organised mission board of the English Presbyterian Church. In Hongkong he established contact with the LMS and engaged in some itinerant preaching in connection with Gützlaff's Cantonese preachers.

---

[63] Wylie, pp. 182–183.

[64] E. Aldersey White, *A Woman Pioneer in China: The Life of Mary Ann Aldersey*, London: the Livingstone Press, 1932.

[65] CMS, *Register of Missionaries*, no. 382.

[66] James Johnston, *China and Formosa: The Story of the Mission of the Presbyterian Church of England*, London: Hazell, Watson, & Viney, 1897.

He preached in the Guangdong countryside in spite of the existing treaty regulations. By 1849 the countryside was becoming dangerous for itinerating missionaries and he decided to look for another site for his mission. By then he had been joined by another member of the English Presbyterian mission, Dr. James Hume Young 養 (1819–1855). Young was a doctor who had come to Hong Kong to work with his brother, who had a medical practice in the British colony. In 1849 Young formally became a member of the Presbyterian Mission.

The two men first explored the idea of locating a mission in Canton. However, when Burns was robbed while itinerating in Guangdong and his preaching met with resistance in Canton, the idea was given up. Burns and Young decided instead to move to Xiamen in southern Fujian, a city they believed to be a better site for a new mission. After all, the ABCFM missionaries had already planted a mission station there. The move was made in 1851. Burns immediately began to itinerate in the surrounding countryside, much as he had done in Guangdong. He also worked on tracts and other materials for distribution. Perhaps his most famous accomplishment as translator was the preparation of Chinese version of the Puritan classic, *Pilgrim's Progress*.[67]

Yet Burns was an oddity in the expanding treaty port missionary community. While the other missionary bodies in the area—the LMS and the Dutch Reformed mission (RCA)—had developed strategies for co-operation, the English Presbyterians had not. Furthermore, it became clear from Burns own writings that even his fellow EPM missionaries had trouble dealing with him and his independent methods. Burns and his rogue techniques seemed to be doing more harm than good at a time when the mission was planning to expand to other cities in southern Fujian (often referred to as the Min-Nan 閩南 area). But the work did progress, converts were won and congregations planted. Much of this was done with the help of the other mission societies.[68]

The EPM took one final step during this first treaty port period by starting the Swatow [Shantou 汕頭] Mission in 1856 when Burns revived the work begun by the Basel missionary Rudolf Lechler 黎力居 (1824–1908) among the Hoklo-speaking people in Yanzao 鹽灶 vil-

[67] John Bunyan, *Tianlu licheng* 天路歷程, trans. William Chalmers Burns, Shanghai: Mohai shuguan, 1856. The work was first produced in five books in Xiamen in 1853. There have been several subsequent editions.

[68] For details, see Cheung (2004).

lage in the Raoping district 饒平縣 some years earlier.[69] William Burns, the tireless evangelist that he was, approached not only the Hoklo [i.e. Tiechiu = Chaozhou] speakers in Chaozhou prefecture, initially in the company of James Hudson Taylor 戴雅各 (1832–1905) of the Gützlaff-inspired Chinese Evangelization Society, but also made forays into the Hakka-populated counties in eastern Guangdong. He thus laid the groundwork for the English Presbyterian work among the Hakka that would provide Presbyterian missionaries with an entry into such communities not only in Guangdong but also in Taiwan. The EPM work in Taiwan (Formosa Mission) began in 1865 but was much disrupted by the severe persecution of Christians.

Since under the first set of treaties Protestant missionaries were permitted to reside only in the five open ports and Hongkong, it became obvious that two or more societies would have to establish themselves in the same place. The East China Mission of the ABMU, for example, was begun at Ningbo in 1843 by the medical missionary Daniel Jerome MacGowan 瑪高溫 (1814–1893).[70] Later the American Presbyterians and members of the Church Missionary Society would come to Ningbo as well. However, by far the largest number of Protestant societies were based in Shanghai. Among the early arrivals were the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America (PEC), often called the American Church Mission, under William Jones Boone 文惠廉 (1811–1864).[71]

Other European churches and societies such as the Basel Mission, the Rhenish Missionary Society, the Berlin Missionary Association for China 巴陵中國差會 and its female wing, the Berlin Ladies Association for China 巴陵女書院 (both were absorbed by the Berlin Missionary Society in 1882)[72] also entered the China field. The key figure

---

[69] Following the administrative reorganisation in the PRC, Yanzao is now in Chenghai county 澄海縣. On Lechler's work here, see George A. Hood, *Mission Accomplished?*, pp. 23–31. On the early EPM work in this village, see Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, *The Bible and the Gun: Christianity in South China, 1860–1900*, New York & London: Routledge, 2003, pp. 33–34.

[70] Arthur Raymond Gallimore 賈理模 et al., *Jinhui zai Hua budao bai nian lüe shi* 浸會在華佈道百年略史 (Brief historical sketches of Baptist missions in China, 1836–1936), Shanghai: Zhonghua Jinhui shuju, 1936.

[71] Muriel Boone, *The Seed of the Church in China*, Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1973.

[72] For a history of the Berlin Missionary Association for China (also known as the Berlin Missionary Union for China) up to the point its merger with the Berlin

in much of the early German and Swiss efforts was Karl Gützlaff. He had an amazing if not altogether successful career. His work during the 1830s has already been examined. In the 1840s he was based in Hongkong and with his second wife, Mary Wanstall (1799–1849), was involved in a number of major projects. He served as Hongkong government interpreter and educator but also, with the support of various European support groups, organised a Chinese Union (漢會; also 福漢會; in some sources referred to as the Christian Union for the Propagation of the Gospel in China by Chinese) composed of Chinese evangelists. These colporteurs were bringing back detailed reports of their progress at distribution of tracts and conversion of their countrymen in China's interior. Gützlaff used this information as the basis of reports to his supporters in Europe.[73] So encouraging were these reports that the Basel and Rhenish mission societies established themselves in Hongkong in 1847 and then began to expand into the interior of Guangdong. However the preachers and evangelists had been deceiving Gützlaff and much of the information was false, because few of the evangelists had travelled far beyond Hongkong. Much of the literature that had supposedly been circulated throughout China had in fact been returned to the printers who then sold it to Gützlaff once more. The missionary died before he could set things right. It was a sad end to a rather spectacular career for this singular individual.[74]

This section has explained how the missionaries attempted to settle in the treaty port cities as well as Hongkong and how they dealt with a number of problems before they could actually establish themselves. The process of mission expansion before 1860 has also been considered. A number of key missionary figures whose work defined the nature of their own mission—and in some cases the whole missionary enterprise in China—have been introduced. It is now time to examine

---

Missionary Society, see [Gabriel] Sauberzweig Schmidt, *Drei Jahrzehnte deutscher Pioniermissionsarbeit in Süd-China 1852–1882*, Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft, 1908.

[73] [Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff], *Gaïhan's Chinesische Berichte von der Mitte des Jahres 1841 bis zum Schluss des Jahres 1846*, Kassel: Chinesische Stiftung, 1850. Subsequent reports were published in the *Calwer Missionsblatt* (Calw, Württemberg, 1847–1852). These 'reports', written in Chinese of sojourns in the interior of China and purporting to come from Chinese members of the Union, were actually prepared by Gützlaff under the name 'Gaihan' [愛漢]. They were sent to Germany to be translated into German by Prof. Karl Friedrich Neumann of Munich.

[74] For an objective discussion of the Chinese Union affair, see Lutz, *Opening China*, Chapter 8: "Karl Gützlaff and the Chinese Union".

the various missionary methods employed in China by the evangelists who had come from afar to win the minds, hearts and souls of the Chinese to their saviour Jesus Christ.

Mission Strategies and Tactics in the First Treaty Port Era

General Patterns of Mission Development

After 1842, with the protections afforded by the treaties, the Protestants moved into the newly opened treaty ports. They joined the Western merchants by establishing homes for themselves that became embryonic mission stations. While they worked to create safe havens in these cities, they continued to developed a whole range of activities that were designed to make the Chinese take interest in them and in their religion and culture. For the most part, they followed the tactics and employed the methods used by the first group of LMS and ABCFM missionaries in Canton, Macao and among the Overseas Chinese communities of Southeast Asia.

Preparing the Missionaries

The first step was to train the new missionaries and prepare these men and women to evangelise and spread the word of God and the message of the better life that adoption of the Western faith and Western culture would bring. The process of getting used to both the language and the culture—or cultures—of the Chinese was a complex one, but also a very necessary one.

During the decades of the Old China Trade, the Protestants had attempted to train their missionaries in the language and culture of China in Canton, the one city where they could reside during the trading season, disguised as merchants and aides to foreign traders. However, this approach had serious draw-backs. For one thing, it was a criminal offense for a foreigner to learn Chinese. Thus, there was always the danger that the Qing authorities might discover which Westerners were learning the language and were attempting to distribute heterodox religious material in Chinese to the people in Canton and in the nearby countryside. The solution was to establish training centres in the British enclaves of Southeast Asia. Robert Morrison, who had developed strong working relationships with key members of the British merchants and administrators in the first set of colonies

in Southeast Asia, directed his LMS co-workers to establish such training facilities in these enclaves. The most famous of these institutions was the Anglo-Chinese College in Melaka. It gained a reputation as the place where one could safely learn Chinese, including the dialects spoken in South China.[75] During the unsettled conditions in Canton during the mid-1830s, the American societies also sent their novices to places of safety in Southeast Asia. The new ABCFM arrivals availed themselves of facilities in Singapore and those of the PEC went to Batavia. The American Baptists William Dean 憐爲仁 (1807–1895) and Josiah Goddard 高德 (1813–1854) spent some time in Singapore before starting missionary work among the Chinese at Bangkok.[76] However, this situation changed quite considerably after 1842.

As concerns the LMS, the Anglo-Chinese College at Melaka had been the crown jewel of its educational system. Upon the death of John Evans (1801–1840), who had been principal of the college from 1833 until his death, James Legge 李雅各 (1815–1897) took over shortly after his arrival in Melaka.[77] He remained in the *Nanyang* until Hongkong was firmly established in British hands. It was then decided to move the college to the new colony, which was accomplished in 1843. At a meeting with the members of LMS mission at Hongkong, it was decided to change the nature of the institution. It would no longer serve as training ground for missionaries, but was to become a theological seminary preparing Chinese converts for the ministry.

How then did the missionaries learn either Mandarin or the dialects they needed to acquire? In Hongkong and the new treaty ports they were able to employ the services of tutors without the difficulties they had experienced prior to the treaties. By devoting a certain amount of time to language study with their teachers every day, the missionaries attained a level of proficiency which enabled them to perform their duties in mission chapels or itinerate in the vicinity of their stations. Moreover, unlike the earlier generation, the newly arrived missionaries did have printed materials to study and dictionaries they could con-

---

[75] For details, see Brian Harrison, *Waiting for China: The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, 1818–1843, and Early Nineteenth-Century Missions*, Hongkong: Hong Kong University Press, 1979.

[76] Francis Wayland Goddard, *Called to Cathay*, New York: Distributed by the Baptist Literature Bureau, 1948.

[77] On the bitter conflict between the older Evans and the newly arrived Legge, see Harrison (1979), pp. 104–108. For a view more sympathetic to Legge in this affair, see Pfister, *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man'*, I, pp. 128–139.

sult. These dictionaries or text books had been prepared by that first generation in Canton and in Southeast Asia as a service to both the missionary community and the merchants. These works were either in regional dialects or in *guwen* (the 'classical' written Chinese or what the nineteenth-century Protestant writers called *Wenli* 文理), the style used by China's literati, or in 'Mandarin' (*guanhua* 官話, 'language of officials')[78] based on the dialect of the Beijing region. *Guanhua* was replaced in 1910 with *guoyu* 國語 ('national language') or what is nowadays called *putonghua* 普通話 on the Mainland. Bridgman's *Chinese Chrestomathy* is one example of such a text.[79] However, the one-on-one tutorial system was the heart of the education the missionaries received.

Some missionaries, including Gützlaff, Williams, Legge and Martin, easily acquired an excellent command of the Chinese language. Others such as Doolittle mastered it by sheer hard work and dedication to the task. However, many missionaries never acquired sufficient linguistic skills to be effective evangelists. For some no amount of time sufficed. Still, enough men and women managed to gain an adequate knowledge of the language to involve themselves in evangelism, translation, tract preparation and teaching in mission-run schools. These were the basic methods employed to reach Chinese young and old.

Missionary Labour as An Integrated Whole

Mission historians commonly distinguish carefully among the various activities undertaken by the missionaries in China. They far too readily use the missionaries' own categories of tract preparation, evangelisation, medical work, establishing and teaching in mission-based schools and regard each of these activities as both distinct and unique. Yet a closer look will show that the missionaries employed a larger and more cohesive strategy that served to integrate such activities as part of a larger whole. To put this another way, each and every type of missionary activity was ultimately directed toward one ultimate goal: to win the individual Chinese to Christ. Everything else—producing a better educated person, healing an ill individual, ministering

---

[78] For definitions, see Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, p. 21, note 5, 161 note 3.

[79] Elijah Coleman Bridgman, *A Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect*, Macao: S. W. Williams, 1841.

to the psychological problems of a troubled human being or making the 'primitive heathen' aware of the many benefits of modern Euro-American civilisation—was secondary to the God-given command to preach the Gospel and win souls for the Saviour. This seems a simple enough axiom, but when exploring what the missionaries did and how they did it, one should not lose sight of just why they were really there in the Chinese littoral and later on in the hinterland. This discussion of mission tactics and their implementation is informed by the centrality in missionary thinking of bearing witness and converting people.

The subtext can be seen most clearly when that most basic of all missionary activities, evangelism, is examined. A missionary's first task was to follow the injunction of his Lord and Saviour to go into the world and "preach the Gospel to every living creature". Evangelism—direct preaching of the Word and bearing personal witness to the power of Christ and the nature of His gift of God's Grace—was the most important work that the missionary must do. It was at the very centre of the Protestant missionary enterprise in China. As far as theses evangelical preachers were concerned, there were no other goals or motives.

But before the missionaries could effectively evangelise, China had to be open to them. Yet it took missionaries many years and two painful wars before they were able to itinerate, bear witness and reach the 'heathen' through direct force of faith and personality alone. During the first thirty four years of the Protestant presence on the China coast, from 1807 to 1841, the missionaries attempts to evangelise and bear witness widely were largely frustrated. Although they had carefully and haltingly evangelised and made a few converts who assisted them with their work, this was seen as too little, an opinion made clear in their reports to their home boards. With the First Opium War over and the new treaty system in effect, the missionaries prepared to reach ever larger numbers of Chinese. However, as the diplomatic record of this period of 1841 to 1860 demonstrates, the attempts to itinerate and to preach directly to the Chinese were often frustrated. The local Chinese officials and their gentry allies regarded these foreigners as cultural and religious intruders and blocked their way whenever they could do so. Possibilities for itinerating and evangelising remained limited, especially in the countryside beyond the treaty ports. The missionaries had, therefore, to rely upon Chinese converts to preach God's Word and distribute the religious tracts and Chinese Bibles they had prepared in Southeast Asia before the Opium War began. As Gützlaff's

sad experience demonstrated, these sometimes overly ambitious attempts to reach the Chinese in the small towns and in the villages by relying on Chinese workers who were not carefully supervised were doomed to failure. Nevertheless, under the prevailing circumstances the printed word and the distribution of tracts, Bibles, and related forms of literature remained the most effective means they possessed to reach the hundreds of millions of 'perishing heathen' that made up China's masses.

The creation of the safe haven of British-held island of Hongkong and its principal settlement of Victoria meant that mission boards were able to transfer the centres of publication to the South China coast itself. Thus, while some of the Southeast Asian posts remained important, Hongkong became the nerve centre of the Protestant missionary enterprise of the Chinese and the home of numerous mission-related Chinese-language (and English-language) printing establishments.

The sheer volume of printed material, namely the translation of European-language texts (with the United States here being defined as a Euro-American nation) into Mandarin as well as into a number of local and regional dialects, is clearly indicated in the lists of publications by individual missionaries in Alexander Wylie's still valuable book *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese*, to which must be added the material produced by the mission boards and texts mentioned in the missionaries' own memoirs and/or hagiographic biographies.

Most of the missionaries who came to China during these years spent a large proportion of their time engaged in the translation, preparation, and publication of religious as well as secular texts. The Old Canton Hands and Nanyang Hands such as Bridgman, Williams, Shuck, Gützlaff and Medhurst led the way here and continued to produce tracts and books. The new men working in Guangzhou and in the newly opened treaty ports north of Guangdong such as William Charles Milne, Justus Doolittle, James Legge, Thomas Hall Hudson[80] and William Muirhead 慕維廉 (1822–1900) began to add their publications to this expanding list.

[80] Thomas Hall Hudson 胡德邁 (1800–1876) had come to China as a member of the General Baptist Missionary Society 英國普通浸禮會 and continued to work as an independent missionary after the GBMS had given up its Ningbo station. Wylie, pp. 152–154.

The Bible came first. A good workable translation in Mandarin, one that met the requirements of denominations an that most missionaries could agree upon, was seen as an essential tool. Versions of the Scriptures in the major regional and provincial dialects had to be prepared as well. Thus a large amount of time during the first Treaty Port Period was devoted to working on such translations, involving many of the major figures in the Protestant mission community. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 4.2. Bible translations)*

By the early 1850s some missionaries began to settle outside the city walls and by 1855 had to begun to undertake a number of tours of the coastal areas and the interior. The American Presbyterian Henry Van Vleck Rankin 籃 (1825–1863) and the CMS missionary Cobbald, for example, made two such tours in Zhejiang province and were able to visit thirteen walled cities. By taking these steps they were anticipating the day when they could roam in the countryside at will, evangelising as they travelled. The 'Arrow War' (the Second Opium War) and the treaties that settled it redefined Sino-western relations that would provide the missionaries with this long-awaited opening.

Bibliography

Anderson, Gerald. "Peter Parker and the Introduction of Western Medicine in China", *Mission Studies* 23.2 (2006), pp. 203–238.

Barnett, Suzanne Wilson, "Justus Doolittle at Foochow: Christian Values in the Treaty Ports", in Suzanne Barnett and John K. Fairbank (eds.), *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985, pp. 107–119.

Bays, Daniel H., "Christian Tracts: The Two Friends", in Suzanne Barnett and John K. Fairbank (eds.), *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985, pp. 19–34.

Bickley, Gillian, "The Right Reverend Dr. George Smith, Anglican Bishop of Victoria (1849–1865): His Advice to the Church Missionary Society and His Missionary Travels on the Chinese Mainland", *Ching Feng* n.s. 8.1–2 (2007), pp. 5–30.

Bohr, P. Richard, "The Legacy of William Milne", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 25.4 (October 2002), pp. 173–178.

Boone, Muriel, *The Seed of the Church in China*, Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1973.

Bridgman, Elijah Coleman, *A Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect*, Macao: S.W. Williams, 1841.

Bridgman, Eliza Gillett, *Pioneer of American Missions to China: The Life and Labors of Elijah Coleman Bridgman*, New York: Ason D.F. Randolph, 1864.

Bryan, Ferrebee Catharine, *At the Gates; Life Story of Matthew Tyson and Eliza Moring Yates of China*, Nashville: Broadman Press, 1949.

Bunyan, John, *Tianlu licheng* 天路歷程, trans. William Chalmers Burns, Shanghai: Mohai shuguan, 1856.

Burns, Islay, *Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, M.A., Missionary to China from the English Presbyterian Church*, London: J. Nisbet, 1870. Reprint: San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1975.

Bush, Charles P., *Five Years in China: or, The Factory Boy Made a Missionary. The Life and Observations of Rev. W. Aitchison*, Philadelphia: Presbyterian publication committee, 1865.

Cadbury, William Warder, and Mary Hoxie Jones, *At the Point of a Lancet; One Hundred Years of the Canton Hospital, 1835–1935*, Shanghai [etc.]: Kelly and Walsh, limited, 1935.

Campbell, William, *Formosa Under the Dutch Described from Contemporary Records.: With Explanatory Notes and a Bibliography of the Island*, London: Kegan Paul, Trubner & Co., 1903. Republished in 1987 by SMC Publishing, Taipei; Chinese translation: 甘爲霖牧師 (Wm. Campbell), *He ju xia de Fu'ermosha* 荷據下的福爾摩莎, Li Xionghui 李雄揮 (trans.), Taibei: Qianwei chubanshe, 2003.

Chang, Hsin-Pao, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Chao, Samuel Hsiang-en, "John Livingston Nevius (1829–1893): A Historical Study of His Life and Mission Methods", Ph.D. diss., Intercultural Studies, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1991.

Cheung, David (Chen Yiqiang 陳貽強), *Christianity in Modern China: The Making of the First Native Protestant Church* (Studies in Christian Mission, 28), Leiden: Brill, 2004.

The Chinese Repository, Canton, 1832–1851.

Collis, Maurice, *Foreign Mud, Being an Account of the Opium Imbroglio at Canton in the 1830's & the Anglo-Chinese War That Followed*, London: Faber, 1946.

Crabtree, Loren W., "Andrew P. Happer and Presbyterian Missions in China, 1844–1891", *Journal of Presbyterian History* 62 (1984), pp. 19–34.

Cross, Whitney, *The Burned Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in New York*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1950.

Dean, William, *The China Mission: Embracing a History of the Various Missions of All Denominations among the Chinese, with Biographical Sketches of Deceased Missionaries*, New York: Sheldon ; London: Trübner, 1859.

Drake, Fred, "Protestant Geography in China: E. C. Bridgman's Portrayal of the West", in Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John K. Fairbank, (eds.), *Christianity in China: The Early Missionary Writings*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986, pp. 89–106.

Fay, Peter Ward, *The Opium War 1840–1842: Barbarians in the Celestial Empire in the Early part of the Nineteenth Century and the War By Which They Forced Her Gates Ajar*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.

Fay, Peter Ward, "The Protestant Mission and the Opium War", *Pacific Historical Review* 40 (May 1971), pp. 145–161.

Fischer, Benjamin Louis. "'Opium Pushing and Bible Smuggling' Religion and the Cultural Politics of British Imperialist Ambition in China", Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2008. URL: http://etd.nd.edu/ETD-db/theses/available/etd-04052008–172638/.

Gallimore, Arthur Raymond 賈理模, et al., *Jinhui zai Hua budao bai nian lüe shi* 浸會在華佈道百年略史 (Brief historical sketches of Baptist missions in China, 1836–1936), Shanghai: Zhonghua Jinhui shuju, 1936. A second Chinese edition, edited by Lila Florence Watson [Wu Lile 吴立樂] and revised by Princeton S. Hsu 徐松石, was published in Kowloon, Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1970).

Girardot, Norman J., *The Victorian Translation of China: James Legge's Oriental Pilgrimage*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Goddard, Francis Wayland, *Called to Cathay*, New York: Distributed by the Baptist Literature Bureau, 1948.

Graves, Rosewell Hobart, *Forty Years in China; Or, China in Transition*, Wilmington, Del: Scholarly Resources, 1972.

Graves, Rosewell Hobart, *The Story of the South China Mission*, Richmond, VA: Foreign Mission Board, 1892.

Griffis, William Elliot, *A Maker of the New Orient: Samuel Robbins Brown, Pioneer Educator in China, America, and Japan: The Story of His Life and Work*, New York: F. H. Revell, 1902.

Grundmann, Christoffer H., "Contextualizing the Gospel by 'Imitating Christ': The Emergence of Medical Missions in Nineteenth Century China", in Peter Chen-main Wang (ed.), *Contextualization of Christianity in China: An Evaluation in Modern Perspective*, (Collectanea Serica), Sankt Augustin, Germany: Monumenta Serica, 2007.

Gulick, Edward V., *Peter Parker and the Opening of China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973).

Gützlaff, Karl Friedrich August (Charles), *Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832, and 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-choo Islands*, London: Thomas Ward and Company, 1834, and subsequent editions and translations.

Hancock, Christopher, *Robert Morrison and the Birth of Chinese Protestantism*, London: T&T Clark, 2008.

Harrison, Brian, *Waiting for China: The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, 1818–1843, and Early Nineteenth-Century Missions*, Hongkong: Hong Kong University Press, 1979.

Hood, George A., *Mission Accomplished? The English Presbyterian Mission in Lingtung, South China: A Study of the Interplay between Mission Methods and Their Historical Context*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang,1986.

Johnston, James, *China and Formosa: The Story of the Mission of the Presbyterian Church of England*, London: Hazell, Watson, & Viney, 1897.

Klein, Thoralf, and Reinhard Zöllner (eds.), *Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851) und das Christentum in Ostasien. Ein Missionar zwischen den Kulturen*, Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica, [2005].

Lazich, Michael C., "The Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China: The Canton Era Information Strategy", in Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff (eds.), *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Lazich, Michael C., *E. C. Bridgman (1801–1861): America's First Missionary to China*, Lewiston; Queenston; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000.

Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei, *The Bible and the Gun: Christianity in South China, 1860–1900*, New York & London: Routledge, 2003.

Leonard, Jane Kate, "W. H. Medhurst: Rewriting the Missionary Message", in Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John K. Fairbank, (eds.), *Christianity in China: The Early Missionary Writings*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 47–59.

Lutz, Jessie G., "The Grand Illusion: Karl Gützlaff and Popularization of China Missions in the United States in the 1830s", in Patricia Neils (ed.), *United States Attitudes and Policies toward China. The Impact of American Missionaries*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1990, pp. 46–77.

Lutz, Jessie G., "Karl F. A. Gützlaff: Missionary Entrepreneur", in Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank (eds.), *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985, pp. 61–87.

Lutz, Jessie G., *Opening China: Karl F. A. Gützlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827–1852* (Studies in the History of Christian Missions), Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008.

Melancon, Glenn, *Britain's China Policy and the Opium Crisis: Balancing Drugs, Violence and National Honour, 1833–1840*, Aldershot, Hampshire, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.

Melancon, Glenn, "Peaceful Intentions: The First British Trade Commission in China, 1833–5", *Historical Research* 73 (2000) , pp. 33–47.

Milne, William, *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China*, Malacca: printed at the Anglo-Chinese Press, 1820.

Morrison, Eliza A., *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D.*, London: Longman Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1839. 2 vols. Chinese translation: [馬禮遜夫人], *Ma Lixun huiyi lu* 馬禮遜回憶錄, trans. Gu Changsheng 顧長聲, Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press, 2004; 馬禮遜回憶錄(全集): 他的生平與事工 = Memoirs of the life and labours of Robert Morrison, D. D. / 未亡人編; 鄧肇明譯, Xianggang: Jidujiao wenyi chubanshe, 2008.

Morse, Hosea Ballou, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, 3 vols., London: Longmans, Green, 1910–1918. Reprinted Taibei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1971.

Pfister, Lauren F., *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man': James Legge and the Scottish Protestant Encounter with China. Assessing Confluences in Scottish Nonconformism, Chinese Missionary Scholarship, Victorian Sinology, and Chinese Protestantism*, (Scottish Studies International. Publications of the Scottish Studies Centre of the Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz in Germersheim, Vol. 34), 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004.

Philip, Robert, *The Life and Opinions of the Rev. William Milne, D.D.*, London: John Snow, 1840.

Phillips, Clifton Jackson, *Protestant America and the Pagan World*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Ride, Lindsay, *Robert Morrison: The Scholar and the Man*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1957.

Rubinstein, Murray, *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China, 1807–1840*, Lanham, Md. and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1996.

Rubinstein, Murray A., "The War They Wanted", *American Neptune,* 48.4 (Fall, 1988), pp. 271–282.

Sauberzweig Schmidt, [Gabriel], *Drei Jahrzehnte deutscher Pioniermissionsarbeit in Süd-China 1852–1882*, Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft, 1908.

Schlyter, Herman, *Der China-Missionar Karl Gützlaff und seine Heimatbasis*, Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1976.

Schlyter, Herman, *Karl Gützlaff als Missionar in China*, Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1946.

Seitz, Jonathan A., "The Comparative 'Merits' of Christian Conversion: Early Diasporic Chinese Protestantism (1803–1840) in Formation", Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 2008.

Smith, George, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China, and to the Islands of Hong Kong and Chusan, in Behalf of the Church Missionary Society, in the Years 1844, 1845, 1846*, London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1847.

Speer, Robert E., *A Missionary Pioneer in the Far East; A Memorial of Divie Bethune McCartee*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Co, 1922.

Spence, Jonathan D., *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1996.

Tang Qing 湯清, *Zhongguo Jidujiao bainian shi* 中國基督教百年史 (The first hundred years of Protestant mission in China), 2nd ed., Hongkong: Taosheng Publishing House, 2001.

Taylor, Charles Elisha, *The Story of Yates the Missionary, As Told in His Letters and Reminiscences*, Nashville, Tenn.: Sunday School Board, Southern Baptist Convention, 1898.

Tiedemann, Gerhard, "Missionarischer Einzelgänger oder Visionär? Die Missionsmethoden Gützlaffs", in Thoralf Klein and Reinhard Zöllner (eds.), *Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851) und das Christentum in Ostasien. Ein Missionar zwischen den Kulturen*, Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica, [2005], pp. 192–231.

Wakeman, Frederic, Jr., *Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839–1861*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.

White, E[dith] Aldersey, *A Woman Pioneer in China: The Life of Mary Ann Aldersey*, London: Livingstone Press, 1932.

Williams, Frederick Wells, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams: Missionary, Diplomatist, Sinologue*, New York: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1889.

Wu Yixiong, *Zai zongjiao yu shisu zhi jian: Jidujiao xinjiao chuanjiao shi zai Hua Nan yanhai de zaoqi huodong yanjiu* 在宗教與世俗之間: 基督教新教傳教士在華南沿海的早期活動研究 (Between the religious and the secular: a study of the early activities of the Protestant missionaries in South China), Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000.

Wylie, Alexander, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese: Giving a List of Their Publications, and Obituary Notices of the Deceased. With Copious Indexes*, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867.

Zetzsche, Jost Oliver, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version, or, the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, Monumenta Serica monograph series, 45. Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 1999.

Zou Mingde 鄒明德, "Yapian zhanzheng qian Jidujiao chuanshi zai Hua de wenhua huodong" 鴉片戰爭前基督教傳士在華的文化活動 (Cultural activities of Christian missionaries in China prior to the Opium War), *Jindaishi yanjiu* 近代史研究 No. 5 (1986), pp. 1–12.

2.2.2. *Protestant Missionaries in late Nineteenth-Century China*

Jost Oliver Zetzsche

Expansion

The 1860s heralded the opening of a world of completely new opportunities for the Protestant mission in China. With the Treaties of Tianjin (1858) and the Conventions of Beijing (1860), China was effectively opened for foreign missionaries to settle not only in the new treaty ports in the North and along the Yangzi River, but also in the interior throughout the country. In addition, the missionaries continued to enjoy the privilege of extraterritoriality and their converts obtained certain rights in religious matters. Most missionaries welcomed this change very uncritically as a divine opportunity rather than the result of a morally doubtful power play between the Western powers and China. Former dreams about the "evangelisation" of China suddenly seemed much more realistic.

The Protestant China mission experienced outstanding growth during this era. The number of missionaries in China between 1860 and the early 1900s grew from approximately 80 to more than 3,000[1] (1864: 189; 1874: 436; 1881: 618; 1890: 1,296). Both the new opportunities in China and a growing awareness of missions in the industrializing West contributed to this growth. For many missionaries who arrived in the 1860s, the Taiping rebellion also played a significant role. In its early stages, the rebellion had a mostly positive resonance in Europe and America and generated great excitement in Christian circles, motivating many to join the China mission. Finally, the first generation of missionaries to China had also left a definite mark. By the 1860s, Robert Morrison, William Milne, Walter Henry Medhurst, William Boone, Elijah Coleman Bridgman, and Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff had attained the status of missionary heroes who had set inspiring examples for younger missionaries to follow.

[1] In 1905, there were 3,445 Protestant missionaries (including spouses) and 300 medical specialists in China. See MacGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions*, Statistics. See also Table 5 in the Appendix of this *Handbook*.

The number of mission societies also grew significantly. In 1860, 18 mission societies had representatives in China; in 1900 there were 61 (1888: 33).[2] A list of dates of the first permanent settlements in the 18 provinces illustrates the expansion of the mission. The provinces of Guangdong, Fujian, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang had missionary settlements before 1860 in their respective treaty ports. The dates of the other Chinese provinces are as follows: Zhili (approx. today's Hebei) and Shandong, 1860; Hubei, 1861; Jiangxi, 1867; Anhui, 1869; Shanxi, 1876; Guizhou, Sichuan, and Gansu, 1877; Shaanxi, 1879; Yunnan, 1881; Henan, 1884; Guangxi, 1895; and Hunan, 1897.[3]

Many of the established mission societies maintained but did not expand their well-established mission stations, such as the Dutch Reformed Church in the United States (RCA), the English Presbyterian Mission, and the Basel and Rhenish Mission societies. Some societies expanded slowly, such as the Church Missionary Society (1890s into Sichuan), the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Beijing area), the American Church Mission (along the Yangzi as far as Hankou), and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (Hubei). Yet other societies expanded their geographical sphere more significantly, such as the London Missionary Society (Peking, Tianjin, Hubei), the (Northern) American Presbyterian Mission (U.S.) (Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Hainan, Shandong, Beijing), the American Baptist Missionary Union (Shantou, Ningbo, Sichuan), the Southern Baptist Convention (Guangdong and Shandong), the Methodist Episcopal Church (Fujian, Jiangsu, Shandong, Sichuan and Zhili), and the Methodist Episcopal Mission, South (Jiangsu and Zhejiang).

Numerous mission societies entered China in the period between 1860 and 1900, but the majority did not stay for very long. Among those that had a lasting impact are the Baptist Missionary Society (1859, Shandong), the (Southern) American Presbyterian Mission (U.S.A.) (Zhejiang, Jiangsu, 1869), the Irish Presbyterian (1869) and the (Scottish) United Presbyterian Church (1872) (both in Manchuria), and the Presbyterian Church of Canada (Taiwan, 1871, and Henan, 1888).

---

[2] See *Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World, Held in London 1888*, London: Nisbet: 1888, p. 224.

[3] For these dates, see Stauffer, *Christian Occupation*.

The China Inland Mission: Challenge to the 'Traditional' Mission Structure

The most remarkable new mission society was the China Inland Mission (CIM). It was founded in 1865 by James Hudson Taylor (see below). Its first group of 22 missionaries arrived in Shanghai in 1866, and thirty years later more than 640 foreign missionaries (more than one-fifth of the entire body of foreign missionaries) belonged to the CIM. It differed significantly from the traditional mission societies in that (a) its headquarters was in China, (b) the necessary funds were not solicited (the "faith-mission principle"), (c) the educational or denominational background of the applicants was essentially irrelevant, but they did have to subscribe to a conservative Bible-based faith code, (d) co-operation rather than competition with the denominational societies was sought, (e) the missionaries were to conform as much as possible to the living conditions of the Chinese, and (f) the main goal of the mission work was the diffusion of Christianity and the entering of new areas rather than an in-depth building of local churches (which was left to the traditional societies).[4]

The typical "traditional" missionary was part of a hierarchical structure in which he or she was assigned to a local mission station. The station, in turn, was part of a larger organisation of that denomination, such as the Central China Mission of the LMS, for example. Both the mission stations and the secretaries of the larger organisations wrote reports, mostly on a quarterly basis, to the home board. These reports not only served as a means of control but also as a source of information for the much larger supporting community (usually published in an edited and condensed form in the quarterly or annual reports of the respective mission society). At the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York in 1900, several speakers strongly defended the structure of the traditional mission against the faith-mission principle of such organisations as the China Inland Mission. They argued that only the traditional structure with a home board viewed the church

[4] For a recent study of the early CIM history, see Alvyn Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832–1905*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2007. Later there were other 'faith mission' societies, many of which were actually associated with the CIM. Others, such as the Christian Alliance and the International Missionary Alliance (merged 1897 into the Christian and Missionary Alliance) had no connection with the CIM, though their missionaries shared many characteristics with CIM missionaries.

as a whole. including both the missionary and the supporter at home. Consequently, the latter was entitled to an even distribution of his contributions and an adequate supply of information from the mission field. Furthermore, they believed the board's essential responsibilities included the selection of missionaries with appropriate abilities and the supervision of the mission stations and missionaries to ensure progression of the work and to insure against false representation of the church.[5]

This hierarchical organisation worked well for many, though not for all. Sometimes such cases resulted in sharp conflict and ultimately divorce of the missionary from the society Characteristically, some of the more prominent and atypical missionaries (such as Timothy Richard 李提摩太 (1845–1919), Joseph Edkins 艾約瑟 (1823–1905), Gilbert Reid 李佳白 (1857–1927), Tarleton P. Crawford, or Ernst Faber 花之安 (1839–1899) felt constrained by such formal arrangements. However, there were many missionaries who thrived in this system, especially when they found board secretaries who could serve as confidants or pastoral advisers, as is attested to by thousands of letters in missionary archives in Europe and America. The home boards were often in awkward positions when missionaries asked for guidance on issues they could not decide themselves, such as the 'Term Question' (see below). In this particular case, when some of the home missionary societies (the LMS and CMS, for instance) were asked to intervene, they wisely referred the question back to their missionaries to settle.[6]

Conflicts and Comity Agreements

Although most Protestant missionaries during the first and at least part of the second half of the nineteenth century saw themselves as belonging to a similar evangelical tradition, there was nevertheless consid-

---

[5] See *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900. Report of the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions, Held in Carnegie Hall and Neighboring Churches, April 21 to May 1*, Vol. 1, New York: American Tract Society; London: Religious Tract Society, 1900, pp. 210–212.

[6] The Anglican missionary J. S. Burdon actually appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury for a decision on the Term Question. The Archbishop "took immense trouble in the matter; but no satisfactory solution was arrived at." See Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol. 3, London: Church Missionary Society, 1899, p. 219.

erable conflict. Bible translation had been one of the major projects of co-operation in the 1840s and 1850s, but disagreements led to the eventual separation of the American Baptists from all other denominations, and to the separation of most British missionaries from their American colleagues. Both schisms were triggered by disagreements over terms—the Baptists did not agree with the Chinese term for "baptism" and American and British missionaries disagreed on the terms for "God" and "Spirit," the so-called "Term Question". The seriousness of especially the latter conflict demonstrated the more fundamental questions of mission strategy and the basic understanding of mission. This split in the missionary body remained vital throughout the nineteenth century, reaching a new climax each time a new Bible translation was published, such as the so-called *Peking Version* in 1872.[7] *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 4.2., Bible translations and the Protestant 'term question')*

With the exception of the larger cities, geographical areas were divided into districts that were to be evangelised by only one mission society to minimise potential friction on the actual mission field. Many theological, denominational, and missiological battles were nevertheless fought in forums like the *Chinese Recorder*, the foremost Protestant missionary journal in China. As the mission enterprise grew, however, so did sincere attempts at co-operation. The General Conference of 1877 in Shanghai was a large-scale attempt to redefine common ground. Wisely, the Term Question as the greatest point of potential dissent was avoided, making the conference eventually a successful enterprise. A number of committees were founded as a result, among the most important ones the School and Textbook Series Committee, from which indirectly the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese 同文書會 (SDCGK) developed ten years later (it would later be known as the Christian Literature Society 廣學會) and the Educational Association of China in 1890.[8] At the next general conference, which took place in 1890,[9] the only major source of dissent was a disagreement on the

[7] On the nineteenth-century history of Protestant Bible translation, see Zetzsche, *The Bible in China* (1999).

[8] See Latourette, *History of Christian Missions in China*, p. 440; Cohen, "Christian Missions", p. 577.

[9] The originally planned date of 1887 had to be rescheduled because many felt more preparation time was needed to make agreements more likely. See *CR* 1885, pp. 437, 447ff.; 1886, pp. 32ff., 41, 77f., 81, 161; 1887, pp. 209, 241.

acceptance of ancestor worship, which was firmly rebutted.[10] The most important decision at this conference was for the translation of a unified Bible. This decision paved the way for further comity agreements because it indirectly aimed at the point of greatest dissent, namely the Term Question, and attempted to produce something that could form the very basis of all unified Protestant mission work, a common Bible translation. The conference participants prided themselves on the harmonious spirit of the proceedings.[11]

Other comity agreements independent of the conferences included the early unification of churches, such as the formation of a joint church by the Reformed Church of America and the English Presbyterian mission in Xiamen in 1862, or the United Presbyterian Church in Manchuria in 1891 by the Scottish and Irish Presbyterian missions. Certain areas of missionary involvement also called for interdenominational organisations. In 1886, the interdenominational China Medical Missionary Association was founded, an organisation for the promotion of research, the preparation of medical literature, and a unified terminology.[12] The China Famine Relief Fund, founded in 1878 as a response to the famine in Shandong and Shanxi, was also a large interdenominational effort. This committee was revived in 1889 in response to another famine in Shandong.[13] Though higher education was still viewed with scepticism by many, a unified basis was formed with the founding of the above-mentioned School and Textbook Series Committee at the 1877 conference, and again in 1890, when the Educational Association of China was formed. For co-operation in literary work, numerous tract societies were founded in addition to the afore-mentioned SDCGK.[14] The Bible societies also played a crucial role in efforts which involved missionaries from all mission societies

---

[10] For the speech by W. A. P. Martin, see *Records 1890*, pp. 619–631; for the resolution against it, see p. lxiii f.

[11] See *Records 1890*, p. xi. Latourette, *History of Christian Missions in China*, p. 415, notes that the achievements of this conference left behind "a more tangible organisation."

[12] See Latourette, *History of Christian Missions in China*, p. 655. The China Medical Missionary Association had a predecessor in the Medical Missionary Society, which had been founded as early as 1838. The Association was absorbed in 1925 by the China Medical Association.

[13] At this point there was severe conflict in the leadership of the committee (see Hyatt, "Protestant Missions in China", p. 112ff.).

[14] See a list of tract societies in MacGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions*, p. 614ff.

(with the exception of Baptist groups who had separate, denominational Bible societies). The British and Foreign Bible Society had been involved in China work since the beginnings of the Protestant effort, while the American Bible Society had entered the field actively in 1854 and the National Bible Society of Scotland in 1867.[15] Though the Bible societies were deeply involved in the Term Question and thoroughly in disagreement with each other on this question, they did present a forum which was rather more along national than denominational lines. Other interest groups that were formed along interdenominational lines involved those working with the blind, the deaf, opium addicts, and orphans, or against footbinding. Many of these associations were formed on the occasion of the two great general conferences in China.[16]

Women Missionaries

Possibly the most radical change experienced by the China missions in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the 'feminisation'[17] of the mission body. Though women had already been deeply involved in daily mission work in the first half-century of the China mission, their contributions had only rarely been acknowledged. Their role as missionary wives generally not only included homemaker duties but also the teaching of girls and women or visitations to women. Due to the rigid separation of men and women in the public sphere in China, it was practically impossible for the male missionary to reach Chinese women. The *zenana* movement, which began in India in the 1850s and 1860s and involved setting aside women missionaries for visitations of the all-female high-cast dwellings ("zenana"), was thus easily transferable into Chinese society. The subsequent formation of women missionary societies under the slogan "Woman's Work for Woman" radically changed the picture of missions in China. With the exception of the undenominational and independent Woman's Union Missionary Society (founded in 1860), all of these societies were connected

[15] These dates mark the dates of the first publications by the American and Scottish Bible societies respectively. The American society had connections with the China mission since the 1830s.

[16] For a list of the committees formed at the 1890 conference, see *Records 1890*, pp. lx–lxii.

[17] See Hunter, *Gospel of Gentility*, p. xiii.

with denominational (male) mission societies. From the British Isles alone, 12 different women's societies sent representatives to China between 1870 and 1900; by 1890, 60 percent of the Western missionaries in China were women (including wives and single ladies).[18] However, not all the unmarried women in the mission field came from the women's societies.[19] The China Inland Mission in particular had started to accept female missionaries very early on and sent them out into the interior as early as 1878.[20] Generally, female missionaries worked in three different aspects of mission life: education, medical work, and evangelistic work, including visitation.[21] Of these, education formed the most important part, and many hoped that female education could be the "key to missionary success."[22] The percentage of female Chinese members of the church did not grow according to these hopes, however, and by the early 1920s only about one-third of church members were women.[23]

Protestant Missionaries in Late Qing China: Some Individuals

Biographical works on missionaries have undergone a remarkable transformation over the last 150 years. Biographies written in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries depicted a hagiographical view of missionaries that has been strongly rejected by academics in the 1960s and 1970s. The authors of the latter period not only pre-

[18] See Latourette, *History of Christian Missions in China*, p. 408. For a list of all the female societies in China before 1907, see MacGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions*, pp. 456ff. For a case study of the Methodist Woman's Foreign Missionary Society in China, see Robert, *American Women in Mission*, pp. 170–188.

[19] Many of the traditional societies started to sent out women around the turn of the century. For the Church Missionary Society, see Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, Suppl. Vol. 4, London: Church Missionary Society, 1916, p. 464.

[20] The public reaction to single Western women residing and travelling on their own in the interior was rather negative: "Of all the innovations connected with the Mission none met with stronger opposition. The presence of unmarried ladies in the interior at all was, with many, a sufficient ground for condemning the whole work, and determined efforts were made to secure their recall to the coast." See Taylor, *Hudson Taylor*, Vol. 2, p. 128.

[21] For a description of each of these aspects, see Hunter, *Gospel of Gentility*, pp. 15ff.

[22] See Hyatt, "Protestant Missions in China", p. 100.

[23] See Stauffer, *Christian Occupation*, p. 35.

sented a different perspective but also different faces. These included some of the more innovative missionaries such as Timothy Richard or Young John Allen 林樂知 (1836–1907), whereas "traditional" missionaries like David Hill 李修善 (1840–1896) and Griffith John (see below) were overlooked. Beginning in the 1980s, yet another trend became evident: researchers shied away from missionaries' biographies and concentrated instead on trends or movements within the missionary community. While acknowledging the necessity of refraining from the earlier glorifying view, the China mission of the latter half of the nineteenth century cannot be understood without its missionary actors, and while innovative missionaries are important, many of the "traditional" missionaries were of equal significance to the missionary body and the developing Chinese church.[24]

Below are brief biographical sketches of four missionaries of approximately the same time period, who represent four distinctly different personalities. Although this certainly does not fully represent the Protestant missionary enterprise in China, it does give an impression of its diversity.[25]

Griffith John, the 'Traditional' Missionary

Griffith John 楊格非 (1831–1912) grew up in a deeply Christian and moderately wealthy home in Swansea, Wales. Having decided to become a missionary during his studies at Brecon College in Wales, he applied to the London Missionary Society, which transferred him for further studies to the LMS's Mission Academy in Bedford, England. John and his newly married wife Margaret Jane Griffiths (1830–1873) set out for China in March of 1855 and reached Shanghai six months later.

After a year of language study, John started taking frequent mission trips into the surrounding areas of Shanghai. On those trips, John and his fellow travellers tried to distribute tracts and to preach the most basic doctrines of Christianity, often followed by a more in-depth exhortation by accompanying Chinese preachers. John's preaching,

---

[24] See Jessie Lutz, "Chinese Christianity and Christian Missions: Western Literature, The State of the Field", in *Journal of the History of Christianity* 1 (1998), p. 44. Lutz also underlines the importance of missionary biographies.

[25] For a list of biographies and autobiographies of missionaries in China, see Lutz, "Chinese Christianity," p. 53f.

which was often described as his most remarkable gift, changed over the years from a mere presentation of doctrinal statements to a more refined format in which he would challenge his listeners with quotations from the Chinese canonical books (the 'Chinese Classics') and then present his Christian message within this framework.

In 1861 he and Robert Wilson (1829–1863) of the LMS moved to the newly opened treaty port of Hankou (today part of Wuhan in Hubei), where they founded the first permanent Protestant mission station in Hubei, and the centre of the Central China Mission of the LMS. John's work in the first two decades in Hankou consisted mainly of preaching in the city's streets and later also in LMS chapels. Another part of his work focused on itinerary mission trips. He did not establish outstations on those trips (with very few unsuccessful exceptions). Instead, outstations were developed by local Christians who were trained by him at the mission centre. The Central China Mission of the LMS grew remarkably. In 1905, it consisted of 120 evangelistic centres and five mission stations throughout Hubei province. The educational and medical aspect played an important though secondary role in his mission work. Only after the mission was firmly established did he found a hospital (1866) and a theological college (1904) in Hankou.

In the 1880s John began to view literary work as increasingly important, especially in regard to Bible translation. Together with his Chinese co-worker Shen Tsising (1825–1887), a *shengyuan (xiucai)* degree holder from Nanjing,[26] he translated the New Testament (and parts of the Old Testament) into a lower form of literary Chinese and Mandarin (published 1885 and 1889).[27] John was the most influential opponent of the translation of a unified version of the Bible, causing great anxiety among other missionaries who feared that a unified version would fail without his endorsement. Though this fear proved to be exaggerated, it does exemplify the prominent position that John held among the missionaries in China as well as on the home front in

[26] See W. Robson, *Griffith John: Founder of the Hankow Mission Central China*, London: Partridge, 1889, p. 84. The *pinyin* transcription and the Chinese characters of Shen are unfortunately not known.

[27] Griffith John (transl.), *Xinyue quanshu—wenli* 新約全書。文理. 1885; Griffith John (transl.), *Xinyue quanshu—guanhua* 新約全書。官話. 1889. For a discussion of John's translations, see Zetzsche (1999), pp. 163–174.

Britain.[28] John finally left China in 1908, 53 years after his arrival. He retired in his native Wales, where he died in 1912.

Hudson Taylor, the Founder of the China Inland Mission

James Hudson Taylor 戴德生 (1832–1905) was born in Barnsley, Yorkshire, and grew up in a devout Methodist family. After a conversion experience at the age of 17, he decided to go to China as a missionary. Though he began studying medicine to fill a perceived need for medical missionaries, the excitement of the Taiping rebellion caused him to drop his medical studies and go to China as quickly as possible. He had joined the Chinese Evangelisation Society, one of the pious societies founded after Karl Gützlaff's 郭實獵 (1803–1851) visit to Europe in 1850, and he left England for China in September of 1853. Taylor stayed in Shanghai for nearly two years, undertaking mission trips, sometimes with other missionaries but often alone. He became increasingly disillusioned with much of what he saw among other missionaries, many of whom had a relatively comfortable life style. This stood in stark contrast not only to his ideals but also to his own situation, which was very constrained due to the infrequent payments of his mission society.

Taylor spent part of 1856 with William Chalmers Burns 賓威廉 (1815–1868),[29] who had a significant influence on Hudson's view of mission work. Burns, a missionary of the English Presbyterian Mission, had led a revival movement in Britain and Canada before coming to China. In the same year Taylor moved on to Ningbo, where he eventually took over a hospital from William Parker 巴格爾 (1824–1863) of the CES in 1859. Two years before, Taylor had left the CES (a move which was finally triggered by the society's taking of loans, which Taylor could not accept), and he now depended solely on financial support from friends in England. Their support continued despite the fact that he never solicited any money, and this established the basis for his faith-mission principle. Taylor's ill health forced him to

[28] In 1889 he was elected chair of the Congregational Union (which he declined) and conferred the D.D. from the University of Edinburgh.

[29] For Burns, see Islay Burns, *Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, M.A.: Missionary to China from the English Presbyterian Church*, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1975; Michael McMullen, *God's Polished Arrow: William Chalmers Burns*, Fearn, Ross-shire: Christian Focus, 2000.

return to England in 1860, where he completed his medical studies and took part in the revision of the New Testament in the Ningbo dialect.[30] In 1865, Taylor founded the China Inland Mission, strongly believing that personal and financial needs would be supplied according to what was needed. In May of 1866 he and his wife Maria Jane Dyer (1837–1870)[31] sailed back to China with 20 young missionaries in a sailing vessel, the *Lammermuir* (the 'Lammermuir Party' 蘭花團體).

Taylor's work from then on was chiefly aimed at the organisation and supervision of the rapidly growing CIM as well as the propagation of his mission, for which he travelled extensively through China and around the world. He opened numerous support organisations in the United States, Canada, Australia, most Scandinavian countries, Germany, and Britain. Taylor, as the director of the CIM, was the unchallenged authority of the society, even after 1885 when he appointed ten senior missionaries as superintendents for the work in different areas and John Whiteford Stevenson 范約翰 (1844–1918) as deputy director.

Taylor retired from active service in 1900, but he retained an advisory role during his retirement in Davos, Switzerland. He returned a last time to China in 1905, where he died in Changsha. By that time the CIM had 849 foreign missionaries in China, 1,287 employed Chinese workers, and more than 14,000 communicants.[32]

Timothy Richard, the Reformer

It has been noted before that Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard are ideal candidates for comparison,[33] not only because Timothy Richard 李提摩太 (1845–1919) had applied to the CIM and was not accepted, but because he represented the very opposite of what Taylor (and in many ways John) stood for. Richard was born into a Baptist family in rural Llanfynydd in South Wales, was baptised at the age of 14, and soon felt called to go abroad as a missionary. In 1865 he enrolled in

---

[30] In company with the CMS missionary Frederick Foster Gough 岳 (1825–1889) and Wang Laijun 王來俊 from Ningbo.

[31] For Maria Jane Dyer, see J. C. Pollock, *Hudson Taylor and Maria: Pioneers in China*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

[32] See Stauffer, *Christian Occupation*, p. 327. Numbers include those of associates.

[33] See Latourette, *History of Christian Missions in China*, pp. 386f.; Cohen, "Taylor and Richard"; Lauren Pfister, "Re-Thinking Mission in China".

the Baptist Haverfordwest Theological College, where he stood out as a "thorough thinker".[34] In 1869 Richard applied to the Baptist Missionary Society and was assigned to Chefoo (Zhifu 之罘, today's Yantai in Shandong). He arrived there in 1870 and soon undertook some "traditional" mission trips and preaching in the city, but not before long came to the conclusion that the Christian message had to be made applicable to China.[35] Moreover, he believed that it would be more reasonable to first convert the influential members of Chinese society—the literati as well as secular and religious figures of authority—which would make it easier to reach the masses of people. In particular, he increasingly emphasised the need of scientific education to "free the Chinese philosophers from the chains of superstition".[36]

In 1875, as the sole surviving representative of his mission society in China, Richard was among the first foreigners to move inland to Qingzhou 青州 (now Yidu, Shandong), an important administrative and religious centre. When the Great Famine in North China broke out in 1876, Richard spent most of his time and energy in relief work.[37] In 1877 he followed the centre of the famine to Shanxi, and he stayed in its capital, Taiyuan, for the next ten years. Shaken by the devastating effects of the famine, he developed reform concepts for China and was able to present them to high dignitaries such as Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823–1901) and Zuo Zongtang 左宗堂 (1812–1885), who were open to many aspects of his concept but dismissed his emphasis on welfare and Christianity. Richard parted from his mission society in 1889 after it could no longer endorse his emphasis on secular reform, and in 1890 Li Hongzhang offered him a post as editor of the *Shibao* 時報, a Chinese daily newspaper where Richard found a platform for many of his reform ideas. Though he kept this post for only one year, he subsequently remained focused on literary and publication work as the secretary of the SDCGK from 1891 on. Here he found ample opportunity to publish many of his ideas in the most important periodical published by the society, the *Wanguo Gongbao* 萬國公報 (English title: *Review of the Times*), which had been founded by one of Richard's co-workers at the society, the American Methodist Young J.

---

[34] See Bohr, *Famine*, pp. 2f.
[35] See Bohr, *Famine*, p. 6.
[36] Quoted in Bohr, *Famine*, p. 10.
[37] One author calls Richard "the founder of famine relief in China". Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, quoted in Hyatt, "Protestant Missions in China", p. 110.

Allen 林樂知 (1836–1907).[38] Other publications of the society, many of which were written by Richard himself, covered science, history, and economics as well as Buddhism and Christianity.

After the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, Richard was asked by the provincial authorities of Shanxi, the province in which the greatest number of missionaries and Christians had been killed, to mediate in the post-Boxer settlements. At his suggestion, funds were set aside for the founding of a provincial university in Taiyuan (山西大學堂 and Richard served as the president of its Western division from 1901 through 1911.[39] In 1911, he again took over responsibilities at the Christian Literature Society in Shanghai until his retirement in 1913. He died three years later in London.

Lottie Moon, the Woman Evangelist

Charlotte (Lottie) Digges Moon 李題鰲 or 慕拉第 (1840–1912), the "patron saint" of today's Southern Baptist mission,[40] was born in 1840 into a well-off family in Albemarle County, Virginia.[41] For her college education she enrolled at the newly founded Albemarle Female Institute and later graduated as one of the first women in the American South with a Master of Arts degree. Moon worked as a teacher after the Civil War and before sailing for China in 1873. As a member of the Southern Baptist Board she joined the mission station in Dengzhou 登州 (now Penglai), Shandong, that consisted of such prominent missionaries as Tarleton Perry Crawford, his wife Martha Foster 柯瑪莎

[38] For Allen and his literary activities, see Adrian A. Bennett, *Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and His Magazines, 1860–1883*, Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1983.

[39] In 1911, Richard was replaced by a Chinese president. For an account of this episode, see Ruan Renze and Gao Zhennong (eds.), *Shanghai zongjiaoshi* 上海宗教史 (History of Religion in Shanghai), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992, p. 884.

[40] See Robert, *American Women*, p. 184. In December 1888, the first Lottie Moon Christmas offering was collected by the Southern Baptist Woman's Missionary Union. In 1997 alone it raised more than 100 million dollars (information provided by representative of the Southern Baptist Mission Board to the author). For an account of the "Moon Story" and its meaning to the Southern Baptist Board, see Hyatt, *Ordered Lives*, pp. 124–136.

[41] There is a multitude of sources on Lottie Moon, including web sites, dramas, and biographies. The "official" hagiography was Una Roberts Lawrence, *Lottie Moon*. Nashville: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1927. Two recent more reliable studies are Hyatt, *Ordered Lives*, and Allen, *Lottie Moon*.

(1830–1909),[42] and Jesse Boardman Hartwell 海雅西 (1835–1912). Moon spent her first six years teaching in a girls' school, an occupation which appeared increasingly frustrating to her. She considered it a waste for single women missionaries to teach a limited number of students when an unlimited number of women could be reached.[43] Beginning in 1879, Moon went on frequent evangelistic tours around Dengzhou, and this more and more became the emphasis of her work. In this she was particularly encouraged by Sallie J. Holmes, also a Southern Baptist missionary from nearby Zhifu, who with Martha Crawford accompanied Moon on many of the tours.[44] Their typical strategy was to take lodging in a particular town and wait for Chinese women—inevitably drawn by their curiosity about the foreign women—to visit them.

The Southern Baptist mission station in Dengzhou suffered to a great degree from a conflict between T. P. Crawford and J. B. Hartwell, a dispute which eventually resulted in Hartwell's resignation from the mission board in 1879 (he was re-appointed to Dengzhou in 1893). Though Moon felt loyal to Crawford—mainly out of friendship to his wife—she became increasingly estranged from him and did not join with the majority of Baptist missionaries in Shandong who left the Southern Baptist Board and joined Crawford's newly founded Gospel Mission in 1892. Although Moon often served as a mediator in the many conflicts that the SBC mission experienced in the Shandong mission, she unreservedly voiced her own concerns to her home board, such as the demand for similar rights of male and female missionaries or better conditions for missionaries.[45]

In late 1885 she moved to Pingdu 平度, a large town 150 km inland, thus becoming the first single American woman missionary to move into the Chinese interior. The American Presbyterians John Livingston

---

[42] For T. P. and Martha Crawford, see Hyatt, *Ordered Lives*; L. S. Foster, *Fifty Years in China: An Eventful Memoir of the Life of Tarleton Perry Crawford, D.D.*, Nashville: Bayless-Pullen, 1909; Wayne Flynt and Gerald Blakeley, *Taking Christianity to China: Alabama Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 1997; Carol Ann Vaughn, "'Living in the Lives of Men': A Southern Baptist Woman's Missionary Journey from Alabama to Shandong, 1830–1909", Ph.D. diss., Auburn University, 1998.

[43] See Hyatt, *Ordered Lives*, p. 100.

[44] Sallie J. Holmes (née Little) left China in 1881. She was the widow of James Landrum Holmes 花雅各 (1836–1861) who was killed by rebels near Yantai in 1861.

[45] Moon particularly demanded more regular furloughs.

Nevius 倪維思 (1829–1893)[46] and Calvin Wilson Mateer 狄考文 (1836–1908)[47] had visited Pingdu long before but had given up any work there. Moon's missionary strategy in Pingdu mainly consisted of hospitality and friend-making, but she also spent much of her time in itinerant preaching and visitation in the villages of Pingdu department 平度州. Especially in the vicinity of Shaling 沙嶺 village she found a remarkable response to her message. In that locality her work expanded to include men as well as women. In the early 1920s, some thirty years after Moon had founded her first church in Pingdu county, the percentage of Christians in that county was more than eight times the average in Shandong, which itself was the province with the third highest percentage of Protestant Christians in China.[48]

After T. P. Crawford left Dengzhou in 1892, Moon again began to spend most of her time there and, in spite of her former aversion, took up educational work once more in the late 1890s. In 1898 she founded a co-educational school and organised several girls' schools. However, she continued taking mission trips in the Dengzhou area. In the last decade of her life she struggled with physical illnesses as well as with depression, and she died in 1912 on the way to America.

Bibliography

Allen, Catherine B., *The New Lottie Moon Story*, Nashville: Broadman, 1980.

Austin, Alvyn, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832–1905*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2007.

Bennett, Adrian A., *Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and His Magazines, 1860–1883*, Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1983.

Bohr, P. Richard, *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876–1884*, Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1972.

Broomhall, A[lfred] J[ames], *Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century*, 7 vols., London: Hodder & Stoughton, Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1981–1989.

---

[46] For Nevius, see Helen S. C. Nevius, *Life of John Livingston Nevius, for Forty Years a Missionary in China*, New York: Revell, 1895; Samuel H. Chao, "John Livingston Nevius (1829–1893): A Historical Study of His Life and Mission Methods", Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1991.

[47] For Mateer, see Hyatt, *Our Lives*; Daniel W. Fisher, *Calvin Wilson Mateer: Forty-Five Years a Missionary in Shantung, China*, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1911.

[48] Only Fujian and Guangdong had higher percentages. See Stauffer, *Christian Occupation*, p. 203f. and especially the graphic on p. 204, where the exceptional status of Pingdu county in Shandong is illustrated.

Burns, Islay, *Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, M.A.: Missionary to China from the English Presbyterian Church*, London: J. Nisbet, 1870. Reprint: San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1975.

Chao, Samuel H., "John Livingston Nevius (1829–1893): A Historical Study of His Life and Mission Methods", Ph. D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1991.

Cohen, Paul A., "Christian Missions and their Impact to 1900," in: J. K. Fairbanks, D. Twitchett (eds.), *Cambridge History of China, Vol. 10: Late Ch'ing 1800–1911, Part 1*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 543–590.

Cohen, Paul A., "Missionary Approaches: Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard," *Papers on China* 11 (1957).

Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900. Report of the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions, Held in Carnegie Hall and Neighboring Churches, April 21 to May 1, New York: American Tract Society; London: Religious Tract Society, 1900. 2 vols.

Fisher, Daniel W., *Calvin Wilson Mateer: Forty-Five Years a Missionary in Shantung, China*, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1911.

Flynt, Wayne, and Gerald Blakeley, *Taking Christianity to China: Alabama Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 1997.

Foster, Lovelace Savidge, *Fifty Years in China: An Eventful Memoir of the Life of Tarleton Perry Crawford, D.D.*, Nashville: Bayless-Pullen, 1909.

Hunter, Jane, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

Hyatt, Irwin T., Jr., "Protestant Missions in China, 1877–1890: The Institutionalization of Good Works," in: Kwang-Ching Liu, *American Missionaries in China*, Cambridge (Mass.): East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1966, pp. 93–126.

Hyatt, Irwin T., Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three Nineteenth-Century American Missionaries in East Shantung*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. Reprinted Taibei, 1966.

Lawrence, Una Roberts, *Lottie Moon*. Nashville: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1927.

MacGillivray, Donald (ed.), *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807–1907), Being the Centenary Conference Historical Volume*, Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907.

McMullen, Michael, *God's Polished Arrow: William Chalmers Burns*, Fearn, Rossshire: Christian Focus, 2000.

Pfister, Lauren F., "Re-Thinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard", in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880–1914*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003, pp. 183–212.

Pollock, John C., *Hudson Taylor and Maria: Pioneers in China*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Held at Shanghai, May 10–24, 1877, Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878. Reprinted Taibei: Ch'eng Wen Pub. Co, 1973.

Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Held at Shanghai, May 2–20, 1890, Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890.

Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World, Held in Exeter Hall (June 9th–19th), London, 1888, edited by James Johnston, and Samuel Macauley Jackson, London, J. Nisbet & Co.; New York: F. H. Revell, 1889.

Richard, Timothy, *Forty-Five Years in China. Reminiscences*, New York: Stokes, 1916.

Robert, Dana Lee, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice. The Modern Mission Era, 1792–1992*, Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1996.

Robson, William, *Griffith John: Founder of the Hankow Mission, Central China*, London: Partridge, 1889.
Ruan Renze 阮仁澤 and Gao Zhennong 高振農 (eds.), *Shanghai zongjiaoshi* 上海宗教史 (History of Religion in Shanghai), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992.
Soothill, William E., *Timothy Richard of China*, London: Seeley, Service, 1924.
Stauffer, Milton T. (ed.), *The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China Made by the Special Committee on Survey and Occupancy China Continuation Committee, 1918–1921*, Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922.
Stock, Eugene, *The History of the Church Missionary Society, Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, 3 vols., London: Church Missionary Society, 1899; supplementary volume London: Church Missionary Society, 1916.
Taylor, Howard, and Mrs. [Geraldine] Taylor, *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Work of God*, London: China Inland Mission, 1918.
Thompson, R. Wardlaw, *Griffith John: The Story of Fifty Years in China*, London: The Religious Tract Society, 1906.
Vaughn, Carol Ann, "'Living in the Lives of Men': A Southern Baptist Woman's Missionary Journey from Alabama to Shandong, 1830–1909", Ph.D. diss., Auburn University, 1998.
Whitefield, Douglas Brent, "The Christian Literature Society for China: The Role of Its Publications, Personalities and Theology in Late-Qing Reform Movements", Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2001.
Zetzsche, Jost Oliver, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version, or, the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, Monumenta Serica monograph series, 45. Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 1999.

2.3. Russian Orthodox Church

Alexander Lomanov

The Diplomatic Mission: 1800–1860

The Russian Orthodox 東正教 presence in China at the beginning of the nineteenth century was regulated by Article 5 of the Treaty of Kiakhta (1727).[1] The personnel at the Russian Hostel (*Eluosiguan* 俄羅斯館) in the south-eastern section of what at the time was known as the Tartar City in Beijing was limited to four priests (*lama* 喇嘛) and six laymen, including two language students. The Russians adhered to this quota until 1864. The composition of the Russian Spiritual Mission (also known as the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission) was to be changed on a regular basis. In the first half of the nineteenth century missions were replaced approximately every ten years.

In 1800 Russia was represented in Beijing by the 8th Mission 第八屆 (1794–1807), led by archimandrite Sofronij 索夫羅尼 (Gribovskij 格里鮑夫斯基). The preceding mission turned over to them a very small religious community of 30 males and 4 females, 25 of them were of Russian descent (the so-called Albazinians, named after the Albazin fortress on the Amur River or Heilongjiang where they were captured). This community was based in the Beiguan 北館 quarter in the north-eastern part of the city. The four young language students attached to the new Mission made good progress in their Manchu studies. Yet the internal life of the Mission was also marked by conflicts and untimely deaths of several monks who were at that time in their mid-forties.

The 9th Mission 第九屆 (1807–1821) was led by Nikita Yakovlevich Bichurin 俾邱林 (1777–1853), better known under his monastic name of Iakinf (Hyacinth) 亞金甫. This remarkable person is now proudly called the founder of Russian sinology.[2] However, his performance in China was severely criticised at the time. The promotion of Fr. Iakinf to the position of the head of the Mission was due to Count Iurii Aleksandrovich Golovkin (1762–1846), who led the failed Russian Embassy to the Qing court in 1805. Golovkin disliked the head of the

[1] On the origin of the Russian Orthodox presence in China, see *Handbook* I, pp. 367–375.

[2] Mikhailov and Yurkevich, "Bichurin", p. 23.

Spiritual Mission, archimandrite Apollos, whom he had met in 1806 in Irkutsk and petitioned for his dismissal. Tsar Alexander I had already openly expressed to Golovkin his dissatisfaction with the low diplomatic effectiveness of the Beijing Mission. So it was not hard to get rid of the "incapable" Apollos. Since Count Golovkin was impressed by Iakinf's erudition and abilities, Alexander I appointed the latter as the new head of the Mission.

The first year of Archimandrite Iakinf's work in Peking was marked by zealous studies of the Chinese language and customs. The subsequent scandalous relations with his superiors and missionary colleagues suggest that Fr. Iakinf had exclusively concentrated on Sinology, to the detriment of administrative and priestly work. Church historians have complained that during the 13 years of the Mission's residence in Beijing, Bichurin submitted only one work, which was found not to be original. The "Instruction in the Orthodox Faith" was an extract from the Catholic catechism that had been published by the Jesuits in 1739.[3] In 1814 the Mission reported only 28 local Orthodox Christians, namely 20 Albazinians and 8 baptised Chinese.

Iakinf was accused of wasting the Mission's meagre funds on his own "irregular life" and turning a blind eye to the behaviour of his subordinates. However, the shortcomings of the 9th Mission could in part be blamed on the bureaucracy in St. Petersburg. Although Tsar Alexander I was demanding greater efficiency of the Mission, this quest for intensified work was not supported by increased funding. It is, therefore, not justified to put the blame for the Mission's poor performance entirely upon the shoulders of Fr. Iakinf.

In March 1822, following Bichurin's return to St. Petersburg, the Church tribunal found him guilty, stripped him of his ecclesiastical rank and exiled him to the remote Valaam monastery. The talents of such an outstanding China expert were obviously wasted there, and in 1826 he was recalled to St. Petersburg to work as a translator with the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Before his death in 1853 Iakinf produced a number of important works and translations which proved to be paradigmatic classics of nineteenth-century Russian sinology (best-known is the "Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire", 1842).[4]

---

[3] *Kratkaja Istorija* (1916), p. 87.

[4] Iakinf, *Statističeskoe opisanie Kitajskoj Imperii: V dvuch častjach*. Pekin': Izd. Pek. Duchov. Missii, 1910.

The 10th Mission (1821–1830) under Archimandrite Petr 彼得 (Pavel Ivanovich Kamenskij 康保羅)[5] was sent to China with the instruction to establish a stable and reliable institution. Kamenskij had studied in China during the 8th Mission. Consequently, his expert suggestions on improvements were well received and trusted by the Russian government. Salaries and stipends were increased, career promotions for both religious and secular members of the Mission after their return to Russia were granted under a new statute signed by Alexander I in August 1818.

Archimandrite Petr's "anti-Iakinf" missionary policy contained two major points. On one hand, Petr insisted that the missionary must forego all temptations and avoid seeking pleasures in public places in China in order not to disgrace himself in the eyes of the Chinese. Moreover, "contrary to his nature, he must put himself into silent solitude".[6] The policy of not mingling with the natives did not encourage proselytism. However, the opportunity to make mass conversions did in any case not really exist in China. On the other hand, the reaction against the 9th Mission's complete neglect of Church functions under Fr. Iakinf led to the "missionisation" of this Russian institution in Beijing, which made its activities at least comparable if not identical to those of the Western Christian missions.

Clerics were obliged to learn Chinese and students 留學生 were required to master in addition the Manchu and Mongolian languages. Even without attempts at proselytism among the Chinese, the Mission's clergy was in any case compelled to study Chinese because the descendants of the Albazinians had become thoroughly sinicised. They were the Russian males who had been brought to Beijing by their Qing captors in 1685. Thus, it was not surprising that their descendants in the 1820s were neither fluent in Russian nor immune to the 'pagan' influences of Chinese culture and religions. Consequently, the work of the Russian priests among the Albazinians was different from the experience of the Western missionaries. The former were encouraging their audience to abandon *alien* Chinese customs and beliefs in order to return to the *native* Orthodox faith of their forefathers. The latter were seeking to persuade the Chinese to burn their 'idols' for the sake

[5] Appollon Možarovskij, *Archimandrit Petr Kamenskij. Nacal'nik 10 Rossijsko-Imp. missii v Pekine*, Beijing: Pekinskaja Duchovnaja Missija, 1912.

[6] From Kamenskij's report to the governor-general of Siberia, I. B. Pestel' on the improvements of missions sent to China. Cited in A. S. Ipatova, "Mesto Rossijskoj duhovnoj", (1998), p. 215.

of the sacred faith that their fathers never knew. But the Albazinians' 'Chineseness' was so well entrenched that some of the general missionary tools and structures had to be designed for this exclusive task within the tiny Sino-Russian community.

In the years of Qing persecutions against the Roman Catholics, the Russian Mission was permitted in 1826–27 to repair the Sretenskaya (Hypapante or Candlemas) Church 奉獻節教堂 (more commonly known as the Nanguan 南館) and to rebuild the Uspenskaya (Dormition) Church 聖母安息堂 in the Beiguan quarter of Beijing. Hieromonk Veniamin (Morachevich), a member of the 10th Mission, was able to move into the quarters of the Russian regiment and improve his language competence, enabling him to preach to the Albazinians in Chinese. At the same time, Archimandrite Petr opened a boarding school for ten Albazinian children who were trained to become future Orthodox catechists among their kin.[7] This Mission also succeeded in bringing back into the "bosom of the Church" 53 'break-away' Albazinians and in baptising 16 Chinese.

The translations of Orthodox religious texts into Chinese also began during the 10th Mission when hieromonk (修士司祭) Daniil (Sivillov) (1798–1871) translated from the Russian the morning prayers, the catechism "The Mirror of the Orthodox Faith" (*Dongjiao zongjian* 東教宗鑑) by St. Dmitrij of Rostov (1651–1709)—which was reprinted several times later—and the prayers of the liturgy.[8] These translations were kept in hand-written form until Gurij as head of the 14th Mission ordered them to be to carved on wood blocks.

Archimandrite Petr started a substantial collection of Christian (mostly Roman Catholic) books in Chinese, Manchu and Mongolian languages which was later destroyed during the Boxer Uprising in 1900. One student of that Mission, Zakhar F. Leont'evskij (1799–1874), started the translation of "The History of the Russian State" by N. M. Karamzin into Chinese in order to inform Qing China about Russia.

Upon the return to St. Petersburg, the members of the 10th Mission were given honours and rewards in recognition of their many activities in Beijing. Archimandrite Petr, who had had an audience with

---

[7] Parents were rewarded for studies of their boy by monthly payment of 3 roubles. See *Kratkaja Istorija* (1916), p. 98.

[8] *Kratkaja Istorija* (1916), p. 99.

Alexander I before departure to China, was received by the new Tsar Nicholas I (1796–1855), who decorated him with the Order of Anne, 1st Class. It was an unprecedented honour for a cleric of the rank of archimandrite 修士大司祭. Hieromonk Daniil was raised to the rank of archimandrite. In 1837 he became a professor and took the first chair of Chinese at the University of Kazan. Later he translated the Chinese Confucian "Four Books" (*Si shu*) into Russian and wrote a "History of the Chinese Empire" in two volumes. Other members of this Mission also enjoyed successful careers.

When the 10th Mission completed its 'tour of duty' in Beijing in 1830, there was every reason to believe that internal strife and poor administration were a thing of the past. Here it should be noted that hieromonk Veniamin 維尼阿明 (Morachevich 莫拉契維奇) opted to stay in the Chinese capital to become the head of the 11th Mission (1830–1840). In 1831 he was raised in rank to archimandrite. However, before long conflict and disagreements between the head and other members of the Mission broke out once more. These disputes were not confined to the small community in Beijing but soon involved the bureaucrats in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thus, Veniamin was secretly instructed in 1835 to hand over his office to hieromonk Avvakum 阿瓦庫姆 (Dmitrij Chestnoj 切斯諾伊, 1804–1866) who had led the opposition to him.

Veniamin had been personally involved in an important historical event involving the Catholic Church in Beijing. The elderly Portuguese bishop Gaetano Pires Pereira 畢學源 CM (1763–1838) was the last Catholic missionary to remain the Chinese capital with imperial permission. He was sick and unable to leave Beijing to take up his office of Bishop of Nanjing. Veniamin maintained friendly relations with Pires who asked the Russian Mission to take his property after his death. Despite the existing tensions between the two Churches, friendship with a Catholic bishop was in itself not a problem. Already in 1780 the Holy Synod had explicitly instructed the head of the 7th Mission (1781–1794), archimandrite Ioakim 約阿基姆 (Shishkovskij 希什科夫斯基), to approach Roman Catholic clerics residing in Beijing "kindly" (*laskovo*) yet "carefully" and without entering with them into "far-fetching talks on Faith and the Law".[9]

[9] Veselovskij, p. 58.

Nevertheless hieromonk Avvakum used this connection with 'outlawed' Catholics to accuse Veniamin, presenting it as a danger to the stability of the Russian Mission. The Foreign Ministry in Russia was particularly unhappy with the report that Veniamin had been helping a French missionary who was in hiding at the residence of bishop Pires.[10] Pires died in 1838. Upon arrival of the new 12th Mission in 1841, Avvakum chaired the committee which made decisions concerning the property left to the Mission by this Catholic bishop.

During this Mission further translation work was undertaken. In the mid-1830s hieromonk Feofilakt 費奧菲拉克特 (Kiselevskij) translated into Chinese archimandrite Filaret's short catechism, two sermons and two instructional tracts by Kochetov: "On God's Law" and "On the duties of a Christian". Feofilakt began studies in Mongol language and in Buddhism, but his promising work was interrupted by his untimely death in Beijing in 1840. The secular persons who were accompanying this Mission were beginning to interact with the Chinese. The painter Anton Mikhailovich Legashev 列加諾夫 (1798–1865) not only decorated the Russian churches in the city, but also produced 34 portraits of the local elite and 16 paintings as gifts to well-known Chinese. The physician Porfirij Kirillov 基里爾洛夫 advanced his spoken Chinese and treated many Chinese patients of the higher classes who welcomed his medical art. With the help of a Chinese tutor, Kirillov studied Chinese traditional medicine and wrote a paper, "Anatomical-physiological foundations of the Chinese medical science".

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was annoyed by the renewed outbreak of dissention within the Mission. In 1835 it even considered appointing a secular person as the head of the next Mission to Beijing. However, under the agreement with the Chinese it was required to put a 'lama' at the head of the Mission. The problematical idea of sending a diplomat to a monastery for at least one year to train him for the priesthood and afterwards send him to the Beijing Mission was quietly dropped.

Archimandrite Polikarp 佟正笏 (Tugarinov), who had spent five years with the 10th Mission in Beijing, was nominated the head of the 12th Mission (1840–1849). This Mission was much better funded and equipped than the previous one. It was provided with funds for medicine to treat Chinese patients, for expenses of Tibetan language study

[10] *Kratkaja Istorija* (1916), p. 107.

and for gathering a collection of Chinese medical herbs. The Mission was supplied with gift items such as telescopes, electric machines, air pumps and a horse-drawn vehicle. In total, the 12th Mission was given 17,750 roubles for annual work, 7,000 for gifts and 13,500 roubles for the construction of a new library. The Mission brought to Beijing two future heads of Mission and excellent scholars, namely hieromonk Gurij (Karpov) and hierodeacon Palladij 鮑乃迪 or 巴拉第 (Pyotr Ivanovich Kafarov 卡法羅夫; 1817–1878). Another future giant of Russian secular sinology, Vasilij Pavlovich Vasil'ev 王西里 (1818–1900), went with this Mission as a student from Kazan University. During this Mission the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent to Peking a hundred-page atlas of Russia and a significant collection of Russian books on astronomy, mathematics, natural sciences, etc. The gift was reciprocated by Qing court with the latest edition of a map of China.

The uncertainties caused by the Opium War prompted Polikarp to concentrate on gathering political information. The frequency of reports to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was increased from two to six dispatches per year. Besides reporting on clashes between the British and the Chinese and on subsequent treaties, including their impacts on imperial China, Polikarp also assessed commercial feasibilities of Russian textile exports to China and prices and export routes in the tea trade.

Any kind of conflict of the Mission with Chinese officials was to be avoided at all cost. For example, Polikarp was very disturbed by an incident when a widow of a Chinese Christian who lived near the *Beiguan* 北館 grounds of the Orthodox community was accused of keeping prohibited Christian books and icons. In order to convince the Chinese authorities that it was simply an accident and the Mission did not spread the faith among the Chinese, it was necessary to "spend a lot of time and money"[11] on improving the attitudes of Chinese bureaucrats. These efforts were successful, for the suspicions about the Russian mission subsided and this incident did not result in a *jiaoan* 教案.

Although the Russian authorities discouraged the Mission from proselytising among the Chinese, missionary work among the Albazinians was being intensified. Hieromonk Gurij was in charge of education for Albazinians and preached among them. At the same time, he applied

[11] *Kratkaja Istorija* (1916), p. 116.

his solid knowledge of Chinese and Western languages to Buddhist studies and to the translation of Orthodox religious texts into Chinese. Gurij revised previous translations of tracts on the essentials of the faith. Among his own translations were the Epistle of James from the New Testament (it is placed immediately after Acts in the Russian sequence of the NT texts); Following the Holy Communion; Sacred History with a brief Church History; Following the All-Night Vigil and the Divine Liturgy of John Chrysostom; Short life of the Saints of all year; Short History of the New Testament as an introduction for schoolchildren.[12] Among the other members of this Mission were the physician Aleksandr Alekseevich Tatarinov 塔塔林諾夫 who studied Chinese herbal medicine and acupuncture,[13] the student V. V. Gorskij 戈爾斯基 who researched the origins of Manchu dynasty and the student Iosif (Osip) Antonovich Goshkevich 戈什克維奇 (1814–1875) who investigated Chinese agriculture, including silkworm cultivation.

The 13th Mission (1850–1858) was entrusted to Palladij (Kafarov) who was promoted to the rank of archimandrite. Since the political situation in China had not become any easier since the previous Mission, Palladij concentrated his efforts on informing St. Petersburg of new developments in the country. In 1850 the Mission reported 99 Albazinians in Beijing, including ten students with one teacher. Albazinians once again expressed to the Mission their desire to read the Holy Scripture in Chinese and to study some Russian.

In this period the Mission had a dual structure, for it was subordinated both to the Foreign Ministry of the Russian state and to the Holy Synod of the Church. First of all, it functioned as a kind of informal diplomatic mission which had been instructed to be above all aware of its vulnerability and thus avoid any interference in Qing policy. Secondly, it was a scholarly outpost for secular studies of the Qing Empire and its languages. The Mission proved successful in both spheres.

Nevertheless it was also a religious institution run by clerics. It should be noted, however, that the cocooned Russian Mission in Beijing did not experience the same troubles or successes of the Western

---

[12] *Kratkaja Istorija* (1916), pp. 119–120.

[13] Aleksandre Tatarinov, *Catalogus medicamentorum Sinensium, quae Pekini comparanda et determinanda curavit*, Petropoli, 1856. Translated as: *Die chinesische Medicin. Bemerkungen über die Anwendung schmerzstillender Mittel bei den Operationen und über die Hydropathie in China*, 1858.

Christian missions. But the thorough 'sinification' of the small community of descendants of ethnic Russians (Albazinians) which had been entrusted to the Mission's care demanded a comparable degree of Chinese-language competence from the Orthodox missionaries. The first six decades of the nineteenth century had laid the foundations for the future large-scale translations of the Russian Orthodox texts into Chinese.

Missionary Beginnings: 1860–1900

The dramatic events of the Second Opium War culminated in the treaties of Tianjin of 1858. The signing of the Russian Treaty of Tianjin had a direct impact on the life and status of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China. During the treaty negotiations, the Russian count Efimii Vasil'evich Putiatin (1803–1884) raised the issue of greater missionary activities of the Orthodox Church in China. He insisted that the Sino-Russian Treaty must include a clause guaranteeing the propagating the faith without hindrance. He was convinced that the British and French resolved to transform China into a Protestant and Catholic country. Putiatin concluded, therefore, that Russia must establish its own spiritual stronghold in China before it was too late and whole country had been converted by the Western Christians. The head of the Orthodox Mission, Palladij, reacted to this plan with little enthusiasm. According to his sober assessment, it would be all but impossible for Russia to engage in aggressive proselytism in China.

In 1859 the Russian government sent count Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev (1832–1908) as plenipotentiary to Beijing, since similar diplomatic envoys had already been dispatched to China by other Western powers. As a consequence, the heads of the Russian Orthodox Mission were no longer obliged to function as secular bureaucrats at the behest of St. Petersburg. The establishment of the Russian diplomatic mission in Beijing in 1861 paved the way for the separation of political and ecclesiastical duties performed simultaneously by the Orthodox Mission for some 150 years. From 1864 the Mission was no longer subject to the double jurisdiction of the Holy Synod and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The secular members of the Ecclesiastical Mission left to enter the service of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, with the relief of the political burdens the Mission also lost some of its staff and money.

These events occurred in the time of the 14th Mission (1858–1864) under archimandrite Gurij 固里 (Grigorij Platonovich Karpov 卡爾波夫, 1814–1882), who had previously served in the 12th Mission. Gurij played an active role as interpreter for Ignatiev and as mediator between the Chinese and advancing British and French armies. Preoccupation with these urgent diplomatic affairs did not prevent him from making a significant contribution to the translation of Orthodox religious texts into Chinese.

Gurij's primary concern was the translation of the New Testament. He started this work in 1859 and made a complete translation of the New Testament in six years. Later the text was woodblock printed by the Mission in Beijing. Gurij attempted to put it into purely classical scholarly form of Chinese language and did not limit himself too much with strict following to the letter of the original. Contemporaries noted that beauty of style in Gurij's translations often subdued the original meaning. Among the other translations by Gurij were the Psalter, Breviary (*Trebnik*), Book of Services (*Sluzhebnik*), Extended Catechism, "Dialogue between testing and certainty", Holy History of the Old and New Testaments with short Church history, and other books.

Fr. Gurij was accused by unkind critics of having adapted the New Testament translation that had been made by an unknown Englishwoman. Gurji fiercely rejected these accusations: "I asked nobody but God the Lord to help. Only a magister of letters, the Chinese Long helped me as scribe. Usually I walked in the room with the New Testament in hand and dictated, then Long sat at the table and wrote down my translation".[14] For corrections in the written text Gurij asked Orthodox Chinese speakers to retell the meaning of the text orally and corrected the text if it was obviously misunderstood due to defects in translation.

Despite the freedom of religious conversion stipulated by the Tianjin Treaty, the number of Orthodox coverts increased insignificantly. On average one or several "pagan" Chinese were baptised each Sunday at a Church feast. For example, in the Dormition Church in Beijing some 30 Chinese were baptised from the autumn 1858 till Christmas, 30 more were added by Easter 1861.[15] Later the frequency of baptisms

[14] From the personal letter of Gurij. Cited by Ivanov (1999), p. 55. On Gurij's translations, see also Zetzsche (1999), pp. 133–136.

[15] *Kratkaja Istorija* (1916), p. 142.

was less and only approximately 200 "heathens of both sexes"[16] were baptised in 1859–1862. This could partly be explained by the exhaustion of 'Albazinian reserves'. The Mission had used these Orthodox Chinese of Russian descent as a means of attracting neophytes from among their relatives, friends and neighbours. At the same time, the Mission did not rush to seek large numbers of newcomers. When Beijing was under siege in 1860, the Russian missionaries usually refused "emergency baptisms" of Chinese, for this could be interpreted by the indigenous population as protection against possible repression by the Westerners.

Fr. Gurij stood as a firm proponent of evangelisation among the Chinese. In his report to the Holy Synod in 1863, he raised the issues of increasing the work of translating the Holy Scripture and their distribution. He also proposed to ordain Chinese priests and to pay more attention to establishing Orthodox education facilities for girls and to expanding medical services to the Chinese.

The former head of the 13th Mission, archimandrite Palladij, was re-appointed as the head of the 15th Mission (1865–1878). Between of these two terms he had served as the head of the Orthodox Church at the Russian embassy in Rome. After his return to Beijing, Palladij concentrated on scholarly work, quietly passing his administrative duties to the more energetic and capable hieromonk Isaija (Polikin) The latter stayed in China from 1858 until his death in Beijing in November 1871. Among classical Sinological studies by Fr. Palladij are "The Life of Buddha", "Historical account of the ancient Buddhism", "Ancient Chinese story of Chinggis Khan" and "Ancient traces of Christianity in China".[17] When the Russian Imperial Geographical society sent Fr. Palladij to the South Ussuri region for research, Isaija substituted him for a whole year of 1869–1870. Isaija also played a crucial role in moving the activities of the Orthodox Mission beyond the limits of Beijing to the Dongding'an 東定安 village, located about 50 km south-east of the city. It should, however, be noted that this was not a 100% proselytising breakthrough, because some of the baptisms were among the relatives of Russians residents of this village.

[16] Bogoljubov and Avgustin (eds.). *Pravoslavie na Dal'nem Vostoke*, Sankt-Peterburg (1993), p. 42.

[17] On Palladij's publications, see also *The Encyclopaedia Sinica*, by Samuel Couling, Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1917, pp. 420–421.

Fr. Isaija produced numerous translations and contributed to establishing Mission's own publishing house. He spend a lot of effort in introducing colloquial Chinese into Orthodox worship. Isaija left a huge collection of translations of the Orthodox service books. In the process of translation he usually started from comparing Greek and Slavonic originals and later polished his translations with help of Chinese tutors. He sought to find a balance between classical and popular forms of the language. In his later years of life Isaija tilted towards the forms of speech of common folks. Isaija also wrote a "Short Chinese grammar", which was clear in style and very popular among the students of later decades.

Among Isaija's Chinese translations were the incomplete "Book of Hours" or *Horlogion* (liturgical book covering the daily cycle of Church prayers); the abridged cycle of Sunday services; a detailed collection of hymns (*stihir'*), including special hymns for feasts of particular celebrated saints (*tropar'*) and selected hymns from the morning Canons (*kanon*—a cycle of nine odes, each of six to nine stanzas in length and with a different melody) for the twelve feasts of the Orthodox church, together with the services for the First and the Passion weeks of the Great Fast (Lent) and Easter. Isaija produced a Septuagint-based translation of the *Sluzhebnik* (parts with the night vigil and the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom) in colloquial language (*su hua*), translation of the *Akathistos* (glorifying service) and Canon prayer to the Theotokos. He also wrote a Chinese version of the Rites of Passage (*Dai wang ren jing*). By the end of his life he translated the Great Canon of St. Andrew of Crete in two versions—classic and vernacular. In 1870 together with Fr. Palladij he translated New Year prayers. In 1860–68 Fr. Isaija compiled a Russian-Chinese Dictionary of theological and ecclesiastical terms with 3,300 plus entries which was later revised and extended by Fr. Palladij.

At the beginning of the work on Chinese translations such famous missionary sinologists as Palladij and Avvakum insisted that Holy Books should not be translated into Chinese. But an "essential necessity" to have these books compelled them to forget these considerations.[18] It seems that the prolific activities of Catholic and Protestant missionaries in China forced Palladij to finally admit that translation was necessary and to participate personally in the work. In 1878 Palladij translated from Russian 12 *kafisms* (groups of psalms) out of

[18] Ivanovskij, "Bogosluzhebnyie knigi", (1885), p. 491.

a total of 20 (or altogether 90 psalms out of 150) contained in the Orthodox Psalter. The remaining kafisms were translated later by Fr. Flavian with assistance of teacher Long, relying on the earlier translations made by Fr. Isaija.[19]

In spring 1874 as a newcomer to Beijing Mission hieromonk Flavian 弗拉維昂 (Nikolai Gorodetskij 高連茨基 1840–1915) began intensive Chinese language studies, first under the guidance of teacher Pavel Shi and later under experienced teacher Long who had for a long time assisted missionaries in translations. At the beginning Flavian lamented in his letter about his poor knowledge of Greek and lack of theological training. Nevertheless after Flavian gained some proficiency in Chinese, he was entrusted by Palladij to compile and translate short commentaries on the Gospels. The first draft of this work was revised by Palladij himself. In order to improve comprehension, he also made some amendments to the texts translated earlier by Gurij.

Following Palladij's sudden illness and his departure from Beijing, Flavian (he was raised to archimandrite rank in January 1879) was appointed as the head of the 16th Mission (1879–1883). The day of glory of this Mission came in summer of 1882 (29 June) when the first native Chinese Orthodox priest was ordained and joined the Mission. The former catechist and school teacher Mitrofan Chang Yangji 常揚吉 (1855–1900)[20] went for the ceremony to Japan and was ordained by the Orthodox bishop Nikolaj (Ivan Dmitrijevich Kasatkin, 1836–1912), because there was no bishop in China. It should be noted that the vacancy for a Chinese priest with an annual salary of 500 roubles existed in the Mission already since 1864. The mission school for boys had about 15 students and the school for girls had up to 30, both were staffed with Chinese teachers.

This Mission continued to be very productive in its translation work and publications. This can be partly attributed to the arrival of new gifted missionary-scholars from Russia, with a good theological education and linguistic skills in both Greek and modern languages. They were the hieromonks Nikolaj (Petr Stefanovich Adoratskij, 1848–1896) and Aleksej (Alexander Nikolaevich Vinogradov, 1845–1919). It should also be remembered that the late Isaija had left to Flavian

[19] Ivanovskij, "Bogosluzhebnyie knigi", (1885), p. 493.

[20] Editor's note. In older accounts names such as Mitrofan Ji, Ji Chun and Yang Ji have been given. However, Fr. Piotr Adamek SVD has carefully examined the Russian and Chinese sources and suggests Chang Yangji as the most likely complete name. Adamek to Tiedemann, 12 September 2009.

a large number of uncompleted translations, which were used in the 1880s. Flavian was determined to establish full Chinese language liturgical services on a permanent basis (it had been attempted earlier by Isaija, but only partially), and this task was inseparable from preparing an all-embracing set of ready-to-use Chinese service texts. There was also an evident shortage of Orthodox sermons in Chinese.

In March 1883 the Mission initiated a complete translation of Sunday services of the *Oktoihon* (Gr. "eight voices"—the book of Orthodox hymns, prayers and canons in eight tunes, formed in the eighth century by John Damaskin). Hieromonks Nikolaj and Aleksej compared the Slavonic *Oktoihon* with the Greek original (Athens edition by archimandrite Dionisius Pirr of 1860–62). After clarifying the Russian text, they rendered its exact meaning in Russian to Fr. Flavian, who in his turn dictated it in simple Chinese to Fr. Mitrofan Chang. The latter was assigned to present each phrase in the "language of scholars" (*wenhua*) which was finally edited by a missionary schoolteacher Osiya Zhang. The Chinese priest Mitrofan Chang and other employees of Mission played crucial role in this work. Of course, there was no guarantee against possible misunderstandings during these numerous oral renderings of the text.

The second task concerned the translation of services for the twelve great feasts, which were already partially translated by Fr. Isaija were also used in this task. Later the group proceeded with translation of other services for an annual cycle of services. The translators of later years attempted to come closer to Greek originals and make the texts more comprehensible to the majority of Chinese-speaking recipients. Nikolaj (Adoratskij) suggested reliance upon the Septuagint (in the Tischendorf edition) during the translation of Old Testament fragments due to its greater closeness to the traditional Slavonic text. In 1876 teacher Innokentij Fan, under supervision of Flavian, translated *parimias* (Old Testament fragments) for services of all feasts and of Great Lent with reference to Protestant translation by Samuel Isaac Schereschewsky 施約瑟 (1831–1906). Some Russian scholars (Vasil'ev) disapproved of this choice, maintaining that Schereschewsky's Bible is based upon the Jewish text which is sometimes very different from the Greek original and Slavonic translations. By 1884 the volume of Orthodox translations into Chinese exceeded 300,000 characters.[21]

[21] In 1885 more than 20 translations produced by the Mission were sent to Saint-Petersburg University library. This gift included the Psalter, Oktoihon, Pannychida for

Chinese Orthodox translations were in some aspects different from the Western missionary products. Among their unique features was a strict adherence to the Greek and Church-Slavonic texts; Biblical translations were based on the Septuagint. Translators from the Beijing Mission were driven by the desire to create a complete set of the service books which were expected to mirror the original as close as possible.

Russian Orthodox texts in could, for example, be easily distinguished by the transliteration of the name of Jesus Christ as *Yiyisusi Helisituosi* 伊伊稣斯合利斯托斯, obviously quite different from *Yesu Jidu* 耶稣基督 of Western missions. This uncommon name is possibly rooted in Russian Church history. In the middle of the seventeenth century patriarch Nikon undertook a thorough revision of the Russian liturgical books and rituals in accord with their Greek models. Among other changes an extra "i" was added to the name "Isus". It was important from Mission's point of view to stress the "reformed" nature of service texts in Chinese by duplicating the character "yi" 伊 in phonetic transcription for "Iisus".

The Chinese Orthodox name of God was changed sometime in between late 1880s and early 1900s. The Roman Catholic term *Tianzhu* 天主 (Lord of Heaven) could be found in all Orthodox Chinese texts until at least the late nineteenth century. In the 1860s the Orthodox prayer house built in Dongding'an 東定安 village was called *Chongbai Tianzhu shengsuo* 崇拜天主聖所 (Holy Place for Worshipping the Lord of Heaven).[22] However, by the early years of the twentieth century, *Tianzhu* had been replaced by *Shangdi* 上帝 (Lord-on-High). For example, *Tianzhu* is used in the 1863 edition of the catechism *Dongjiao zongjian* 東教宗鑑, but in the revised text of the 1913 edition the term *Shangdi* is already employed.

Translations were used by the Spiritual Mission for its divine services. Since the introduction of Chinese texts for liturgical singing in summer 1883, the choir was split into two groups, with Slavonic singing on the right and Chinese on the left. Sinologists of that time assessed this decision as a clever way of cultural harmonisation: "as for the Chinese, the left side is more important than the right one (when

---

deceased, Horlogion, Services for the week of the Holy Easter, for the Feast of Falling Asleep of the Theotokos, Christmas, Nativity of the Theotokos, Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom with The Liturgy of the Pre-consecrated Offerings, etc. See Ivanovskij, "Bogosluzhebnyie knigi", (1885), p. 490.

[22] *Kratkaja Istorija* (1916), p. 150.

they look for directions they face south), with us it is in the opposite, so each has his own".[23]

In the 1880s these Chinese translations were sent to the Orthodox Church in Japan and widely used there in worship after their subsequent translation into Japanese. The Japanese Orthodox Church still uses these translations, and in this sense it could be said that the linguistic work of the Peking mission survived the demise of the Chinese Orthodox Church due to this projection of influence into neighbouring Japan. Bishop Nicolaj of Japan once wrote to Fr. Isaija: "The Peking Mission is the mother of the Japanese (Mission)".[24] In the Russian Far Eastern diocese of Kamchatka translated doctrinal tracts in Chinese were distributed among the local Chinese and Koreans.

After the resignation of Fr. Flavian, the new 17th Mission (1884–1896) commenced under archimandrite Amfilohij 阿姆菲洛赫 (Lutovinov 羅托維諾夫). The Mission was financed well enough to provide each member with sufficient funds for a quiet scholarly life inside the monastery compound, but it was not enough for any big proselytising enterprise. For example, in 1888 the Mission reported only 24 baptisms. The Chinese priest Mitrofan Chang became mentally ill (it was attributed to exhaustion from work and strains in an unfriendly environment) and he retired at the end of the 17th Mission with an annual pension of 240 roubles.

In March 1897 head of the new 18th Mission (it lasted until 1931) archimandrite Innokentij (Figurovskij) landed in Shanghai, after a long journey though Europe in order to learn something about the missionary training of the Western churches. Innokentij began his work by establishing daily services in the Uspenskaya Church and by increasing the salaries of Mission personnel. In October 1897 Innokentij wrote to the Holy Synod about the preparation of two Chinese candidates for the priesthood, namely Pavel Wang Wenheng 王文恒 to be a priest and Innokentij Fan Zhihai 范緻海 (1852–1900) a deacon. In 1898 the Mission consisted of its head, two hieromonks, one priest and one deacon. It reported the existence of five churches and one prayer house in the Russian cemetery near the Andingmen gate. The Mission's parish consisted of 120 Russians of both sexes in Bei-

[23] Ivanovskij A., "Bogosluzhebnyie knigi", (1885), p. 497.
[24] Cited from: Bogoljubov and Avgustin (eds.). *Pravoslavie na Dal'nem Vostoke*, Sankt-Peterburg (1993), p. 52.

jing, Tianjin and Zhangjiakou (Kalgan); and of 458 Chinese in Beijing and Dongding'an. In that year 14 people were "baptised from paganism" and 155 went to confession.[25]

In the 1890s the Mission lost its former scholarly aura after its best sinological brains returned to Russia. On the basis of its functions and structure (vast translation work; liturgical services in Chinese; ordination of Chinese clergy; schools; baptisms among the Chinese), the Russian Mission could be rightfully placed alongside the other Western Christian missions in China as a similar—if not identical—institution at the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time the heritage of the former dual role (diplomatic and ecclesiastical) and the lack of motives for an aggressive proselytism among the Chinese made the process of 'missionarisation' of the Russian Spiritual Mission slow and gradual.

Bibliography

Adoratskij, Petr Stefanovich (hieromonk Nikolaj), *Pravoslavnaia missiia v Kitaie za 200 liet eia sushchchestovovaniia: opyt tserkovno-istoricheskago izslie dovanija po arkhivnym dokumentam*, Kazan: Tip. Imperatorskago universiteta, 1887. Chinese translation: Nigula Aduolaciji, 尼古拉・阿多拉茨基, *Dongzhengjiao zai Hua liang bai nian shi* 東正教在華兩百年史 (History of 200 years of the Orthodox Church in China), trans. Yan Guodong 閻國棟 and Xiao Yuqiu 肖玉秋; Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2007.

Aleksandrov, Boris G. (ed.), *Bei-guan': kratkaija istorija Rossijskoj dukhovnoj missii v Kitae*, Moskva: Al'ians-Arkheo, 2006. With contributions by archimandrite Avraamij (1864–1918), Ksenia B. Kepping (1937–2002) and Mikhail Viktorovich Kolobov (1868–1944).

Avvakum (D. S. Chestnoi), and S. A. Vasil'eva, *Dnevnik krugosvetnogo plavanija na fregate Pallada: (1853 god); pisma iz Kitaja (1857–1858 gg.)*, Tver: Tverskoj gos. universitet, 1998.

Baker, Kevin, *A History of the Orthodox Church in China, Korea, and Japan*, Lewiston, N.Y.: Mellen, 2006.

Bogoljubov, Mikhail Nikolaevič, and archimandrite Avgustin (Nikitin) (eds.), *Pravoslavie na Dal'nem Vostoke. 275-letie Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Kitae* (Orthodoxy in the Far East. 275th Anniversary of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China). Sankt-Peterburg: "Andreev i syinov'ya", 1993.

Bolshakoff, Serge, "Mission Russe Orthodoxe de Pékin 1728–1864", *NZM* 22 (1966), pp. 285–292.

Chen Kailkel 陳開科, "Balidi de Hanxue yanjiu" 巴拉第的汉学研究 (The sinological research by Palladius [Kafarov]), Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2007.

Chen Kailkel 陳開科, *Balidi yu wan Qing Zhong-E guanxi* 巴拉第與晚清中俄關係 (Palladius [Kafarov] and late Qing Sino-Russian relations), Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2008.

[25] *Kratkaja Istorija* (1906), p. 188.

Chen Kailkel 陳開科, "19 shiji Eguo Hanxue dashi Baladi de shengping ji xueshu" 19 世紀俄國漢學大師巴拉第的生平及學術 (The Life and Academic Work of the Great Russian Sinologist Palladius (P. I. Kafarov) in the 19th Century), *Hanxue yanjiu tongkan* 漢學研究通訊 (Chinese Studies Newsletter) 25,3 (August 2006), pp. 27–36. Online version: http://ccs.ncl.edu.tw/Newsletter_99/99_main.htm

Denisov, Petr Vladimirovich, *Zhizn' monakha Iakinfa Bichurina*, Cheboksary: Chuvashskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1997.

Doubrovskaia, Dina V., "The Russian Orthodox Church in China", in Stephen Uhalley Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, pp. 163–176.

Fletcher, Joseph, "Sino-Russian Relations, 1800–62", in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, John K. Fairbank (ed.), *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911*, part 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 318–350.

Glazik, Josef, *Die Russisch-Orthodoxe Heidenmission seit Peter dem Grossen. Ein missionsgeschichtlicher Versuch nach russischen Quellen und Darstellungen*, Münster: Aschendorff, 1954.

Iakinf, *Statističeskoe opisanie Kitajskoj Imperii: V dvuch častjach*. Pekin': Izd. Pek. Duchov. Missii, 1910.

Innocent (Archimandrite), "The Russian Orthodox Mission in China", *Chinese Recorder* 47 (1916), pp. 678–685.

Ipatova, Aida Semenovna, "Mesto Rossijskoj duhovnoj Missii v Kitae v Istorii rossijsko-kitajskih otnoshenij" (Place of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking in the history of Russian-Chinese relations), in: *Vostokovedenie i mirovaya cul'tura. K 80-letiju akademika S. L. Tikhvinskogo* (Oriental studies and world culture. On the 80th birthday of academician S. L. Tikhvinskij), Moscow: "Pamyatniki istoricheskoj myisli", 1998, pp. 202–233.

Ivanovskij A., "Bogosluzhebnyie knigi pravoslavnoj Tserkvi na kitajskom yazyike" (Divine service books of the orthodox Church in Chinese language), in *Khristianskoe chtenie* (Christian reading), Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburg Ecclesiastical Academy. 1885, part 2, pp. 490–502.

Kasinec, Edward, *A Secular Religieux of Late Imperial Russia: The Sinologist Father IAkinf (N. A. Pichurinskii-Bichurin, 1777–1853)*, New York: Columbia University, 1968.

Kratkaja Istorija Russkoj Provoslavnoj Missii v Kitae, sostavlennaja po slučaju ispolnivšegosja v 1913 godu dvuchsotletnego jubileja ee suščestvovanija (A short history of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, compiled in 1913 on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of its existence), Peking: Tipografija Uspenskogo monastyirja, 1916.

Mikhailov A. F., Jurkevich A. G. "Bichurin", in M. L. Titarenko (ed.), *Kitajskaya filosofiya: entsiklopedicheskij slovar'* (Chinese Philosophy: Encyclopaedic Dictionary), Moscow: Myisl, 1994, pp. 23–25.

Možarovskij, Apollon, *Arkhimandrit Petr Kamenskij. Nacal'nik 10 Rossijsko-Imp. missii v Pekine*, Beijing: Pekinskaja Duchovnaja Missija, 1912. First published as: A. F. Mozharovskij, "Arkhimandrit Petr Kamenskii, Nachal'nik desyatoi Rossiisko-Imperatorskoi missii v Pekine", *Russkaya starina* Vol. 85 (1896), pp. 317–342, 585–609; Vol. 96, pp. 97–108.

Nesterova, Elena, "The Russian Painter Anton Legašov in China. From the History of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking", *Monumenta Serica* 48 (2000), pp. 359–427.

Parry, Albert, "Russian (Greek Orthodox) Missionaries in China, 1689–1917; Their Cultural, Political, and Economic Rôle", Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1938.

Parry, Albert, "Russian (Greek Orthodox) Missionaries in China, 1689–1917; Their Cultural, Political, and Economic Role", *Pacific Historical Review* 9,4 (December 1940), pp. 401–424.

Tatarinov, Aleksandr, *Catalogus medicamentorum Sinensium, quae Pekini comparanda et determinanda curavit*, Petropoli, 1856. Translated as: *Die chinesische Medicin. Bemerkungen über die Anwendung schmerzstillender Mittel bei den Operationen und über die Hydropathie in China*, 1858.

Tikhvinskij, Sergej L., and Vladimir S. Mjasnikov, *Istorija rossijskoj duchovnoj missii v Kitae: sbornik statej* (A history of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China), Moskow: Izdat. Svjato-Vladimirskogo Bratstva, 1997.

Veselovskii, Nikolaj Ivanovich (ed.), *Materialyi dlya istorii Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Pekine* (Materials to the History of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking). Vyipusk 1 (Issue 1). S.-Peterburg: Tipografiya Glavnago Upravlenija Udelov, 1905. Chinese translation: Ni Yi Weixieluofusiji 尼.伊.維謝洛夫斯基, *Eguo zhu Beijing chuandaotuan shiliao* 俄國駐北京傳道團史料, Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1978.

Walravens, Hartmut, *Iakinf Bičurin: russischer Mönch und Sinologe: eine Biobibliographie*, Han-pao Tung-Ya shu-chi mu-lu, 34. Berlin: Bell, 1988.

Walravens, Hartmut, "Schriftenverzeichnis des Archimandriten Palladius (P. P. Kafarov, 1817–1878)", *Monumenta serica* 52 (2004), pp. 381–392.

Walravens, Hartmut, "Z. F. Leont'evskij (1799–1874). Eine Biobibliographie", *Central Asiatic Journal* 24 (1980), pp. 274–284.

Walravens, Hartmut, "Zur Publikationstätigkeit der Russischen Geistlichen Mission in Peking", *Monumenta Serica* 34 (1979–1980), pp. 525–557.

Yue Feng 樂峰, *Dongzhengjiao shi* 東正教史 (History of Orthodox Church), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005.

Zetzsche, Jost Oliver, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version, or, the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, Monumenta Serica monograph series, 45. Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 1999.

Zhang Sui 張綏, *Dongzhengjiao he Dongzhengjiao zai Zhongguo* 東正教和東正教在中國 (The Orthodox Church and the Orthodox Church in China), Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe: Xinhua shudian Shanghai faxing suo faxing, 1986.

Zhang Sui 張綏, "Dongzhengjiao" 東正教 (Eastern Orthodoxy), in *Zhongguo baike quanshu. Zongjiao* 中國百科全書。宗教 (The Great Chinese Encyclopaedia. Vol. "Religion"), Beijing and Shanghai: Zhongguo baike quanshu chubanshe, 1988, pp. 90–94.

A Brief Note on Russian Archives

R. G. Tiedemann

Although members of the Russian Spiritual Mission provided pastoral care to the Albazinians, made significant contributions to cultural exchange between China and Europe, were leading scholars in the emerging field of Sinology and eventually engaged in missionary activities during its more than 250-year presence in Beijing, especially its modern history has been largely ignored in Western scholarship. The rich library and archival collections have rarely been consulted. Since the study of the Orthodox Church in China has hardly begun, only the major archives can be introduced here. For further information concerning the wealth of holdings and research opportunities in repositories in Moscow and St. Petersburg as well as in the many state, republic, krai and oblast archives throughout the Russian Federation, consult the online English-language introduction prepard by the International Institute of Social History (IISH/IISG, Amsterdam): http://www.iisg.nl/~abb/

Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv [Russian State Historical Archive] (**RGIA**), 195112, St. Petersburg, Zanevskii prosp., 36, RUSSIA.
http://www.rusarchives.ru/federal/rgia/

RGIA holds the major records of high-level and central state and administrative institutions and agencies of the Russian Empire from the nineteenth century to 1917 (except the records of the Army, Navy, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). It was previously known as TsGIA and TsGIAL.

Of particular relevance for the study of the Russian Spriritual Mission is the Fonds of the Holy Synod (1721–1918) (*Arkhiv Sviateishego pravitel'stvuiushchego Sinoda*), the supreme administrative, judicial, and cultural organs of the Russian Orthodox Church. The holds the records of many church agencies and internal Church activities—the organisation of dioceses, vicariates, consistories, and parishes, as well as some monastic records, including the archive of the Alexander Nevskii Monastery (*Aleksandro-Nevskaia Lavra*) (1713–1918).

Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire 俄羅斯對外政策檔案館] (**AVPRI**), 113093, Moscow, ul. Bol'shaia Serpukhovskaia, 15, RUSSIA.

AVPRI was established in 1946 on the basis of records from the prerevolutionary Moscow Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MGAMID), the Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (GAMID) in St. Petersburg, and also the Chancellery of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire.

The following is an example of a local (oblast-level) repository:

Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Irkutskoi oblasti [State Archive of Irkutsk Oblast 俄羅斯國立伊爾庫茨克州檔案館] (**GAIO**) 664047, Irkutsk Oblast, Irkutsk, ul. Baikal'skaia, 79, RUSSIA.

This archive as been consulted by Chen Kailkel 陳開科 for his article "Eguo di yi fen Hanxue jikan: 'Eguo zhu Beijing budaotuan chengyuan zhuzuoji'" 俄國第一份漢學集刊《俄國駐北京佈道團成員著作集》(An Anthology of Members of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing: Russia's First Publication on Sinology), *Hanxue yanjiu tongkan* 漢學研究通訊 (Chinese Studies Newsletter) 27,2 (May 2008), pp. 27–35.

2.4. Chinese Catholics

2.4.1. *Chinese Catholics in the Early Nineteenth Century*

Jean Charbonnier

The Catholic situation in 1800

Despite persecutions throughout the eighteenth century, the Catholic Church in China had maintained its organisation.[1] Following a rather optimistic report on the situation towards the end of the century, the three Portuguese *padroado* dioceses, namely Beijing (covering Zhili and Shandong), Nanjing (Anhui, Jiangsu and Henan) and Macao (Guangdong including Hainan, Guangxi) counted about one hundred priests, some of them Europeans, and 180,000 faithful. The three vicariates of Sichuan-Guizhou-Yunnan in the southwest, Fujian in the southeast, Shaanxi-Shanxi-Huguang in northwest and central China had nearly as many priests and 125,000 faithful.[2] This report refers to the Church situation after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773. Perhaps it seeks to emphasise the achievements of the Jesuits in China. In fact, a decline is more likely to have occurred in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Other sources list more moderate figures for the Catholics around 1800. Latourette quotes a figure of 150,000 Christians, based on information given to Lord Macartney by Nicolas-Joseph Raux 羅廣祥 (1754–1801), the Lazarist in charge of the Bureau of Astronomy at Beijing. Latourette also refers to Louvet who records 202,000 Christians in 1800.[3] Jean-Marie Planchet gives a round figure of 200,000 Catholics in 1800 in the Catholic yearbook published by the Lazarists in Beijing.[4] The constancy and, in some parts, the growth of Catholic communities owed much to the zeal of the Chinese priests trained in Siam, in Naples or Macao and to the tireless activities of local catechists and 'virgins'.

---

[1] On the retarded growth, 1721–1800, see *Handbook* I, pp. 562–567.

[2] S[imon] Delacroix (ed.) *Histoire universelle des Missions Catholiques*. Vol. 3: *Les Missions contemporaines 1800–1957*, Paris, Librairie Grund 1958, pp. 34–35.

[3] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929. Reprinted Taibei: Ch'eng-wen, 1973, pp. 174, 182.

[4] J. M. Planchet, *Les Missions de Chine et du Japon*, Beijing: imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1916, p. 26.

An interlude of tolerance

In the imperial capital, following the Macartney Mission (1792–1794), there was a brief interlude of relative tolerance of Christianity during the first years of the Jiaqing 嘉慶 Emperor's reign (r. 1796–1820). The few foreign missionaries employed in Beijing in the service of the Court, namely the Lazarists who had taken over from the Jesuits, were not seen as a threat at this time. Very few missionaries were sent to China during the years of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars in Europe. Moreover, the bishop of Beijing, Alexandre de Gouvea 湯士選 (1751–1808) of the Franciscan Third Order Regular (TOR), had to function simultaneously as administrator of the diocese of Nanjing.

This brief moment of tolerance notwithstanding, the Qing authorities did not underestimate the threat likely to come from Western powers. As early as 1805, the government expressed its suspicions of Western ambitions. The Italian Discalced Augustinian Adeodato di Sant'Agostino 德天賜 (1760–1821) attempted to send a map of the Shandong-Zhili border area to Rome in order to have a long-standing jurisdictional dispute between Italian Franciscans and Portuguese Lazarists settled. The arrest of the courier carrying the map en route to Macao gave rise to fears of a possible foreign invasion and provoked an anti-Christian persecution, especially in the capital.[5] In the provinces the campaign against converts appears to have been less severe.

Church growth

Although central government policy had generally had an adverse impact on Christianity in China, in Sichuan the Catholic religion had continued to develop in the late eighteenth century, especially among the poor peasants. In this remote province local officials implemented the decisions of the imperial court less assiduously. As representatives of central authority, they were expected to maintain law and order. Yet some district magistrates chose to ignore the sporadic social unrest attributed to the illegal activities of religious sects. In this connection,

[5] *Nouvelles Lettres édifiantes*, Vol. IV, pp. 207–211. See also Yazawa Toshihiko 矢沢利彦, "Kak-kei Jūnen (1805) no Tenshukyo kinatsu" [Suppression of Catholicism in 1805], *Toa Ronsō* 1 (July 1939), pp. 147–188; Laamann (2006), pp. 68–76; Huang (2006), pp. 59–61, 93–98.

it should be noted that the isolated groups of Christians were often mistaken for subversive folk Buddhist elements such as the White Lotus Teachings (*Bailianjiao* 白蓮教).

A closer look at church life in Sichuan provides clues as to what could happen in remote provinces in the early nineteenth century. Robert Entenmann has drawn attention to the difficulties and opportunities of isolated Catholic families surrounded by vast numbers of non-Christians.[6] For various social reasons, for instance disputes over land ownership, such families would sometimes be reported to the authorities by their enemies as practitioners of heterodoxy. The well known Chinese priest Andreas Li (李安德 (1693?–1774) had to defend himself against such a charge, arguing that he did not belong to a subversive sect, but to a religion respectful of the authorities. He explained that he practiced the Catholic worship as an obligation of filial piety, because it was the religion of his ancestors.[7] His parents were indeed devoted Catholics from Chenggu in southern Shaanxi, a region where Jesuits had made converts in the seventeenth century. Life was not easy for Sichuan Christians. On the one hand, as Catholics they had to dissociate themselves from what the missionaries perceived to be 'superstitious' practices, including the traditional veneration of the ancestors. Yet on the other hand, they had to show that they were loyal and honest citizens in harmony with Confucian norms of morality. This was not an easy task, for the casual observer might not be able to distinguish some of their religious practices, though rooted in Christian faith, from seemingly similar folk Buddhist or Daoist practices. Thus male and female Catholic believers, although carefully separated in the places of worship, nevertheless took part in the same prayer meetings.

Like the followers of indigenous religions, Catholics observed periods of fasting and their priests practiced exorcisms and blessings. At the same time, in the midst of a non-Christian society, they had to obey the commands of God and react against common social evils such as usury, gambling, child marriages, the low status of women and female infanticide. Furthermore, a handful of Chinese and European priests, assisted by dedicated catechists and virgins, demanded signifi-

---

[6] Robert E. Entenmann, "Catholics in the Eighteenth Century Sichuan", in Bays, *Christianity*, pp. 8–23.

[7] Adrien Launay, *Histoire des Missions de Chine, Mission du Se-Tchouan*, Paris, Tequi 1920, p. 171.

cant changes in the lives of new converts before accepting them for baptism. As result, solid Catholic communities came into being which survived in spite of the fact that priests rarely visited them. This relative success can be measured by the Christian growth pattern Sichuan between 1756 and 1815: in 1756 there were 4,000 baptised converts, 25,000 in 1792, 40,000 in 1801, 45,000 in 1804, and 60,000 in 1815. There were 16 priests to administer this scattered flock in 1800 and 20 in 1804.[8] Great attention was given to formation in the faith from a young age. In 1803, there were 35 schools of boys and 29 of girls.

The Synod of Sichuan 1803

The growth of scattered Christian communities led to all kinds of discrepancies in the directives given by priests and catechists who had to solve local problems on their own initiative. Moreover, there was a need to define the overall pastoral approach to common difficulties such as clearly setting the conditions for baptism of adults and children, accepting the vows of women to a consecrated life in the 'institute of Virgins', giving guidance to Christians involved in the usurious system of money lending.

The Synod of Sichuan (四川教會第一次大會), convened by Bishop Dufresse 徐德新 (1750–1815)[9] at Chongqing on 2 September 1803, can be considered as a major event in the life of the Church in China. Though limited to the Vicariate Apostolic of Sichuan, the pastoral instructions issued by this synod would have an impact on the entire China mission for many years, until the Council of Shanghai in 1924. Dufresse decided to send the acts of the Synod to the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith for approval and publication. However, on account of the political situation in Europe and the several commissions of experts charged with studying the text, it was not until 1822 that the regulations were approved with minor changes by Rome. A Latin edition of the proceedings was printed by Propaganda

[8] Figures collected by Pierre Jeanne, "The Early Church in Sichuan Province. A Study of Conditions Leading to the Synod of 1803", *Tripod* 15 (1983).

[9] Gabriel-Taurin Dufresse (also Jean-Gabriel Taurin Dufresse) from the French Society of the Missions Etrangères reached Sichuan in 1776, was arrested several times, then exiled to the Philippines for a few months in 1788, consecrated bishop of Chengdu in 1800 and finally beheaded in Chengdu on 14 September 1815. See Adrien Launay, *Mémorial de la Société des Missions Etrangères*, 2ème partie: 1658–1913, Paris: Séminaire des Missions Etrangères, 1916.

Fide in 1822, followed by an Appendix in 1823. In 1832 the Sacred Congregation extended the validity of the decisions of the Synod of Sichuan to the whole of China and its neighbouring countries as the best rules of pastoral conduct.[10] Some opposition in China and Tonkin notwithstanding, the Synod of Sichuan remained a point of reference for all the missions in East Asia during the next hundred years.[11]

Thirteen Chinese priests took part in the Synod, along with Dufresse and another French priest (two Europeans and six Chinese, living in remoter parts of Sichuan, were not able to attend). The decisions taken by the Synod are set out in ten chapters. Nine of them deal with the administration of the sacraments and the celebration of the Mass. The tenth chapter offers guidance for the missionaries' spiritual life and ministry. The advice as well as prohibitions set out in these rules are based on concrete practical experience and reflect what Christianity really means in the cultural environment of Sichuan province. A decade of relative peace followed the Synod, allowing an efficient application of its decisions. It was only when a false convert collected information and revealed to the governor-general of Sichuan the state of Christianity in the province that the persecution of Catholics began. Dufresse was arrested in May 1815 and beheaded in Chengdu on 14 September.[12]

Christians seen as subversive elements

Governor-general Chang Ming of Sichuan seems to have acted on his own initiative in this case. But he might have been anxious to implement the new imperial edicts against Christians which were issued in 1811 and 1814. This change from tolerance to brutal repression from the part of Emperor Jiaqing might be explained, according to Zhang Ze, by Chang's "stupid ignorance" of Christianity.[13] The 1811 edict

---

[10] *Synodus vicariatus Sutchuensis habita in districtu civitatis Tcong King Tcheou. Anno 1803. Diebus secunda, quinta et nona septembris*, Romae: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1822. A 40-page *Appendix ad Synodum* was printed a year later.

[11] Josef Metzler, *Die Synoden in China, Japan und Korea 1570–1931*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1980, pp. 42–67; Margiotti (1975), pp. 514–516.

[12] J. B. Piolet, *Les Missions Catholiques Françaises au XIX^e^ siècle*. Vol. III: *Chine et Japon*, Paris: Armand Colin, pp. 256–257. Dufresse was beatified in 1900.

[13] Zhang Ze 張澤, *Qingdai jinjiao qi de Tianzhujiao* 清代禁教期的天主教 (Catholicism under the Qing repressive period), Taibei: Guangqi, 1992, p. 161.

reveals, however, the Emperor's deep concern about what seemed to be an ubiquitous infiltration of foreign elements, including the presence of missionaries not connected with the Court as well as a Chinese Christian community in Beijing.[14] These apprehensions led to the expulsion of foreign priests and the closure of the Beijing churches over the next two decades.[15] The *History of Religious Cases in China* published by the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences in 1987 records other repressive measures against Christians in Tibet and Guizhou (1812), in Hubei and Guangdong (1813–1814). The authors mention a few cases of apostasy, but also continuing conversions and infiltration by foreign missionaries, so that the total number of 200,000 Christians was maintained until the eve of the First Opium War. Sadly representative of these dire times, two French Lazarists were executed in Wuchang during these years, namely Jean-François-Régis Clet in 1820, and Jean-Gabriel Perboyre in 1840. Cary-Elwes refers to that period as a "chronic condition of suffering and persecution for the Catholic Church in China". Denunciations and arrests, he says, arose not from religious intolerance, but "for filthy lucre's sake".[16] Once any Christian activity was reported, the mandarins had to take action in some way since Christianity was ranked among the illegal religions (*xiejiao* 邪教).

Chinese weakness and Western pressure

After 1800, the Manchu Qing dynasty had to face a host difficulties which have been characterised by Immanuel Hsü as "administrative inefficiency, intellectual irresponsibility, widespread corruption, debasement of the military, pressures of a rising population, and a strained treasury". The rulers were feeling increasingly insecure, fearing that the country was "vulnerable to the twin evils of internal rebellion and external invasion (*neiluan waihuo*)"[17] The First Opium War (1839–1842) is seen by the Chinese as the starting point of a new era

[14] Zhang Li 張力 and Liu Jiantang 劉堅唐, *Zhongguo jiao'an shi* 中國教案史 (History of the Religious Cases in China), Chengdu: Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences, 1987, p. 209.

[15] See Huang (2006), pp. 97–111.

[16] Columba Cary-Elwes, *China and the Cross: Studies in Missionary History*, Longmans, Green and Co, 1957, p. 183.

[17] Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 177.

of foreign aggressions with a series of so-called 'unequal treaties'. Contemporary Chinese historians have denounced the ambiguous attitude of Christian missionaries who did not clearly oppose the opium trade and sometimes even saw in it an opportunity for the Gospel in China. Gu Changsheng goes so far as to say that Western missionaries were guided by the basic tenet: "Christ alone can cure the Chinese from opium addiction, war alone can open China to Christ".[18] Indeed, official Chinese Marxist history likes to identify the development of Christianity in China with foreign imperialism, though the 'White Paper' on the freedom of religious belief issued in October 1997 mentions the introduction of Catholicism as early as under the Tang Dynasty (sic!), that is to say, long before the heyday of Western imperialism.

Missionary influx, regression in Church integration

Actually, the modern missionary movement, more or less associated with the Western colonial enterprise, was born from a new zeal in missions in the Catholic as well as in the Protestant churches. Reports from heroic witnesses martyred in the Chinese world were publicised in the *Annals of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith*. French priests who had experienced persecution in their own families during the French Revolution were ready to face the dangers of clandestine evangelisation in China. Romanticism exalted martyrdom as a worthy cause. Moreover, the Western appreciation of Chinese civilisation was no longer as rosy as it had been in the eighteenth century when the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* published highly favourable reports from the Jesuits employed at the imperial court in Beijing. At the time of the industrial revolution, Westerners grew more convinced of the superiority of their own civilisation and of the backwardness of the Chinese Empire. The effect of the new missionary wave on the life of the Church in China might be characterised as qualitatively negative and quantitatively positive.

Christianity in China lost in quality through a weakening of its Chinese leadership. When there was scarcity of foreign missionaries, Chinese priests and lay leaders had taken heavy responsibilities and given proofs of their ability to run the Church . It was the case with the Chinese Lazarists who took the direction of the mission in

[18] Gu Changsheng 顧長聲, *Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo* 傳教士與近代中國 (Missionaries and Modern China), Shanghai Popular Press, 1981, p. 47.

Xiwanzi and Mongolia, having been forced to leave Beijing when the Daoguang Emperor (r. 1820–1850) confiscated the establishments of the 'French Mission' in 1827. While the seminary was closed and the Beitang demolished in Beijing, Catholic communities prospered in the north under the direction of Fr. Matthaeus Xue 薛瑪竇 (1780–1860). In 1835, the young French Lazarist Fr. Joseph-Martial Mouly 孟振生,[19] aged 28, who had reached Macao the year before, managed to travel secretly to Beijing and Xiwanzi where he took over the direction of the mission from Fr. Xue. Feeling rather awkward in the event, Mouly paid homage to the spirit of obedience of the Chinese priest.[20] But he failed to understand that he and his superiors were committing a historical mistake.

While regressing in cultural and administrative integration to Chinese society, the Church in China gained quantitative growth, due to the influx of missionary personnel. As a sign of the times, the Jesuits, re-established in 1814, were sent back to China in 1840—not to Beijing at the service of the Chinese Emperor, but to Shanghai where foreign enterprise was to develop considerably. The *History of Religions in China* published by Wang Yousan, opens a new chapter of Christian expansion with the arrival in Shanghai of three French Jesuits on 11 July 1842. Wang makes a brief evaluation of the state of the Church at that time:

> In the era of Jiaqing and Daoguang, apart from a few officially employed at court in Beijing, Europeans were all forbidden to enter China. Missionaries could but face the danger of death or imprisonment by entering illegally. Those who entered were treated as smugglers or foreign spies. As soon as discovered, they were condemned as trouble makers, propagators of heresy or destructors of local morality. Priests hearing women's confessions were accused of seducing honest ladies, priests anointing the sick or baptising children in danger of death were accused of extracting the heart or excavating the eyes to concoct some medicine. The use of Latin at Mass was understood as uttering curses. Sacred vestments, holy pictures, medals, Mass wine, all were seen as magic instruments of sorcery.

---

[19] Joseph Martial Mouly was born in Cahors, France. He was to play a leading role in the destinies of the Catholic Church in China, especially after 1860. See A. Thomas, *Histoire de la Mission de Pékin*, Vol. II: *Depuis l'arrivée des Lazaristes jusqu'à la révolte des Boxers, (1785–1900)*, Paris, Louis Michaud, 1925, p. 151.

[20] *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission* (ed. A. Milon), Paris, rue de Sèvres, 1912, Vol. 3: *Les vicariats apostoliques*, p. 575.

> In 1842, there were in China three dioceses (Beijing, Nanjing, Macao), nine apostolic vicariates and one prefecture. Due to the difficulty of communicating with Rome and to frequent persecutions, these dioceses were often deprived of bishops. There was no replacement or only an administrator. Priests in the whole country could act but in hiding and were very few: about 80 Chinese priests and 50 to 60 foreigners… [As for the faithful] their number had increased in the western provinces, but because of losses suffered in the other provinces, they could be a total of 200,000.[21]

The *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* give a more optimistic figure, at least for the number of faithful: in 1840, there 84 Chinese priests, 31 Europeans and 303,000 Christians.[22]

Treaties with protective clauses

The Nanjing Treaty signed with Britain in 1842 opened a new era which would be beneficial to missionary enterprise. The British gained Hong-kong and four new ports were opened to foreign trade besides Canton. According to Wang Yousan, the Nanjing Treaty secured a better deal for Christians: "The religion of Yesu 耶穌 (Protestants) and Tianzhu 天主 (Catholics) is in fact a good teaching. If missionaries come to China in the future, they should be protected".[23] Further advantages were obtained for Catholic missions in the Whampoa Treaty signed with France in 1844. Théodose de Lagrené, the French plenipotentiary, wrote to his government: "As far as trade is concerned, the British and the Americans had not left us much to do. I felt it was worthy of France and of its government… to prove our presence through a moral and civilising action."[24] He thus persuaded the Qing negotiator Qiying 耆英, governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi,[25] to memorialise the Daoguang Emperor to issue an edict in favour of Christianity. The Emperor approved the request on 28 December 1844 and issued an edict of toleration on 20 February 1846 which stated that the Christian teachings were good and that foreign and Chinese Christians should

---

[21] Wang Yousan 王友三 et al., *Zhongguo zongjiaoshi* 中國宗教史 (History of Religions in China), Jinan: Qi-Lu shushe, 1991. 2 vols.
[22] *APF* 22, p. 332.
[23] Wang Yousan, p. 945.
[24] Quoted by Louis Wei Tsing-sing in *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine 1842–1856*, Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines, 1960, p. 252.
[25] On Qiying, see *ECCP*, pp. 130–134.

no longer considered criminals. However, the edict was not publicised and had little effect. Nevertheless, following the treaty negotiations, Catholics and Protestants were at least permitted to build churches in the five open ports.

The scattered Catholic communities were, however, located in the interior, far beyond the coastal ports. Before 1860, they did not much benefit from any protection from the Qing or foreign governments which the treaties of the 1840s seemed to imply. On the contrary, foreign encroachments aroused the hostility of the population and of local officials. In the 1850s, Catholics also suffered from the exactions of the Taiping rebels who destroyed a number of churches in the south and central provinces. The Qing authorities, on the other hand, suspected the Christians of sympathising with the rebel forces. In the past there had, after all, been links between Catholics and what the government considered to be subversive sects.[26] The fact that Taiping rebels professed some Christian tenets could only add to the confusion. (*cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 4.3. Taiping religion and its legacy*)

In 1856, the French missionary Auguste Chapdelaine 馬賴 MEP (1814–1856) was tortured and executed in a remote area of Guangxi together with his Chinese catechist Agnes Cao Guiying 曹桂英 (1821–1856). The prefect apostolic, Philippe-François-Zéphirin Guillemin 明稽埒 MEP (1814–1886) reported the killing to the French chargé d'affaires, Count de Courcy, as a violation of Article 23 of the Treaty of Whampoa (1844).[27] This provided the French with a pretext for their involvement in the Second Opium War which the British had initiated following the *Arrow* incident.

In the ensuing Treaty of Tianjin (1858), Article 13 secured freedom of religious practice for all Christians and the right of missionaries to travel in the interior of China with official passports. More definite measures of protection were included in the Beijing Convention after the Franco-British troops occupied Beijing and ransacked the Summer Palace in 1860. Foreign legations were then established in the capital and the Qing government created a Bureau for Foreign Affairs (*Zongli*

---

[26] R. G. Tiedemann, "Christianity and Chinese 'Heterodox Sects': Mass Conversion and Syncretism in Shandong Province in the Early Eighteenth Century", *Monumenta Serica* 44 (1996), pp. 339–382.

[27] Jean Charbonnier, *Les 120 Martyrs de Chine canonisés le 1er octobre 2000*, (Études et documents, 12), Paris: Archives des Missions Étrangères 2000, pp. 72–87.

Yamen 總理衙門) to deal with them. The French religious protectorate over Catholic missions in China was extended to Chinese converts as well.

Chinese Catholic Groups in the early nineteenth century

Long before the foreign powers interfered in China's internal affairs, the Catholic Church had relied on courageous and dedicated Chinese men and women to spread the faith in the provinces. Some had suffered for their faith. Indeed, the Catholic Church has beatified a number of native priests, catechists as well as members of the 'institute of virgins' and most of them have recently been canonised.[28] In Liu Yusheng's biographies of Chinese martyrs,[29] five beatified native Catholics were killed during the Jiaqing reign, five during the Daoguang reign and fifteen during the Xianfeng (r. 1850–1861) reign. Four more were executed in 1862, an indication that the protective measures of the Beijing Convention (1860) had as yet little impact in the provinces. Many others who did not suffer death have nonetheless played a significant role in the life of the Chinese Church. Fang Hao 方豪 has collected biographies of some fifty Catholic individuals, Chinese and foreign, who distinguished themselves between 1800 and 1860.[30] Those who are mentioned below are better known but can be considered as representative of the Church ministry in the first half of the nineteenth century. Besides these individuals who were part of specific ecclesiastical institutions, particular attention has to be paid to Christian collectivities, such as Catholic communities (called *chrétientés* in the French missionary literature) or migrant settlements which were formed to escape persecution.

Chinese clergy

In his study of the development of local church leadership in China, Pasquale M. D'Elia, with regard to the period before 1844, argued that

---

[28] Charbonnier, *Les 120 Martyrs de Chine*.

[29] Liu Yusheng 劉宇聲, *Zhonghua xundao xianlie zhuan* 中華殉道先烈傳 (Lives of the blessed martyrs of China), Taibei: Catholic Central Bureau, 1977.

[30] Fang Hao 方豪, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiaoshi renwuzhuan* 中國天主教史人物傳 (Biographies of personalities in Chinese Catholic history), Hongkong: C.T.S., 1973, pp. 199–255.

"if the Church of China did not perish all together during the persecutions up to the middle of the nineteenth century, this was especially due to the zeal and self-sacrificing spirit of the Native Clergy, both regular and secular".[31] Since the early eighteenth century, Chinese priests had been trained overseas, first in the General College of the Missions Étrangères de Paris in Ayutthaya (Siam), from 1770 at Virampatnam near Pondicherry (French India) and finally, from 1807, in Penang (Malaya).[32] Others were trained at the College of the Holy Family which Matteo Ripa had opened in Naples, Italy, in 1732.[33] The Portuguese had their own seminary in Macao. It served as the principal institution to train clergy from the three *padroado* dioceses of China, under the direction of Lazarists. During the last two decades of the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth centuries, attempts were made to establish seminaries in China itself. In about 1775 Martin Moÿe, Jean-François Gleyo and Thomas Hamel of the Paris Foreign Missions established a seminary at Longqi 龍溪, Yunnan, which was subsequently transferred to nearby Luoranggou 落瀼溝 in the vicinity of Xuzhou 敘州 (now Yibin 宜賓), Sichuan. When the seminary had to close in 1814, forty Chinese priests had been trained under Hamel's direction. Half of them became victims of persecution between 1814 and 1820. On the other hand, one priest, Benedictus Yang, was honoured by the Emperor because of his support during a military campaign against Muslim rebels.[34] A new Sichuan seminary was opened in 1831 by Laurent Imbert in Muping 穆坪 (now called Baoxing 寶興), in a remote mountainous area west of Chengdu. From the early eighteenth century to 1861, some 115 Chinese priests, either from the General College or the Sichuan seminary, served in the Sichuan mission.

---

[31] Pascal M. D'Elia, *Catholic Native Episcopacy in China: being an outline of the formation and growth of the Chinese Catholic Clergy, 1300–1926*, Shanghai: T'usewei Printing Press, 1927, p. 48.

[32] Paul Destombes, *Le Collège Général de la Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris 1665–1932*, Hongkong: Nazareth Press, 1934.

[33] The Italian secular priest Matteo Ripa (1682–1745) had worked as an artist at the imperial court in Beijing from 1710 to 1724. His college in Naples trained 106 Chinese priests until its closure in 1888. Twenty-six of these priests were from Hu-Guang (i.e. the provinces of Hubei and Hunan). See Noël Gubbels, *Trois siècles d'apostolat. Histoire du catholicisme au Hu-Kwang depuis les origines, 1587, jusqu'à 1870*, Wuchang: Franciscan Press; Paris, 1934.

[34] See François Gourdon, "Le clergé indigène au Setchoan", *Bulletin des Missions Étrangères*, no. 22–23 (1923), p. 604.

The story of one of them, Augustinus Zhao Rong 趙榮, is indicative of the dedication of these priests. Zhao was a gaoler in his native Guizhou province when he was converted by one of the prisoners, the French missionary Jean-Martin Moÿe MEP (1730–93). Moÿe baptised him in 1776 when he was thirty years old and involved him in active discipleship. Having been encouraged to pursue theological studies, Zhao spent a year at the newly established seminary at Longqi. Following his ordination in 1781, he ministered with great dedication and effectiveness, especially among the Lolo[35] of Yunnan. Eventually Zhao was betrayed to the Chinese authorities, arrested and tortured. He finally died in prison in 1815.

The seminary opened by the Lazarists Nicolas-Joseph Raux 羅廣祥 (1754–1801) and Jean-Joseph Guislain 吉德明 (1751–1812) in Beijing became another important institution producing dedicated Chinese clergy. Between 1788 and 1826, when it was transferred to Macao, some remarkable priests were formed at this seminary. These men played an important role in the absence of foreign missionaries during the first few decades of the nineteenth century. The career of the Chinese Lazarist, Matthaeus Xue 薛瑪竇 (1780–1860), serves as an outstanding example. Born in 1780 into a poor Catholic family in Shanxi, he first worked as a tailor. Inspired by missionary dedication, Xue made his way to Beijing and was accepted by the seminary in 1805. In 1807 he took his vows as a Lazarist at the so-called French Mission at the *Beitang* (North Church) and was ordained priest in 1809. He was deeply involved in looking after the spiritual needs of the faithful in the rural *chrétientés* of Zhili province. When Louis-François-Marie Lamiot 南彌德 CM (1767–1831), the superior of the French Mission, was expelled from Beijing in 1819, he appointed Xue head of the Lazarist mission, which included Zhili, Mongolia, Henan, Hubei, Jiangxi, Zhejiang and the Jiangnan region of Jiangsu. Since the Chinese government threatened to deprive Xue of the privileges that had been accorded to the French Mission, the administrator of the *padroado* diocese of Beijing, Gaetano Pires Pereira 畢學源 CM (1769–1838), was able to offer assistance on account of his position as Vice Director of the Astronomical Bureau (or Imperial Observatory). However, the capital having become unsafe by 1829, Xue first went to Xuanhua 宣化, and afterwards moved the major Lazarist establishment in

[35] In the People's Republic the Lolo are classified as the Yi 彝 ethnic minority.

North China to the old Christian community at Xiwanzi 西灣子, a remote settlement in northern Zhili beyond the Great Wall. There he managed to maintain the work with the aid of other Chinese priests. It was not until 1835 that a young French confrere, Joseph-Martial Mouly 孟振生 CM (1807–1868), arrived to relieve him as superior of the French mission, thereby subordinating the hitherto autonomous Chinese priesthood. The newly-arrived Mouly was only 28 years old when he succeeded Xue who was 54.[36] It is not known whether this intrusion caused resentment amongst the indigenous clergy.

In spite of the European reinforcements arriving in the Middle Kingdom during Gregory XVI's pontificate, the relatively small number of Chinese priests continued to outnumber their foreign counterparts in the 1830s and 1840s. Not surprisingly, they performed much of the basic pastoral work. Although there were some exceptions, on the whole the indigenous clergy worked diligently to promote Christianity and preserve the faith of their flock, especially in times of persecution. Moreover, in some cases Chinese regular priests preserved the structures in China of what essentially were European religious congregations.

Catechists

Chinese agents have played a crucial role in the introduction, preservation and subsequent reinvigoration of Christianity in the Chinese Empire. Especially in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—when Christianity was proscribed, most foreign priests had been expelled, and Chinese priests were in very short supply[37]—the Catholic missionary enterprise had to rely on various kinds of lay personnel to manage church affairs and evangelisation. For analytical purposes, it is useful to distinguish among three types of Chinese auxiliaries: (1) the priest's personal attendants (*shenfu kai huoji* 神父慨伙記), generally referred to as *pedissequi* in Latin; (2) the leaders of local Catholic congregations (*huizhang* 會長), usually called *administratores* in Latin

[36] On Matthaeus Xue, see *BM* XII, p. 61; Van den Brandt, No. 52, p. 21; Jean Charbonnier, *Histoire des chrétiens de Chine*, Paris: Desclée, 1992, pp. 231–239.

[37] In 1815 there were only 80 European missionaries and 89 Chinese priests in China. See Johannes Beckmann, "Die Lage der katholischen Missionen in China um 1815", *NZM* 2 (1946), pp. 217–223.

or *administrateurs* in the French missionary literature;[38] and (3) the *excurrentes*, i.e. the teachers and itinerant catechists (*chuanjiaoyuan* 傳教員or *chuanjiao xiansheng* 傳教先生). According to the Catholic missiologist Joseph Schmidlin, the catechists were

> very helpful and in fact indispensable to a mission, not only because they lighten the burden of the missionary and thereby multiply his efficiency while lessening his expenses, but also because they serve as connecting links between priest and community; for they very naturally have easier and better access to their people than the foreign missionary who, moreover, is usually shut off from the natives by a social barrier.… These [catechists] give religious instructions…and they conduct schools in remote places.… They also conduct the children and the faithful to Divine worship, represent the absent missionary in functions not strictly sacerdotal, conduct devotions, administer private baptism, hold burial services, settle disputes, and exercise a general supervision over the community.…[39]

An early set of rules for catechists was established by Joachim-Enjobert de Martiliat MEP (1706–1755), vicar apostolic of Yunnan and since 1744 also administrator of Sichuan, Hu-Guang (Hubei and Hunan) and Guizhou. The catechists' personal spiritual life and pastoral duties were detailed in sixteen directives, the main points being as follows:

1. undertake daily meditation, monthly communion, spiritual readings
2. cultivate the virtues of humility, patience, love of neighbours
3. baptise children and people in danger of death
4. teach the Catholic laws of marriage to Christians and ensure that they observe them
5. look after widows and orphans
6. reconcile quarrelling Christians; admonish drinkers, gamblers and the indolent
7. in the absence of priests, assemble the faithful on Sundays and feast days, conduct prayer, perform the readings indicated by the vicar apostolic, instruct catechumens
8. teach the catechism to the children and make parents aware of their religious educative task

---

[38] The 'administrators' (*huizhang*) appear to be more or less identical to the 'sedentary catechists' mentioned by some authors.

[39] Joseph Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission Theory (Katholische Missionslehre im Grundriss)*, Techny, Ill.: Mission Press, S.V.D., 1931, pp. 311–312.

9. keep an account of the offerings; report to the pastor once a month, provided he does not dwell more the 10 km away; otherwise, twice a year on Easter and Assumption days.[40]

These instructions were further elaborated by the Sichuan Synod of 1803, especially with regard to the preparation of baptisms and marriages.

Petrus Wu and Joseph Zhang, two pioneers of the Christian apostolate in Guizhou province, were influenced by the testimony of Sichuan catechists and became themselves experienced catechists who died for their faith. Petrus Wu Guosheng 吳國盛 (1768–1814) had worked in his parents' modest hostel in Longping 龍坪, some 30 km from the prefectural city of Zunyi 遵義. He was exposed to Christianity by chance when a Christian guest from Sichuan talked to him about the faith and left him a book explaining the Christian teachings. After a catechist had spent some time in the place, Wu began to preach with such conviction and ferocity that people were frightened into conversion. Indeed, his doctrine became known as the 'Teachings of the King of Hell" (*yanwangjiao* 閻王教). When his excesses were reported to the Chinese priest Matthias Luo in Sichuan, the latter invited him to come to Chongqing and spend some time in the company of Old Catholics (*lao jiaoyou* 老教友). Having realised his mistakes, Wu's faith grew deeper. He was baptised in 1796 and given the name Petrus. He subsequently became an effective catechist in the Longping area, founding several new Christian communities and attracting over six hundred people into the Catholic faith. In 1814 he was arrested and taken to Zunyi where he was strangled to death for refusing to step on a crucifix.

Joseph Zhang Dapeng 張大鵬 (1754–1815), too, was arrested in Guizhou during the anti-Christian campaign of 1814–15. He was born into a literati family in Duyun 都匀, south-eastern Guizhou, in 1754. As a 'seeker after truth', he first joined the Clear Water Teachings (Qingshuijiao 清水教), a fasting group connected with the folk Buddhist White Lotus Teachings (*Bailianjiao* 白蓮教). He subsequently became a disciple of Daoist masters. At the age of forty, having moved

[40] A summary of the sixteen rules can be found in Jos [Jozef] Jennes, *Four Centuries of Catechetics in China*, English and Chinese translation by Albert Van Lierde and Paul Yung-Cheng T'ien of the Flemish original, Taibei: Huaming Press, 1976, pp. 108–109.

to the provincial capital Guiyang to join a silk merchant's establishment. There he learned of Christianity from the silk merchant's son who had returned from the official examinations in Beijing not only with a degree but with Christian tracts, having been baptised in the Chinese capital by Bishop Alexandre de Gouvea. Fascinated by the Christian teachings, Zhang Dapeng wished to join the Church but had to give up his concubine. Having been admitted to the catechumenate in Longping, he was baptised in 1801. In the face of much opposition of his family and general anti-Christian hostility in the province, he persevered in his functions as a catechist. In the end Zhang was betrayed by his brother-in-law and, after some time in prison, was strangled to death in March 1815.

Wu Guosheng and Zhang Dapeng were canonised in 2000 and are venerated by Catholics in Guizhou and beyond for their steadfastness and fortitude.[41] The PRC government, on the other hand, has reacted in a most hostile manner to the canonisation of 120 Chinese and foreign Catholics, singling out Wu Guosheng as one of several "infamous" Chinese henchmen of the foreign missionaries, because he "forced" people to go to church.[42] As far as the Catholic missionary enterprise is concerned, catechists continued to make a significant contribution to the management of church affairs and evangelisation of China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The 'institute of virgins'

It is now recognised that many religious functions were being performed by Catholic women in China in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In consequence of the strict custom of segregating the sexes in traditional Chinese society, the conversion of women presented a particular challenge for Catholic missionaries. Although women often played an important role in a household's decision to join the foreign religion, Chinese mores made it all but impossible for priests—not only foreign but also Chinese—to establish direct

---

[41] See Adrien Launay, *Les Trente cinq vénérables serviteurs de Dieu, français, annamites, chinois, mis à mort pour la Foi en Extrême-Orient de 1815 à 1862*, Paris: Lethielleux, 1909, p. 308; see also Charbonnier (2000), Chapter 3: "Les catechistes intrépides de la province du Guizhou (1814–1839)", pp. 49–52.

[42] For an analysis of the Chinese government's reaction to the canonisations of 2000, see D. E. Mungello, "Fact and Fantasy in the Sexual Seduction of Chinese Converts by Catholic Priests: the Case of the 120 Martyrs", *SWCRJ* 23 (2001), pp. 8–21.

contact with them. Thus, the task of propagating the faith amongst women, instructing girls, and administer baptisms fell to Christian women, especially female catechists (*nü chuanjiao xiansheng* 女傳教先生). Many widows were engaged in such work, especially as baptisers (*quanxi xiansheng* 權洗先生) of moribund children. However, one group of female lay workers hitherto largely ignored in the scholarly literature[43] is of particular interest here, namely the Chinese Catholic 'virgins'.

Since the prevailing socio-political situation precluded the establishment of proper Catholic convents prior to the Sino-foreign treaties of the mid-nineteenth century, certain indigenous single laywomen were a vital element in the propagation and preservation of the Catholic faith amongst Chinese females. In the (essentially French) literature, these females were invariably called 'virgins' (*tongzhen* 童貞; also *zhennü* 貞女, i.e. 'chaste women', seem to have been the preferred terms in official accounts). The rules for these unwed women, who had consecrated their life to God, had been progressively defined in the course of the eighteenth century. At that time, the emphasis was placed on secluded life within the family, with prayer, obedience, manual work and self-denial. Towards the end of the century, under the influence of the French priest Jean-Martin Moÿe MEP (1730–93) in Sichuan, virgins were invited to undertake apostolic work outside their homes and to take charge of the Christian instruction of women. Propaganda Fide in Rome approved these tasks in the Instruction of 29 April 1784, but introduced limitations intended to prevent scandals in view of the prevailing cultural context. Thus, virgins should not preach or conduct prayer meetings in the presence of men. Other restrictions related to the age of members of the 'institute of virgins': simple religious vows could not be taken before the age of 25; vows were to be renewed every three years; no teaching in girls' schools before the age of 30. In 1793 the vicar apostolic of Sichuan, Jean-Didier de Saint-Martin MEP

[43] For studies of the 'institute of virgins' before 1800, see Robert E. Entenmann, "Christian Virgins in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan", in: Bays, *Christianity in China*, pp. 180–193; Eugenio Menegon, "Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: The Localization of Christianity in Late Imperial Mindong (Fujian, China), 1632–1863." Ph.D. diss., University of California, 2002; Menegon, "Christian Loyalists, Spanish Friars, and Holy Virgins in Fujian during the Ming-Qing Transition", *Monumenta Serica* 51 (2003), pp. 335–365; Miguel Ángel San Román, "Cristianos laicos en la misión dominicana del norte de la provincia de Fujian, China, en el siglo XVII", Ph.D. diss., Gregorian University, Rome, 2000, pp. 169–178 and *passim*.

(1743–1801) added an additional restriction: virgins had to be forty years old before they could instruct women catechumens.[44] They could instruct men in the faith only when these were in danger of death. Further elaborated by the Sichuan Synod of 1803 and subsequently approved by the Propaganda in Rome, the rules for virgins were made applicable to all of China by decree in 1832. They remained in force well into the twentieth century. Thus, the essential value of the virgins to the apostolate was recognised.

Whereas these celibate women generally lived secluded lives at home, some of them were able to move to more distant places, if asked to do so by priests and vicars apostolic. The case of Agatha Lin Zhao 林昭, a virgin of Guizhou province, illustrates this point rather well. She was born in Machang, Qinglong county 晴龍縣馬場, in 1817 to Christian parents who had been converted by Joseph Zhang Dapeng. Her father, a salt merchant, actually spent three years in prison for having accepted the foreign religion. Although a marriage had been arranged during her childhood, Agatha stood firm in her decision not to marry. On the advice of the Chinese priest Matthæus Liu, see was sent from her native place to Guiyang where a virgin from Sichuan, Annie Yuan 袁雅尼, had opened a girls' school. When the school was closed two month later, the two women went to Longping where Agatha spent two years studying the Christian religion. Her talents having been recognised by the local priest, she was invited to teach girls in her native place. Upon her father's death, she and her mother sought refuge with relatives in Zhenning 鎮寧 where she gathered a little community of converts. Étienne-Raymond Albrand 白 MEP (1805–1853), at the time administrator of the newly erected vicariate apostolic of Guizhou, invited her to come to Guiyang to take charge of the formation of virgins. Thus, she was constantly on the move, visiting novices living with their families. These long walks were painful on account of her bound feet.

---

[44] Jennes (1976), pp. 110–111. For additional details concerning the 'institute of virgins', see R. G. Tiedemann, "Controlling the Virgins: Female Propagators of the Faith and the Catholic Hierarchy in China", *Women's History Review* 17.4 (September 2008), pp. 501–520; R. G. Tiedemann, "A Necessary Evil: The Contribution of Chinese 'Virgins' to the Growth of the Catholic Church in Late Qing China", in: Jessie G. Lutz (ed.), *Pioneer Chinese Christian Women, Gender, Christianity, and Social Mobility*, Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, forthcoming 2009.

In 1854 Agatha Zhao was sent to Maokou 毛口, a village with a Buyi-Miao population in Langdai district 郎岱縣, to instruct women in the Catholic faith. This was a real challenge because the people were illiterate. She stayed in the home of the catechist Hieronymus Lu Tingmei 盧廷美 (1811–1856), one of a few Miao who had studied the Chinese classics. After two years of instruction, the women of Makou were ready for baptism. Having been informed of the presence of "worshippers of the Lord of Heaven", the Langdai magistrate had Lu Tingmei and Agatha Zhao arrested in 1858. Questions were raised as to why a Han Chinese woman was living among the Miao. Since she was not married, was she therefore a member of a subversive sect? In the end she and Hieronymus Lu were beheaded.[45]

While biographical sketches exist for the martyred virgins, hundreds more worked anonymously in the rural communities throughout China during the first half of the nineteenth century. During those years of sporadic persecutions, these unwed women often became the pillars of the faith within extended kinship networks and local Christian communities. Indeed, in view of the rather small number of Catholic priests at that time, the 'institute of virgins' had acquired a considerable degree of autonomy. (*cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 2.1. Catholic missionaries*)

Refugee communities

Harassed by the local authorities, Catholic families often had to move to other provinces and remote areas where they could live in relative security. A number of Shandong families moved, for example, to Manchuria. The village of the 'eight families', Xiaobajiazi 小八家子, near present-day Changchun thus became a centre of Christian activity and even a base where priest could be formed and sent Korea when that mission was entrusted to the Missions-Étrangères of Paris in 1838.

Catholic communities of a different type emerged in the Yili region of Xinjiang. During the persecutions of the Qianlong, Jiaqing and Daoguang reigns, a number of Christians were exiled to the extreme

[45] [Adrien Launay], *Lys de Chine* [Agathe Lin, Lucie Y, Vierges du Guizhou], Paris: Missions-Étrangères, 1924, pp. 7–54; *Lys de Chine: bienheureuses vierges martyres, Agathe Lin et Lucie Y*, Lennoxville, Quebec: Sœurs missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges, [1941].

limits of the Manchu empire.[46] These communities of banished Catholics have survived to the present day.

A typical case of a Catholic refugee community may be seen in the history of Chayuangou 茶園溝, also known as Mopanshan, in northern Hubei. The origins of the village go back to 1724 when Christians, persecuted in Xiangyang 襄陽 (now part of Xiangfan City 襄樊市, Hubei), purchased a valley in the hills above Gucheng 穀城 and distributed the land to the poorest members under the direction of a catechist. It was the Jesuits who developed this initiative and organised community life similar to the missionary settlements, or *reducciones*, of Paraguay.[47] Having been dispersed in 1779, the community was gradually restored between 1793 and 1819. François Clet CM established his residence in this village before he was arrested and executed in Wuchang. Twenty years later Gabriel Perboyre CM also stayed in this village before he was apprehended and strangulated at Wuchang in 1840. Christians from Chayuangou later formed new communities in Anhui where vast rural tracts had become depopulated as a consequence of the brutal military campaigns during the Taiping rebellion (1851–1864).[48]

While Catholic settlements akin to the Jesuit 'reductions' were quite rare in China,[49] Christianity had generally retreated to the adminis-

---

[46] On the Qing banishment policy, see Joanna Waley-Cohen, *Exile in Mid-Qing China: Banishment to Xinjiang, 1758–1820*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1991.

[47] The history of Chayuangou has been published by Joseph Motte 穆啓蒙 in Chinese: *Zhongguo jiaoyou yu shitu gongzuo* 中國教友與使徒工作 (The apostolic work of the Chinese laity). Motte refers to the works of Chaney, "La colonie du Sacré-Cœur"; and Noël Gubbels, *Trois siècles d'apostolat* (1934). For a detailed history of Mopanshan, see Kang Zhijie 康志傑, *Shang Zhu de putaoyuan: E Xibei Mopanshan Tianzhujiao shequ yanjiu, 1634–2005* 上主的葡萄園: 鄂西北磨盤山天主教社區研究 (The Lord's Vineyard: A Study of the Mopanshan Catholic community in northwest Hubei), Xinzhuang, Taibei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2006.

[48] See Joseph de la Servière, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan. Jésuites de la Province de France (Paris) (1840–1899)*. Vol. 1: *Jusqu'à l'établissement d'un vicaire apostolique jésuite 1840–1856*. Vol. 2: *Mgr Borgniet (1856–1862) Mgr Languillat (1864–1878)* (Zikawei, Shanghai, preface dated 1914).

[49] Belgian missionaries of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM), or Scheut Fathers, established such settlements in Inner Mongolia after 1870. See Jozef Van Hecken, *Les réductions catholiques du pays des Ordos: Une méthode d'apostolat des missionnaires de Scheut*, Schöneck-Beckenried, 1957; and Van Hecken, "Les réductions catholiques du pays des Alashan", *NZM* (1958), pp. 29–144. For a general discussion, see Helenis Held, *Christendörfer. Untersuchung einer Missionsmethode* (Studia Instituti Missiologici Societatis Verbi Divini, 4.), Steyl: Steyler Verlag, 1964.

trative and/or geographic peripheries as a consequence of the periodic persecutions during the Yongzheng, Qianlong and Jiaqing reigns. These rural communities, usually located in more inaccessible parts of the country, served as secure refuges for believers and the small number of priest who rather infrequently were able to minister to the faithful. Indeed, in most *chrétientés* it was the indigenous catechists, administrators and virgins who conducted religious affairs and preserved the faith. When Catholic missionary work was resumed in the 1830s, the newly arrived foreign priests were able to use these surviving congregations as vital bases for their subsequent evangelisation

Bibliography

Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, (Lyon), published since 1822.

Beckmann, Johannes, "Die Lage der katholischen Missionen in China um 1815", *NZM* 2 (1946), pp. 217–223.

Cary-Elwes, Columba, *China and the Cross Studies in Missionary History*, London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1957.

Charbonnier, Jean, *Histoire des chrétiens de Chine*, Paris: Desclée, 1992. The Chinese version was published as: Sha Baili 沙百里 [Charbonnier], *Zhongguo jidutu shi* 中國基督徒史, translated by Geng Sheng 耿昇 and Zheng Dedi 鄭德弟, Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998.

Charbonnier, Jean, *Les 120 Martyrs de Chine canonisés le 1er octobre 2000*, (Études et documents, 12), Paris: Archives des Missions Étrangères 2000.

D'Elia, Pascal M., *Catholic Native Episcopacy in China: being an outline of the formation and growth of the Chinese Catholic Clergy, 1300–1926*, Shanghai: T'usewei Printing Press, 1927.

Delacroix, S[imon], (ed.) *Histoire universelle des Missions Catholiques. Les Missions contemporaines 1800–1957,* Paris, Librairie Grund 1958.

Destombes, Paul, *Le Collège Général de la Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris 1665–1932*, Hongkong: Nazareth Press, 1934.

Entenmann, Robert E., "Catholics in the Eighteenth Century Sichuan", in Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996, pp. 8–23.

Entenmann, Robert E., "Christian Virgins in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan", in Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*, pp. 180–193.

Fang Hao 方豪, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiaoshi renwuzhuan* 中國天主教史人物傳 (Biographies of personalities in Chinese Catholic history), Hongkong: C.T.S., 1973.

Gourdon, F. M. J. [Gu Luodong], *Catalogus cleri indigenae in provincia Se-tchouan, 1702–1858*, Chongqing: Typis Missionis Catholicae, 1919.

Gourdon, François, "Le clergé indigène au Setchoan", *Bulletin des Missions Étrangères*, no. 22–23 (1923).

Gu Changsheng 顧長聲, *Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo* 傳教士與近代中國 (Missionaries and Modern China), Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1981.

Gubbels, Noël, *Trois siècles d'apostolat. Histoire du catholicisme au Hu-Kwang depuis les origines, 1587, jusqu'à 1870,* Wuchang: Franciscan Press; Paris, 1934.

Held, Helenis, *Christendörfer. Untersuchung einer Missionsmethode* (Studia Instituti Missiologici Societatis Verbi Divini, 4.), Steyl: Steyler Verlag, 1964.

Hsü, Immanuel C. Y., *The Rise of Modern China*, Oxford University Press, 2nd Edition, 1970.
Huang, Xiaojuan, "Christian Communities and Alternative Devotions in China, 1780–1860", Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2006.
Jennes, Jos [Jozef], *Four Centuries of Catechetics in China: Historical Evolution of Apologetics and Catechetics in the Catholic Mission of China from the 16th Century until 1940*, English and Chinese translation by Albert Van Lierde and Paul Yung-Cheng T'ien of the Flemish original, Taibei: Huaming Press, 1976.
Kang Zhijie 康志傑, *Shang Zhu de putaoyuan: E Xibei Mopanshan Tianzhujiao shequ yanjiu, 1634–2005* 上主的葡萄園: 鄂西北磨盤山天主教社區研究 (The Lord's Vineyard: A Study of the Mopanshan Catholic community in northwest Hubei), Xinzhuang, Taibei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2006.
Laamann, Lars P., *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China: Christian Inculturation and State Control, 1720–1850*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
La Servière, Joseph de, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan. Jésuites de la Province de France (Paris) (1840–1899)*. Vol. 1: *Jusqu'à l'établissement d'un vicaire apostolique jésuite 1840–1856*. Vol. 2: *Mgr Borgniet (1856–1862) Mgr Languillat (1864–1878)*, Zikawei, Shanghai, preface dated 1914.
Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929. Reprinted Taibei: Ch'eng-wen, 1973.
Launay, Adrien, *Histoire des Missions de Chine, Mission du Se-Tchouan*, Paris, Tequi 1920.
[Launay, Adrien], *Lys de Chine* [Agathe Lin, Lucie Y, Vierges du Guizhou], Paris: Missions-Étrangères, 1924.
Launay, Adrien, *Mémorial de la Société des Missions Etrangères*, 2ème partie 1658–1913, Paris, Séminaire des Missions Etrangères, 128 rue du Bac, 1916.
Launay, Adrien, *Les Trente cinq vénérables serviteurs de Dieu, français, annamites, chinois, mis à mort pour la Foi en Extrême-Orient de 1815 à 1862*, Paris: Lethielleux, 1909.
Liu Yusheng 劉宇聲, *Zhonghua xundao xianlie zhuan* 中華殉道先烈傳 (Lives of the blessed martyrs of China), Taibei: Catholic Central Bureau, 1977.
Louvet, Louis-Eugène. *Les Missions catholiques au XIX^me^ siècle*. Lille: Société de Saint Augustin, 1898.
Lys de Chine: bienheureuses vierges martyres, Agathe Lin et Lucie Y, Lennoxville, Quebec: Sœurs missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges, [1941].
Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission (Lazaristes). La Congrégation de la Mission en Chine. Vol. 3, *Les vicariats apostoliques (depuis 1831)*, nouvelle éd., rev., augm. et continuée [par Alfred Milon CM], Paris: Procure de la Congrégation de la Mission, 1922.
Menegon, Eugenio, "Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: The Localization of Christianity in Late Imperial Mindong (Fujian, China), 1632–1863." Ph.D. diss., University of California, 2002.
Menegon, Eugenio, "Christian Loyalists, Spanish Friars, and Holy Virgins in Fujian during the Ming-Qing Transition", *Monumenta Serica* 51 (2003), pp. 335–365.
Metzler, Josef, *Die Synoden in China, Japan und Korea 1570–1931*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1980.
Motte, Joseph 穆啓蒙, *Zhongguo jiaoyou yu shitu gongzuo* 中國教友與使徒工作 (The apostolic work of the Chinese laity), Taizhong, Taiwan, 1978.
Mungello, D. E., "Fact and Fantasy in the Sexual Seduction of Chinese Converts by Catholic Priests: the Case of the 120 Martyrs", *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* XXIII (2001).
Nouvelles lettres édifiantes des missions de la Chine et des Indes orientales [du Séminaire des Missions Étrangères de Paris], (Paris: l'imprimerie d'Adrien Le Clere, 1818–1823). 8 vols. (vols. 1–5 = China).

Pierre, Jeanne, "The Early Church in Sichuan Province. A Study of conditions leading to the Synod of 1803", *Tripod* 15 (Hongkong, Holy Spirit Study Centre, 1983).
Piolet, J.-B., *Les Missions Catholiques Françaises au XIX^e siècle*. Vol. 3: *Chine et Japon*, Paris: Armand Colin, 1901.
Planchet, J.-M., *Les Misions de Chine et du Japon*, Pékin: imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1916.
San Román, Miguel Ángel, "Cristianos laicos en la misión dominicana del norte de la provincia de Fujian, China, en el siglo XVII", Ph.D. diss., Gregorian University, Rome, 2000.
Schmidlin, Joseph, *Catholic Mission Theory (Katholische Missionslehre im Grundriss)*, Techny, Ill.: Mission Press, S.V.D., 1931.
Synodus vicariatus sutchuensis habita in districtu civitatis Tcong King Tcheou. Anno 1803. Diebus secunda, quinta et nona septembris, Romae: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1838 . New edition, 1869.
Thomas, A. [pseud. for Jean-Marie Planchet CM], *Histoire de la Mission de Pékin. Vol. 2: Depuis l'arrivée des Lazaristes jusqu'à la révolte des Boxeurs, Paris: tirage privé*, 1925; re-issued Paris: Vald. Rasmussen, 1933.
Tiedemann, R. G., "Christianity and Chinese 'Heterodox Sects': Mass Conversion and Syncretism in Shandong Province in the Early Eighteenth Century", *Monumenta Serica* 44 (1996), pp. 339–382.
Tiedemann, R. G., "Controlling the Virgins: Female Propagators of the Faith and the Catholic Hierarchy in China", *Women's History Review* 17.4 (September 2008), pp. 501–520.
Tiedemann, R. G., "A Necessary Evil: The Contribution of Chinese 'Virgins' to the Growth of the Catholic Church in Late Qing China", in Jessie G. Lutz (ed.), *Pioneer Chinese Christian Women: Gender, Christianity, and Social Mobility*, Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, forthcoming 2009.
Van Hecken, Jozef, "Les réductions catholiques du pays des Alashan", *NZM* (1958), pp. 29–144.
Van Hecken, Jozef, *Les réductions catholiques du pays des Ordos: Une méthode d'apostolat des missionnaires de Scheut*, Schöneck-Beckenried, 1957.
Waley-Cohen, Joanna, *Exile in Mid-Qing China: Banishment to Xinjiang, 1758–1820*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1991.
Wang Yousan 王友三 et al., *Zhongguo zongjiaoshi* 中國宗教史 (History of Religions in China), Jinan: Qi-Lu shushe, 1991. 2 vols.
Wei Tsing-sing, Louis [Wei Qingxin 衛青心], *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine 1842–1856. L'ouverture des cinq ports chinois au commerce étranger et la liberté religieuse*, Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1960.
Zhang Li 張力 and Liu Jiantang 劉鑑唐, *Zhongguo jiao'an shi* 中國教案史 (History of the Religious Cases in China), Chengdu: Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences, 1987.
Zhang Ze 張澤, *Qingdai jinjiaoqi de Tianzhujiao* 清代禁教期的天主教 (Persecution of the Catholic Church during the Qing), Taibei: Guangqi chubanshe, 1992.

2.4.2. *Specific Catholic Groups, 1860–1900*

Jean-Paul Wiest

The Context

In 1850, Catholicism in China was an insignificant, marginalised religion burdened by the legacy of the Rites Controversy. Strong pockets remained only in remote rural areas where entire villages still nurtured their Christian faith.[1] And yet, during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century, a slow but steady recovery had been occurring, thanks mainly to the work of aging Chinese priests, catechists, and "virgins." Church membership had indeed rebounded from a low of about 200,000 adherents to some 330,000, a high that had not been reached since the Jesuits' heyday in 1700.[2]

With the strong resurgence in foreign missionary activities made possible by the so-called unequal treaties and the establishment of the French protectorate over Catholic missions, the Catholic church was on the threshold of a rapid expansion.[3] Even the turmoil of the 1850–1864 Taiping Uprising did not have any significant impact on the steady growth of the church. Western missionaries returned in

---

[1] On the systematic missionary approach to re-establishing contact with Catholic communities in the province of Shandong in the 1840s, see Kilian Menz OFM, "Annales de origine et progressu Vicariatus Apostolici Shan-tung", (Compositi a Mgr. Aloysio Moccagatta in lingua Italica; ed cum notis a F. K. Menz), *Communicationes* 7 (1928), pp. 48–50, 85–95; 8 (1929) 8–18, 30–36; idem, "Fragmenta, ne pereant, historiae missionum O.F.M.", *Communicationes* 7 (1928), pp. 9–19, 29–42, 51–62.

[2] Until the mid-nineteenth century, statistics about the Catholic church in China remain no more than estimates. Latourette and Costantini's figures of about 300,000 are based on documented sources and are more credible. See Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929, p. 129; Celso Costantini, "China", *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, Rome: Città del Vaticano, vol. III, 1949, col. 1661. See also Henri Bernard-Maître, "Chine", in Cardinal Alfred Baudrillart, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, XII, Paris: Letouzey & Ané, (1953), col. 710.

[3] For a detailed and scholarly analysis of the French Protectorate and the Catholic missions up to 1860, see Louis Wei Tsing-Sing, *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine, 1842–1856: L'ouverture des cinq ports chinois au commerce étranger et la liberté religieuse*, Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines, 1957. Two excellent succinct accounts can be found in Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions*, pp. 306–313; and Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967, pp. 64–76.

increasing numbers to Catholic areas and pioneered new ones; they reclaimed former church properties and bought many more; they also opened scores of orphanages, schools and dispensaries. By the turn of the century, the whole of China was divided into 42 ecclesiastical territories run by foreign prefects and vicars apostolic. The missionary presence rekindled suspicions and ill will among many Chinese who viewed it as foreign encroachment and despised Christians as turncoats, followers of a depraved sect and, sometimes rightfully so, as criminals. This growing antiforeign sentiment led to countless frictions and harmful encounters which culminated into the bloodbath of the Boxer Uprising. Between 1897 and 1900, in the Catholic church alone, forty-seven missionaries and some 30,000 Chinese Christians lost their lives.[4]

Although the protection bestowed on missionaries by the unequal treaties and the French protectorate often resulted in frictions and in misunderstandings about the true nature of Christianity, it nonetheless contributed to the numerical success of the Catholic church. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the indigenous Catholic population grew at an unprecedented pace, reaching the half million mark in 1882. The largest increase was registered in the last decade with a jump from about 550,000 to at least 720,000 members.[5]

This expansion was most significant in rural areas of the interior where the church relied on a wide network of Catholic villages, many tracing their Christian heritage to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But urban areas too began to register an important increase in enquiries and conversions. The movement was especially pronounced among young city dwellers who, anxious to acquire Western knowledge, came to attend schools run by missionaries. This trend would continue to gain momentum throughout the first part of the twentieth century.

---

[4] Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions*, pp. 512–513.

[5] For a good appraisal of the various available figures, see Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions*, pp. 182–183, 329, 563; and Henri Bernard-Maître, "Chine", col. 715. From 1886 on, official statistics of the Propaganda Fide are found in its annual publication *Missiones Catholicae Cura S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, Rome: Typographia Polyglotta.

Chinese Lay Apostles

While the bulk of catechists and "virgins" was still produced by old faithful families from the countryside, a growing number also came from the ranks of fervent recent converts. These lay apostles led the community in prayer, baptised and performed Christian burials in the absence of missionaries, as well as visited households and instructed the children in the faith. They also made the initial approach to non-Christians and thereby spearheaded the renewed effort at evangelising China. This reliance on Chinese male and female 'helpers' was by no means a new missionary strategy, but it was used on a much larger scale than ever before. Missionaries almost unanimously described catechists as their "most successful means" of conversions and often raved about the work of virgins they depicted as jewels of Christianity.[6]

These Chinese apostles followed in the footsteps of their predecessors, maintaining a long tradition of fortitude and steadfastness in the face of opposition and persecution. They also greatly contributed to furthering the process of Sinisation in the Catholic church. Many indeed were not mere mouthpieces for the missionaries, but acted as interpreters who dressed the Gospel and the Christian doctrine in terms and symbols culturally meaningful to their own people. This is an area which deserves to be studied in greater detail not only for the period discussed here but for earlier as well as later ones.[7] The works of Jean Charbonnier, Robert Entenmann and Jean-Paul Wiest have shown its importance. Much information still needs to be retrieved from the archives of missionary groups as well as publications such

---

[6] Joseph de la Servière, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-Nan*, Zikawei: T'ou-se-wei, 1914, I, p. 130; "Exposé de l'état de la Mission du Kouang-tong à son Eminence le Cardinal Préfet de la Propagande (1882)," in Eudore de Colomban, *Zéphyrin Guillemin, évêque de Cybistra, préfet apostolique de Canton*, Macao: Imprimerie de l'orphelinat de l'Immaculée Conception, 1919, pp. 444–445; and *Lettres des Nouvelles Missions de la Chine (1841–1868* (lithograph), I, pp. 347–348. Of course, not all missionaries gave glowing reports on their Chinese catechists and virgins, see J. de la Servière, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-Nan*, I, pp. 23–24 and 91; for divergent analyses of these negative accounts, see for instance Wei, *La politique missionnaire de la France*, pp. 285–286; and Eric O. Hanson, *Catholic Politics in China and Korea*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1980, pp. 17–19.

[7] For a general overview, see R. G. Tiedemann, "Indigenous Agency, Religious Protectorates and Chinese Interests: The Expansion of Christianity in China in the Nineteenth Century", in: Dana L. Robert (ed.), *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706–1914*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2008, pp. 206–241.

as *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, *Compte-rendu annuel des Missions Etrangères, Lettres communes* (from the Paris Foreign Mission Society), *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, Lettres des Nouvelles Missions de la Chine*, *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*, and *Missions Catholiques*.[8] Further information can be extracted from Belgian, German and Italian publications which appeared in the late nineteenth century.

The word catechist applied to different types of usually married male church workers: some were well respected persons administering all church matters in the community they lived in, some were roving preachers sent to non-Christian villages, others taught in mission schools or ran small dispensaries, still others stayed with missionaries at all times, serving as their factotum and accompanying them on their tours through the countryside.

While the earliest reports of Catholic 'virgins' come from Fujian, Sichuan and Jiangnan, by the mid-nineteenth century, they could be found in all the missions, living either at home with their parents and siblings or in small communities of two or three. Virgins performed the same varied functions as the male catechists, except those of roving preacher and factotum. They concentrated their efforts mostly on women and young children, Catholic as well as non-Christian. Their role was extremely important in a society where propriety prevented much contact between people of opposite sexes. In view of the continuing importance of the apostolate among Chinese women, the Second Synod of Beijing (1886) praised the 'institute of virgins' as highly salutary with regard to both the promotion of piety among Christians and the propagation of the Catholic religion among non-Christians.[9] Consequently, Chinese virgins continued to play a significant role in evangelisation after 1900, carrying the gospel to all strata of Chinese society. Between 3000 and 4000 female lay workers were engaged in

---

[8] Jean Charbonnier, *Histoire des Chrétiens de Chine*, Paris: Désclée, 1992. Robert Entenmann, "Christian Virgins in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan," in Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China From Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996. Jean-Paul Wiest, "Catholic Activities in Kwangtung Province and Chinese Responses, 1848–1885," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1977; Jean-Paul Wiest, *Maryknoll in China*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1988 & Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997.

[9] Joseph Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission Theory (Katholische Missionslehre im Grundriss)*, Techny, IL: Mission Press S.V.D., 1931, p. 314.

the conversion process throughout the country at this time.[10] As one missionary put it, "The [male] catechist sows the seed of the gospel only in passing; in order to let it come up and mature, often also to not let it be stifled, the help of the virgins is required."[11] However, given the experiences of the past, the missionary establishment placed greater emphasis on proper training and the observance of 'rules for virgins'. Increasingly, in the larger mission stations, European sisters were installed to exercise spiritual control over the virgins. Yet in spite of increased surveillance and training, the European missionaries continued to regard these indispensable women with suspicion. Some considered them to be a "necessary evil".[12]

As prefectures and vicariates apostolic gained a firmer footing, schools for the formation of these native apostles began to develop. By 1872, for instance, the vicariate apostolic of southeast Zhili had two schools for catechists and two for virgins. Training and requirements varied from one vicariate to another. In certain vicariates the Catholic virgins acquired sufficient literacy and a superficial knowledge of the Chinese classics as well as rudimentary medical expertise.[13] Expenses associated with the support of these helpers also rose. A letter from the vicariate apostolic of Guizhou reckoned that each missioner had on average ten catechists at a cost of about two hundred francs a head per year.[14]

Chinese Priests, Sisters and Brothers

In November 1845, Propaganda Fide issued the instruction *Neminem Profecto* to all the superiors of missions, urging them to renew their effort at developing a native clergy. In China, only one seminary still survived in Xiwanze, a small town beyond the Great Wall in remote northern Zhili. There and in a few other places like Macao, Penang and

---

[10] See "Die gottgeweihten Jungfrauen in China", *Die katholischen Missionen* 35 (1906–07), p. 127.

[11] Cited in Johannes Beckmann, *Die katholische Missionsmethode in China in neuester Zeit (1842–1912). Geschichtliche Untersuchung über Arbeitsweisen, ihre Hindernisse und Erfolgë*, Immensee: Verlag des Missionshauses Bethlehem, 1931, p. 84.

[12] Louis-Marie Kervyn, *Méthode de l'apostolat moderne en Chine*, Hongkong: Imprimerie de la Société des Missions-Etrangères, 1911, p. 559.

[13] Beckmann, *Die katholische Missionsmethode*, p. 86.

[14] *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (1873), vol. 45: 87–89; 246. Emile Becker, *Un demi-siècle d'apostolat en Chine: Le Révérend Père Gonnet de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Sienhsien: Imprimerie de la Mission, 1928, pp. 116–122, 126–133.

Naples, a smattering of Chinese candidates were in training.[15] But with the creation of prefectures and vicariates apostolic during the second half of the nineteenth century, minor and major seminaries opened all over China. As a result, the number of Chinese priests began to grow substantially from 90 individuals in 1845 to 243 in 1870, and to 471 by 1900. Yet, this increase did not keep up with that of foreign missionaries whose numbers during the same period passed from 80 to 904. So while in 1860 Chinese priests still formed the majority of the clergy, they had declined to only 47% by 1870 and dwindled to just 34% by 1900.[16] At the same time, Chinese priests were rarely entrusted with positions of authority in the church. The attitude prevalent among European missionaries reflected a definite bias toward a Chinese clergy they considered no more than "precious auxiliaries." Certainly, it was never denied that a time would come when a Chinese clergy would head the Chinese church. For the time being, however, Chinese priests had to remain in subordinate positions. The rationale for maintaining such a situation was twofold. One argument was based on the present circumstances of the church in China. Foreign missionaries, because of the treaty system and the French protectorate, enjoyed more prestige and protection than their Chinese counterparts; and, as was later ratified by the imperial decree of March 1899 known as the "Favier decree", they often dealt with Chinese officials from a position of authority, a privilege which was denied to the Chinese clergy. The other reason, probably rooted in erroneous findings of the social sciences, stated that Chinese priests too often displayed "weaknesses"—such as pride—"inherent to their race". In addition, they still needed to develop a deeper spirit of sacrifice and dedication, and to learn responsible management.[17]

Meanwhile, as early as 1855, some vicars apostolic began to experiment with houses of formation aimed at creating native male and

---

[15] *Collectanea S. Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, I, pp. 541–545. See also Alphonse Hubrecht, "Les origines du clergé en Chine," *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis* 8 (1935), pp. 8–21. Hubrecht estimates that three hundred Chinese Catholic priests had been ordained before 1850.

[16] Bernard-Maître, 715. See also Claude Soetens, *L'Eglise catholique en Chine au XX^e siècle*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1997, p. 70.

[17] Examples of this attitude can be found in R. P. Broullion, *Mémoire de la Mission du Kiang-Nan*, Paris: Julien, Lanier et Cie, 1855; J. de la Servière, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-Nan*; Kervyn, *Méthodes de l'Apostolat moderne en Chine*; and Henri Crapez, "Notes d'histoire sur le clergé Chinois et les Lazaristes," in *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis* 10 (1937), pp. 666–683, 767–785.

female religious congregations of catechists, school teachers and nurses. Regarding women, priority was given to the reorganisation of the institution of virgins into native religious congregations. The Virgins of the Presentation 聖母獻堂會 started in Jiangnan in 1855. They were followed, in 1858, by the Virgins of the Sacred Heart of Mary (later Religious of the Sacred Heart of Mary 聖母聖心會) in Manchuria and by several more in other vicariates. Religious orders of European sisters were called upon to provide the necessary training. Because of this preference for a Western type of religious life, traditional virgins came to be regarded as a lower form of religious life and their ranks began to dwindle. By 1883, an instruction from Propaganda Fide decided that virgins who lived in communities had to adopt a rule that was patterned after that of a European community. As for those who continued to live in their family homes, they were forbidden to wear any external sign of their profession and could take only temporary vows of chastity, except in cases of "exceptional virtue."[18] It should, however, be noted that the Chinese sister congregations were associations of diocesan right. None of them became religious institutes of pontifical right before 1950.[19]

In 1866, the Jiangnan vicariate became also the first to form a religious brotherhood of catechists and school teachers who became known as the Congregation of the Chinese Brothers of the Mother of God (or Marist Brothers of St. Joseph; 主母會).[20] Only the vicariate of Southwest Zhili was, however, able to follow suit with the creation

[18] *Collectanea S. Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, II, p. 192. Other groups of native sisters that came into being before the end of the century were the Sisters of St. Joseph in Beijing in 1872 and in Zhengding in 1878; the Virgins of the Purgatory in Zhejiang in 1892; the Daughters of St. Anne in Jiangxi in 1897; the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception in Canton in 1898. For two excellent contrasting essays on the transition from virgins to sisterhood, see Sue Bradshaw, "Religious Women in China: An Understanding of Indigenization," in *The Catholic Historical Review* (January 1982), pp. 28–45; and Jean Vérinaud, "Les Missions Etrangères et les fondations de congrégations religieuses, 1663–1900", in *Echos de la Rue du Bac* (July 1982), pp. 217–222.

[19] For a list of Chinese sisterhoods, see the table in the appendix of this Handbook. See also R. G. Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the 16th to the 20th Century*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2008, Part Three: "Chinese Religious Communities of Women (Associations of Diocesan Right)".

[20] G. M., "Les Joséphistes-Maristes. Notes sur une oeuvre de catéchistes dans la Mission du Kiang-Nan", *Relations de Chine* 3 (Blois 1908/10), pp. 339–345. In 1909 the brothers were absorbed by the Marist Brothers of the Schools.

of the Paulist Brothers (Brothers of St. Paul 保祿會) in about 1894.[21] One of the main reasons for the lack of success of a Chinese brotherhood was that while there were several foreign women religious congregations present in China who could train native sisters, there were still no foreign brothers to assume a similar task with prospective male candidates.[22]

Bibliography

Becker, Emile, *Un demi-siècle d'apostolat en Chine: Le Révérend Père Gonnet de la Compagnie de Jésus*, (Sienhsien: Imprimerie de la Mission, 1928).

Beckmann, Johannes, *Die katholische Missionsmethode in China in neuester Zeit (1842–1912). Geschichtliche Untersuchung über Arbeitsweisen, ihre Hindernisse und Erfolgë*, Immensee: Verlag des Missionshauses Bethlehem, 1931.

Bernard-Maître, Henri, "Chine", in Cardinal Alfred Baudrillart, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, Vol. 12, Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1953.

Bradshaw, Sue, "Religious Women in China: An Understanding of Indigenization," in *The Catholic Historical Review* 68,1 (January 1982), pp. 28–45.

Broullion, Nicolas, *Missions de Chine. Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la Mission du Kiang-Nan 1842–1855*, Paris: Julien, Lanier & Cie, 1855.

Charbonnier, Jean. *Histoire des Chrétiens de Chine*, Paris: Désclée, 1992.

Cohen, Paul A., *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Collectanea S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide seu Decreta instructiones rescripta pro apostolic missionibus, Roma: Typ. polyglotta, 1907, 2 vols.

Colomban, Eudore de, *Zéphyrin Guillemin, évêque de Cybistra, préfet apostolique de Canton (1814–1886)*, Macao: Imprimerie de l'orphelinat de l'Immaculée Conception, 1919.

Costantini, Celso, "China", *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. 3, (Rome: Città del Vaticano 1949.

Crapez, Henri, "Notes d'histoire sur le clergé Chinois et les Lazaristes", *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis* (Digest of the Synodal Commission) 10 (Beiping: Commissio Synodalis in Sinis, 1937), pp. 666–683, 767–785.

Entenmann, Robert, "Christian Virgins in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan," in Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China From Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996, pp. 8–23.

G. M., "Les Joséphistes-Maristes. Notes sur une śuvre de Catéchistes dans la Mission du Kiang-Nan", *Relations de Chine* 3 (Blois 1908/10), pp. 339–345.

"Die gottgeweihten Jungfrauen in China", *Die katholischen Missionen* 35 (1906–07).

Hanson, Eric O., *Catholic Politics in China and Korea*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1980.

[21] Alfonso Morelli, "La Société indigène des Frères de St. Paul (dits Paulistes)", *Les Missions Catholiques* 42 (Lyon 1910), p. 124.

[22] For early attempts at launching Chinese religious congregations, see J.-M. Planchet, *Missions de Chine et du Japon*, Peking: Imprimerie du Pé-t'ang, 1919, pp. 434–454.

Hubrecht, Alphonse, "Les origines du clergé en Chine," *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis* (Digest of the Synodal Commission) 8 (Beiping: Commissio Synodalis in Sinis, 1935), pp. 8–21.

Kervyn, Louis-Marie, *Méthode de l'apostolat moderne en Chine*, Hongkong: Imprimerie de la Société des Missions-Etrangères, 1911.

La Servière, Joseph de, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan. Jésuites de la Province de France (Paris) (1840–1899)*, 2 vols., Zikawei, Shanghai: T'ou-se-wei, preface dated 1914.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *A History of Christian Missions in China*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929.

Lettres des Nouvelles Missions de la Chine (Jesuit publication, Paris, 1841–1868). Produced by the process of autolithography.

Menz, Kilian, "Annales de origine et progressu Vicariatus Apostolici Shan-tung", (Compositi a Mgr. Aloysio Moccagatta in lingua Italica; ed cum notis a F. K. Menz), *Communicationes* 7 (Ji'nan, 1928), pp. 48–50, 85–95; 8 (1929) 8–18, 30–36.

Menz, Kilian, "Fragmenta, ne pereant, historiae missionum O.F.M.", *Communicationes* 7 (1928), pp. 9–19, 29–42, 51–62.

Missiones Catholicae, cura S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Vol. 1 (Rome: Typographia Polyglotta, 1886). Published annually.

Morelli, Alfonso. "La Société indigène des Frères de St. Paul (dits Paulistes)", *Les Missions Catholiques* 42 (Lyon 1910).

Planchet, J.-M., *Missions de Chine et du Japon*, Beijing: Imprimerie du Pé-t'ang, 1919.

Schmidlin, Joseph, *Catholic Mission Theory (Katholische Missionslehre im Grundriss)*, Techny, IL: Mission Press S.V.D., 1931.

Soetens, Claude, *L'Eglise catholique en Chine au XX^e siècle*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1997.

Tiedemann, R. G., "Indigenous Agency, Religious Protectorates and Chinese Interests: The Expansion of Christianity in China in the Nineteenth Century", in: Dana L. Robert (ed.), *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706–1914*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2008, pp. 206–241.

Tiedemann, R. G., *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the 16th to the 20th Century*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2009.

Vérinaud, Jean, "Les Missions Etrangères et les fondations de congrégations religieuses, 1663–1900", *Echos de la Rue du Bac* (July 1982), pp. 217–222.

Wei Tsing-Sing, Louis, *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine, 1842–1856: L'ouverture des cinq ports chinois au commerce étranger et la liberté religieuse*, Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines, 1957.

Wiest, Jean-Paul, "Catholic Activities in Kwangtung Province and Chinese Responses, 1848–1885", Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1977.

Wiest, Jean-Paul, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918–1955*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1988; Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997.

2.5. Chinese Protestants

2.5.1. *Early Chinese Protestants*

Jessie G. Lutz

For Protestant missionaries to China before 1860, converts were scarce while apostasy was all too common. Of humble origins and finding no place in Chinese official or family records, few of the first Chinese Protestants entered recorded history. If the missionary reports referred to them by name, only a part of the name was generally supplied and that was in non-standard transliteration, usually without Chinese characters. Apostates quickly disappeared from registers. Death rates being high, many, like Robert Morrison's first convert, died soon after accepting the faith. Biographical materials, therefore, are most readily available for those converts who achieved some prominence in Chinese professions or government service, made major contributions to the Chinese church, or produced successive generations of Christians.

Collections of biographies of Chinese Christians include works by Zha Shijie 查時傑, Jian (Jen) Youwen 簡又文, W. P. Bentley, Carl Smith, Jessie and Rolland Ray Lutz, and W. S. Pakenham-Walsh.[1] Of great value are *Jiaohui xinbao* 教會新報 (Church news), *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報 (Globe Magazine), lineage genealogies, family histories, and the archives of mission societies. Commemorative church histories, even if brief concerning the early years, provide names and other leads while Li Zhigang's history of early Protestant missions supplies Chinese characters for numerous societies and individuals, both Chinese and Western. For a few Chinese evangelists, autobiographies and contemporary biographies by relatives exist and they often furnish valuable information on the individual's background and youth even if they represent a backward glance after conversion.[2] Several early Protestants have been the subject of monographic studies.

---

[1] The references in Zha, *Zhongguo jidujiao renwu* 中國基督教人物小傳; and Jian, *Zhongguo jidujiao di kaishan shiye* also provide useful leads for further research.

[2] Names, addresses, and holdings of major English language mission archives in the United States are available in Archie R. Crouch, et al., *Christianity in China A Scholar's Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1989; an updated edition is forthcoming: Xiaoxin Wu (ed.), *Christianity in China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*, second edition, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2009. As concerns the

Though a profile of early Chinese Protestants can be compiled on the basis of available resources, it is probably not possible to recover a truly representative sample. Perhaps the most informative approach for scholars is to select individuals who came into contact with Protestant missions through various means and accepted Christianity for various reasons, individuals who made contributions to China and the church in different ways, and individuals belonging to both the first and second generation of converts.

The earliest Protestant missionaries to China devoted much attention to translating the Bible and religious works and to the production of Christian tracts, for imperial edicts forbade them to enter China or the evangelise publicly. Many of the first Protestant converts, therefore, were employed as language tutors and translators, woodblock carvers, printers, and colporteurs. They were male and were literate even if few could be considered classical scholars. Since missionaries were confined to the Canton-Macao region until the opening of five treaty ports in 1842, the initial converts resided in coastal Guangdong.

Liang Fa 梁發 (1789–1855), the best known of the early Protestants, has been the subject of considerable research, though lacunae remain.[3] The son of a farmer, he studied the classics for four years before apprenticing in a Chinese print shop. Then in 1813 Robert Morrison hired him to carve woodblocks for his translation of the New Testament. In despair over addiction to gambling and other excesses, Liang tried various Buddhist techniques for achieving peace of mind and salvation, but, under the tutelage of William Milne, he turned to

---

United Kingdom, Leslie R. Marchant's *Guide to the Archives and Records of Protestant Christian Missions from the British Isles to China, 1796–1914* is long out of date. A less detailed but up-to-date online guide to missionary archives in the United Kingdom is "MUNDUS: Gateway to Missionary Collections in the United Kingdom", URL: http://www.mundus.ac.uk. See also Rosemary Seton and Emily Naish (comps.), *A Preliminary Guide to the Archives of British Missionary Societies*, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1992.

Partly because reports and correspondence are in handwritten nineteenth-century script, the German archives in Basel, Berlin, Wuppertal, and elsewhere have been less thoroughly explored. In the Basel mission archives are a biography in both Chinese and German translation of the Basel evangelist Li Zhenggao 李正高 by his son and a German translation of the autobiography of Lai Xinglian 賴興廉, an early Hakka evangelist; both have been translated and amplified in Lutz, *Hakka Chinese*.

[3] Bohr, "The Politics of Eschatology," and "Liang Fa's Quest for Moral Power"; Boardman, *Christian Influence*; McNeur, *China's First Preacher*; Zha, *Zhongguo jidujiao renwu*, pp. 1–4, and a biography by Teng Ssu-yü in Liang Afa 梁阿發, *Quanshi liangyan* 勸世良言, Taiwan reprint.

Christianity. He became a dedicated and effective preacher and was ordained by the London Missionary Society in 1823 as China's first Protestant pastor. Liang gained fame, however, as the composer of the tract, *Good Words to Admonish the Age*, which led the Taiping leader Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 (1813–64) to Christianity.

Carl Smith illustrates the intermediary role of numerous Christians in cultural exchange between China and the West by tracing the career of Liang Fa's son, Liang Jinde (Liang Tsin-tih) 梁进德.[4] After education in Singapore under mission auspices and study with Elijah Bridgman of the ABCFM, Jinde was an interpreter for Commissioner Lin Zexu during the Opium War, 1839–42, helping Lin obtain information on European geography and culture; later Liang worked for a salt merchant who was interested in Western technology and was on the staff of the negotiator Qiying. Eventually he returned to assist Bridgman with the Delegate's version of the Bible and finally at the age of thirty-six, he joined the church.

Two other individuals who were indispensable to missionaries as translators and language tutors were Dai Wenguang 戴文光 (1823–89) and Wang Tao 王韜 (1828–97). Though both came from gentry families and were classical scholars, their careers took different routes. Dai was a Hakka 客家 teaching in Kowloon 九龍 when the German missionary Karl Gützlaff 郭實獵 persuaded him to join the Chinese Union 漢會 of evangelists.[5] Like numerous Chinese Union members, Dai welcomed the employment and did not always fulfil his evangelistic assignments. He was, nevertheless, retained by Basel missionary Theodor Hamberg 韓山明 or 韓山文 as language teacher, was "reconverted", and subsequently persuaded many of his lineage in the Xin'an district 新安縣 to join the church. Working with missionaries Hamberg, Rudolf Lechler 黎力基, and Philipp Winnes 韋腓立, Dai helped compose a Hakka dictionary in both romanised Hakka and Chinese characters; he also translated religious works into Hakka. In 1858, however, Dai left the church. resumed ancestor veneration, and later burned his Bible and all his Christian books. Upon his defection, most of his kinsmen also abandoned Christianity. Because Dai had not, like the early Basel missionaries, condemned Confucianism or denigrated Confucius, we know something of his theology, which

[4] Smith, *Chinese Christians*, pp. 52, 57–66.
[5] Lutz, *Hakka Chinese*, based on mission reports in Basel archives.

emphasised the compatibility of Confucianism and Christianity, and the ways in which Christianity fulfilled the promise of Confucian teachings. A proud man, Dai was also offended by the Westerners' often insensitive authoritarianism. As a Christian in foreign employ, Dai had lost the respect of many relatives among his prominent and prosperous lineage. Also, finances were a consideration; he wanted to share in the Dai ancestral properties and to enter business.

Thanks to the biographies by Paul Cohen, Luo Xianglin, Zha, Xin Ping, Lee Chi-fang, McAleavy, and Roswell Britton in *ECCP*, only those details of Wang Tao's 王韜 life significant for a profile of early Chinese Protestants need be noted here.[6] The son of a teacher in Suzhou, Wang passed the first level civil service examinations. Upon the death of his father, financial troubles persuaded him to accept a position with Walter Henry Medhurst in Shanghai as Chinese editor of the LMS press. Though he converted in 1854 and participated in church activities for a while, his Christianity remained a private belief, not revealed in his published works, and he continued to advocate the validity of Confucian ethics. During 1862–73, he collaborated with Legge on his translation of the Chinese classics, but after Legge left to teach at Oxford University, Wang turned increasingly to publishing. Not only has Wang been considered the founder of modern Chinese journalism, but he was an influential essayist on Western technology and an advocate of political reform. The biographies of Dai and Wang help us understand the obstacles to conversion and the social costs of church membership.

The effectiveness of tract writing and distribution was often questioned by both missionaries and critics of missions. Reports of individuals who were initially attracted to Christianity through reading Protestant tracts, nevertheless, appear with some frequency. Often the individuals were already searching for guidance and solace after a series of misfortunes; some transferred from religious sects to Christianity or vice versa.[7] Hong Xiuquan, the Taiping leader, is the best known example of those drawn to Christian teachings through acquaintance

---

[6] See also, Wang Tao, *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, vol. 2 and Wong Man Kong, *James Legge*, pp. 114–126.

[7] Bays, "Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition" and "Christianity and Chinese Sects". Missionaries sometimes reported group conversion of sect members. Li Zhenggao transferred from Taiping Christianity to Protestant Christianity while Hong Ren'gan 洪仁玕 served as Protestant evangelist before becoming prime minister with the Taipings. See Hamberg, *Visions of Hung* on Hong Ren'gan; see also

with tracts.[8] Initially enthusiastic about the possibility that the Taipings might lead to Christianising all China, missionaries later cited Hong as an illustration of the dangers of tract distribution without adequate follow-up instruction and Western supervision.

An example of an individual who turned to Christianity after reading tracts but who became a devout evangelist was Che Jinguang (Ch'ëa Kam Kwong 車金光, c. 1800–61).[9] Che was in his fifties and a temple keeper at Boluo [Poklo] 博羅 in Huizhou 惠州 prefecture, Guangdong when he received a New Testament from a colporteur. Reading the Bible convinced him of the truth of the Christian message. He destroyed the family ancestral tablets and journeyed to Hong Kong where he was baptised after six weeks of instruction. Even though the Arrow War was in progress and anti-foreign sentiment was strong, Che returned to proselytise in Boluo. In 1860 a LMS missionary came to Boluo and baptised 44 candidates prepared by Che, while Legge baptised over a hundred the following year. Acceptance of the foreign religion by so many fed popular enmity, but even so, Legge decided to purchase a house in Boluo for a church centre. Local gentry immediately alleged prior claim to the building and occupied it. Only when Legge returned with a military escort did the local official transfer the deed to LMS. A few days after Legge departed leaving Che in charge, Che was tortured and killed.

Running through missionary reports was the lament that Chinese converts lacked a sense of sin and a heartfelt determination to lead a new life. And it is true that declarations by new converts were sometimes superficial and that they accepted Christianity for a variety of reasons: conviction that the Christian god was more powerful than local deities who had failed to bring relief, hope of curing opium addiction, a desire to please their foreign employers, and so forth. Yet, there are examples of individuals who gradually internalised their faith and who, as they fulfilled their role as preachers of the Gospel, became so deeply committed that there was no turning back. Two such men were

---

Pfister, *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man'*, Vol. II, passim, especially pp. 32–33, 42–44.

[8] Numerous studies of Hong exist, the most recent one in English being, Spence, *God's Chinese Son*.

[9] Pfister, "From the Golden Light"; Helen Legge, *James Legge*, pp. 102–121. As is typical of most biographies based on mission sources, little information on Che's life before conversion is available. In Mandarin transliteration, his name is also given as Che Jinjiang 車錦江.

He Jinshan 何進善, also known as Ho Fuk-tong 何福堂 (1822–71), and Zhang Fuxing 張復興 (1811–80).

The son of a woodblock carver with LMS in Malacca, He acceded to baptism to please his father.[10] After studying at Malacca Anglo-Chinese College and Bishop's College in Calcutta, He accompanied Legge to Hong Kong, where he collaborated with Legge on numerous translation projects and wrote commentaries on the gospels of Matthew and Mark. In 1846 he was ordained as pastor of the Union Chapel (Hop Yat Church 合一堂), and, despite being offered more remunerative positions, he declined in favour of serving the church. While pastor, however, he had invested in Hong Kong property under the name of Ho Fuk Tong and at his death, he left one of the largest Chinese estates to date. All of his sons were educated abroad and entered the professions or diplomatic service. Most famous of these was Sir He Qi [Ho Kai] 何啓 (1859–1914), who established Alice Memorial Hospital in memory of his wife. He was a member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council from 1890 to 1914 and helped found the Hong Kong College of Medicine.[11]

Chinese were primarily responsible for carrying the Gospel to interior China during the mid-nineteenth century so that we obtain only occasional glimpses of Christian converts beyond the treaty port environs. Zhang Fuxing (Tsang Fuk Ming) 張復興, a Hakka from Wuhua 五華, is portrayed in church commemorative histories and mission reports as the founder of the Hakka church.[12] He had failed in several business ventures before drifting to Hong Kong where he was introduced to Gützlaff and soon enrolled in the Chinese Union. Though his initial dedication to Christianity was questionable, he was ambitious and persuasive. Under the tutelage of Hamberg and Lechler, he found a new identity as a Christian evangelist and he quickly became one of Basel's most effective proselytisers. Assigned to his home district, where the Zhang lineage was powerful and numerous, he had, by the late 1850s, converted a core of fellow workers and gathered a Christian

---

[10] James Legge, "Sketch of the Life of Ho Tsun-sheen"; Pfister, "A Transmitter"; Smith, *Chinese Christians*, pp. 122–133, 160, 175, 178, 186; Cha, *Zhongguo jidujiao renwu*, pp. 9–13; Jian Youwen, *Zhongguo jidujiao di kaishan shiye*.

[11] Choa, *Life and Times of Sir Kai Ho Kai*; Smith, *Chinese Christians*, pp. 131, 158–160; Harrison, *Waiting for China*.

[12] *Xianggang Chongzhenhui*, pp 61–64; Zhang Daonin, "Jidujiao dui Wuhua shehui," in *Wuhua wenxian ziliao*, 2, pp. 129–144. For a biography, see Lutz, *Hakka Chinese*.

congregation of over two hundred. Lineage feuds, pauperisation, and social breakdown rendered the promise of salvation and protection by a powerful God attractive. Basel missionaries established a residence in the region only in the mid-1860s, but the Hakka heartland in northeast Guangdong ultimately became the major focus of the Basel mission.

Despite the insistence of mission boards that direct evangelism had priority, missionaries founded schools as a means of converting individuals and building congregations. However small a proportion of the total number of converts, the students who became Christians loom large among those Protestants who entered recorded history. Parochial education was an avenue to social mobility in the changing China of the treaty ports during the nineteenth century. A knowledge of the English language, an opportunity to study abroad, training in Western science, mathematics, and technology, and acquaintance with Westerners and their mores increasingly became assets. One consequence of the expanding secular opportunities, however, was that relatively few graduates entered the ministry and many ceased active church membership. Even for girls, education could lead to improvement in their lot. Girls' schools ordinarily began as small, informal classes taught by missionary wives and drawn from street beggars, orphans, and abandoned girls. Though the educational goals were modest, centring on the training of future Christian wives and mothers, marital prospects were improved. Most graduates married Christian teachers or pastors, merchants, or doctors; few became the wives of farmers, artisans, or petty traders. And some became Bible women or teachers in the mission schools.

Luo Xianglin illustrates social mobility via parochial schools in Hong Kong and Western Cultures and in his study of early converts based on Chinese genealogies. In 1846 three students from the Morrison Educational Society School were taken by Rev. Samuel Robbins Brown 勃朗 (1810–1880) to the United States for study. Huang Kuan 黃寬 [Wong Fun] (1829–78), graduated from Massachusetts Monson Academy to enter the University of Edinburgh, where he studied medicine and became the first Chinese to obtain a degree in Western medicine.[13] Except for a brief stint as medical advisor to Li Hongzhang, he practiced medicine in Canton and taught at the Canton Hospital

[13] Lo, *Hong Kong and Western Cultures*, p. 145, fn. 8; Smith, *Chinese Christians*, pp. 159–160, 175–176.

Medical School. The second student, Huang Sheng [Wong Shing] 黃勝 (d. 1902), served for twenty years as superintendent of the LMS press and later collaborated with Wang Tao in establishing the Chinese daily, *Xunhuan ribao* 循環日報 (Universal circulating herald).[14] He led the second Chinese Educational Commission to the United States and was interpreter for the Chinese legation in Washington. His son, an early follower of Sun Yat-sen, helped found the Hong Kong *Xingzhong hui* 興中會.

Best known of the three is Rong Hong (Yung Wing 容閎, 1828–1912), who had studied with Mrs. Mary Gützlaff before attending the Morrison school.[15] After graduating from Yale University in 1854, Yung had a varied career: a visit to the Taiping capital where he outlined a reform proposal, a commission from Li Hongzhang to purchase machinery for a machine shop which evolved into the Kiangnan Arsenal and School, and initiator and leader of the 1872 Chinese Educational Commission designed to train young Chinese abroad in science, technology, and law.[16] Though the educational project was disbanded in 1881 and the 120 recruits were not necessarily Christians, the students became a bridge group in cultural interaction between China and the West. Many found second-level positions in the new divisions of Chinese government dealing with foreign relations, railways, telegraphs, customs, industry, mining, and transport.

Once a small cluster of Chinese had converted, these Chinese recruited a high proportion of the "second generation" of Christians. Chinese assistants ordinarily made the initial converts, while missionaries and the few ordained Chinese provided further instruction and baptism. Chinese assistants proselytised among immediate family, close relatives including kin via marriage, and fellow lineage members. These were approachable despite the civil and moral breakdown,

---

[14] Chen Xuelin, "Huang Sheng"; Smith, *Chinese Christians*, pp. 23–29, 67–68, 122–123, 134–135, 147, 162, 192–193. Smith's information is drawn primarily from *CRep* and from the Legge collection at the Council for World Mission, Archives of London Missionary Society, London.

[15] Yung Wing, *My Life*; Lo, *Hong Kong and Western Cultures*, pp. 86–156 and "Zhongguo zupu suoji jidujiao zhi chuanbo"; La Fargue, *China's First Hundred*; La Fargue in *ECCP*, I, pp. 402–405; Li Zhigang, *Ronghong yu jindai Zhongguo*.

[16] Another Christian family, Zeng Laishun 曾來順, a.k.a. Zeng Hengzhong 曾恒忠 (known as Laisun in Western account), and his wife Ruth Ati, were part of the Chinese Education Mission. For details, see Edward J. M. Rhoads, "In the Shadow of Yung Wing: Zeng Laishun and the Chinese Educational Mission to the United States", *Pacific Historical Review* 74,1 (February 2005), pp. 19–58.

feuds, and community closure. Women and children thus began to be incorporated into Christian congregations even before many missionary women were working in the field. As the missionaries reiterated, Christian wives and mothers were crucial to establishing Christian families and socialising children into Christianity. Chinese women could contact women and children not readily accessible to male missionaries.

Frau Jiang (Ye Huangsha), widow of Chinese Union member and Lilang 李朗 evangelist, Jiang Jiaoren 江覺仁, confirms the missionaries' conviction of the importance of women to the life of the church.[17] Baptised with her three sons in 1851, Ye was a valuable convert because she could read Chinese characters and she quickly learned romanised Hakka. She was the key to the conversion of her relatives in Buji [Pukak] 布吉, Huizhou and she assisted Hamberg and Lechler in translating hymns and religious stories into romanised Hakka for use among woman. After the death of Jiang Jiaoren in 1853, she enrolled her three sons in the Basel mission school and affianced them to Christian girls in Mrs. Lechler's school. She also became the means by which the Basel mission acquired its first Lilang property, slated for use as Ye's residence and a girls' school where Ye was to teach. She, along with other Christian women, saved unwanted female infants and persuaded the Basel missionaries either to place them in the Berlin Foundling Home in Hong Kong or to subsidise care for them by the Christian women. She itinerated with Mr. and Mrs. Lechler on the mainland and in 1901 at the age of eighty-one, she participated in the fiftieth jubilee of the Lilang church. By then, emigration of Christian Hakka males had so depleted the Lilang congregation that elderly women were the mainstay of the church. Her second son, Jiang Falin was one the earliest Hakka to study at the Basel Institute and be ordained. During his highly successful career as an evangelist in northeast Guangdong, he translated eight books of the New Testament into Hakka Chinese and he often represented the views of Chinese Christians to Basel missionaries and the home board.

Recruitment along kinship lines, the incorporation of affinal relatives, and the frequency of intermarriage among Christians contributed to the formation of separable Christian communities. During the nineteenth century when converts frequently met persecution and

[17] Biography in Lutz, *Hakka Chinese*.

ostracism by lineage members and other non-Christians, the Christian support community performed many services normally provided by ancestral group, lineage village, or sect. The church was often a social centre as well as a place of worship; congregations set up poor funds, mediated disputes, and provided aid and company at marriages and funerals; in some ways, cemeteries substituted for ancestral halls. One consequence, of course, was disengagement from mainstream society and accusations that Christians had abandoned Chinese tradition and become subservient to foreigners.

Christian families were often the major source of Chinese ministers, Bible women, and teachers while family stability and parochial schools promoted social mobility. One example of a multi-generation Christian family is that of Ling Qilian (Ling Kai lin) 凌啓蓮, founder of the Chongqiantang (Shung Him church) 崇謙堂 in the New Territories. Nicole Constable has traced the Lin family history on the basis of interviews with relatives and family histories in Peng Lisan's manuscript on the village of Chongqiantang.[18] The family of Wang Yuanshen 王元深 offers another illustration.[19] Yuanshen, orphaned as a child and a failure in business, sought work in Hongkong. Here, he often stopped by a street chapel to listen Gospel to preaching and in 1847 he was baptised by Gützlaff. After apprenticeship with Gützlaff and the Rhenish missionaries Ferdinand Genähr 葉納清 (1822–1864) and Wilhelm Lobscheid 羅存德, (1822–1893) he served for thirty-three years as an evangelist in Hongkong and his home district, now known as Shenzhen. Both of his sons were Protestant ministers, Qianru 王謙如 being one of the first to be ordained by the Rhenish mission and Yuchu (Yuk Cho 王煜初) becoming head of the Berlin Foundling Home in Hong Kong. Yuchu also was an advocate of *mui-tsai* (or *mooi-jai* 妹仔) reform and a close associate of Sun Yat-sen. Among Yuanshen's grandsons was Wang Chonghui 王寵惠, an international jurist and prominent official during the Republic.[20]

---

[18] Constable, *Christian Souls*, pp. 50–53, 67,172–174; Peng Lesan, *Xianggang Xinjie Longyuetou Chongqiantang*.

[19] Zha, *Zhongguo jidujiao renwu*, pp. 5–8, 39–43; Luo Xianglin, "Zhongguo zupu suoji jidujiao zhi chuanbo"; Alfred Bonn, *Ein Jahrhundert Rheinische Mission*, pp. 262–269; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3, pp. 376–378; Bentley, *Illustrious Chinese Christians*, pp. 32–35.

[20] On Wang Chonghui see also Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary* III, pp. 376–378.

Reconstruction of the lives of early Chinese Protestants presents many challenges and is possible for only a small proportion of the converts, most of whom represent success stories. The sources, whether family genealogies and histories, church periodicals, or missionary reports have their own agenda. Nevertheless, the studies currently available provide valuable insights into the attractions of Christianity for certain individuals and the obstacles to a public declaration of belief. Minimal but tantalising information has been obtained on the appeals of Chinese evangelists to their compatriots and the converts' interpretation of their faith. Despite the difficulties, more can be done, and it is encouraging that both Chinese and Western scholars have recognised that research on early Chinese Christians and the Chinese church is essential for understanding Christianity as an international religion.

Bibliography

Bays, Daniel H., "Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition", *CSWT* 4 (June 1982), pp. 33–55.

Bays, Daniel H., "Christianity and Chinese Sects: Religious Tracts in Late Nineteenth Century China," in Suzanne Barnett & John Fairbank, *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985, pp. 121–34.

Bentley, William Preston, *Illustrious Chinese Christians: Biographical Sketches*, Cincinnati, Ohio: The Standard publishing company, 1906.

Boardman, Eugene P., *Christian Influence upon the Ideology of the Taiping Rebellion, 1851–1864*, Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952.

Bohr, P. Richard, "Liang Fa's Quest for Moral Power," in Barnett and Fairbank, *Early Protestant Writings*, pp. 35–46.

Bohr, P. Richard, "The Politics of Eschatology: Hung Hsiu-ch'uan and the Rise of the Taipings, 1837–1853," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1978.

Bonn, Alfred, *Ein Jahrhundert Rheinische Mission*, Barmen: Verlag des Missionhauses, 1928.

Boorman, Howard L., ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 5 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974.

Chen Xuelin 陳學霖, "Huang Sheng: Xianggang Huaren tichang yangwu shiye zhi xianqu" 黃勝: 香港華人提倡洋務實業之先驅 (Wong Shing: Pioneer among Hongkong Chinese in promoting Western enterprises), *Chongji xuebao* 崇基學報 (Chung Chi journal), 3 (May 1964), pp. 226–231.

Cohen, Paul A., *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang T'ao and Reform in Late Ch'ing China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Choa, G. H., *The Life and Times of Sir Kai Ho Kai*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1981.

Constable, Nicole, *Christian Souls and Chinese Spirits. A Hakka Community in Hong Kong*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Hamberg, Theodor, *The Visions of Hung-siu tshuen and Origins of the Kwang-si Insurrection*, Hong Kong, 1854, reprint, Beijing, 1935.

Harrison, Brian, *Waiting for China: The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, 1818–1843 and Early Nineteenth Century Christians*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1979.

He Jinshan 何進善, *Shi jie quanshi* 十誡詮釋 (Annotations to the Ten Commandments), London, India Office Records, British Library, cat. # 15118.6.8.

Jian (Jen) Youwen 簡又文, *Zhongguo jidujiao di kaishan shiye* 中國基督教的開山事業 (Pioneers of Chinese Christianity), Hong Kong: Council on Christian Literature for Overseas Chinese, 1968.

Jian (Jen) Youwen 簡又文, *Taiping tianguo quanshi* 太平天國全史 (Complete history of the Taiping heavenly kingdom), 3 vols., Hong Kong: Jian's Mengjin Studio, 1962. Condensed English version, The Taiping Revolutionary Movement, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.

Jiaohui xinbao 教會新報 (Church news), Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1868–1874, reprint, ed. Lin Lezhe 林樂知 (Young John Allen), Taipei: Jinghua Press, 1968.

Jidujiao Xianggang Chongzhanhui shilüe 基督教香港崇眞會史略 (History of the Christian Tsung Tsin mission, Hong Kong), Hong Kong: Tsung Tsin Mission, 1974.

Klein, Thoralf, Die Basler Mission in Guangdong (Südschina) 1859–1931, Munich: IUDICIUM Verlag, 2002.

La Fargue, Thomas E., *China's First Hundred*, Pullman: State College of Washington, 1942. Reprinted as *China's First Hundred: Educational Mission Students in the United States, 1872–1881*, with an introduction by Thomas L. Kennedy, Pullman, Wash.: Washington State University Press, 1987.

Lee Chi-fang, "Wang T'ao (1828–1897): His Life, Thought, Scholarship, and Literary Achievement," Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1992.

Legge, Helen E., *James Legge: Missionary and Scholar*, London: Religious Tract Society, 1905.

Legge, James, "Sketch of the Life of Ho Tsun-sheen," SOAS/CWM/Personal/ Legge/ Box 7.

Li Zhigang (Lee Chih-kong) 李志剛, *Jidujiao zaoqi zai Hua chuanjiao shi* 基督教早期在華傳教史 (History of the propagation of religion in China during Christianity's early period), Taipei: Zheng zhong, 1981.

Li Zhigang (Lee Chih-kong) 李志剛, *Rong Hong yu jindai Zhongguo* 容閎與近代中國 (Yung Wing and Modern China), Taipei: Zhengzhong, 1981.

Liang Afa 梁阿發, *Quanshi liangyan* 勸世良言 (Good words for exhorting an age), Canton, 1832, reprint, Taiwan: Xuesheng shujin, 1965.

Lo Hsiang-lin [Luo Xianglin 羅香林], *Hong Kong and Western Cultures*, Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies ; Honolulu : East West Center Press, 1963.

Luo Xianglin 羅香林, *Xianggang yu Zhong-Xi wenhua zhi jiaoliu* 香港與中西文化之交流 (The role of Hong Kong in cultural exchange between China and the West), Hong Kong, 1961; English ed., Hong Kong and Western Cultures, Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1963.

Luo Xianglin 羅香林, "Zhongguo zupu suoji Jidujiao zhi chuanbo yu xin dai Zhongguo zhi guanxi" ("The spread of the Christian faith and its influence on the course of the history of modern China, as seen in Chinese genealogical records"), *Journal of Oriental Studies*, 7 (January 1969), pp. 1–22.

Liu Yuesheng 劉粵聲 (comp.), *Xianggang Jidujiao hui shi* 香港基督教會史 (A history of the Hong Kong Christian church), Hong Kong: Xianggang Jidu jiao lian hui, 1941. A second edition: Hong Kong: Xianggang Jinxinjiao hui, 1996.

Lutz, Jessie G., "The Signification of Protestant Christianity: Nineteenth-Century Beginnings", in Tao Feiya 陶飛亞 and Philip Yuen-Sang Leung 梁元生 (eds.), *Dong-Ya Jidujiao zaiquanyi* 東亞基督教再詮譯 (Reinterpreting the East Asian Christianity), (Studies in Religion and Chinese Society, 9.), Hongkong: Centre for

the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2004), pp. 225–265.
Lutz, Jessie G. and Rolland Ray, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850–1900*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997.
Lutz, Jessie G. and Rolland Ray, "The Invisible China Missionaries: The Basel Mission's Chinese Evangelists, 1847–1866," *Mission Studies*, 12 (October 1995), pp. 204–227.
McAleavy, Henry, Wang T'ao, *The Life and Writings of a Displaced Person*, London: The China Society, 1953.
McNeur, George H., *China's First Preacher, Liang A-fa, 1789–1855*, Shanghai, 1934.
Pakenham-Walsh, W. S., *Some Typical Christians of South China*, London, 1905.
Peng Lesan (Pang Lok Sam) 彭樂三, *Xianggang Xinjie Longyuetou Chongqiantang cunzhi* 香港新界龍躍頭崇謙堂村誌 (History of Chongqiantang, Longyuetou, New Territories, Hong Kong), Mimeo. Ms., 1934, Hong Kong University Library.
Pfister, Lauren, "From the Golden Light within: Reconsideration of James Legge's Account of Ch'ëa Kam Kwong, the Chinese Protestant 'Proto-Martyr'," Paper presented at the International Conference on James Legge, Aberdeen, April 1997.
Pfister, Lauren, "The Proto-martyr of Chinese [P]rotestants: Reconstructing the Story of Ch'ëa Kam-Kwong", *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 42 (2002/2003), pp. 187–244.
Pfister, Lauren F., *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man': James Legge and the Scottish Protestant Encounter with China. Assessing Confluences in Scottish Nonconformism, Chinese Missionary Scholarship, Victorian Sinology, and Chinese Protestantism*. Scottish Studies International, Publications of the Scottish Studies Centre of the Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz in Germersheim, Vol. 34, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004. 2 vols.
Pfister, Lauren, "A Transmitter but not a Creator: the Creative Transmission of Protestant Biblical Traditions by Ho Tsun-sheen (1817–1871)", in Irene Eber, Sze-Kar Wan, Knut Walf and Roman Malek (eds.), *Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact*, Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999, pp. 165–197.
Seton, Rosemary, and Emily Naish (comps.), *A Preliminary Guide to the Archives of British Missionary Societies*, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1992.
Smith, Carl T., *Chinese Christians. Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1985.
So Kwan-wai and Eugene P. Boardman, "Hung Jen-kan, Taiping Prime Minister, 1859–1864," *HJAS*, 20 (June 1957), pp. 262–294.
Spence, Jonathan, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1996.
Wang Tao 王韜, *Taoyuan wenlu waibian* 弢園文錄外編 (Additional essays of Wang Tao), 10 juan. Hong Kong, 1883, reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua Bookstore, 1959.
Wanguo gongbao 萬國公報 (The Chinese Globe Magazine), Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1874–1883.
Wong Man Kong, *James Legge. A Pioneer at Crossroads of East and West*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Educational Publishing Co., 1996.
Wu, Xiaoxin (ed.), *Christianity in China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*, second edition, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 2009.
Wuhua xiangshe shu lin (Collection of Wuhua local data), Taipei: Nanchiang, 1973.
Xianggang Chongzhenhui lihui yibaisishi zhounian jinnian tekan, 1847–1987 香港崇眞會立會一百四十周年紀代念特刊: 1847–1987 (Hong Kong Tsung Tsin Mission 140th anniversary special publication, 1847–1987), Hong Kong: Tsung Tsin Mission, 1987.

Xin Ping 忻平, *Wang Tao Pingchuan* 王韜評傳 (A critical biography of Wang Tao), Shanghai: Huadong Normal University Press, 1990.
Yung Wing, *My Life in China and America*, New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1957.
Zha, James Shijie 查時傑, *Zhongguo Jidujiao renwu xiao zhuan* 中國基督教人物小傳 (Concise biographies of important Chinese Christians), Taibei: Zhonghua fuyin shenxueyuan chuban (China Evangelical Seminary Press), 1983– .
Zhang Daonin, "Jidujiao dui Wuhua shehui," *Wuhua wenxian ziliao* 五華文獻資料, 2, pp. 129–144.

2.5.2. *Chinese Protestants, 1860–1900*

David Cheung (Chen Yiqiang 陳貽強)

Specific groups

In the 1860–1900 period, Protestantism in China experienced its first prolonged and sizeable expansion. This was reflected in the quantitative increase in church membership, mission stations, outstations, organised congregations, educational and medical institutions as well as the size of the workforce.[1] The religious toleration provided by the treaties of Tianjin (1858), the Beijing conventions (1860) and the Chefoo convention (1876) hastened the professionalization of Chinese workers. These were variously called helpers, workers, labourers, staff or agents. Subgroups included (ordained) pastors (male), evangelists or preachers (sometimes, assistant preachers) or catechists, colporteurs, school teachers, Bible women and general assistants or helpers (sometimes called 'other assistants'). With no common standard, the classification of Chinese workers was a fluid matter varying across time, geography, local situations and denominational distinctiveness.

Pastors

From the workers the most promising men were singled out to qualify for pastoral ordination. Since his primary work was to oversee a congregation, the pastor was expected to have advanced training and spiritual experience. In their field supervision the missionaries visited the preachers in the out-stations more, for it was thought the pastors can manage alone better. While 'preacher' commonly meant an unordained person, it appears that some were ordained though not put in charge of an organised church.[2] At the same time, manpower shortage and personal accomplishments could lead to the appointment of an unordained preacher as the virtual pastor of a church.

---

[1] See Cheung, "Growth", chapters 1–2.

[2] *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China* (1877) listed some 73 "ordained preachers and pastors" (p. 486).

Beside preaching and teaching, pastoral work involved home visitation, counselling, holding the Sunday service and prayer meeting as well as organising other church activities. Also there was the instruction and examination of baptismal candidates as well as the administration of baptism and the Holy Communion. Where there were subordinate workers, the pastor was responsible for their orchestration and supervision as well as training and instruction. When his jurisdiction extended beyond his place of residence or if some outstation required his aid, some itineration became necessary. There was also the reception of inquirers and public evangelistic outreach. As the chief church officer, he offered regular reports on the state of his work to his mission superiors and was held responsible for both successes and failures. In addition, it was not uncommon for pastors to be assigned such work as teaching in the mission school or assisting in the training of other agents.

As numerical and geographical growth increased the personal distance between the itinerant missionary-supervisor and the Christian communities, it was the resident pastor who made sure that the gains were not only preserved but multiplied. Unlike the missionary whose station was assigned by a society operating almost certainly in more than one province, many pastors were 'sons' of their work-fields and more prone to a longer ministry in the same locality. This prolonged local leadership ensured the stability beneficial to such a voluntary association as a Christian congregation, especially in an Oriental society wherein personal relationships were often more important than doctrinal comprehension.

Preachers—evangelists—catechists

The nature of their work demanded of preachers higher religious qualifications which new converts could not meet. Often these men also came with some level of education. Basically involved with evangelisation and Christian instruction, they usually had some primary training, with Bible and catechetical knowledge as the chief component. Like pastors and Bible women, they normally received further training even as they continued in their work. Generally reckoned as the best trained workers next to the pastors, they were the preferred caretakers of the outstations. Aside from employed preachers, there were the volunteers. Non-salaried preachers were active mainly as a result of voluntary action, pressing needs, the missionary's recruitment of

observed talent or some combination of these. The most able volunteers were often recruited into fulltime religious work. In some places the work of the preachers and pastors was shared by salaried elders.

Before 1860 the missionaries were virtually dependent on Chinese agents for the work in the interior. Even when the missionaries began to travel extensively, the growth of the work resulted in their itineration becoming less and less concerned with non-Christian society and more and more with supervising and instructing the workers as well as visiting and encouraging the local believers. Consequently evangelistic preaching in the streets, chapel and hospital was still done mostly by Chinese agents. Unlike the missionaries, native preachers offered less offense to Chinese cultural pride. Their linguistic facility and better knowledge of the audience facilitated clearer understanding on the part of hearers. There were also numerically more of them to reach the rural areas where receptivity to Christianity was generally much better. Yet the chief discouragement of the evangelist was his frequent inability to hold for long the attention of the people. Since Chinese religious sects did not normally practice open preaching, this Christian exercise was effective at capturing initial interest. Frequently the presence of the missionary, being an object of Chinese curiosity, supplemented this lack. Nevertheless the preachers were the primary agents reaching those whom literature alone could not, on account of supply shortage, illiteracy or other reasons.

Bible women

Whereas girls' schools were able to reach young girls, it was the female missionaries and Bible women who worked among women. As female church attendance increased, 'women work' assumed its own shape. Between the two General Conferences of 1877 and 1890, the number of Bible women doubled from 90 to 180. In the early years the girls' mission schools were the chief suppliers of Bible women. In 1874 the first training school for Bible women was started by the Swatow Baptist mission. By 1903 there were at least 20 such institutions. By no means were the amount and quality of training supplied the Bible women uniform. The variation ranged from brief informal training to the full four-year course. Since missionary wives generally learned very little Chinese, their single female colleagues did more missionary work including the training and supervision of Bible women. Alongside the latter were those doing occasional work. The wives or widows of

Chinese pastors and preachers also did their share in church, educational and training work.

Regarding the personal characteristics of the Bible woman, customary propriety required that she be middle-aged and of unquestioned character. Many of them were either married to or widows of pastors and preachers. Being a reader, the Bible woman was at once the object of missionary pride and Chinese curiosity. During home visitations, she did personal evangelisation, taught women to read (normally using religious texts) and attended to the ill and needy. At the women's church meetings and station classes, she played the central role although sometimes together with some female missionaries. Where a competent male was absent, preaching became her responsibility. Some Bible women were also deployed in mission hospitals, dispensaries and opium refuges. In the pioneer work among rural women, they were often the front-liners, being most appreciated in those outstations under the care of an unmarried preacher.[3]

Educational and medical workers

For physical maintenance and general services within the educational and medical institutions, ordinary helpers were employed. Compelled by circumstances the early mission schools settled for non-Christian teachers. Owing to the traditional non-education of women, the first teachers were mostly men (including in girls' schools). Even in later times, females were constantly in short supply. Fortunately many women missionaries were engaged in classroom teaching. Eventually however Christian teachers increased in number. By 1893, there were three times as many Chinese teachers as missionary teachers. Missionary dependence on the Chinese increased with the rise in enrolment. As more and more Christian families sent their children, growing openness to Western learning also brought more non-Christian applicants. Considering the xenophobia and anti-foreignism of the times, the very presence and personal persuasion of Chinese teachers convinced many an undecided parent to send his/her child to the mission school.

[3] On Chinese Bible women, see also Valerie Griffith, "Biblewomen from London to China: The Transnational Appropriation of a Female Mission Idea", *Women's History Review* 17, 4 (September 2008), pp. 521–541.

In hospitals and dispensaries, trained Chinese medical personnel worked alongside hospital evangelists and colporteurs. As medical student-assistants or full physicians, the Chinese aided the expansion of medical missionary work. Unfortunately this was limited by missionary reservation about the use of Chinese assistants as well as the lack of qualified Chinese doctors. Clearly the greater Chinese contribution was in the religious dimension of medical work. Dependence on the preacher was more pronounced for the medical missionary who was compelled to leave the bulk of 'talking religion' to others. Consequently the hospital evangelists were the only fully dedicated agents winning converts among the patients.

Writers

From the start, missionaries were dependent on Chinese teacher-assistants for understanding a Chinese text, translating a foreign text or composing in Chinese. The translation of the Bible had never been done without Chinese assistance. The same holds true for the production of all other 'missionary-authored' literature whether religious or secular.[4] Missionary dependence became acute when the rendering was in *wenli* 文理 style.[5] Chinese input enhanced translational accuracy and literary artistry, both needful to win reader respect. Beyond these, an assistant may sometimes be asked to finish up a writing project started by the missionary (!).

Writings by Chinese Christians were not lacking. In the 1880s, eighteen apologetic essays were written responding to Loh Kwan's anti-Christian article.[6] During the initial years of *Jiaohui xinbao* 教會新報 (from 1868), Chinese believers constituted the largest group of contributors. Among the prolific ones were Zhang Ding 張鼎 (penname Zhifeizi 知非子; LMS), Zheng Yuren 鄭雨人 (Baptist), Chipingsou 持平叟 (pseud.; Southern Methodist), Zhu Xingzhou 朱杏舟 (Muyizi; Presbyterian), Xie Xi'en 謝錫恩 (Wuzhenzi; Methodist), Huang Pinsan

[4] In 1893 there were 254 'writers or periodical teachers' (*China Mission Hand-book*, 1896, p. 325).

[5] Griffith John remarked in 1875: "Chinese *composition* appears to be beyond our reach…When [missionaries] want to publish, they convey to the pundit the substance *viva voce*, which he puts into good, idiomatic Chinese" (emphasis in the original). R. W. Thompson, *Griffith John* (1907), p. 330. For a definition of '*wenli*', see Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, p. 161 footnote 3.

[6] See *CR* (1884), pp. 455–468.

黃品三 (Southern Baptist), Huang Yunsun 黃筠孫 (Presbyterian), Liang Zhuchen (LMS), Liu Changxing (LMS), Bao Zhecai (Bao Huafu 鮑華甫, Presbyterian), Shen Zixing (LMS) and Yang Xiucheng 楊修誠 (Yang Lingzhao, Quanweizi; Presbyterian). Also, a female contributor offered a biographical sketch of a lady missionary.[7] Eventually the secularisation of the magazine attracted more and more non-Christian writers. Beginning around 1871, the agenda broadened from mainly church news to mostly foreign and domestic news.

In 1874 the journal's title was changed to *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報 (*Globe Magazine*). New contributors included Yang Jiantang 楊鑑堂. (LMS), Zhou Shungui 周順規 (Baptist), Chen Xingu 陳心穀 (Southern Methodist), Li Runchi (Wesleyan) and others. Thus from 1860 to 1900, one finds a good amount of short writings plus the book-length works of He Jinshan 何進善. What hindered Chinese Christian literary output was not mainly educational deficit but their heavy work load which allowed little time for such endeavours. Without an indigenous infrastructure, Chinese writers were placed at the 'generosity' of the missionary publishing establishment. More fundamentally, the follower mentality of the Chinese created a general passivity that lasted until the anti-Christian movements after 1919 provoked the production of a substantial body of apologetic writings.

Colporteurs

The colporteur may be likened to the door-to-door salesman before the advent of today's mass advertisement machinery. For the product (literature) from the factory (missionary press) to reach the end-consumer (Chinese public), he was the indispensable marketing arm. In 1877 the missions were employing some 76 colporteurs. By 1893 they numbered 532, a good portion being connected with Bible societies. Colportage was always a part of pioneering work. Often the field reports of colporteurs served as the first (if not only) signal that a locality was ready for an out-station. The physical delivery of Christian literature to the *literati* class was critical since they were less accessible via preaching.

Even when his primary work was to distribute tracts and sell Bibles and other literature, it was not uncommon for the colporteur to dou-

[7] *Wanguo gongbao* (19 July 1873), p. 317b.

ble as the missionary's tour-guide or even as preacher. As a group, however, the colporteurs had 'limited ability to introduce the (Bible) to the people' thus prompting John L. Nevius and Calvin Wilson Mateer to follow Alexander Williamson's proposal at the 1890 General Conference to include explanatory notes on printed Bibles. When no evangelist was available, the colporteur might serve as the caretaker of an outstation. It appears that many of them were not all the time doing their primary task. For instance, the 27 'colporteurs and chapel keepers' of China Inland Mission were alternately called the 27 'colporteurs'.[8] Likewise the British and Foreign Bible Society distinguished those "in constant employ" from others.[9]

General assistants or helpers

Among the groups of workers in the 1893 statistics, there was a separate male category labelled 'other assistants', then being 95 in number. Their duty involved a wide range of miscellaneous tasks, mostly of a mundane nature, e.g. chapel-keeping, tour-guiding, burden-bearing. The American Board's training school in Fuzhou reported that some boys were employed simultaneously as 'helpers' while their better classmates sat to "receive instruction with a view to their greater usefulness as teachers, preachers, and pastors".[10] That the terms 'helper' and 'assistant' had a wider and a narrower sense was revealed when the American Board's North China Mission (1870s) further divided their nine reported native helpers into six 'catechists' and three 'helpers'. For convenience, we may call the latter 'general assistants/helpers'.

Many first-time mission-employed Chinese started out as general helpers. The nature of their work required neither particular skills nor specific level of education. The prime qualities sought were faithfulness, trustworthiness and diligence. Occasionally general assistants also engaged in evangelistic work such as colportage and tract-distribution. In contrast to pastors, preachers, teachers and Bible women, their 'religious' work was mainly non-verbal or non-instructive in nature. Yet in as much as they did these, they contributed to the expansion of the Protestant movement. But then even their secular work was valuable

[8] *China's Millions* (1875–1876), p. 134.
[9] W. Canton, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (1904–1910), Vol. 5, p. 190.
[10] S. C. Bartlett, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the American Board* (1876), p. 22.

in freeing the missionaries, pastors or preachers for expansion-related efforts.

Well-known Chinese Protestants

Born in Guangdong, He Futang 何福堂 (1817–1871; a.k.a. He Runyang 何潤養) arrived in Malacca in 1837–1838 to join his father, a printer at the London Missionary Society press. At the Anglo-Chinese College, he accepted baptism to please his father and was given the name Jinshan 進善 ('advance in goodness'; in the contemporary literature his full name is usually Romanised as Ho Tsun-sheen). A personal conversion experience (1839) was followed by a period of schooling under James Legge (1840–1843) during which Jinshan achieved fluency in English and in reading Greek and Hebrew. With Legge's editorial assistance, he produced a two-volume translation of a Chinese novel (1843). Following Legge to Hong Kong, he continued as an LMS preacher, refusing other high-paying employments. On 11 October 1846[11] Jinshan was ordained to become the second Chinese LMS pastor. At Legge's persistence, he began an ambitious project of writing a commentary on the New Testament but completed only the Gospels of Matthew and Mark (1868–1870). Previously a commentary on the Ten Commandments was also produced. In 1870 Jinshan suffered a mild stroke and soon resigned from church duties. After returning to Canton, 'the first modern Chinese theologian' fell ill again and died on 3rd April 1871.[12] *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 2.5.1. Early Chinese Protestants)*

When Confucian scholar Xi Zizhi 席子直 (1835–1896) won three of the four prizes in the essay competition in Shanxi in 1879, he found himself Chinese teacher to David Hill. During his stay with the missionary, Xi converted to Protestantism, overcame his opium addiction and adopted the name Shengmo 勝魔 ('overcomer of demons'). Called forth to help out the work at another hamlet, his preaching and miraculous healings brought about impressive results. In 1881 his medical skills helped to open the Fuyin Tang at Teng-ts'uen. When a convert from the Fan-ts'uen opium refuge came for medical supply,

[11] S. C. Bartlett, p. 22.

[12] The most detailed and complete reconstruction of He Jinshan's life is found in Lauren F. Pfister, *'The Whole Duty of Man'*.

Xi compounded a new drug which proved both inexpensive and effective. Soon a total of ten or twelve refuges were put up. In 1886 Xi was ordained as the superintendent-pastor of three China Inland Mission districts. Afterwards some twenty-one new refuges were spread over three provinces. His wife became superintendent over the women's opium refuges. At the missionaries' request, Xi wrote a brief autobiography which however was never published. The many hymns he wrote were still being sung in the 1920s.[13] In his lifetime work, Xi recorded some 700 baptisms, dozens of opium refuges and mission stations over a 100-mile span and the raising up of four elders and fifteen or twenty lay supervisors.[14]

The strong-willed and autocratic Ren Chengyuan 任檉園 (1852–1929; Nying Ts-Kying) of Hangzhou was the pastor of the first self-supporting church of China Inland Mission. On his first visit to the CIM chapel in his native Suzhou, he was contracted by Henry Cordon as interim language teacher. After serving as mission helper, Ren Ziqing was baptised on 19 December 1869. At his ordination in Hangzhou (1877), he adopted the name Naicheng 柰檉 (Tamarisk) which later became Chengyuan 檉園 (1921). A hearty practitioner of the 'Nevius method', Ren was basically friendly toward foreigners. Surviving unharmed through the Boxer year, Ren played a key role in the establishment of several chapels and out-stations. As overseer of the Hangzhou church, he was the CIM representative to the first conference of Zhejiang missions (1907) where he served as vice-chairman, the highest position occupied by a Chinese. An influential figure in the Hangzhou pastoral association, he was as an authority on matters affecting property and affairs requiring intercourse with government officials or local leaders.

Having studied the Chinese classics in his youth, Li Zhenggao 李正高 (1823–1885)[15] the Hakka farmer from Guangdong served as school teacher in his home village. At 20 he married and later fathered four

---

[13] See e.g. Taylor, *Pastor Hsi* (1903), pp. 269–270, 284–286; Mrs. Howard Taylor, *The Call of China's Great North-west* (1923) pp. 126–127; *The Little Honan Hymnbook* (early 1900s); French, *The Songs of Pastor Hsi*.

[14] For a more critical assessment of Pastor Xi, see Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832–1905*, (2007).

[15] For a detailed biographical sketch by his son, see Jessie G. Lutz and Rolland Ray Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity*, chapter 9: "The Life of the Departed Deacon Li Zhenggao [Li Tschin-Kau], 1823–1885, by Li Chengen [Li Shin-en], 1885".

sons and two daughters.[16] His Taiping connection resulted in his flight to Macao and eventual settlement in Hongkong. Coming into contact with Theodor Hamberg and Rudolf Lechler, he received rebaptism, being earlier baptised by Hong Xiuquan. As the chief assistant of Lechler (Basel), Li performed various duties including supervising congregations outside Hong Kong. His work in ex-Taiping localities was instrumental in the establishment of many Hakka congregations. Two sons and one daughter also worked as Basel ministers and school teacher. His fourth son, Li Cheng'en 李承恩 was catechist at Sai Ying Pun 西營盤 on Hongkong Island (1883–1888) before migrating to Sabah and founding a Hakka church there. Also worth mentioning are the other Basel-connected Hakkas such as Jiang Falin, Huang Weishi, Xu Fuguang 徐復光, Zhang Yunfa 張芸發 and others.

The talented but controversial Wu Cunzhao (Southern Baptist) was the first ordained Chinese in Shandong (1870) when he became pastor of the North Street Church (Dengzhou). Wu also contributed several articles to the *Jiaohui xinbao*. His impressive qualifications were somewhat muted by Jesse Boardman Hartwell's 海雅西 (1835–1912) hurrying of the ordination mainly to prevent his colleague and rival Tarleton Perry Crawford 高第丕 a.k.a. 高樂福 and 高泰培 (1821–1902) from 'taking over' his congregation. Wu's clerical career ended in failure when he closed down the North Street church (1877) and became a Buddhist.

Of Daoist background, Huang Pinsan 黃品三 (1823–1890; Huang Xin 黃鑫) of Jiangsu was teaching at Martha Crawford's girls school when he converted and received baptism in 1855. Joining the Old North Gate First Baptist Church (Shanghai), he became a deacon, ably assisting T. P. Crawford and later Matthew Tyson Yates 晏馬太 (1819–1888). Ordained in 1870, the first Chinese Southern Baptist pastor in Shanghai was a prolific contributor to *Jiaohui xinbao* and *Wanguo gongbao*.

Born in Shanghai of a poor family, Yuan Yongjing 顏永京 (1838–1898) received free schooling with the Episcopalians. Between 1854 and 1861 he studied at Kenyon College (Ohio), finishing at the top of the class and was probably the first Chinese member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. Back in China, financial pressures forced him into secular jobs (1862–1870) though he was also doing lay church work and

[16] Constable, *Christian Souls and Chinese Spirits*, p. 166. *Contra* Smith, p. 227.

studying theology. After his ordination he founded the Bishop Boone School (later, College) in Wuhan and also helped found the St. John's School (later, University) in Shanghai. From 1887 until his death, he devoted himself to fulltime pastoral ministry and campaigned actively for the anti-opium and anti-footbinding movements.

Wang Yuchu[17] 王煜初 (1843–1902) of Guangdong was the eldest son of Wang Yuanshen *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 2.5.1. Early Chinese Protestants)*. His education and work as an evangelist was constantly disrupted by a recurring lung illness. After serving with the Rhenish Mission (1866–1869 and from 1874), he was ordained while teaching at the girls' orphanage in Hongkong. During his pastorate at the To Tsai Church (*Daoji huitang* 道濟會堂), Sun Yatsen heard his sermons and was possibly influenced by his social emphasis. Known as the 'pastor of social concern', he started the Anti-opium Society in 1875. His literary lobbying among the German churches on behalf of blind Chinese girls led to the mobilisation of more German women missionaries as well as the establishment of the blind girls' school in Kowloon 九龍. The top finisher of the class of 1866 at Ferdinand Genähr's 葉納清 (1822–1864) training school for evangelists, Wang was also a frequent writer for Y. J. Allen's magazines. Especially known was his sixteen-article series on *xiaodao* 孝道 in the 1870s.

Wang Jiude 王求德 served as evangelist of the American Methodist Episcopal mission before joining the Church Missionary Society as a catechist in 1862. After being a senior catechist and then a deacon he was ordained the first Chinese CMS clergyman in 1871. Qing Youzhen was the first pastor of the Zhongjia chapel. Ordained in 1873, he served with the Baptist Missionary Society for more than 50 years, baptising more than 200 converts. Timothy Richard said of this his first Chinese assistant that he was "equal to any two or three average foreign missionaries".[18] Hu Endi (d. 1881) was the first member of Methodist New Connexion Mission in Tianjin as well as its first worker. In 1866 he was sent to Zhujiazhai 朱家寨 (Shandong) as resident preacher. His 25-year service practically ended with his ordination in 1880, less than one year after which he passed away.

---

[17] Yuchu 煜初 was the *hao* 号 name; *ming* (名), Zhanhui 沾輝; *zi* (字), Bingyao 炳耀. On Wang Yuchu and his brother Wang Bingkun 王炳堃, a.k.a. Wang Qianru 王謙如 (1846–1907), see also Timothy Man-Kong Wong 黃文江, "The Rendering of God in Chinese by the Chinese", pp. 607–608.

[18] W. E. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China* (1924), p. 99.

Recognised as "the foremost pastor" of the American Reformed mission in the nineteenth century, Ye Hanzhang 葉漢章 (Iap Hancheong; ordained 1863) was in charge of the Zhushujiao 竹樹腳 (Tek-chhiu-kha) church in Amoy (1863–1884) before moving to the Xiaoxi 小溪 (Sio-khe) church. Chu Shao Ngan (1836–1899), the 'first Protestant convert in central China', was also the first ordained Chinese pastor of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Lo Yu Shan (1862–1903; WMMS) graduated from convert to colporteur to preacher and finally to pastor, being best remembered for his work in Changsha. Chen Mengnan 陳夢南 (1840–1882) established the Chinese Evangelistic Association in Guangzhou-Zhaoqing in Eastern Guangdong (*Yuedong Guang-Zhao Huaren xuandaohui* 奧東廣肇華人宣道會) and founded the *Huaren xuandao tang* 華人宣道堂 in 1872, with the financial support of Zhaoqing Chinese returning from America. It was the first independent Chinese Church which eventually grew to include forty or more churches.

The colporteur-evangelist Zheng (Chang) Mao (b.1851) of Fujian served as deacon (from 1882), elder (from 1889) and then preacher at the Quanzhou mission hospital (from 1892). Out of zeal and dedication to his work, he remained unmarried until he died sometime after 1894. Qu Fengchi 區鳳墀 (1847–1914)[19] studied the Gospel commentaries of He Jinshan and became one of the first baptised LMS members at Foshan. In Hongkong he helped in Bible translation and annotation before becoming the overseer of the Wanchai church (1872). When Sun Yatsen arrived in 1883, Qu taught him about Christianity and gave him the *hao*-name Yatsen 逸仙. Following the unsuccessful Guangzhou uprising (1895), both men fled to Hong Kong where Qu served as an elder at the To Tsai Church (LMS) until his death.

The carpenter Wen Qingxi 溫清溪 (1813–1915; Wen Jincong 溫金聰) migrated from Guangdong to Hongkong (1854) and became a successful businessman. Baptised in 1864, he was an active LMS deacon and an ardent proponent of using English-language classes to conduct mission work. His daughter-in-law was sister to the mother of Song Qingling 宋慶齡, the second wife of Sun Yatsen. An alumnus of the Morrison Educational Society, Rong Hong [Yung Wing] 容閎 (1828–

[19] Fengchi 鳳墀 was the *hao* 号 name; first name, Fengshi 逢時; *zi* 字, Xitong 錫桐; other *hao*, Sesou 穡叟.

1912) was the first Chinese to graduate from an American university (B.A., Yale, 1854). Subsequently he headed the Chinese Educational Commission (1872–1881) which sent young Chinese to study abroad. Holder of an LL.D. from Yale, he also acted as associate Chinese minister in Washington.[20]

Huang Kuan 黃寬 (1829–1878; Wong Fun), the first Chinese to earn a Western medical degree (University of Edinburgh, 1855), worked with LMS until 1860. He then found employment with the Civil Hospital (Hong Kong) and later with Li Hongzhang. Taking up private practice in Guangzhou, he was simultaneously helping at the Canton Medical Missionary Society Hospital and serving a government post. The first women graduates of occidental medical schools were Jin Yunmei (Yamei) 金韻梅 (1864–1934), Hu Juying 胡菊英 (b. 1865), Shi Meiyu 石美玉 a.k.a. Mary Stone (1873–1954)[21] and Kang Aide 康愛德, a.k.a. Kang Cheng 康成 and Ida Kahn (1873–1930).[22]

Partly of Malay descent, Zeng Hengzhong (Zeng Laishun, Chan Lai Sun; 1829–1895) was born in Singapore and received English education from the American Board. After studying in the US (1842–1848) he worked for the Guangzhou mission until 1853. At Shanghai he held different secular jobs (even starting a business partnership) but in 1872–1874 joined the Chinese Educational Mission to America. Thereafter he spent the rest of his life as a staff member of Li Hongzhang. His wife Ruth A-tik (1825–1917) was the first female mission school student who enrolled with Mary Ann Aldersey in Java (1837).[23]

Born in Suzhou, Wang Tao 王韜 (1828–1897) started working as a literary translator with LMS Shanghai in 1849. Fleeing a death sentence for suspected Taiping connections, he was sheltered by the British Consul and later escaped to Hongkong. Teaching at the Anglo-Chinese College, he also assisted in James Legge's project of translating the Chinese Classics. After some time in Europe, he returned to Shanghai in 1870. A widely-travelled man and a prolific writer, he also

---

[20] For a recent biographical sketch, with copious bibliographical references, see Stacey Bieler, "Rong Hong, Visionary for a New China".

[21] Connie Shemo, "Shi Meiyu: An Army of Women in Medicine".

[22] For further details, see Hu Ying, "Naming the First 'New Woman'", in Rebecca E. Karl and Peter Gue Zarrow (eds.), *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period*, chapter 7; see also Liang Qichao 梁啓超, "Ji Jiangxi Kang nüshi" 記江西康女士, in idem, *Yinbing shi heji: wenji* 飲冰室合集文集, Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936, I, pp. 119–120.

[23] See Rhoads, "In the Shadow of Yung Wing".

edited a newspaper, founded a publishing firm and directed the Chinese Polytechnic Institute and Reading Room.[24]

Until the early 1900s, the revolutionary movement was mainly spearheaded by Chinese Christians. Influenced by their religious faith and western learning, the revolutionaries worked from various motivations which primarily included anti-Qing sentiments, anti-corruption demands, republicanism, humanitarianism, Christian ideals and nationalism (the last still under scholarly dispute). While limited space precludes here a comprehensive roll, perhaps a basic list of names is useful. Aside from Sun Zhongshan 孫中山 (1866–1925; Sun Yixian/Sun Yatsen 孫逸仙), there were Chen Shaobai 陳少白, Cui Tongyue 崔通約, Deng Yinnan 鄧蔭南, Rev. Hu Nanting 胡蘭亭, Rev. Huang Jiting 黃吉亭, Li Yutang 李煜堂, Lin Hu 林護, Liu Jing'an 劉敬安, Lu Haodong 陸皓東, Shi Jianru 史堅如, Song Juren 宋居仁, Wu Hanchi 伍漢持, Wu Xiru 吳羲如, Yang Quyun 楊衢雲, Yin Ziheng 殷子衡, Zheng Shiliang 鄭士良, Zhong Rongguang 鍾榮光 and Zuo Doushan 左斗山. Include also Yuan Yongjing and Qu Fengchi (above).

Bibliography

Primary sources

Allan, C[harles] Wilfrid, *Chu and Lo: Two Chinese Pastors*, London: C. H. Kelly, 1906. Biographical sketches of Chu Shao Ngan (1836–1899) and Lo Yu Shan (1862–1903).

Fagg, J. G., "How Pastor Iap became a Christian", *Mission Field* 2 (June 1917) pp. 52–55.

French, Francesca, *The Songs of Pastor Hsi*, London: Morgan and Scott, 1920.

He Jinshan [Ho Tsun-sheen] 何進善, *Matai fuyin zhushi* 馬太福音註釋 (St. Matthew's Gospel with a commentary) (1855). Reprinted Shanghai: Shanghai Mei-Hua shuguan, 1874. (Vol. 1 of *Xinyue quanshu zhushi* 新約全書註释.).

He Jinshan [Ho Tsun-sheen] 何進善, *Shijie quanshi* 十誡詮釋 (Commentary on the Ten Commandments), Hong Kong, 1867.

He Jinshan [Ho Tsun-sheen] 何進善, *Shengjing zhengju* 聖經證據 (Evidences of the Bible), Hong Kong, 1867. Note: This was the 'Preface' of 馬太福音註釋 (1855).

He Jinshan [Ho Tsun-sheen]n 何進善, *Xinyue quanshu zhushi* 新約全書註釋 (The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark and the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians), 1868–1870. Note: Romans and First Corinthians were written by Walter Henry Medhurst; there was no commentary on Second Corinthians.

"Ho Tsun-sheen", in *The Vanguard of the Christian Army. Or, Sketches of Missionary Life*, [London]: Religious Tract Society, 1882, pp. 214–218.

[24] Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity*. On Wang's work with James Legge in Hongkong and Scotland, see Pfister, *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man'*, I, *passim*.

Huang Kuan 黃寬, *Ziran tang yi shi.* 3 *juan* 自然堂遺詩. 3 卷, Jingshi [Beijing], 1866. Reprint: Beijing: [s.n.], 1926.

Legge, James, "Sketch of the life of Ho Tsun-sheen", letter of 13th March 1872 (Hong Kong) to Dr. Mullens, London Missionary Society, Archives of the Council for World Mission, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, U.K.

Liang Zhuchen 梁柱臣, "He mushi shilue 何牧師事略 (A brief account of Pastor He)", *Jiaohui xinbao* 教會新報 2 (1 July 1871) pp. 214–215. Reprinted in *Jiaohui xinbao* 教會新報, ed. Lin Lezhi 林樂知 [Young John Allen], Taibei: Jinghua Press, 1968, Vol. 3, pp. 1380–1381.

Pakenham-Walsh, W. S., *Some Typical Christians of South China*, London: Marshall Bros, 1905.

Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Held at Shanghai, May 10–24, 1877, Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878. Reprint: Taibei: Ch'eng Wen Pub. Co, 1973.

[Ren Chengyuan 任槦園], *A Tamarisk Garden Blessed with Rain, or, The Autobiography of Pastor Ren*, trans. and ed. Herbert Hudson Taylor and Marshall Broomhall, London: The China Inland Mission, 1930. The original Chinese title is *Chengyuan yu lu ji* 槦園雨露記 (1921).

Taylor, Mary Geraldine (Guinness). *One of China's Scholars The Culture and Conversion of a Confucianist: By Mrs. Howard Taylor (née Geraldine Guinness)*. London: Morgan and Scott; China Inland Mission London, Toronto, and Melbourne, 1900. Many subsequent editions, including: Taylor, Mrs. Howard, *Pastor Hsi (of North China): One of China's Christians*, London, 1903. Taylor, Mary Geraldine (Mrs. Howard), *Pastor Hsi: Confucian Scholar and Christian*, 20th ed., London: China Inland Mission, 1949. Taylor, Geraldine, *Pastor Hsi*. Historymakers. Singapore: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1997.

Tkin Shen [He Jinshan 何進善] (trans.), *The Rambles of the Emperor Ching Tin in Keang Nan*, ed. by James Legge, London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1843.

Wang, Tao 王韜 (1828–1897), *Tao yuan lao min zi zhuan* 弢园老民自傳, ed. Sun Banghua 孫邦華 (Nanjing, 1999).

Yung, Wing [Rong, Hong], *My Life in China and America* (New York, 1909 = 1978). Chinese translations (Beijing, 1991; Shanghai, 2003). Japanese translation (Tokyo, 1969).

Secondary sources

Austin, Alvyn. *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832–1905*. Studies in the history of Christian missions. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2007.

Bartlett, Samuel Colcord, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the American Board*, New York: Arno Press, 1972. Reprint of 6 sketches first published separately in 1876. The China sketch was first published as Bartlett, Samuel Colcord. *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in China*. Boston: The Board, 1876.

Bieler, Stacey, "Rong Hong, Visionary for a New China", in Carol Lee Hamrin with Stacey Bieler (eds.), *Salt and Light: Lives of Faith that Shaped Modern China*, Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2009, pp. 13–29.

Canton, William, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 5 vols., London: J. Murray, 1904–1910.

Carlson, Ellsworth C., *The Foochow missionaries 1847–1880*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Cheung, David (Chen Yiqiang 陳貽強), *Christianity in Modern China: The Making of the First Native Protestant Church* (Studies in Christian Mission, 28), Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Cheung, David, "The Growth of Protestantism in China: The Role of the Chinese Christians, 1860–1900", M.A. diss., University of London, 1997.

The China Mission Hand-Book, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1896. Reprint edition: Taibei: Ch'eng Wen Pub. Co, 1973.

Choa, G. H., *The Life and Times of Sir Kai Ho Kai: A Prominent Figure in Nineteenth-Century Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1981. 2nd ed., 2000.

Cohen, Paul A., *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang T'ao and Reform in Late Ch'ing China*. (Harvard East Asian series, 77), Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974. Chinese trans.: Ke Wen 柯文, *Zai chuantong yu xiandai xing zhi jian: Wang Tao yu wan Qing gai ge* 在傳統與現代性之間: 王韜與晚清改革 ("Hai wai Zhongguo yanjiu" congshu), Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1994 and 2003.

Constable, Nicole, *Christian Souls and Chinese Spirits: A Hakka Community in Hong Kong*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Griffith, Valerie, "Biblewomen from London to China: The Transnational Appropriation of a Female Mission Idea", *Women's History Review* 17, 4 (September 2008), pp. 521–541.

Hu Ying, "Naming the First 'New Woman'", in Rebecca E. Karl and Peter Gue Zarrow (eds.), *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China*, Cambridge, Mass: Published by the Harvard University Asia Center, 2002, chapter 7.

Hyatt, Irwin T., Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess. Three Nineteenth-century American Missionaries in East Shantung*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Jian Youwen 簡又文, *Zhongguo jidujiao de kaishan shiye* 中國基督教的開山事業 (Pioneers of the Protestant Church in China), Xianggang: Jidujiao fuqiao chubanshe, 1956.

La Fargue, Thomas E., *China's First Hundred*, Pullman: State College of Washington, 1942. Reprinted as *China's First Hundred: Educational Mission Students in the United States, 1872–1881*, with an introduction by Thomas L. Kennedy, Pullman, Wash.: Washington State University Press, 1987. Chinese translation: Le Fage 勒法格 [Thomas Edward La Fargue] and Gao Yanyi 高岩譯, *Zhongguo you tong liu Mei shi* 中國幼童留美史, Xianggang: Wenyi shuju, 1980. Another edition: Le Faji 勒法吉 [Thomas Edward La Fargue] and Gao Zonglu 高宗魯, *Zhongguo you tong liu Mei shi: xiandaihua de chutan* 中國幼童留美史: 現代化的初探, Taibei: Hua xinwenhua shiye zhongxin, 1982. Republished as: Le Faji 勒法吉 [Thomas Edward La Fargue] and Gao Zonglu 高宗魯, *Zhongguo you tong liu Mei shi* 中國幼童留美史, Zhuhai: Zhuhai chubanshe, 2006.

Lee, Chi-fang, "Wang T'ao (1828–1897): His Life, Thought, Scholarship, and Literary Achievement", Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1973.

Lee, Lily Xiao Hong, A. D. Stefanowska, Sue Wiles, and Clara Wing-chung Ho. *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*. Vol. I: *The Qing Period, 1644–1911*, ed. by Clara Wing-chung Ho. (University of Hong Kong Libraries publications, no. 10). Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1998.

Lutz, Jessie G., and Rolland Ray Lutz, *Hakka Chinese confront Protestant Christianity 1850–1900: With the Autobiographies of Eight Hakka Christians, and Commentary*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1998.

Lutz, Jessie G. and R. R. Lutz, "The Invisible China Missionaries: The Basel Mission's Chinese Evangelists, 1847–1866", *Mission Studies* 12,2 (1995), pp. 204–227.

Pfister, Lauren F., "Reconfirming the way: Perspectives from the writings of Ho Tsun-sheen", *Ching Feng* 36,4 (1993) pp. 218–259.

Pfister, Lauren F., *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man': James Legge and the Scottish Protestant Encounter with China. Assessing Confluences in Scottish Nonconformism, Chinese Missionary Scholarship, Victorian Sinology, and Chinese Protestant-*

ism. Scottish Studies International, Publications of the Scottish Studies Centre of the Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz in Germersheim, Vol. 34, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004. 2 vols.

Pfister, Lauren F., "A Transmitter but not a Creator: The Creative Transmission of Protestant Biblical Traditions by Ho Tsun-sheen (1817–1871), the First Modern Chinese Theologian", in Irene Eber et al. (eds.), *The Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact* (Monumenta Serica monograph series, 43). Sankt Agustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999, pp. 165–197. Chinese translation: Irene Eber 伊愛蓮, Shengjing yu jindai Zhongguo 聖經與近代中國, Hongkong: Hanyu Shengjing xiehui you xian gongsi, 2003.

Rhoads, Edward J. M., "In the Shadow of Yung Wing: Zeng Laishun and the Chinese Educational Mission to the United States", *Pacific Historical Review* 74,1 (February 2005), pp. 19–58.

Shemo, Connie, "Shi Meiyu: An Army of Women in Medicine", in Carol Lee Hamrin with Stacey Bieler (eds.), *Salt and Light: Lives of Faith that Shaped Modern China*, Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2009, pp. 50–63.

Smith, Carl T., *Chinese Christians: Élites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong*, Hongkong: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Soothill, William Edward, *Timothy Richard of China: Seer, Statesman, Missionary & the Most Disinterested Adviser the Chinese Ever Had*, London: Seeley, Service & Co, 1924. For Chinese translations, see Su Huilian 蘇慧廉 [William Edward Soothill] and Ling Aiji 凌愛基, *Litimotai* 李提摩太 (*Timothy Richard*). Xianggang: Jidujiao wenyi chubanshe, 2007; Su Huilian 蘇慧廉 [William Edward Soothill], Guan Zhiying 關志英 and He Yu 何玉, *Litimotai zai Zhongguo* 李提摩太在中國 (*Timothy Richard of China*), Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007.

Strandenaes, Thor, "Anonymous Bible Translators: Native Literati and the Translation of the Bible into Chinese, 1807–1907", in Stephen Batalden, Kathleen Cann and John Dean (eds.), *Sowing the Word: The Cultural Impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1804–2004*, Sheffield: Sheffiled Phoenix Press, 2004 and 2006, pp. 121–148.

Wong, Timothy Man-Kong, 黃文江, "The Rendering of God in Chinese by the Chinese: Chinese Responses to the Term Question in the *Wangguo Gongbao*", in Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff (eds.), *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, pp. 589–613.

Xin Ping 忻平, *Wang Tao ping zhuan* 王韜評傳, Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1990.

Zetzsche, Jost Oliver, *The Bible in China: The History of the* Union Version *or The Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica; Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1999.

Zha Shijie 查時傑 (Tsa Shih-tsieh), *Zhongguo jidujiao renwu xiao zhuan* 中國基督教人物小傳 (Concise biographies of important Chinese Christians), Taibei: Zhonghua fuyin shenxueyuan chubanshe, 1983.

Zhang Hailin 張海林, *Wang Tao ping zhuan* 王韜評傳 (A critical biography of Wang Tao), Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1993.

3. Late Qing Scene

The various issues considered in Part I of this Handbook cannot be discussed in isolation. They were part of and influenced by particular events and a range of contextual factors. Since the arrival of the Catholic missionary enterprise in the late sixteenth century and especially in the course of the nineteenth century, the propagation of Christianity in China has met with outright hostility as well as indifference, tolerance and acceptance, depending on the prevailing political and social circumstances in a given locality or time. Some of the reactions arose from specific exogenous developments; others ought to be understood as reactions to unprecedented endogenous changes and challenges.

3.1. Developments in Western Christianity

Roman Catholic revival

With some notable exceptions, the Christian endeavour had reached a low point in China at the beginning of the nineteenth century. External factors such as the loss of Portuguese and Spanish influence in Asia, the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773, the progressive decline of the papacy as a political power, the unfolding industrial revolution, the rise of capitalism, the development of Enlightenment ideas, the disruptions caused by the French revolution, the rise of the nation state and the Napoleonic Wars all had an unsettling impact on religious life in Catholic Europe. The impact was greatest in revolutionary France because of the severity of a number of anti-clerical measures, including the abolishment of the tithes, the nationalisation of the Church's property, the dissolution of all religious orders (1789) and congregations (1790).[1] These developments contributed to a waning of the missionary spirit and brought about a decline in financial support, which in turn considerably weakened the missionary endeavour in China. Thus, the Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists or Vincentians)—designated to continue the work of the suppressed Jesuit order—had sent its first 'replacement' missionaries to China in 1784, yet by 1820 only twenty-eight Lazarist priests had found their way to the Qing Empire. The *Missions Etrangères de Paris* (MEP) also experienced a decline in personnel for the China mission field, and there is

[1] For details, see Taveirne, *Han-Mongol Encounters*, pp. 152–153.

no reason to believe that the situation was different for the vicariates apostolic of the Italian Friars Minor or the Spanish Dominicans. In view of these many difficulties and disruptions, it was not until after the conclusion of the European war in 1815 that the Catholic missionary enterprise was resumed in the Qing Empire. That the Church had survived in China in the face of persecution was due primarily to the dedication of indigenous workers. (*cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 2.4.1. Chinese Catholics)*

Religious revivals in Europe generated the missionary impetus abroad, bringing about the gradual expansion of the missionary enterprise in China in the 1820s. The Catholic religious renewal was particularly strong in France where intellectuals were being influenced by the Romantic movement. By the 1830s this romantic spiritual renewal had spread to the masses. Greater emphasis was being placed on sentimental devotions, especially to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the Immaculate Heart of Mary and the Holy Family. According to Patrick Taveirne, the "devotional revolution…expressed the growing populist orientation of the revivalist Catholic Church against the anticlerical religious reform of the liberal-minded bourgeoisie".[2] Other characteristic elements of the populist religious revival in Europe were the wearing of miraculous medals and scapulars, especially during processions and pilgrimages; the reintroduction of saying the Rosary, the Stations of the Cross, as well as the cult of relics and saints.

The religious enthusiasm and support of foreign missions among the common people of France led to the formation of the *Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* (Association for the Propagation of the Faith) 傳信會.[3] This lay organisation, established in France in 1822 with the specific aim to support missionary endeavours overseas, quickly spread to other Western countries and developed into the primary fundraising institution of the Catholic missionary movement. Its magazines, the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, and later the *Missions Catholiques*, both of which were also published in a number of other languages, became effective tools for popularising the missionary cause and raising vital funding in Europe and North America.[4] Another important support organisation, especially with reference to

[2] Ibid., p. 162.
[3] Wolfgang Müller, *The Church in the Age of Absolutism and Enlightenment*, p. 195.
[4] Drevet, "Le financement des missions catholiques au XIX^{e} siècle". In the German-speaking states similar institutions were established: the Leopoldinen-Stiftung, the Xaveriusverein, and the Ludwig-Missionsverein.

China, was the *Œuvre de la Sainte-Enfance* (Holy Childhood Association) 聖嬰會, founded in France in 1843 by Charles de Forbin-Janson (1785–1844), the bishop of Nancy. This society provided financial support for the baptism of non-Christian infants in danger of death and the maintenance of abandoned and orphaned children. The Holy Childhood (now known as the Pontifical Society of the Holy Children), through its *Annales de l'Œuvre de la Sainte-Enfance*, published since 1846, likewise became an important fund-raising agency in Europe and North America. It carried letters from missionaries informing readers back home of the high infant mortality in China, aggravated by the practice of infanticide, especially of girls. At the same time, the reports from China described the efforts made by the missionaries and their indigenous auxiliaries to baptise children on the verge of death and to rescue those who would otherwise have been killed by their parents.[5]

The upsurge of religiosity can also be seen as a reaction to the simultaneous process of secularisation and the rise of anticlerical and liberal-minded nationalists in Europe. To counter these developments, Catholic elites were supporters of ultramontanism, that is to say, they favoured centralisation of authority in the Roman Curia and opposed national or diocesan independence. Moreover, ultramontanism can be seen as advocating close co-operation between Church and State. Rather than liberty and equality, ultramontanism promoted an hierarchical and corporatist concept of society, idealising medieval Christendom.[6]

As far as the expansion of the overseas apostolate is concerned, it was above all the missionary zeal of Pope Pius VII that led to the reorganisation of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith ('*Propaganda Fide*') 傳信部, the restoration of the Society of Jesus in 1814 and the confirmation of new male and female missionary societies. More determined and sustained attempts to revive missionary Christianity in non-Christian lands were made during the pontificate of Gregory XVI (1831–1846) because, as the pope put it in 1840, "they

---

[5] For a brief overview, see Sauret, "China's Role in the Foundation and Development of the Pontifical Society of the Holy Childhood", pp. 247–272; note the many publications preoccupied with the practice of infanticide in the bibliography on p. 267. On the phenomenon of female infanticide, see Mungello, *Drowning Girls in China*.

[6] Taveirne, *Han-Mongol Encounters*, pp. 155, 157.

lie in the darkness and in the shadow of death".[7] China would become the primary focus of the Western missionary movement and a major object of the hopes of Christians around the world. Consequently, further missionary reinforcements began to arrive in the Middle Kingdom, including the first contingent of Jesuits in 1841.

Another important policy promoted with some urgency by the Holy See at this time concerned the training of a native clergy as a precondition for the creation of a truly indigenous Church. The basic plan was outlined in the instruction *Neminem profecto* which the Propaganda issued on 23 November 1845, six month before Gregory XVI's death. The instruction encouraged the missionaries to engage more urgently in the formation of indigenous priests and prepare the most capable of them for higher office.[8] However, most foreign priests in China were opposed to this policy and it took another eighty years before the first Chinese bishops were appointed.[9]

The new surge of Catholic missionary enthusiasm was particularly strong in France and French priests dominated Chinese Catholic mission work in the nineteenth century. Yet as Taveirne points out, "the paradox of the nineteenth-century French missionary, who as a herald of 'Christian civilization' combats the obscurant oppression and superstitions of the heathen society, but who is, on the other hand, not at ease with modern civilization, maintains nostalgic reverie of medieval Christendom".[10] Nevertheless, against the background of the century-long process of oscillation between support for and suspicion of the Catholic Church by the French state, patriotic French missionaries promoted the modern '*mission civilisatrice*' of France. Having introduced their devotional repertoire to China, "the French missionaries… saw themselves as propagating a faith that was intimately linked with what they considered the essence of French life. They built Gothic cathedrals that were named after French saints and

---

[7] Gregory XVI, "Probe nostis. La propagazione della fede", in Lora and Simionati (eds.), *Enchiridion delle encicliche*. Part 2: Gregorio XVI, Pio X (1831–1878), p. 93.

[8] For the text of *Neminem profecto*, see Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Rerum 1622–1972*, III.2, pp. 736–741. See also Metzler, "Die Missionen der Kongregation in Indien mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Patronatsfrage", in: *idem*, Vol. 3, Part 1 (Rome: Herder, 1975), pp. 388–435, especially 419–420.

[9] For further details on this problematical issue, see R. G. Tiedemann, "The Controversy over the Formation of an Indigenous Clergy and the Establishment of a Catholic Hierarchy in China, 1846–1926", forthcoming in a *festschrift* in 2010.

[10] Taveirne, *Han-Mongol Encounters*, p. 169, referring to Bernard Salvaing, "Le paradox missionnaire".

adorned with French-style iconography. Depending for their work on French military protection, the[y] often saw their mission as an intimate extension of French economic and political interests."[11]

Protestant Revivals

In the meantime, a new and ultimately rather more diversified missionary endeavour was being established by Western Protestant groups. The origins of this missionary enthusiasm are to be found in the religious revival movements in Britain. This spiritual renewal amongst relatively small circles of evangelical Protestants at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries developed in response to Enlightenment rationalism, the uncertainties during the Napoleonic Wars and the social changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution.[12] From Britain the evangelical revival movement spread to other European countries as an anti-Enlightenment movement. In Germany, for instance, the revival movement emerged in pious circles in reaction to ecclesiastical rationalism and the upheavals of revolution and war.[13] In the United States the revival is also known as the Second Great Awakening. During these years many religious people were filled with a certainty that the Millennium—a thousand-year period of peace, prosperity and social justice preceding the Second Coming of Christ—was at hand. Evangelicalism, as distinct from other forms of Protestantism, is the religion of enthusiasm, experience and activism. Although opposed to Enlightenment rationalism, Evangelicals also borrowed from it.[14]

One significant requirement to advance the fulfilment of this post-millennial eschatological vision was the need to do battle against paganism. Thus, the rise of the missionary spirit was an important characteristic of the evangelical revival. The modern missionary move-

[11] Madsen, "The Catholic Church in China", pp. 111–112.

[12] On the development of the evangelical revival in the Anglo-Saxon world, see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, chapters 2 and 3. On the revival with reference to the early China missions, see Rubinstein, *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China*, chapters 2 and 5; Lazich, *E.C. Bridgman (1801–1861)*, chapter 1.

[13] For a brief introduction, see Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, pp. 1–3.

[14] Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, p. 62.

ment commenced with the sending of William Carey[15] to India by the newly formed Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) in 1793.[16] The BMS was the first of several British societies, including the London Missionary Society (1795) and the Church of England's Church Missionary Society (1799). After 1800, missionary societies were established in the United States and in continental Europe. During the early decades of the nineteenth century, despite the denominational and political divisions within Protestantism, there was a remarkable degree of unity of purpose and international co-operation within the larger missionary endeavour. It was only by the 1830s that the different strands of evangelicalism began to become apparent in the missionary movement.

It was not long before China, the most populous non-Christian country on earth, was targeted as most urgently in need of conversion. Unlike the Roman Catholic missionary enterprise, which had been in existence since the late sixteenth century and had continued to operate 'secretly' in the interior of China well into the nineteenth century, Protestant evangelisation there began with the arrival of Robert Morrison in 1807. The tiny band of Protestant evangelists that followed him before the First Opium War generally did not venture beyond two places in South China, namely the Portuguese settlement of Macao, where they were barely tolerated, and Guangzhou (Canton), where they led a precarious existence alongside foreign merchants who were permitted to reside there only during the annual trading season. In view of these severe restrictions, other Protestants went to evangelise amongst the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia instead, in anticipation of a future opening in the Qing Empire. Direct evangelistic work thus being virtually impossible on the Chinese mainland before 1840, the small Protestant missionary community turned to indirect endeavours, such as the translation of the Bible and the

[15] The rationale behind the formation of the BMS was outlined in William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians*.

[16] Note the existence, though, of earlier, 'pre-modern' Protestant missionary endeavours: the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in India; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG); German Lutherans trained at August Hermann Francke's (1663–1717) establishment at Halle and sponsored by the king of Denmark started a mission in the Danish possession of Tranquebar, South India; and the missionary work of the Moravians (Unitas Fratrum of Herrnhut, Germany) in various parts of the world. Indeed, Dutch Protestant missionaries had been active on the island of Taiwan for a brief period until the Dutch colonial presence was ended there in 1662. See Claudia von Collani, "Dutch Protestant Mission in China", in *Handbook I*, pp. 376–379.

production of Christian tracts for distribution in areas outside the foreign settlements.

They also became involved in activities that were not of a strictly religious nature, namely the formation of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China (1834), the Morrison Education Society (1835), and the Medical Missionary Society (1838), and. Elijah Coleman Bridgman[17] (1801–1861), the first American missionary to arrive in China, started the periodical *Chinese Repository* to enlighten a Western readership about the Middle Kingdom. At the same time he was behind the decision to resume publication of *Dong-Xiyang kao meiyue tongjizhuan* 東西洋考每月統記傳 (East-West Examiner and Monthly Recorder), a periodical that had been started by Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff 郭實獵 (1803–1851)[18] to inform interested Chinese readers about the West and its achievements.[19] These early

[17] On Bridgman, see the comprehensive biography by Lazich, *E. C. Bridgman (1801–1861)*.

[18] In the scholarly literature and elsewhere Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff's Chinese name is persistently but wrongly given as 郭士立. Gützlaff himself always used the characters 郭實獵 to convey his Chinese name. He adopted this name as early as 1827, signing his journal for the period February-August 1827 "*Koet* 郭 *sit* 實 *lap* 獵", i.e. Guo Shilie in *Putonghua*. In his next journal, covering the period 24 August 1827 to 9 March 1828, Gützlaff stated that he had been accepted into the Koë 郭 family. Since he had arrived at "Riau" (i.e. Tanjung Pinang), "the [Dutch] Residence on the island of Bintan", on 13 April 1827, it is not clear whether he adopted his Chinese name during his stay with Walter Henry Medhurst in Batavia or subsequently in Riau. The latter place had both 'Cantonese' and Hokkien speaking settlements. See the Gützlaff folder in Archief van de Raad voor de Zending der Nederlandsch Hervormde Kerk, No. 146: Netherlands Missionary Society, at: Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands. Note also that at the time of his marriage to Dorothy Gabriel in September 1850, he signed the Bristol church register 郭實獵. This name is also found in the Gützlaff Papers, Information Services, Orchard Learning Resources Centre, University of Birmingham, U.K.. See David K. Y. Chng, "Guo Shilie 'Wanguo dili quanji' de faxian ji qi yiyi", p. 1 note 1. Thus, the Chinese characters commonly used nowadays, namely 郭士立, were invented by Chinese writers who may not have been aware of his chosen name. As Miss Fion Leung discovered in the case of John Robert Morrison, the Chinese name chosen for him by his father, Ma Ruhan 馬儒翰, was never used in official Chinese documents. Instead, Miss Leung found seventeen different renderings of his Chinese name in the Chinese primary sources. See Leung Chung Yan, "A Bilingual British 'Barbarian'—A Study of John Robert Morrison (1814–1843)", p. 4 note 5.

Gützlaff's later claim that the 'adoption' into the Guo family made him a citizen of China is, of course, vintage Gützlaff and grossly exaggerated.

[19] The periodical has been reprinted as Ai Han爱漢 [Karl August Friedrich Gützlaff] and others, *Dong-Xiyang kao meiyue tongjizhuan* 東西洋考每月統記傳, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997.

Protestant missionaries were thus to a large extent cultural mediators between East and West. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 2.3. Protestant missionaries)*

However, with the early expansion of the Protestant enterprise in China, the concomitant appearance of competing forms of revivalist activism led to increased friction within the missionary community. During the initial phase, prior to the Opium War, conflicting conversion strategies emerged between the 'society missionaries', almost exclusively from Calvinist backgrounds,[20] and Karl Gützlaff, a pioneering independent missionary entrepreneur from Prussia.[21] Not content to wait on the fringes of the Qing Empire, Gützlaff made several daring attempts in the early 1830s to gain direct access to the country. He was, however, subsequently severely criticised by his sedentary colleagues who condemned these voyages to points along the coast as reckless, for they had been undertaken, at least on one occasion, in association with foreign opium smugglers. Yet essentially all missionaries, Protestant as well as Catholic, had to depend on the opium connection in one way or another. Many travelled out to China in ships carrying opium, their funds were remitted via opium traders and their charitable educational and medical work relied on donations from resident Western firms connected with the opium trade. Thus it is not surprising that in the minds of many Chinese, opium and Christianity were closely associated.

It is, however, important to emphasise that, in contrast to the 'society missionaries', Gützlaff may have been driven by a different vision of the Millennium, one that required greater urgency to bring about the conversion of the 'heathen'. His excessive enthusiasm, flamboyant style as well as rapid and rather superficial conversion strategy were in stark contrast to the slow and intensive conversion method employed by missionaries of the Calvinistic tradition. In addition to cultural differences and personal animosities, disagreements over appropriate mission strategies must, therefore, also be taken into account. The conflict between Gützlaff and his detractors became particular acrimonious in

[20] That is, missionaries representing the London Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissioners. It was not until the late 1830s that the first American Baptists (Jehu Lewis Shuck and Issachar Jacox Roberts) arrived.

[21] For a detailed recent study of this colourful and innovative missionary, see Lutz, *Opening China*.

the late 1840s when the former, having established the controversial Chinese Union of native assistants, insisted that China could be converted only by the Chinese.[22] He drew particular hostility from his fellow Protestant missionaries in connection with his demand that foreign missionaries—whose role was to be that of temporary advisor to the indigenous evangelists—accommodate themselves fully to Chinese culture. Mission strategy and accommodation would continue to be contentious issues within the expanding Protestant missionary community, especially with the arrival of new societies that had emerged from the periodic religious revivals in Europe and North America in the second half of the nineteenth century. Given the constraints of space and the bewildering variety of denominations and sects, only some aspects of the grand enterprise since the First Opium War can be considered here.

New Trends and Revivals in the Protestant World

The debates during the last three decades of the nineteenth century concerning the relationship between indigenous culture and Christianity and whether the primary emphasis should be placed solely on 'spreading the gospel' or on a mixed approach of preaching, education, healing and other 'good works' are indicative of the theological fissures that were emerging within 'mainline' denominations over the ways in which the evangelisation of China should be conducted. At the same time, more radical strands of evangelicalism, with significantly different eschatological expectations and missionary methods, were emerging from the new outbreaks of religious excitement in Europe and North America. One of the new missionary societies with a mission strategy at variance with the operations of the 'classical' Protestant missions was the China Inland Mission (CIM).[23] This remarkable new Protestant venture was founded in Britain in 1865 by James Hudson Taylor (1832–1905) as an international and interdenominational endeavour.

---

[22] See Lutz and Lutz, "Karl Gützlaff's Approach to Indigenization: The Chinese Union"; Gerhard Tiedemann, "Missionarischer Einzelgänger oder Visionär? Die Missionsmethode Gützlaffs"; Klein, "Gützlaff als Vorläufer einer indigenen chinesischen Kirche?" In the mid-1830s Gützlaff had proposed to Eberhard Hermann Röttger 羅格, missionary in Riau, Dutch East Indies, to prepare Chinese sojourners there for evangelistic service in China. On Röttger, see Wesselmann, *Eberhard Hermann Röttger (1800–1888)*.

[23] See A. J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century*, 7 vols. (1981–1989).

The CIM adopted the 'extensive' rather than 'intensive' missionary strategy, promoting relatively superficial proclamation of the gospel by itinerating laymen and laywomen. In contrast to the 'classical' missions, the emphasis was placed on evangelisation and the dispersion of Christianity by entering new areas rather than an in-depth building of churches (which was left to the traditional societies).

Two innovative theological currents had a decisive influence on the formation of the China Inland Mission and a host of other new missionary bodies during the last three decades or so of the nineteenth century, namely the Holiness movement and the ascendancy of premillennialism. The Holiness movement, which had its roots in Methodism, emerged during the last third of the nineteenth century as a protest against the growing 'worldliness' of the 'mainline' Protestant denominations. One key requirement, in addition to the initial conversion experience (which was common to evangelicals in general), was a second experience, often called the Baptism of the Spirit, that is, 'sanctification' or purification of the individual through the supernatural working of the Holy Spirit.[24] The ideas of personal holiness and the zeal for foreign missions were disseminated through such gatherings as the Keswick Convention, an annual event in the English Lake District since 1875, and the revivalist crusades in the United States and Britain of the American evangelist Dwight Lyman Moody (1837–1899).[25]

Moody was also influential in the resurgence of premillennialism, especially John Nelson Darby's dispensationalist version,[26] amongst holiness advocates in the years following the American Civil War. The Holiness leaders were not attracted to the optimistic postmillennial convictions of a progressively brighter future, the working toward a state of perfection through the spread of Christianity, eventually leading to a thousand-year period of universal peace and plenty, followed by Christ's return. Instead, they claimed that conditions would get worse prior to the cataclysmic intervention of the imminent Second Coming of Christ *before* the millennium. In spite of their essentially

[24] See Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*.

[25] For a detailed discussion, see Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, pp. 75–76.

[26] According to the American dispensationalist scholar Cyrus Ingerson Scofield (1843–1921), John Nelson Darby (1800–1882), one of the founders of the Plymouth Brethren in England in the 1830s, developed a framework of seven ages or dispensations, i.e. periods of time "during which man is tested in respect of obedience to some specific revelation of the will of God". Cited in Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, p. 23 note 5.

pessimistic world view, premillennialists were enthusiastic supporters of evangelical foreign missions.[27] Like other conversion-minded people, they were convinced that all who died without faith in Christ were eternally lost. However, because of the premillennialist orientation, especially the belief in Christ's imminent return, a greater sense of urgency characterised the work of faith and Holiness missions. Convinced that the world-wide preaching of the gospel to every human being could accelerate the coming of Christ, relatively little attention was paid to setting up educational or medical facilities.[28] Indeed, for some missionaries the mere proclamation of the gospel was deemed essential. Conversion was of secondary importance.

In addition to the China Inland Mission and its affiliates, the Holiness and premillennialist revivals spawned several other missionary organisations with work in China. The 'Open Brethren' arm of the Plymouth Brethren commenced missionary work in China under the name 'Christian Missions in Many Lands' (CMML) in 1885. The newly established Church and Missionary Alliance (CMA) started its operations in northern China in 1888. The Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), founded in 1881 by Daniel S. Warner (1842–1895) and several associates, started a small missionary work in China in 1909.[29] As Brian Stanley has observed with regard to British premillennialist missions, they differed significantly in their political and cultural attitudes from missionaries of the postmillennialist tradition and did not share the assumptions of the superior value of Western civilisation.[30]

The distinct approach (educational attainment, lifestyle, methods, independence from ecclesiastical support or control, 'faith mission' principle, loose organisational structures)[31] of radical Holiness evangelists was criticised by 'mainline' missionaries. At the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York in 1900, for instance, several speakers from hierarchically organised 'classical' societies strongly defended the

---

[27] Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming*, pp. 66–67.

[28] Note, however, that in spite of the utmost importance of proclamation, Holiness organisations and sects did not entirely reject the philanthropic dimension of Christianity. The Salvation Army, one of the largest holiness groups, took up social issues. See Dieter, p. 7.

[29] Smith, *The Quest for Holiness and Unity*, pp. 120–121.

[30] Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, p. 76, 165.

[31] Conferences and Bible institutes were the principal new organisational structures introduced by the holiness and millenarian movements. See Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, pp. 21–22.

structure of the traditional mission against the faith-mission principle of the China Inland Mission and similar societies. They argued that only the traditional structure with a home board viewed the church as a whole that included both the missionary and the supporter at home, who was entitled to an appropriate distribution of his contributions and an adequate supply of information from the mission field. Furthermore, they believed the board's essential responsibilities included the selection of missionaries with appropriate abilities and the supervision of the mission stations and missionaries to assure progression of the work and to ensure against false representation of the church.[32]

Bibliography

Bebbington, D. W., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London: Routledge, 1993.

Beyreuther, Erich, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, (Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte. Ein Handbuch, Band 4, Lieferung R, 1. Teil), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1963.

Broomhall, A[lfred] J[ames], *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century*, 7 vols. (1981–1989).

Carey, William, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of Heathens: In Which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of the Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings Are Considered*, Leicester: printed and sold by Ann Ireland, 1792.

Charles, Robert, "Olyphant and Opium. A Canton Merchant Who '"Just Said "No"'", in: *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 16.2 (April 1992), pp. 66–69.

Chng, David K. Y. 莊欽永, "Guo Shilie 'Wanguo dili quanji' de faxian ji qi yiyi" 郭實獵《萬國地理全集》的發現及其意義 (Karl F. A. Gützlaff's Universal Geography: Its Discovery and Significance), *Journal of the History of Christianity in Modern China* 近代中國基督教史研究集刊 7 (2006/2007), pp. 1–18.

Dieter, Melvin Easterday, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed., Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996.

Drevet, Richard, "Le financement des missions catholiques au XIX^{e} siècle, entre autonomie laïque et centralité romaine: L'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi (1822–1922)", *Chrétiens et sociétés. XVI^{e}–XX^{e} siècles (bulletin annuel)* (2002), pp. 79–114.

Drevet, Richard, "Laïques de France et missions catholiques au XIX^{e} siècle: L'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, origines et développement lyonnais (1822–1922)", thèse de doctorat, Université Lyon 2, 2002.

Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900: Report of the Conference on Foreign Missions, Vol. 1, New York: American Tract Society, 1900.

Fiedler, Klaus, *The Story of Faith Missions*, Oxford: Regnum Books, 1994.

Gilley, Sheridan, and Brian Stanley, *World Christianities, c. 1815–1914*, The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 8, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

[32] See *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900: Report of the Conference on Foreign Missions*, Vol. 1 (New York: American Tract Society, 1900), pp. 210–212.

Harris, Harriet A., *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
Heimann, Mary, "Catholic Revivalism in Worship and Devotion", in Gilley & Stanley (eds.), *World Christianities c. 1815–c. 1914*, pp. 70–83.
Klein, Thoralf, "Gützlaff als Vorläufer einer indigenen chinesischen Kirche? Kontrafaktische Überlegungen zum Zusammenhang von Christianisierung und Kulturwandel", in Thoralf Klein and Reinhard Zöllner (eds.), *Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851) und das Christentum in Ostasien*, [2005], pp. 233–255.
Lazich, Michael C., *E.C. Bridgman (1801–1861), America's First Missionary to China*, Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000.
Lease, Gary, "Vatican Foreign Policy and the Origins of Modernism", in Darrell Jodock (ed.), *Catholicism Contending with Modernity: Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 31–55.
Leung Chung Yan 梁頌茵, "A Bilingual British 'Barbarian'—A Study of John Robert Morrison (1814–1843) as the Translator and Interpreter for the British Plenipotentiaries in China between 1839 and 1843", M.Phil. diss., Hong Kong Baptist University, 2001.
Lora, Erminio, and Rita Simionati (eds.), *Enchiridion delle encicliche*. Part 2: Gregorio XVI, Pio X (1831–1878), Bologna: EDB, 1996.
Lutz, Jessie G., and R. Ray Lutz, "Karl Gützlaff's Approach to Indigenization: The Chinese Union", in Bays, *Christianity in China*, pp. 269–291.
Lutz, Jessie Gregory, *Opening China: Karl F. A. Gutzlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827–1852* (Studies in the History of Christian Missions), Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008.
Madsen, Richard, "The Catholic Church in China: Cultural Contradictions, Institutional Survival, and Religious Renewal", in Perry Link, Richard Madsen, Paul G. Pickowicz (eds.), *Unofficial China: Popular Culture and Thought in the People's Republic*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1989, pp. 103–120.
Metzler, Josef, "Die Missionen der Kongregation in Indien mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Patronatsfrage", in Josef Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Rerum 1622–1972. 350 anni a servizio delle missioni*, Vol. 3, Part 1, Rome: Herder, 1975, pp. 388–435
Metzler, Josef (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Rerum 1622–1972. 350 anni a servizio delle missioni*, 3 vols. in 5 parts, Rome: Herder, 1971–1976.
Müller, Wolfgang, *The Church in the Age of Absolutism and Enlightenment*. Vol. 6 of *History of the Church*, edited by Hubert Jedin and John Patrick Dolan, London: Burns & Oates, 1981.
Mungello, D. E., *Drowning Girls in China: Female Infanticide since 1650*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.
Reinders, Eric, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
Rubinstein, Murray A., *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China, 1807–1840*, Lanham, Md., und London: Scarecrow Press, 1996.
Salvaing, Bernard, "Le paradox missionnaire", *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 30 (1983), pp. 271–282.
Smith, John W. V., *The Quest for Holiness and Unity: A Centennial History of the Church of God* (Anderson, Indiana), Anderson, Ind.: Warner Press, 1980.
Stanley, Brian, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leicester: Apollos, 1990.
Taveirne, Patrick, *Han-Mongol Encounters and Missionary Endeavors: A History of Scheut in Ordos (Hetao) 1874–1911*, Leuven: Leuven University Press and Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K.U. Leuven, 2004.

Tiedemann, Gerhard, "Missionarischer Einzelgänger oder Visionär? Die Missionsmethode Gützlaffs", in Thoralf Klein and Reinhard Zöllner (eds.), *Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851) und das Christentum in Ostasien. Ein Missionar zwischen den Kulturen*, (Collectanea Serica), Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica, [2005]), pp. 193–231.
Tiedemann, R. G., "The Controversy over the Formation of an Indigenous Clergy and the Establishment of a Catholic Hierarchy in China, 1846–1926", forthcoming in a festschrift in 2010.
Uhalley, Stephen, Jr., and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001.
Weber, Timothy P., *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming*, enlarged ed., Grand Rapids, Mich.: Academie Books, 1983.
Wesselmann, Alfred, *Eberhard Hermann Röttger (1800–1888). Missionar in Niederländisch-Indien, Pfarrer in Lengerich und Lotte*, Münster: Agenda Verlag, 2008.

3.2. Chinese historical context

By the end of the eighteenth century, after nearly a century of sporadic persecutions, Chinese converts had increasingly retreated to remote rural settlements where they rarely—if ever—saw one of the few Chinese and even fewer foreign priests who still managed to clandestinely travel around the vast empire at this time.[33] Yet these small groups of Christian believers continued to face a hostile Qing state. After a brief period of "benign neglect towards Christianity"[34] during the early years of the Jiaqing 嘉慶 reign (1796–1820), the authorities renewed their efforts to eradicate what it still perceived to be a subversive, heterodox creed. In any case, even during the early decades of the nineteenth century we find a situation of mutual ignorance of the 'other', relatively speaking. Europeans and North Americans, except for a few who may have read the Jesuits' reports, still had no abundant and accurate knowledge concerning China and Chinese civilisation. And it is fair to assume that China's ruling elite, let alone its vast population of commoners, had virtually no understanding of the barbarians living in the far West—except, perhaps, what had reached them in the form of rumours.

While the conversion of China was a major missionary goal, access to the interior was difficult not only on account of anti-Christian hostility, but also because the general insecurity inside the Empire, as dynastic decline was becoming evident. During the late imperial

[33] It should be noted, though, that the affluent Jiangnan region had the largest concentration of Catholics at this time.
[34] Laamann, *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China*, p. 68.

period, China Proper was a vast, centralised polity governed by an overextended civil bureaucracy and thinly deployed forces of repression. Since the number of ranked officials was surprisingly small, local officials had to rely on private secretaries, personal servants and sub-bureaucratic personnel (clerks and runners). At the height of Qing dynastic power, the system of governance may have worked reasonably well. However, administrative decay had certainly set in towards the end of the eighteenth century and was aggravated by unprecedented population growth and the consequent overall scarcity of opportunities.[35] The quality of most local office holders seems to have deteriorated as ineptitude, mismanagement and malfeasance spread in the course of the nineteenth century. Corrupt practices were particularly prevalent amongst the sub-bureaucratic yamen clerks and runners. They often lived by blackmail and extortion, and unfavourably influenced the course of justice, or what Hsiao Kung-chuan 蕭公權 has called "imaginative and lucrative chicanery".[36] In view of the generally thin bureaucratic superstructure, state power in China was exercised locally through a "wary collaboration of formal administrators and members of the local elite".[37] This was regarded as a "beneficial balance" of local opposition to state control and authority, on the one hand, and identification with the Confucian state, on the other.[38]

China has repeatedly suffered from devastating natural as well as man-made disasters such as floods, drought, earthquakes, cholera, typhus, locusts and other pests, as well as war. Thus, when the Yellow River changed course in the 1850s, it caused major dislocations along its new course in western Shandong. It was, however, the drought famines that were most destructive in human life. During the great famine of 1876–1879, which affected much of northern China, between nine and thirteen million people perished. In addition to the immediate destructive effects of major calamities, there were long-term ones. After a major flood the inundated lands would take a long time to drain; the top soil had been washed away; houses lay in ruins; animals had been killed; and the transport system was further disrupted.

---

[35] Liu Kwang-Ching, "Nineteenth Century China", p. 93.

[36] Cited in Ocko, *Bureaucratic Reform*, p. 130. On the various forms of corruption, see Ch'ü, *Local Government*, pp. 49–53 (clerks); pp. 67–70 (runners); and pp. 88–90 (personal servants).

[37] Wakeman, "Introduction" in Wakeman & Grant, p. 2.

[38] Lapidus, "Hierarchies and Networks", p. 28.

But droughts were even more devastating in the longer run. "In addition to directly causing starvation, drought-famines also diminished productive capacity in later years because of the desperate measures required for survival. Peasants were forced to eat their livestock, their seed grain, the very weeds and the leaves of the trees that helped to prevent erosion."[39] Often plots of land, farm implements and household utensils had to be sold. Even if the famine sufferers survived the drought, their diminished land holdings, lack of seed reserves and animal power forced them to take up loans, which further undermined households' economic viability, making it impossible for some to recover.[40]

The cumulative effect of recurrent dearth should also be noted, for such episodes accelerated the long-term process of dynastic decline. This contributed not only to the intensification of various kinds of collective violence (banditry, feuding, tax revolts, rebellions), but also the gradual spread of rural unrest into areas that had hitherto been peaceful. Certainly in the course of the nineteenth century China faced a number of devastating rebellions, starting with the so-called White Lotus Rebellion that affected parts of the Hubei-Sichuan-Shaanxi area between 1796 and 1805. This was followed in 1813 by the Eight Trigrams Uprising in Henan, Shandong and Zhili.[41] It was, however, the mid-century rebellions that nearly toppled the Qing dynasty. Of these the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864) is of particular interest, not only because the bitter contest had the most devastating impact on much of central China, but also because the rebels had adopted certain Christian beliefs and practices. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 4.3. Taiping religion and its legacy)* Although the Taipings represented the greatest threat to the imperial dynasty and the Chinese Confucian order, several contemporaneous rebellions caused major dislocation in various parts of the Qing Empire. The Nian Rebellion (1853–1868) caused a great deal of devastation in the northern provinces. An uprising led by Miao minority people affected Guizhou province for several years. Separate Muslim rebellions occurred in Yunnan, Shaanxi-Gansu and Kashgaria (later part of the newly established province of Xinjiang).

---

[39] Gottschang, "Migration from North China", p. 201.

[40] See Ho Ping-ti, *Studies on the Population of China*, pp. 233–236; Mallory, *China: Land of Famine*, pp. 36–27, 45–58.

[41] Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China*.

The authority of the Qing dynasty was further weakened as a result of conflicts with foreign powers. The treaty settlements of the First Opium War (1839–1842) and the Second Opium War, also known as the 'Arrow War', (1856–1860) undermined the traditional Chinese world order and significantly changed China's relations with the Western barbarians. Whether the opium trade or other factors (such as the 'clash of civilisations') were the principal cause of the armed conflict between Britain and China in 1839 has long been the subject of intense debate. While opium smuggling in China obviously undermined social stability, its economic impact is now less clear, especially with regard to the so-called silver issue. Some scholars believe that the silver crisis on the eve of the First Opium War was in the first instance caused by the general shortage of silver on the world market. Until the early nineteenth century the balance of international trade was very much in China's favour. But problems caused China by rising expenditures (especially the cost of putting down internal rebellions) were made worse by events around the world, highlighting the fatal significance of China's close involvement with the world economy. First, the independence movements in Latin America, the source of most of China's supply of silver, dramatically reduced the world's supply of that precious metal. This reduction had a number of important consequences for China. It cut the supply of silver in China just when population growth and the growing commercialisation of the economy created a greater demand for it. Moreover, the silver shortage caused a worldwide depression that, among other things, reduced demand and hence the price for Chinese tea. The silver shortage also prompted Westerners to export more opium to China as an effective alternative to the scarcity of silver, thereby aggravating China's economic problems.[42] Whatever their actual opinions about the opium trade, in the minds of the Chinese foreign missionaries were intimately associated with that pernicious trade. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 4.1. Missionaries and opium)*

Whereas only certain parts of the Qing Empire were directly affected by the hostilities of the Sino-French War (1884–1885) and Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), their indirect effects are rather more significant. The Japanese victory was a particularly humiliating experience

[42] For a new interpretation on the silver issue during the first half of the nineteenth century, see Lin Man-houng, *China Upside Down*.

for China's ruling class. The Treaty of Shimonoseki not only led to the loss of Taiwan, but also imposed an exorbitant indemnity on China. Furthermore, in the aftermath of the conflict the 'scramble for concessions' by the foreign powers the Qing government was forced to make territorial concessions in the form of leaseholds to Germany, Russia, France and the United Kingdom, but also economic concessions (mining and railways) to various foreign interests. These developments in the 1890s caused much anxiety and contributed to a general upsurge of antiforeignism, not only among the elite but also among the ordinary people who were facing economic hardship, social unrest and natural calamities. Thus, the North China drought famine in 1898–1900 was accompanied by considerably more violence—and particularly antiforeign violence—than the famine of 1876–1879. Increasing foreign penetration, especially by missionaries, had become an additional complicating factor in the intervening years. Where fatalistic acceptance of calamities had once been prevalent, fearful people now blamed alien influences for their catastrophic misfortunes. In the hot summer of 1900 it was the missionaries and the Chinese Christians who bore the brunt of the Boxer Uprising. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 3.4. The Boxer Uprising)*

Bibliography

Bohr, P. Richard, *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876–1884*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962.

Gottschang, Thomas Richard, "Migration from North China to Manchuria: An Economic History, 1891–1942", Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1982.

Ho Ping-ti, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368–1953*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Jones, Susan Mann, and Philip A. Kuhn, "Dynastic Decline and the Roots of Rebellion", in Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 10: *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911, Part 1*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 107–162.

Laamann, Lars P., *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China: Christian Inculturation and State Control, 1720–1850*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Lapidus, Ira M., "Hierarchies and Networks: A Comparison of Chinese and Islamic Societies", in Frederic Wakeman, Jr., and Carolyn Grant (eds.), *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975, pp. 26–42.

Lin Man-houng, *China Upside Down: Currency, Society, and Ideologies, 1808–1856*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, distributed by Harvard University Press, 2006.

Liu Kwang-Ching, "Nineteenth-century China: The Disintegration of the Old Order and the Impact of the West", in Ho Ping-ti and Tsou Tang (eds.), *China's Heritage*

and the Communist Political System, Vol. 1 of *China in Crisis*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968, pp. 93–178.
Mallory, Walter H., *China: Land of Famine*, New York: American Geographical Society, 1926.
Naquin, Susan, *Millenarian Rebellion in China: The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
Ocko, Jonathan K., *Bureaucratic Reform in Provincial China: Ting Jih-ch'ang in Restoration Kiangsu, 1867–1870*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Council on East Asian Studies, 1983.
Wakeman, "Introduction" in Frederic Wakeman, Jr., and Carolyn Grant (eds.), *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

3.3. The Treaty System

Upon the conclusion of the First Opium War (1839–1842) the Qing authorities were compelled to negotiate with the British, French and Americans treaties . These treaties with Britain (Nanjing 1842 and the supplementary treaty of the Bogue 虎門 1843), France (Whampoa 黃埔 1844) and with the United States (Wangxia 望廈 1844) "dramatically changed the prospects for missionary work China".[43] The following provisions were of particular relevance to Catholic and Protestant operations:

1.) The opening of five 'treaty ports' (Guangzhou, Amoy [Xiamen], Fuzhou, Ningbo, Shanghai) permitted foreigners, including missionaries, to live and engage in their particular occupations at these ports.
2.) The cession of Hongkong [Xianggang] to Britain as a crown colony gave missionaries an additional and rather more secure base on China's southeastern coast.
3.) Under the principle of 'extraterritoriality' nationals of treaty nations were subject to the laws of their own country rather than the laws of China. Individuals accused of committing a crime in China would not be subject to the jurisdiction of Chinese law, but would instead be tried and, if necessary, punished by foreign officials in China (consular jurisdiction).
4.) As a result of the 'most-favored-nation' clause in all of the above treaties, any special consideration given one power could be claimed by all treaty powers.

[43] Lazich, *E.C. Bridgman (1801–1861)*, p. 238.

Although two provisions of the Sino-American treaty specifically pertained more specifically to American Protestant missionaries in China "and which in retrospect may be seen to have contributed greatly to breaching the formidable cultural barriers between China and the West",[44] it was the Sino-French negotiations that ushered in a new epoch in Chinese mission history. On 28 December 1844, the French plenipotentiary Théodose de Lagrené succeeded in obtaining an imperial rescript lifting the prohibition against belief in Christianity. Furthermore, on 20 February 1846 an imperial edict provided for the return to the Christians of certain church properties, especially in some of the larger cities, that had been confiscated by the Qing government during the Yongzheng reign.[45] However, the Chinese people remained suspicious of and hostile toward Christianity. Probably few missionaries realised the depth and strength of the Chinese state's historical obsession with preserving orthodoxy, and the resulting immense suspicion of Christianity as a heterodox doctrine that would undermine the traditional social order. Although before 1860 Chinese law still prohibited foreign missionaries from entering the hinterland, yet many Catholic priests continued to do so clandestinely—and in time some Protestant missionaries also attempted to set up permanent stations outside the treaty ports.

Christianity and the treaties of 1858–1860

The religious clauses in the various 'agreements' at the end of the Second Opium War had a rather more profound impact on the missionary enterprise and its interaction with Chinese society as well as on the Qing Empire's international relations. Indeed, from the middle of the nineteenth century the evangelisation of China was greatly facilitated by what would later be called the 'unequal treaties'.[46] At the same time, the insistence on and implementation of 'treaty rights' by missionaries and Chinese Christians also contributed to the frequent conflicts between converts and non-Christians. It will, therefore, be useful to

[44] Lazich, *E. C. Bridgman (1801–1861)*, p. 233.

[45] Grosse-Aschhoff, *The Negotiations between Ch'i-Ying and Lagrené*; Wei, *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine 1842–1856*; Rivinius, *Weltlicher Schutz*, pp. 45–56.

[46] For a discussion of the term 'unequal treaties', see Wang, *China's Unequal Treaties*, chapter 1: "Tracing the Contours of the Unequal Treaties in Imperial China, 1840–1911".

examine the relevant clauses of the various treaties in some detail, not least because a comparison reveals certain differences among the treaties in the content of the relevant clauses.

The first of the treaties of Tianjin was concluded with Russia on 13 June 1858. Article VIII, after stipulating for the protection of Chinese Christians, provided that

> The Chinese Government, considering missionaries as good men, seeking for no material advantage, will permit them to propagate Christianity among its subjects, and will not prevent them from moving about in the interior of the Empire. A certain number of missionaries leaving open towns or port shall be provided with passports signed by the Russian Authorities.[47]

The American Treaty of Tianjin (18 June 1858) is of particular interest because Protestant missionaries took part in the negotiations. Perhaps it is not surprising that the clause of greatest importance to the missionaries was drafted by the American Presbyterian missionaries S. Wells Williams and W. A. P. Martin. It provided for greater missionary access to the interior of the country. William Bradford Reed 列衛廉 (1806–1876), the U.S. Minister to China, accepted the following formulation of this provision:

> The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States, or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teaches and practices the principles of Christianity shall in no case be interfered with or molested.[48]

Protestant missionaries, having been confined to just a few points along the coast since the First Opium War, were eagerly looking forward to the opportunities affording them greater access to China's vast hinterland. Thus, Elijah Bridgman, who had participated in the negotiations of the American Treaty of 1844, approved of the 1858 provision in the expectation "*that Christian missionaries have full liberty to preach & propagate the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ in every &*

[47] English translation reproduced in Wellington Koo, p. 292. Koo points out that the Chinese text "does not altogether agree" with the French translation of the Russian text. Ibid., p. 292 note 1.

[48] Cited in Lazich, *E.C. Bridgman*, p. 365.

all parts of the Chinese Empire".[49] Article VIII of the British treaty of 26 June 1858 contained similar provisions to the American religious clauses, provided that the actions of missionaries and converts were "not offending against the Laws". It should be pointed out in this connection that relations between British missionaries and British officials were rarely cordial in nineteenth-century China.

The French treaty of 27 June 1858 (Article XIII) contains essentially the same provisions concerning the issue of official toleration of the Christian religion and missionary access to the interior, "provided with regular passports". However, it was the Sino-French Convention of Beijing 北京條約) (25 October 1860) that ultimately created the framework for the significant Catholic evangelistic expansion during the last third of the nineteenth century. In particular, the Chinese text of Article VI—rather than the authoritative French version—is the most comprehensive with regard to the privileges of Christians and Catholic missionaries:

> It shall be promulgated throughout the length and breadth of the land, in the terms of the Imperial Edict of the 20th of February, 1846, that it is permitted to all people in all parts of China to propagate and practice the 'teachings of the Lord of Heaven,' to meet together for the preaching of the doctrine, to build churches and to worship; further all such as indiscriminately arrest (Christians) shall be duly punished; and such churches, schools, cemeteries, lands, and buildings, as were owned on former occasions by persecuted Christians shall be paid for, and the money handed to the French Representative in Peking, for transmission to the Christians in the localities concerned.

The final sentence in the Chinese version of Article VI proved to be rather more troublesome: "*It is, in addition, permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the Provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure.*"[50] This additional wording is believed to have been added surreptitiously by the MEP priest Louis-Charles Delamarre 艾氏 (1810–1863) who was assisting the interpreter of the French legation, Eugène-Herman (baron) de Méritens 美理登 (1832–1898?). Not having any French speakers of their own, Qing officials

---

[49] Bridgman to Rufus Anderson, Shanghai, 14 June 1858, cited in Lazich, *E.C. Bridgman*, p. 366; emphasis in the original.

[50] English translation, in Hertslet's *China Treaties*, quoted in Wellington Koo, p. 293 note 1. Compare the two French versions of Article VI, one in the original, the other translated from the Chinese, in Wei, *Politique missionnaire*, p. 457; Cordier, *Histoire des Relations de la Chine*, I, p. 53. For the Chinese text, see *YWSM*: XF, 28: 21.

apparently did not discover the significant discrepancy between the French and Chinese texts until 1869. The interpolation, in particular, produced many difficulties and numerous disputes between the missionaries and the local Chinese authorities as well as between the diplomats and consular agents and the Zongli Yamen.[51] While Catholic missionaries at the time as well as some later scholars defended Delamarre's action, the Chinese priest and mission historian Louis Wei Tsing-sing (1903–2001), is more forthright: "That fraudulent act, work of a Catholic missionary, had rather unfortunate consequences: it incurred the indignation and a general distrust of the messengers of Christianity and French diplomats in China."[52]

Convinced that the Catholic missionaries were too aggressive in the pursuit of their evangelistic work, the new French minister plenipotentiary, Jules-François-Gustave Berthemy 柏爾德密 (1826–1902) advised the vicars apostolic to be more circumspect in their actions. With regard to the property issue, he argued that Article VI of the Sino-French Convention was not intended to give foreign clergy the opportunity to obtain land for profit but solely for missionary purposes. The Berthemy Convention of 1865, while confirming that French missionaries had the right to rent and purchase property in the interior, stated that such properties were not to be held in the name of individual missionaries or convert but collectively by the local Catholic mission. According to Henri Cordier, the Chinese provincial authorities "unfortunately" added to the official texts the stipulation that each sale had to be investigated to ensure that the authorities approved and the local people did not oppose such transactions. From the Chinese perspective, this was quite a sensible requirement. After all, according to local customary law, when land did become available, neighbours usually had first refusal. This was an aspect foreign missionaries often did not—or perhaps did not want to—understand. Moreover, property disputes on account of fraudulent transactions, sellers with unclear

---

[51] Koo, pp. 315–316.; Wei, *Politique missionnaire*, p. 457. For further details as to who may have been responsible for the interpolation, see Cohen, *China and Christianity*, pp. 298–299, note 13. Delamarre's obituary states rather delicately that he had contributed to rendering Article VI "plus précis dans le texte chinois que dans le texte français". Having met with anti-Christian agitation upon his return to Sichuan, Delamarre left for Beijing to complain, but he died en route at Hankou on 3 October 1863, "it is said, from poison slowly administered by the Chinese". See the MEP online obituary: http://www.mepasie.org/?q=node/29592 (last accessed 6 February 2009).

[52] Wei, *Politique missionnaire*, p. 458.

ownership rights or local geomantic concerns were not uncommon in rural China. The Chinese position was that official investigations would protect missionaries from deception and financial loss. In view of these complications, the Berthemy Convention, the text of which was never officially published and was not known to other foreign representatives in China until much later, created further misunderstandings and unpleasantness for the impatient missionaries in subsequent property transactions.[53] It was not until the end of the century that the French minister Auguste Gérard 施阿蘭 (1852–1922) negotiated a less ambiguous agreement with the Zongli Yamen, namely the convention of 14 April 1895. It enabled Catholic missionaries to purchase property on behalf of the local church without the prior consent of local officials.[54]

In the aftermath of the 1858–1860 treaty ratifications, the French diplomats extracted additional religious concessions from the Qing. At the instigation of the acting French chargé d'affaires Count Michel-Alexandre Kleczkowski 哥士奇 (1818–1886), the imperial edict of 8 April 1862 exempted Chinese Catholics from making contributions to village endeavours, if these included 'superstitious' practices. Consequently, Chinese Catholics usual refused to support such communal ritual activities as public sacrifices, local temple festivals and theatrical performances.[55]

The Sino-French agreements of the mid-nineteenth century were part of the French drive to establish a religious protectorate over Catholic missions in China. At the same time, French missionaries had for some time sought to obtain French governmental assistance in their troublesome dealings with the Chinese authorities.[56] Certainly by the time the Beijing Convention was in force the legal basis for the French protectorate, although not explicitly mentioned in any treaty,

---

[53] For the French text of the Convention of 20 February 1865 and of a copy of a letter from the Zongli Yamen to Jiangsu governor Li Hongzhang, attached to the Convention, see Cordier, *Histoire des Relations de la Chine*, I, pp. 70–71. For the Chinese text of the Berthemy Convention, see *JWJAD* series I, vol. 1, doc. 86, p. 52; *Zhengjiao fengchuan* (The propagation of the orthodox [Catholic] religion), p. 120.

[54] For the text and background discussion of the Gérard Convention, see Sweeten, *Christianity in Rural China*, pp. 105–107. See also Wang, "Wan Qing Tianzhu jiaohui zai neidi de zhichan quan shulun".

[55] On the impact in Shanxi of the exemption, see Thompson, "Twilight of the Gods in the Chinese Countryside", pp. 57–60.

[56] Wiest, "Understanding Mission and the Jesuits' Shifting Approaches toward China"; Chen, "Faguo Tianzhujiao chuanjiaoshi", pp. 141–206.

was assumed to have been established. It was intended to enhance French prestige as a counterpart to the dominant British economic influence in China. Under the French religious protectorate—and with the tacit approval of the Holy See's Secretariat of State and Propaganda Fide—all Catholic missionaries, regardless of nationality, received assistance from French consular and diplomatic representatives in their frequent disputes with the Chinese. The special passports, issued by French consular officials and visaed by the Qing government, were given to all European priests and sisters. Thus, in subsequent official exchanges between the Zongli Yamen and the French authorities, all Catholic missionaries were identified as 'French', including those from Belgium, Italy, Spain and even Portugal. Rather more importantly, this religious protectorate was extended to include Chinese Catholics, with grave consequences.

Collectively, the various treaties were a key factor in the expansion of the missionary enterprise and Chinese reactions to it. A comparison of the American, British and French treaties indicates that the French had managed to extract the greatest advantages from the Qing government for the Catholic missions in China, especially with regard to the acquisition of property in the interior. Protestant missionaries insisted, however, that they were entitled to the same privileges as Catholic priest and continually urged American and British officials to secure equal rights for them. This became another sources of friction between foreigners and Chinese.

Proliferation of 'religious cases'

Perhaps it is not unreasonable to argue that the various treaty arrangements made religious conflict more likely. In view of the privileged position the Catholic missionary enterprise and its Chinese adherents enjoyed as a consequence of the treaties after 1860, it is not surprising that the French state, as protector of foreign priests and Chinese Catholics, became rather frequently involved in so-called 'missionary cases' (*jiao'an* 教案)—or more appropriately, 'religious cases'. During the last four decades of the nineteenth century the term *jiao'an* was used in connection with anti-Christian agitation that occurred over a wide variety as well as combinations of issues. Paul Cohen, who produced one of the earliest academic studies of anti-Christian violence in China, has helpfully explained '*jiao'an*' as follows:

> This is a general term denoting anti-Christian outbreaks, along with the whole gamut of legal cases and other difficulties involving Christian subjects and foreign missionaries. It is translated here as 'missionary cases,' with the implicit understanding that missionaries themselves were not always directly involved in *chiao-an*. Some missionary cases were of minor importance; others had international repercussions. The immediate causes behind them were complex, and the varied circumstances of time, place, and personality under which they took place offer little solace to the historian, ever in search of simple patterns.[57]

As the turbulent history of Christianity in late nineteenth century China demonstrates, the occasions and causes of anti-Christian and anti-missionary conflict were many. Moreover, *jiao'an* often were complex and multi-causal affairs. While it can be argued that *anti-missionary* conflict was to some extent part of the growing resistance by the Chinese people to the increasing pressures exerted by the foreign powers, it should also be recognised that *anti-Christian* violence tended to be intimately linked to existing tensions within and among local systems. Hundreds of major *jiao'an* were settled only after involvement of the foreign legations and the Zongli Yamen. The records of these cases are found in the multi-volume *Jiaowu jiao'an dang* 教務教案檔 (Files on religious affairs and religious cases) collection. It is more difficult to ascertain the number of cases that were resolved locally or after the intervention of consular officials rather than the authorities in Beijing. Information on some of these usually minor *jiao'an* may be found in the consular archives, missionary publications or Chinese local gazetteers. However, the problem with all these primary sources is that

> this information is all too often supported by evidence which is either flimsy and circumstantial or conflicting.… The root of the problem, of course, lies in the fact that both the Chinese and the foreigner were too deeply involved in these events to be able to view them with Olympian detachment. The missionary was not always concerned with 'fair procedures' when he had an opportunity to embarrass his detractors. And the Chinese official, in his reports to the throne, did not savor the idea of implicating members of the gentry class, upon whose support his effectiveness as an official materially depended.[58]

---

[57] Cohen, *China and Christianity*, pp. x–xi.
[58] Cohen, *China and Christianity*, pp. 108, 109.

Missionaries may have been preoccupied with defending the 'treaty rights' of Christians, yet in practice they and their flocks relied on the adversarial approach to conflict resolution typical of imperial Chinese legal culture. Indeed, it has been suggested that some missionaries acted as 'litigation masters' (*songshi* 訟師).[59] In such cases it is not always possible for the historian to determine which party had right on its side. Nor do latter-day academics imbued with a strong nationalistic, ideological or religious spirit necessarily tell a full and unbiased story.

Among the many causes giving rise to conflict between Christians and non-Christians in late nineteenth-century China, "that fecund nursery of feuds, the land question"[60] was often a key factor in the disputes between the Qing government and foreign consular and diplomatic personnel, between local officials and missionaries as well as between the common people, led by local notables, and the Chinese Christians. One important aspect of the 'land question' concerned the return of former church property to the Chinese Catholics. According to the authoritative French text as well as the Chinese version of the Sino-French Convention of Beijing, all Christian buildings confiscated in the eighteenth century were to be returned to the French minister in Beijing who would oversee their return to the appropriate ecclesiastical owners. However, Paul Cohen has alluded to "the extremes to which Catholic missionaries went in demanding choice locations and properties from the Chinese as restitution for grievances going back in some cases to the K'ang-hsi era".[61] The tenacity with which some priests pursued the matter resulted not infrequently in violent opposition, diplomatic intervention and protracted negotiations.

Moreover, under the treaties Catholic missionaries had the right to evangelise openly in the interior, and Qing subjects had the right to practice their Christian faith without interference. Consequently, the expanding missionary enterprise required new premises for prayer houses, chapels, churches, seminaries, schools, workshops, hospitals, orphanages, as well as residences for foreign missionaries. In light of the fraudulent interpolation in the Chinese text of the Beijing convention, 'French' missionaries insisted that they were entitled to rent and

---

[59] See Macauley, *Social Power and Legal Culture*, Chapter 5: "Disputation of the Body Snatchers: Judicial Depravity and Legal Culture".

[60] Michie, *The Englishman in China*, I, p. 235.

[61] Cohen, *China and Christianity*, p. 147.

purchase land and construct buildings in all the provinces. However, in the process of acquiring such premises the missionaries frequently encountered popular and/or elite opposition. Such hostility could stem from a number of causes: (1) severe local land scarcity; (2) procedural problems; (3) real or pretended geomantic concerns; (4) official objections on legal grounds; and (5) existing property disputes. Missionary insensitivity to local issues could further inflame the situation. Standing on their treaty rights, the foreign evangelists would insist on acquiring property in the localities of their choice. Rarely inclined to compromise, they claimed that local objections were merely a pretext to prevent the propagation of the Christian religion—perhaps not always without justification.

Besides the property issue, several other causal factors gave rise to anti-Christian conflict. Among these ideological incompatibility with Confucianism was a long-standing source of upper-class Chinese hostility to the missionary presence in China. Confronted by an intensely Sinocentric culturalism, the foreign evangelists, with few exceptions, launched an uncompromising attack on the Confucian value system. Clamouring for changes that were intended to facilitate the conversion of China, "all missionaries, by the very nature of their calling, posed a revolutionary challenge to the traditional culture"[62] Protestant missionaries affiliated with 'classical' missions, in particular, advocated their version of 'modernisation' (for example, Western learning; the provision of medical services; promotion of individualism) as China's way forward to 'salvation'—if need be at the point of a gun.[63] Chinese officials and literati, for their part, feared the disruptive effect of foreign missionary activities on the traditional political and cultural fabric of society. Indeed, throughout the late nineteenth century foreign missionaries were generally of the opinion that much of the anti-missionary and anti-Christian agitation was being fomented by the Chinese 'gentry'.[64]

The prevalence of indigenous 'heterodoxy' in the nineteenth century, especially in macroregional peripheries, is another indication that the Confucian order was in decline. In this connection, it should be noted that Christianity had been declared to be a heterodox religion by the

[62] Cohen, "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900", p. 544.
[63] See Schlesinger, "The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism", pp. 360–361 and 372.
[64] See Lü Shiqiang, *Zhongguo guanshen fanjiao de yuanyin 1860–1874*.

Yongzheng emperor in 1724 and had been treated accordingly by the Qing authorities.[65] Although the heterodoxy label was removed from the Qing Code in 1870, Christianity continued to be regarded as a subversive sect by many officials, literati and commoners alike. According to late nineteenth-century missionary accounts, hostile magistrates persisted in persecuting and punishing neophytes and 'enquirers' for conspiring with foreigners to introduce corrupt and dangerous doctrines. Because the Qing state and its local representatives continued to treat Christianity as a proscribed sect, any links between 'foreign heterodoxy' (*yangxie* 洋邪) and indigenous outlawed religious groups, often indiscriminately and inaccurately referred to as White Lotus sects (*Bailian jiao* 白蓮教),[66] would prove particularly problematical.

Daniel Bays has noted a degree of commonality in value content, structure and social role which provided a substantial common ground of identity between Chinese folk religious 'sects' and Christianity.[67] Perhaps it is not surprising to learn that in northern China a significant number of Catholic and Protestant converts came from indigenous sectarian backgrounds. As Susan Naquin has noted, switching one's sect affiliation was common within the White Lotus tradition: "There were some people who went from sect to sect, joining first one and then another, always searching for the 'best' system."[68] For some members of folk religious groups it was, therefore, a relatively small step to turn to Christianity because it offered an attractive *religious* alternative. For their part, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries were well aware of the considerable conversion potential amongst what they usually called *mimijiao* 秘密教 ('secret sects'). The Jesuit Prosper Leboucq 徐聽波 (1828–1905), for example, claimed that over a ten-year period he had baptised nearly 6,000 former 'White Lotus' believers in Hejian prefecture (Zhili) alone.[69] Thus, from the perspective of the Chinese ruling class, the acceptance into the church of indigenous 'heterodox'

---

[65] For details, see J. J. M. de Groot, *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China*, pp. 329–334, 387–405.

[66] For a comprehensive discussion, see B. J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings*.

[67] Bays, "Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition", *CSWT* 4,7 (June 1982), p. 37; idem, "Christianity and Chinese Sects: Religious Tracts in the Late Nineteenth Century", in Barnett and Fairbank, pp. 127–128. See also Austin, *China's Millions*, pp. 11–14.

[68] Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China*, p. 37.

[69] Leboucq, letter dated 27 February 1875, *Études* 5th ser., vol. 8 (July–December 1875), p. 213.

elements by the missionaries tended to reinforce the assumption that Christianity was indeed a subversive creed.

Disputes in connection with local socio-religious practices constituted another major source of anti-Christian conflict. In villages where Christians were a minority, they could be ostracised by the rest of the community. But more importantly, in some ways the Christians chose to set themselves apart so as to enjoy the privileges which the missionaries had won for them under the treaties' religious toleration clauses. Such behaviour was bound to create or exacerbate intra-communal tensions. As a result of their conversions, neophytes withdrew from those communal practices that were said to have a 'superstitious' character. The Christians' refusal to take part in traditional ancestor worship, "the most important ritual expression of the value attached to the family", was especially contentious, for their rejection of it "directly challenged values which lay at this culture's core".[70] Weddings and funerals were the principal occasions giving rise to anti-Christian hostility and even violence.

In traditional China no distinction was made between religious matters and secular village affairs. As Charles Litzinger's study shows, in southwestern Zhili the village temple could have an important integrative function "as an institution to which the entire village community belonged by virtue of residence in the village and which functioned as the center of village social life". In some localities the temple was thus more than simply a religious institution. It served as the natural focus for community festivals, theatricals, local defence and education (serving as the *yixue* 義學, or charity school).[71] The Christians' refusal to support temple-based activities increased the burden for the rest of the community and provoked further enmity:

> Village elders and trustees of temples unite in efforts to exact from Christians contributions for theatres and the repairs of temples. When the native Christians persist in asserting their purpose to follow their own convictions of duty in opposition to those who think they have both the right and the power to control them, open outbreaks ensue, resulting

[70] Cohen, "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900", 568. On conflict over Christian refusal to perform the ancestor worship, see the cases in Haiyang *xian* in 1890–91: Hunter Corbett to Fuller, Chefoo, 23 April 1891 and 13 July 1891, NA: RG84, Chefoo Miscellaneous Correspondence, vol. 4.

[71] Litzinger, "Temple Community and Village Cultural Integration", p. 79.

> in brutal assaults, house burning, and in some cases driving Christians from their homes.[72]

From the non-Christians' point of view, the converts' withdrawal from local socio-religious affairs could undermine communal cohesiveness. Solidarity was further eroded when the Christians insisted on obtaining a share of the temple's economic assets to build a chapel.[73] However, as other examples from Zhili province indicate, not all villages were mono-ritual communities. Indeed, since "individual villages were marked by distinct variations in their religious institutions",[74] some communities relied on mainstream ritual specialists, yet other villages availed themselves of the public ritual activities of sectarian groups. In view of the fact that in certain localities no one group was holding a monopoly on village religiosity, the willingness of some villagers to accept Christianity is perhaps not at all surprising, especially in a time of increasing uncertainty and hardship.

As has been shown in the preceding passages, the causes of anti-Christian and anti-missionary conflict were many. While it can be argued that *anti-missionary* conflict was to some extent and in some cases part of the growing resistance by the Chinese people to the increasing pressures exerted by the foreign powers, it should also be recognised that *anti-Christian* violence was often intimately linked to existing tensions within and among local systems. In those regions of China where a culture of violence prevailed, attacks on Christians were more often than not part of the intensely competitive struggle for scarce resources rather than the culmination of religious differences. Especially during the last decade of the nineteenth century, Catholic missionaries were most successful in precisely those parts of northern China where traditional collective violence (banditry, feuding and salt smuggling) had long been endemic. On account of their privileged position in China, Catholic priests were able to attract a following because they could provide effective protection and material incentives for their adherents or potential adherents. It could, therefore, be argued that conversion to Christianity was an attractive survival strategy for a significant minority in violently competitive environments. On the chronically turbulent North China Plain, for instance, existing patterns of con-

---

[72] Nevius, "Methods of Mission Work", p. 104.
[73] See, for example, Tiedemann, "Liyuantun jiaoan he Yihequan de qiyuan".
[74] DuBois, *Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China*, p. 40.

flict had actually encouraged the expansion of the Catholic missionary enterprise in the 1890s.

As a consequence of the 'unequal treaty' arrangements and the religious protectorates, the foreign missionaries and their native adherents were not slow to exploit their privileged position in Chinese society. It enabled the Catholic priests, in particular, to intervene more aggressively in local factional struggles. Missionary intervention in lawsuits on behalf of their adherents or potential adherents was another major causal factor in the proliferation of 'religious cases', usually in connection with the expanding Catholic missionary enterprise. In other words, often it was not until the intervention of the priest that an ordinary dispute was transformed into a '*jiao'an*'.

It may be useful here to mention some specific *jiao'an*, for they reveal certain similarities with and can be regarded as precedents for the events in the 1890s on the eve of the Boxer Uprising. Only some key examples have been selected to illustrate the salient aspects of the interactions between Catholic missionaries, the foreign imperialist powers and China's political actors in connection with 'missionary cases'. Perhaps the most notorious episode of French intervention in involved the actions of *chargé d'affaires* Count Julien de Rochechouart 羅淑亞 (1831–1879) in the late 1860s. When the French missionary Jean-François Rigaud 李國 MEP (1834–1869) and a number of converts were killed at Youyang 酉陽, Sichuan, in January 1869, the French diplomat threatened to send French officials and gunboats to that province. He furthermore insisted that the governor-general of the province be ordered to Beijing for interrogation. In late 1869 he travelled on warships up the Yangzi river to settle several cases in person, which "won him a lasting place in the hearts of patriotic French missionaries".[75] In March 1870 a French gunboat was dispatched to Anqing, the capital of Anhui, to speed up the settlement of a missionary case there. When anti-Christian troubles occurred at Zunyi, Guizhou, de Rochechouart demanded that the governor Zeng Biguang 曾璧光 (d. 1875) be cashiered and sent to the Chinese capital for questioning.[76] Moreover, in the summer of 1869, de Rochechouart visited

[75] Cohen, *China and Christianity*, p. 213.

[76] For further details, see ibid., pp. 206–214. Concerning the Guizhou troubles, Prince Gong complained that Bishop Louis-Simon Faurie 胡縛理 MEP (1824–1871) was exceeding his rights by addressing his demands directly to the Zongli Yamen. Singling out Faurie, Henri Cordier commented that "il est incontestable que ce prélat

several mission stations in Zhili and Shanxi provinces to personally settle *jiao'an* in various places.[77] Some of the subsequent major anti-Christian incidents were settled in a similar aggressive fashion, most notably the 'Tianjin Massacre' (1870).[78]

Protestant jiao'an

The 'religious' clauses in the American and British treaties with China of 1858–1860 were much weaker than those in the French treaties. Nevertheless, American and British Protestant missionaries were now able to expand their evangelistic operations as well. Having hitherto been confined to the five old treaty ports and Hongkong, they were now able to move into the new treaty ports as well as into the interior. However, as recent arrivals they lacked the established missionary infrastructure of Catholic missionary enterprise in China's hinterland. Furthermore, under the American and British treaties of 1858–60—and unlike the Catholics in China—, American and British Protestant missionaries did not have the right to acquire property outside the treaty ports. The American envoy Frederick F. Low, for instance, pointed out that American missionaries had illegally moved inland and thereby intensified antiforeignism.[79]

But this did not deter some Protestants from insisting that they were entitled to the same privileges as Catholic missionaries and their converts—and sometimes Chinese local officials approved property transaction, either out of ignorance or fear. Samuel Wells Williams, a former ABCFM missionary who had been present as interpreter at the negotiations concerning the American Treaty of Tianjin in 1858, noted at the time: "We shall get nothing important out of the Chinese unless we stand in a menacing attitude before them. They would grant nothing unless fear stimulated their sense of justice, for they are among

---

par ces exigences et ses imprudences causa, dans son ardeur inconsidérée, à différentes reprises de grands soucis à la légation de France, et il est fort heureux, dans l'intérêt même des missionnaires, que M[gr] Faurie n'ait pas en beaucoup d'imitateurs parmi ses collègues." Henri Cordier, *Histoire des relations de la Chine*, vol. I, p. 336.

[77] Cohen, *China and Christianity*, p. 209.

[78] For a comprehensive analysis of a number of—mainly Catholic—cases in the 1860s, see Cohen, *China and Christianity*. On the Tianjin Incident, its causes and repercussions, see also Tang, *Qingji Tianjin jiaoan yanjiu*; Chen, "Faguo Tianzhujiao chuanjiaoshi", pp. 141–206.

[79] See David L. Anderson, *Imperialism and Idealism: American Diplomats in China, 1861–1898*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985, p. 73.

the most craven people, cruel, selfish as heathenism can make men."[80] Indeed, during the last four decades of the nineteenth century, many missionaries continued to hold the view that a conciliatory approach would be taken as weakness and embolden the Chinese to resist settlements in favour of the Christians or their foreign protectors. Thus, when "these missionaries called for war, they all seemed to perceive the same process: a Western military invasion would create turmoil and weaken China's institutional resistance to Christianity".[81]

British Protestant missionaries, too, considered it their right to acquire property outside the treaty ports. In a long letter on the protection of missionaries by Great Britain, Richard Frederick Laughton 駱騑力 (1838–1870), a member of the Baptist Missionary Society at Yantai, insisted in 1869 that Protestants should enjoy the same treaty rights as secured to Catholic priests by the Convention with France signed in Beijing in 1860. He feared, however, that both "the right and propriety of missionaries residing in the interior of China are now called into question." Alluding to the debate on the China missions in the British Parliament, he concluded:

> The [Chinese] empire is weak, rotten, and corrupt; and things have been made much worse by the opium trade which has been forced upon it, and has spread poverty, wretchedness, and death through the land. While our merchants are jealously guarded and protected in their privileges of selling opium and Manchester goods, are we who come to represent the Christianity of England…to have *our* treaty privileges held in abeyance, and even abrogated?[82]

Laughton was particularly disappointed that the British acting vice-consul, Chaloner Alabaster 阿查立 (1838–1898), had not insisted on enforcement of the 'treaty right' of missionaries to acquire property outside the treaty ports. The British Minister Sir J. Rutherford Alcock 阿禮國 (1809–1897), for his part, conceded that

---

[80] See Frederick W. Williams, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams*, p 268. S. W. Williams managed to have inserted into the American treaty clauses that not only extended religious toleration but also permitted travel anywhere in the interior of China.

[81] Stuart Creighton Miller, "Ends and Means: Missionary Justification of Force in Nineteenth Century China", p. 269.

[82] Richard Frederick Laughton, in *Missionary Herald* no. 225 (London, 1 November 1869), p. 181, 183. Emphasis in the original. For views in favour of missionary acquisition of property in the interior, see also Gilbert Reid, "Chinese Law on the Ownership of Church Property in the Interior of China", *CR* 20 (September 1889), pp. 420–426.

> what the French missionaries enjoy cannot, according to Treaty, be denied by the Chinese authorities to the British. But…the conditions of enjoyment are such as to make it entirely contingent on the disposition of the Chinese local authority to promote or oppose it, and the acquisition of any place of residence by missionaries in the face of such opposition would be impossible without the direct interference of a foreign Power.

He added that the recent occurrences at Yantai and elsewhere in China "all prove how active is the opposition to any assertion of this right, and to what dangerous extremities both authorities and people proceed in order to frustrate any attempt of missionaries to establish a new domicile in the interior." He concluded that these "untoward results of proselytizing labours" tended "greatly to complicate relations both political and commercial". It remained, therefore, "a serious question for Her Majesty's Government to decide, whether they will demand for British missionaries the same facilities and privileges that are claimed by the French Government for the Romish missions in the interior. Because certain terms have been conceded to these, it does not follow that the British Government must of necessity accept the same, with all their consequences of grave complications and national responsibilities."[83]

A closer look at the Yangzhou Case of 1868 offers some interesting issues. In the summer of that year the China Inland Mission station in the Grand Canal city of Yangzhou (Jiangsu) was attacked. When the British Consul Walter Henry Medhurst 麥華陀 (1822–1885) heard about it, he went—with Alcock's approval—with four naval warships to Nanjing to obtain redress from Governor-General Zeng Guofan. Medhurst subsequently proceeded to Yangzhou with two gunboats to force a settlement. The incident touched off a sharp reaction in England. In Parliament the Duke of Somerset wished to know just what right the British had "to send inland missions to China…to be trying to convert the Chinese in the middle of their country?" And the *Times* newspaper complained: "Missionaries are people who are always provoking the men of the world.… Parliament is not fond of missionaries, nor the press, nor is general society. Some recent occurrences in

[83] Alcock to Clarendon, Beijing, 12 March 1869, *BPP*, No. 2, Correspondence Respecting Inland Residence of English Missionaries in China, pp. 191–192.

China have tended to revive the prejudice against them."[84] It is evident that the British authorities in London were not pleased with consul Medhurst's gunboat diplomacy. As Sir Edward Hammond, the Foreign Office's permanent undersecretary, wrote with reference to the Yangzhou Affair: "I do not like this very much.… Such a course is contrary to our policy which is to hold the central government responsible for fulfillment of the Treaties." Alcock's subsequent advice of caution and the debate in Parliament in the wake of the "riot season" of 1868–69 in China helped shape British policy that was on the whole less than supportive of missionary claims.[85] Having to face adverse publicity back home, the CIM missionaries would afterwards claim that they had merely reported the initial attack but never asked for assistance. It should also be noted that the CIM leader, James Hudson Taylor, decided, as a result of the Yangzhou Case, not to have any dealings with the British or Chinese authorities. Alvyn Austin suggests that the CIM avoided contact so as to undertake covert explorations in all parts of the empire without possible obstructions imposed by British consuls. "Out there in the countryside, the CIM knew that ultimately its protection came from the blind eye of the Chinese officials: one could travel better as a lamb than as a wolf."[86] Other Protestant mission societies did not want to follow the CIM example. They were not prepared to give up their 'treaty rights' and accept certain restrictions in the Zongli Yamen's subsequent proposal.

The Chinese Memorandum

The Qing authorities as well as Chinese notables had watched the expansion of the Christianity and its attendant problems with growing apprehension. In early 1866 the Zongli Yamen sent a note to the French Minister, Claude-Henri de Bellonet 伯洛內 (d. 1881), with ten articles intended to regulate aggressive Christian proselytisation in the Chinese provinces. However, these proposals were rejected by the Catholic missionaries.[87] In light of the upsurge of violent *jiao'an*

[84] *Times*, 10 March 1869, quoted in ibid., p. 195.
[85] On the emergence of new British policy concerning the missionary question in the late 1860s, see Cohen, *China and Christianity*, pp. 186–199.
[86] Austin, *China's Millions*, p. 132.
[87] Cohen, *China and Christianity*, chapter 6.

in the late 1860s, including the Yangzhou Affair, as well as the rather more serious 'Tianjin Massacre' of 1870, the Zongli Yamen tried once more to find ways designed to minimise misunderstandings and confrontations between the Christian project and Chinese society. Consequently, a circular letter and eight draft regulations were sent to each of the foreign treaty powers on 9 February 1871. In the circular, the Zongli Yamen identified the extraterritorial status of the foreign missionaries as the core problem. They were said to operate "like so many independent hostile states within another state".[88]

The proposed eight articles for the regulation of missionary activities were similar to the proposals of 1866. They identified several major issues giving offence or engendered popular suspicions. Thus, no doubt with the Tianjin catastrophe in mind, it was proposed in *Article 1* to abolish all Catholic orphanages or at least they should cater only to Christian children. *Article 2* proposed that Chinese women should not be permitted to enter foreign churches and female missionaries should not be allowed to work in China. *Article 3* raised the issue of missionaries usurping official authority or revile Confucianism. They should not interfere in litigation involving Christians and non-Christians. Such matters should be dealt with by local officials. Chinese Christians were, after all, Chinese subjects and should not rely on the foreign religion to evade government labour service or the payment of taxes and rents. The Zongli Yamen stipulated in *Article 4* that the law should apply in equal manner to Chinese and foreigners. Moreover, missionaries should not protect Christians who were guilty of crimes nor demand compensation from innocent gentry and merchants. *Article 5* set out new guidelines for the issuance of passports to French missionaries. The province and prefecture in which the missionary intended to reside and work should be specified. Missionaries should not travel to other areas nor transfer the passports to Chinese Christians. *Article 6* enjoins the missionaries to accept only upright persons into the religion. Furthermore, in common with the practice regarding Buddhist monasteries, the names of all members of the religion should be registered with the local *baojia* 保甲 ('mutual surveillance') organisation. Converts who committed unlawful acts should be expelled from the church. The missionaries should submit

[88] For the background to and summary of the Zongli Yamen circular, see ibid., pp. 247–252.

monthly reports and the authorities should be authorised to inspect the church establishments, following the procedure applied to Buddhist and Daoist institutions. *Articles 7* states that missionaries should adhere to the established institutions and customs of China. They should not submit official communications (*zhaohui* 照會 to yamens but should use the petition (*bing* 稟) form of correspondence with Chinese officials. Moreover, they should observe proper etiquette and not barge into the yamens. In *Article 8* the Zongli Yamen reiterated its belief that missionaries did not have the right to designate any building of confiscated church property they wished to have returned to them. In property transactions the parties concerned should submit the matter to the local authorities who will investigate to ensure that there is no conflict with Chinese geomantic notions and no opposition by the local people.[89]

The foreign powers rejected these proposal. The French response was particularly harsh in tone. As is to be expected, the missionaries themselves were absolutely opposed to any curtailment of their activities. Published anonymously, the former MEP China missionary André-Félix-Chrysostome-Joseph Gennevoise's pamphlet "was a veritable masterpiece of harsh and uncompromising invective".[90] Although the Zongli Yamen's circular and draft regulations were primarily aimed at Catholic missionaries, Protestant representatives of mainline missions in China were equally determined to oppose any kind of compromise, as can be gleaned from a pamphlet prepared by Alexander Williamson 韋廉臣 (1829–1890) and Carstairs Douglas 杜嘉德 (1830–1877).[91] Given the negative reaction to its Memorandum, all the Zongli Yamen could do was to impede the rapid missionary penetration of China by refining the art of purposeful procrastination in its handling of *jiao'an*.

There is not much evidence that Catholic or Protestant missionaries moderated their aggressive propagation of Christianity in reaction to the Zongli Yamen's eight articles of the 'Memorandum'. In this

[89] For a summery of the eight articles, see ibid., pp. 252–255. For the Chinese text, see *YWSM*: TZ, 82:14–25b. See also Cohen, *China and Christianity*, p. 343 note 49 for references to full or partial English and French translations as well as other Chinese texts.

[90] An analysis of Gennevoise's *Le Memorandum chinois ou violation du traité de Péking. Exposé et réfutation* is found in Cohen, *China and Christianity*, pp. 257–259, quote on p. 257.

[91] *Analysis of the Circular of the Chinese Government on Missions*, (1871).

connection it is important to recognise that what foreign missionaries had in common was their all-consuming sense of 'mission' to convert a reluctant China. If foreign secular penetration, whether economic or military, as well as 'unequal treaties' facilitated the spread of Christianity, then such actions and arrangements would be supported by most missionaries. At the same time, it could be argued that the missionary enterprise was aggressive by its very nature. It was constantly pushing the issue of 'treaty rights' to the limit, and this would create complications that often led to foreign intervention and could thus be exploited by the imperialist powers. It should also be remembered that missionary work was a continuous process in a vast non-Christian country such as China, especially since so few Chinese were prepared to become converts. Thus, the missionaries could never be satisfied with the status quo but felt a great need to forever push on and bring their 'good news' to the many still 'unreached peoples'.

Depending on the particular prevailing circumstances in time and space, this constant forward movement could meet with acceptance by a few, indifference by most and hostility by some Chinese. As far as resistance is concerned, the missionaries' frequent insistence on what they perceived to be their 'treaty rights' and their growing assertiveness was at times rather provocative and could, for instance, generate, aggravate or revive intra-community and inter-community disputes. At least some of the so-called 'missionary cases' of the late nineteenth century are indicative of the sometimes rather hostile relationship between the foreign religious project and Chinese society. Christianity as a strong institutional religion with a comprehensive infrastructure and a potentially subversive message could indeed be perceived as posing a threat to the officially sanctioned Confucian order. As a matter of fact, most missionaries regarded Confucianism and the Confucian state as the principal obstacles to what they perceived to be their most urgent task, namely the saving of souls. As far as local Chinese power holders were concerned, the greatest threat to their customary position came from the missionaries' role as formidable *political* actors. Thus Catholic missionaries, in particular, could in certain circumstances explicitly challenge both the formal and informal agents of Chinese political power. The foreign clergy was part of a complex and active Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy that deliberately paralleled the increasingly inert secular Chinese administrative hierarchy. Moreover, in their dealings with local government functionaries, the priests insisted

on wearing Chinese official robes,[92] and considered it their right to treat with local officials as social equals. Such complications both on the local level and with the Chinese state could in turn be exploited by the foreign powers. It was precisely this troublesome behaviour of the Catholic and Protestant missionary enterprises the Zongli Yamen sought to address in its circular and eight articles.

Unlike other Protestant societies at the time—and in light of the troubles at Yangzhou in 1868—the China Inland Mission shunned reliance on consular protection and gunboat diplomacy. However, this does not mean that it regarded the conversion of China with less urgency. On the contrary, driven by its premillennial theology, the CIM proceeded with even greater haste to bring its salvationist message to the Chinese masses. Hence the unprecedented influx of CIM personnel and the rapid and deep penetration of the Chinese hinterland without the impediment of consular protection or interference. The first group of twenty-two CIM missionaries having arrived in China in 1866,[93] thirty years later some 640 men and women had joined this interdenominational and international venture. Indeed, at the end of the nineteenth century, several newly-founded missionary organisations had become associated with CIM operations in China. In this connection, the Swedish-American evangelist Fredrik Franson (1852–1908) became an important promoter and organiser of foreign missions among the Scandinavian immigrants in the United States, in Scandinavia and in the German-speaking countries.[94] By 1900 the CIM and its associates formed the largest Protestant missionary body, with foreign evangelists present in nearly every province and territory of the Qing Empire.[95]

---

[92] Catholic priests had assumed quasi-official Chinese status long before the imperial edict of March 1899. On the edict, see George Nye Steiger, "China's Attempt to Absorb Christianity: The Decree of March 15, 1899", *T'oung Pao* 24, 1926, pp. 215–246.

[93] In May 1866, Taylor, with his wife and children and a party of sixteen missionaries, sailed for China in the clipper ship *Lammermuir*.

[94] On Franson and his contribution to the missionary enterprise in China, see Torjesen, *Fredrik Franson: A Model for Worldwide Evangelism*. For a history of the German faith missions to China, see Andreas Franz, *Mission ohne Grenzen*. On the Swedish dimension, see also Claesson, *Kinesernas vänner*.

[95] The CIM and its associates chose not to extend their evangelistic endeavours into Guangxi, Guangdong and Fujian.

As has been pointed out in the chapter on Protestant missionaries, the CIM differed from the traditional mission societies in other significant ways as well. It had its headquarters in China rather than abroad; the necessary funds were not overtly solicited (the "faith-mission principle");[96] the CIM relied primarily on unordained men and women; spiritual qualification was more important than educational or denominational background; applicants had to subscribe to a conservative Bible-based faith code; and the missionaries were required to adapt as much as possible to the culture and living conditions of the Chinese by undergoing rigorous Chinese language training (at Anqing for men and Yangzhou for women), adopting Chinese names, eating Chinese food and wearing Chinese dress, including queue ('pigtail'). The adaptation to local conditions made CIM missions relatively low-cost operations.

Whereas foreign Catholic priests had long ago recognised the advantages of blending into the Chinese environment by wearing Chinese garb, this was and remained a highly contentious issue among Protestant missionaries.[97] Among the Americans, for example, there seems to have been an explicit sense of cultural superiority in their refusal to blend into their Chinese surroundings.[98] Historian Paul Cohen has summarised this situation as follows:

> This 'mission-centric' outlook of the American Protestants was not just a consequence of their evangelical commitment. From the time they arrived in China until the time they left, the missionaries lived and worked in the highly organized structure of the mission compound, which resulted in their effective segregation—psychological as well as physical—from the surrounding Chinese society. This segregation was only partly imposed

---

[96] On the principle and growth of faith missions, see Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1994).

[97] This issue is examined in detail by Susan Fleming McAllister, "Between Romantic Revolution and Victorian Propriety", Chapter 5: "Cross-Cultural Dress in British Missionary Narratives: Dressing for Eternity".

[98] See e.g. the American Presbyterian medical missionary Stephen Hunter's comment that his wearing of Chinese dress was regarded as "evidence of a disordered brain" by his colleagues. As described by a Scottish Presbyterian, the appearance of Europeans "dressed in home fashion" must have seemed rather shocking to the simple country folk of inland China. We have to keep in mind that the great majority of rural dwellers had never seen Europeans and derived their opinions of them from the long tradition of lurid tales propagated in incendiary posters, calumnious pamphlets and ugly rumours. See Tiedemann, "Protestant 'Missionary Cases' in Shandong", pp. 187–189. On the insistence of the CIM, the "pigtailed tribe", to wear Chinese clothing, see Austin, *China's Millions*, pp. 1–2, 121–123.

by the Chinese; it was also self-imposed. For the missionaries really did not want to enter the Chinese world any more than they had to. Their whole purpose was to get the Chinese enter theirs."[99]

Female Evangelists

One of the distinct aspects of the China Inland mission was the strong representation of foreign women on the mission field. To be sure, 'woman's work' was an important aspect of the Protestant missionary enterprise in general. Since marriage was virtually a requirement in the 'classical' Anglo-Saxon mission Protestant societies, married women's role as missionary wives generally included not only homemaker duties but also the teaching of girls and women or visitations to women.[100] Perhaps more significantly, single women also arrived in increasing numbers and several female missionary societies were established. Some of these women's organisations functioned as integral parts of the principal mission society in China, such as the Berlin Ladies Association for China (1850), the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the MEC (1871), the Church of England Zenana Mission (1880) and the Hildesheim Mission to the Blind (1890). Other women's societies retained strictly separate identities and operations, including the Women's Union Mission (1860), the Christians' Mission (1893) and the Door of Hope (1901).[101] By 1890, some 60 percent of the Western missionaries in China were women (including wives and single women). Generally, female missionaries worked in three different aspects of mission life: education, medical services and evangelistic and visitation work.[102] Of these, education formed the most important part of 'classical' mission work, and many hoped that female education

[99] Paul A. Cohen, "Foreword", in Forsythe, *An American Missionary Community in China, 1895–1905*, p. vii. On the nature and various functions of the 'mission compound', see also Quale, "The Mission Compound in Modern China".

[100] In contrast to societies from Anglo-Saxon countries, male missionaries sent out by 'classical' mission societies in German-speaking countries were permitted to marry only after satisfactory completion of a certain number of years on the mission field. The prevailing arrangements in the Basel Mission have been analysed by Konrad, *Missionsbräute. Pietistinnen des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Basler Mission*.

[101] For details, see Tiedemann, *Reference Guide*, Part IV: Protestant Foreign Missionary Societies.

[102] For further details, see Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, pp. 15–21.

could be the "key to missionary success".[103] Although the conversion of Chinese women was seen as critical to the overall success of evangelisation, the expansion of the female missionary contingent did not produce an equivalent growth of female membership in the Chinese church.

As concerns single Protestant women, the China Inland Mission was able to attract large numbers to the China fields. The *Lammermuir* party of 1866 had included some single ladies. At the end of 1905 there were 294 unmarried women in the CIM and its associated missions (Swedish Mission in China; Swedish Holiness Union; Scandinavian China Alliance; Norwegian Mission in China; German China Alliance; Finnish Free Church Mission) were active in the Qing Empire, alongside 335 men and 220 wives.[104] It was, however, the early decision by the CIM to have mission stations in the rural hinterland run solely by unmarried women. The first such station was set up in southern Shanxi in 1886. When this experiment proved successful, Hudson Taylor decided to set aside certain districts where women would have sole responsibility. The most notable such district with a string of stations was along the Xin River 信河, 'the women's river', in northeastern Jiangxi.[105] In view of the fact that the CIM had been keen to insist on external accommodation, how is this incursion of single women into China's tradition-bound hinterland during the last decades of the nineteenth century to be interpreted? Article 2 of the Chinese Memorandum had after all proposed that female missionaries should be banned from China completely. By ignoring Chinese sensibilities in this regard, can the early activities of these single women be justifiably considered a form of 'cultural aggression'?[106] In any case, the

---

[103] See Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess*., p. 100. See also Kwok, "Chinese Women and Protestant Christianity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century", in Bays, *Christianity*, pp. 194–208; Marjorie King, "Exporting Femininity, not Feminism", pp. 117–135. Kwok, in *Chinese Women and Christianity, 1860–1927*, provides a comprehensive survey of 'woman's work for woman', including involvement in such institutions as the Young Women's Christian Association and the Women's Christian Temperance Movement (*Funü jiezi hui* 婦女節制會). The latter had sent its first representatives to China in 1886.

[104] *China Centenary Missionary Conference, Held at Shanghai, April 25 to May 8, 1907: Records*, Shanghai: Centenary Conference Committee, 1907, pp. 770.

[105] For further details, see Austin, *China's Millions*, pp. 239–241. See also Broomhall, VI, pp. 396–398. Broomhall calls the river Guangxin River.

[106] For a discussion of the terms 'cultural aggression' (*wenhua qinlüe* 文化侵略) and 'cultural imperialism' (*wenhua diguo zhuyi* 文化帝國主義), see Wang Lixin, "'Wenhua qinlüe' yu 'wenhua diguo zhuyi'".

practice of sending unwed women into inland provinces continued. After 1900 several associated German women's societies, including the German Woman's Missionary Union (1899) and the Friedenshort Deaconess Mission (1906), arrived in China and would eventually be given their own mission fields.[107] Of course, by then Chinese reformist and revolutionary currents were beginning to create a socio-political environment in which the presence of single women was less objectionable even in the countryside.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Catholic Church had begun to send missionary sisters to the Chinese mission field. The four largest female congregations in nineteenth-century China were the following: the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres (1848); the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (1848); the Canossian Daughters of Charity (1860); and the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary (1886). However, before 1900, the sisters did not undertake direct evangelistic work but were active in the indirect apostolate in girls' education, hospital work and orphanages in major urban centres, primarily the treaty ports in China. They continued to wear the—from a Chinese perspective—rather strange European habits of their respective religious congregations. Direct Catholic evangelisation among women continued to be undertaken by the so-called 'institute of virgins', namely unwed Chinese Catholic women who had dedicated their lives to God and the mission, as well as by the emerging diocesan-level Chinese sisterhoods.[108] *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Appendix, Catholic Religious Communities of Chinese Women)* In addition to the European missionary *sisters*, the first group of *nuns* arrived in 1869. In that year French Discalced Carmelite Nuns established their carmel at Tushanwan 土山灣, Shanghai. In contrast to the missionary sisters, the nuns led rather more cloistered lives and were primarily involved in the contemplative apostolate.

---

[107] On the role of single women in the German associate missions of the CIM, see Conrad, *Der Dienst der ledigen Frau in deutschen Glaubensmissionen*. More generally, see also Boetzinger, *'Den Chinesen ein Chinese werden'*.

[108] For details, see Tiedemann, "Controlling the Virgins"; Tiedemann, "A Necessary Evil"; Tiedemann, *Reference Guide*, Part 3: Roman Catholic Chinese Religious Communities of Women.

Protestant advance into the interior

With the expansion of the missionary enterprise into the interior, now officially sanctioned under the treaties of 1858–1860, Catholics could rely on the existing rudimentary infrastructure of mostly rural Christian communities scattered throughout most of China's provinces. The embryonic Protestant enterprise, on the other hand, was still confined to a few treaty ports. Thus, in the 1860s and 1870s Protestant evangelism was limited to itinerations and the distribution of religious tracts, with rather meagre results. Moreover, their attempts to acquire appropriate premises in the interior—not explicitly sanctioned in the American and British treaties—were often frustrated by Chinese officials and commoners. In any case, given the fact that most Protestant missionaries had come with their families or had entered into matrimonial alliances shortly after their arrival, their advance beyond the treaty ports was tentative and slow at first. In other words, there were few conversions to the Protestant faith during the first two decades after 1860. However, their 'good works'[109] such as providing medical care, education and—especially in times of major calamities—famine relief had a somewhat better chance of being tolerated by the people. In northern China the first significant breakthrough did not come until the late 1870s and can be attributed to the famine relief afforded in certain parts of Shandong and Shanxi during the devastating drought of 1876–79. In the course of their earlier extensive itinerations in these areas, Protestant missionaries had established a number of contacts. Now they were able to set up famine relief centres in locations where acquaintances had previously been made and where some interest in the foreign religion may have been awakened.[110]

It would be an exaggeration to claim that all the converts gained during and immediately after the 1876–1879 famine (and similarly during the 1889 famine relief campaign) were typical 'rice Christians' (or perhaps more appropriately called 'millet Christians' 小米基督徒 in North China). What is beyond question is the fact that the num-

[109] On the missionary strategy of 'good works' in general, see Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., "Protestant Missions in China (1877–1890): The Institutionalization of Good Works", *Papers on China* (Harvard University, December 1963), pp. 67–100.

[110] On missionary famine relief work in 1876–79, see Bohr, *Famine in China and the Missionary*; Helen S. C. Nevius, *The Life of John Livingston Nevius*, pp. 319–324; John L. Nevius, "Methods of Mission Work", *CR* 17,2 (February 1886), p. 56; Scott, *An Account of the Great Famine in North China, 1876–79*.

ber of Protestant converts increased significantly during and immediately after severe subsistence crises. There may have been a number of motives for joining the Protestant church, but the missionaries' involvement in large-scale charitable work created a climate conducive to conversion. This climate made it possible for members of rural society interested in Christianity to come forward without immediate fear of persecution. An American Board missionary remarked in 1878: "There I felt that the wall of *antagonism* had been broken down, only the wall of ignorance remaining."[111] Indeed, the relief effort in the late 1870s brought together Chinese elite activists and foreign missionaries. According to Mary Backus Rankin, "Western philanthropists, the Chinese government, and extra-bureaucratic institutions all aided famine victims."[112] However, as Andrea Janku has observed, there was also a degree of rivalry between foreign and Chinese relief operations.[113]

Another opportunity arose for the missionaries at the time of the 1889 famine in Shandong, where an American Presbyterians noted: "Throughout the Province there is (has been) a growing feeling in our favor. The large amount of famine relief afforded (distributed) during the past year…has made a profound and wide spread feeling of gratitude toward the missionaries…."[114] Having distributed famine relief in the Jimo 即墨 district in eastern Shandong, Hunter Corbett 郭顯德 (1835–1920) observed: "This interest is not confined to those who, when dying of tarvation, were aided by us, but includes some who formerly were our bitter enemies…."[115] The American Board missionaries in northwestern Shandong confirmed that interest in Christianity began in connection with the famine work.[116] Although the famine episodes offered brief but crucial windows of opportunity to the missionaries, anti-Christian hostility could nevertheless resurface rather quickly.

---

[111] Devello Zelotes Sheffield, 19 July 1878, *Missionary Herald* 74 (Boston, November 1878), p. 392.

[112] Rankin, *Elite Activism*, pp. 143.

[113] Janku, "Sowing Happiness".

[114] Petition dated 7 January 1890, signed by 23 missionaries of the Shandong Mission, Presbyterian Foreign Board of Missions (hereafter cited as PBFM), China, vol. 24.2 #17, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. See also *China Mission Hand-Book, 1896*, Part II, p. 43; Burt, *Fifty Years in China*, p. 36.

[115] Corbett, Chefoo, 8 June [1877], *The Foreign Missionary* 36 (September 1877), p. 118.

[116] See the *Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (1879), p. 67.

As concerns motives for conversion to Christianity, Chinese enquirers responded to a variety of direct and indirect methods that were employed in the Christian apostolate. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part 1, 4.6. Conversion methods)* Although conversion motives were complex, mixed and not always apparent, for simplicity's sake, they can be divided into three broad categories, namely

(1) *Material incentives*. Impressionistic accounts indicate that the secular utilitarian appeal of the missionary enterprise was a major factor in the expansion of Christianity. Association with the foreign apostles could, for example, provide employment opportunities. Or it could provide access to land. In some cases Catholic missions were able to purchase land at very low prices in times of famine. Such land they would then lease to desperate people—on the condition that they promised to join the church. In this regard, the creation by the CICM (Scheut) priests of Catholic 'reductions' of Chinese settlers on Mongol banner land was a rather unusual experiment.[117]

(2) *Socio-political incentives*. Against the background of increasing pressures on local resources, the Christians thus had a better chance to gain preferential access to them. On the North China Plain, for instance, where collective conflict for scarce resources had long been prevalent, the converts' competitive approach was, therefore, not unusual. Here some of the weaker collectivities were prepared to enter into alliances with external forces in order to change the status quo in their favour. Through their effective intervention, missionaries were able to provide protection and alternative sources of authority, thus undermining the position of hitherto dominant elements in the community. In certain localities, missionary expansion did in fact result in a substantial realignment of political power. The willingness of some Catholic missionaries to intervene in legal cases attracted some Chinese who may be called 'litigation Christians'.

(3) *Spiritual incentives*. As has already been indicated, Catholic and Protestant missionaries were able to attract substantial numbers of 'seekers after truth', including a substantial number who had been members of indigenous folk sects.[118]

---

[117] Taveirne, *Han-Mongol Encounters*, especially pp. 355–361.

[118] For further details, see also Tiedemann, "Indigenous Agency, Religious Protectorates, and Chinese Interests", pp. 230–239.

The missionaries' frequent insistence on what they perceived to be their 'treaty rights' and their growing assertiveness could be highly provocative and likely to generate, aggravate or revive intra-community and inter-community disputes. The so-called 'missionary cases' of the late nineteenth century are indicative of the sometimes rather hostile relationship between the foreign religious project and Chinese society. Christianity as a strong institutional religion with a comprehensive infrastructure and a potentially subversive message could be perceived as posing a threat to the officially sanctioned Confucian order. Indeed, most missionaries regarded Confucianism and the Confucian state as the principal obstacles to their urgent task of saving souls. As far as local power holders were concerned, the greatest threat to their customary position came from the missionaries' role as formidable *political* actors. Thus Catholic missionaries could in certain circumstances explicitly challenge both the formal and informal agents of Chinese political power.

The term *jiao'an* is usually taken to refer to disputes between Christians and non-Christians. However, one aspect that has hitherto received little scholarly attention concerns the bitter contest between Catholics and Protestants in China. In typically un-Christian fashion, both sides characterised the work of the other in negative terms in their reports back to Europe and North America. Moreover, the voluminous published and unpublished missionary sources reveal the intense competition for Chinese souls between 'Papists' and 'heretics'.[119] On the local level, disputes between Catholic and Protestant converts occurred also from time to time. Such conflicts appear to have been prevalent in areas where competition for scarce resources had long been fierce.[120]

Protestant missionaries, too, relied on foreign power, albeit to a lesser extent than their Catholic counterparts, to have cases decided

---

[119] See Jean-Paul Wiest, "Roman Catholic Perceptions and Critiques of British and American Protestant Missions (1807–1915)", unpublished paper presented at the North Atlantic Missiology Project Symposium, held in Boston, Massachusetts, 21–24 June 1998; R. G. Tiedemann, "Works of the Antichrist: Protestant Views of Catholic Missions in China", unpublished paper presented at the Dixième Colloque International Ricci de Sinologie: Les Rendez-vous Manqués entre Chine et Occident (1600–2000), Centre Sèvres, Paris, 6–8 September 2004.

[120] For examples from South China, see Joseph Lee, "The Lord of Heaven versus Jesus Christ"; Klein, *Die Basler Mission in Guangdong (Südchina) 1859–1931*, pp. 308–312. Some North China examples are found in Tiedemann, "Protestant 'Missionary Cases' (*jiao'an*) in Shandong Province", pp. 179–181.

in their favour. The voluminous American consular archival material indicates that Protestant missionaries rarely missed an opportunity to impress on their consular and diplomatic representatives that they and their converts should enjoy the same privileges as their Catholic counterparts in China, including the right to acquire property in the interior. This issue had still not been resolved in 1895 when the American Minister Charles Denby 田貝 (1830–1804) solicited the missionaries' thoughts on it. Six American Board missionaries in Shanxi province responded collectively:

> Whereas through the good offices of the French the Roman Catholics are permitted to acquire property in the interior of China in the name of the Catholic Church and
>
> Whereas the Minister of the United States, resident at Pekin, has asked us to declare whether we wish our Government to enter on the same footing under the terms of the 'Most Favored Nation' Clause.

The six concluded that they were "unite[d] in requesting our Government, through its Minister, to secure for us the same rights".[121] The right of Protestants to acquire property outside the treaty ports was eventually conceded by China in 1903. Article XIV of the Sino-American treaty reads as follows:

> Missionary societies of the United States shall be permitted to rent and to lease in perpetuity as the property of such societies, buildings or land in all parts of the Empire for missionary purposes, and after the title deeds have been found in order and duly stamped by the local authorities, to erect such suitable buildings as may be required for carrying on their good work.[122]

When it came to settling *jiaoan*, American missionaries were prepared to demand—and usually received—assistance from their diplomatic and consular representatives. In contrast, the smaller British missionary contingent was less likely to enjoy the support of the British government and its representatives in China. Indeed, relations between consular officials and missionaries were often rather strained, if not hostile. Or as Lord Curzon put it, "the missionaries, as a class, are

---

[121] "On the Purchase of Property in the Interior of China", in NA: RG84, Tianjin, vol. 69, f. 30.

[122] MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China*, Vol. I, pp. 430–431.

rarely popular with their own countrymen".[123] Of course, occasionally, for instance in the Yangzhou case of 1868, certain British officials did intervene on behalf of the missionaries. Moreover, whenever there were major outburst of anti-Christian violence, such as the Yangzi Valley riots (1891),[124] the Sichuan riots (1895) and the Gutian-Huashan case 古田華山教案 in Fujian (1895), British diplomatic representatives were prepared to take more forceful action.[125] Indeed, in connection with the 1895 cases, the British minister Sir Nicholas O'Conor 歐格訥 (1843–1908) threatened naval intervention. In the case of the Sichuan riots at the end of May 1895, the buildings of the Canadian Methodist mission and the adjacent Catholic MEP mission were destroyed. Not only did the foreign powers receive substantial indemnities, they also succeeded in having antiforeign Sichuan governor-general Liu Bingzhang 劉秉璋 (1826–1905) dismissed and degraded. It is interesting to note that the British minister O'Conor, the American minister Denby and the French minister Gérard all claimed to have been instrumental in having Liu removed.[126] The resort to gunboat diplomacy, the imposition of large indemnities and the punishment of a high Chinese official served as precedents in the settlements of *jiao'an* on the eve of the Boxer Uprising.

Following the settlement of the Sichuan case as well as that of the Gutian massacre, in which eleven members of the CMS mission, mostly women and children from the United Kingdom and Australia, were

---

[123] Curzon, *Problems of the Far East: Japan-Korea-China*, p. 425. For a discussion of the relationship between British diplomats and missionaries in China in the 1890s, see Wehrle, Britain, *China and the Antimissionary Riots*, Chapter 3: "Efforts to Control the Missionaries".

[124] Wehrle, Britain, *China and the Antimissionary Riots*, Chapter 2: "The Riots of 1891: A Pattern Set". At this time an antimissionary pamphlet, translated by Shandong missionaries as *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines: A Plain Statement of Fact*, was widely circulated. It was an abridged version of the *Bixie shilu* 辟邪實錄 (A true record to ward off heterodoxy), itself a version of *Bixie jishi* 辟邪紀實 (A record of facts to ward off heterodoxy) that had been circulated in the 1860 and which Paul Cohen has called "a farrago of obscene calumnies". Cohen, *China and Christianity*, pp. 45–58 and 277–281.

[125] Hyatt, "The Chengtu Riots (1895)"; Prisco, "The Vegetarian Society and the Huashan-Kut'ien Massacre of 1895"; Sato, "The Ku-t'ien Anti-missionary Incident (1895)"; Liu Guoping 劉國平, "1895 Gutian jiaoan yanjiu". For a study of Protestant 'missionary cases' in one province, see Tiedemann, "Protestant 'Missionary Cases' (*jiao'an*) in Shandong Province, 1860–1900".

[126] Wehrle, *China and the Antimissionary Riots*, Chapter 5: "The High Tide of Missionary Diplomacy"; Cordier, III, pp. 322–326.

killed in August 1895, O'Conor proposed a set of tougher punishments, not only for the perpetrators but also the instigators of anti-missionary violence:

1. That officials who neglected their duties be promptly punished and that their punishment be announced in the *Official Gazette*.
2. That compensation payments be levied on the district (officials and people) and not taken from the customs revenue.
3. That no examinations for degree be held for three years in areas where serious riots occurred, and that no candidate for higher degree be accepted from these areas for three years.
4. That a town in [the notoriously antiforeign] Hunan Province be opened to trade so as to defeat the boast of Hunan men that they knew how to keep out the foreigner.[127]

O'Conor was transferred from Beijing before he had the opportunity to press forward with these proposals. Nevertheless, some of his demands were also promoted by other foreign interests and the suspension of examinations was included in the Boxer Protocol of 1901.

Although the British settlement of the Gutian case was harsh, including the execution of more than twenty of the 'rioters', as well as the imprisonment or banishment of another twenty and dismissal of three local officials, the Americans were not content with the British settlement. Notwithstanding the fact that an American missionary, Miss Mable C. Hartford of the Methodist Episcopal mission, had received compensation for injuries and loss of property in connection with the Gutian-Huashan case, the U.S. State Department informed Charles Denby that "the main remedy for existing evils and the surest prevention of riots will be holding the local officials to a personal accountability for every outrage against foreigners that may occur in their jurisdiction".[128] Summarising the State Department's report, Denby argued that "'the viceroy or governor of the province in which it (a riot) has occurred, who is directly responsible to the Throne for the acts and omissions of every one of his subordinates, although his only fault may be ignorance', should be held responsible for the acts

[127] Ibid., p. 91, summarising O'Conor to Salisbury, Beijing, 29 August 1895, FO 17/1262.

[128] State Department No. 1312, 28 July 1896, quoted in Denby to Secretary of State Richard Olney, Beijing, 25 February 1897, *FRUS* (1897), p. 61.

or omissions of his subordinates."[129] Consequently, some eighteen months after the event, Denby wrote to the Zongli Yamen:

> As long as nothing is done but to pay damages for injuries done to foreigners, riots will continue. They payment of damages constitutes no penalty against the rioters. They may be said even to be benefited by riots which involve destruction of property, because the repairing of damages furnishes many of them work. If the officials are not punished, the people conclude that you and the Government of China approve of the riots.[130]

In their reply to Denby in March 1897, the Zongli Yamen argued that "China has dealt with this case in a more severe manner than the United States did in Rockspring and Huai Hua-yuan cases. When these cases were settled there is ample evidence to show that no local [American] officer was punished. There is decidedly a great difference in the manner in which these cases were dealt with."[131] Although the term 'unequal treaty' had not yet been invented, it is clear that the Zongli Yamen and members of the educated classes familiar with foreign affairs felt aggrieved that the foreign powers had no intention of treating the Qing Empire as an equal. As Britten Dean has observed, "the commonly accepted view of an inept Chinese government and a moralistic American China policy are inaccurate". Chinese foreign affairs officials in Beijing and in (some of) the provinces "were insistent and vigorous in upholding Chinese rights when they had a sound case".[132] Unfortunately they did not have the power to stand their ground.

Without the frequent interventions and threats of military action by the representatives of the treaty powers, the missionaries' position would have been rather more precarious in the interior. In view of the fact that so many *jiao'an* were settled only after foreign diplomatic

---

[129] Denby to Olney, ibid.

[130] Denby to ZLYM, Beijing, 11 March 1897, *FRUS* (1897), pp. 85–86.

[131] ZLYM to Denby, Beijing, 20 March 1897, *FRUS* (1897), p. 65. In Rock Springs, Wyoming, at least twenty-eight Chinese miners were killed by American miners on 2 September 1885. Afterwards no one was punished and no indemnity was paid. The U.S. Secretary of State Thomas Francis Bayard merely stated that the President would recommend to the Congress that a monetary gift be made, "not as under obligation of treaty or principle of international law, but solely from a sentiment of generosity and pity to an innocent and unfortunate body of men, subjects of a friendly power". For details, see *FRUS* (1886), pp. 101–168. To this and numerous other assaults committed against innocent Chinese the U.S. Government was insensitive.

[132] Dean, "The United States and China in the Nineteenth Century", pp. 624, 625.

involvement, it is not surprising that the missionary enterprise has long been closely identified with the overall process of imperialist expansion. Exercising the religious protectorate over all Catholics in China had been of utmost importance to France, which even the strong anti-clericalism of the Third Republic at the end of the nineteenth century could not diminish. American secular and religious interests were on the whole also quite intimately intertwined. Some American Protestant missionaries were rather more attuned to the expansionary aims of American secular forces in China. Charles Denby, the American envoy in Beijing from 1885 to 1898, after some initial scepticism, viewed the missionaries as pioneers of trade and commerce.

> The statesman, the diplomatist, the business man, look on mission work in relation to its influence on trade, commerce, and the general interests of humanity.... The missionary, too, is the forerunner of commerce. Inspired by holy zeal, he goes into the interior where the white man's foot has never trod.... The drummer boy follows behind, and foreign commerce begins. From the missionary dwelling there radiates the light of modern civilization.[133]

Denby may have been "typical of our [American] overbearing, petty-minded diplomatic representatives in China",[134] the fact that a substantial number of former American missionaries were active in the diplomatic and consular service can only have strengthened the evangelists' resolve to seek protection. The British secular establishment, in contrast, cannot be said to have been supportive of the missionary enterprise. O'Conor's brief but forceful interventionist policy notwithstanding, relations between British missionaries and British diplomatic and commercial interests were rather ambivalent and often quite hostile.

However, by the 1890s the international situation was becoming significantly more complicated in China. At this time the German government was also beginning to take an active interest in missionary cases. The impetus for this move had come during the Sino-French War of 1884–1885 when the Italian and German ministers to China first developed the idea to protect their respective Catholic missionaries. At the same time, the Holy See, increasingly concerned about the political implications of the French protectorate, made an attempt to establish

---

[133] Denby, *China and Her People*, I, p. 215, 220.
[134] Dean, "The United States and China in the Nineteenth Century", pp. 623–624.

direct representation in China. However, French threats precluded the completion of the intended arrangements. At the same time, the Chinese statesman Li Hongzhang had sent a mission to Europe—and specifically to Rome—which was led by the British merchant John George Dunn 敦約翰 (1832–1890). It would seem, however, that Li was primarily interested in having the North Church moved from within the imperial palace precincts to another (its present) location in Beijing.[135]

In 1890 Germany wrested from France the religious protectorate for German Catholic missionaries, that is to say, the Society of the Divine Word mission in the vicariate apostolic of South Shandong.[136] At the same time, German consular and diplomatic representatives became involved in several Protestant *jiao'an* involving three German missions in Guangdong province.[137] With the acceleration of foreign imperialism at this time, especially the 'scramble for concessions' following the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, foreign rivalries over economic and religious matters became exceedingly intense in China. Whatever the real nature of this symbiotic interaction between missionary expansion and foreign aggression, from the Chinese perspective these issues were inseparable. Missionary activities were increasingly viewed with suspicion not only because of their challenge to the Chinese socio-cultural order, but also because of their presumed association with secular imperialist ambitions in China.

Bibliography

It should be noted that this brief overview of the late Qing scene cannot fully capture the considerable complexity of the expanding missionary enterprise and its encounter with Chinese society in the course of the nineteenth century. Nor can it adequately

---

[135] For details, see Wei, *Le Saint-Siège, la France et la Chine*; Rivinius, *Weltlicher Schutz und Mission*, pp. 181–214; Criveller, "China, the Holy See and France". It is interesting to note that these scholars have assumed that Dunn must have been a Catholic, albeit a lapsed one. Actually, he was a Protestant who was baptised in Bull Lane Independent Chapel, Stepney, Middlesex, England.

[136] On the protracted transfer negotiations, see the detailed and carefully researched account in Rivinius, *Weltlicher Schutz und Mission*. It should, however, be noted that that the German religious protectorate did not include Chinese Catholics.

[137] On the Rhenish mission, see Jörgensen, "Funktionalisierung der Mission durch chinesische Christen: Die protestantische Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft im Kreis Dongguan in der Provinz Guangdong, 1896–1902". On *jiao'an* involving the Berlin mission, see Jörgensen, "Zum wechselvollen Verhältnis von Mission und Politik: Die Berliner Missionsgesellschaft in Guangdong". Concerning the involvement of the Basel mission, see Klein, *Die Basler Mission in Guangdong (Südchina) 1859–1931*, especially chapter 4.

account for all of the manifold localisations of Christianity in the vast Qing Empire. The bibliographic information below relates only to the discussion in this chapter. The reader should be aware that the actual body of relevant literature is very much larger. Not only is there an enormous amount of 'missionary literature' (see for instance the relevant volumes of *Bibliotheca Missionum* for works produced by Catholic missionaries to China), but the academic literature has also proliferated in recent years. In particular, Christianity in China as a historical subject has been receiving considerable scholarly attention by Chinese writers. These new publications are far too extensive to be included in this bibliography.

Analysis of the Circular of the Chinese Government on Missions. The Circular was communicated to HM Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by the French Charge d'Affaires and presented to both Houses of Parliament… June 1871, 2nd ed., [London:] [Presbyterian Church Foreign Missions Committee], 1871.

Anderson, David L., *Imperialism and Idealism: American Diplomats in China, 1861–1898*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

Bays, Daniel H., "Christianity and Chinese Sects: Religious Tracts in the Late Nineteenth Century", in Barnett & Fairbank, pp. 121–134.

Bays, Daniel H., "Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition", *CSWT* 4,7 (June 1982), pp. 33–55.

Boetzinger, Vera, *'Den Chinesen ein Chinese werden'. Die deutsche protestantische Frauenmission in China 1842–1952*, (Missionsgeschichtliches Archiv, 11), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004.

Bohr, P. Richard, *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876–1884*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Broomhall, A[lfred] J[ames], *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century*, 7 vols. (Sevenoaks: Hodder and Stoughton and The Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1981–1989.

Burt, Ernest Whitby, *Fifty Years in China: The Story of the Baptist Mission in Shantung, Shansi and Shensi, 1875–1925*, London: Carey Press, [1925].

Cassey, John William, "The Mission of Charles Denby and International Rivalries in the Far East, 1885–1898", Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1959.

Chen Fangzhong 陳方中, "Faguo Tianzhujiao chuanjiaoshi zai Hua chuanjiao huodong yu yingxiang" 法國天主教傳教士在華傳教活動與影響 (The influence and missionary activities in China of French Catholic missionaries), Ph.D. diss., National Normal University, Taibei, 1999.

Chen Yinkun 陳銀崑, *Qing ji minjiao chongtu de lianghua fenxi: 1860–1899* 清季民教衝突的量化分析: 一八六〇-一八九九 (A quantitative analysis of anti-Christian conflict in the Qing period: 1860–1899), Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1991.

Chen Zhiping 陳支平 and Li Shaoming 李少明, *Jidujiao yu Fujian minjian shehui* 基督教與福建民間社會 (Christianity and popular society in Fujian), Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 1992.

China Centenary Missionary Conference, Held at Shanghai, April 25 to May 8, 1907: Records, Shanghai: Centenary Conference Committee, 1907.

Claesson, Anna Maria, *Kinesernas vänner. En analys av missionens berättelse som ideologi och utopi*, Jönköping: Jönköpings läns museum, 2001.

Cohen, Paul A., *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Cohen, Paul A., "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900", in Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 10: *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911, Part 1*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 543–590.

Conrad, Christa, *Der Dienst der ledigen Frau in deutschen Glaubensmissionen. Geschichte und Beurteilung*, Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1998.
Cordier, Henri, *Histoire des relations de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales 1860–1902*, 3 vols., Paris: Félix Alcan, 1901–1902. Republished Taibei: Ch'eng-wen, 1966.
Criveller, Gianni, "China, the Holy See and France: The Giulianelli Mission to the Chinese Emperor and Its Aftermath (1885–1886)", in Angelo S. Lazzarotto et al., *Yihetuan yundong yu Zhongguo Jidu zongjiao* 義和團運動與中國基督宗教 (The Boxer Movement and Christianity in China), Taibei: Furen daxue chubanshe, Minguo 93 [2004], pp. 46–88.
Curzon, George Nathaniel, *Problems of the Far East: Japan-Korea-China*, London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1894.
Dean, Britten, "The United States and China in the Nineteenth Century: An Incident in the Career of Minister Charles Denby", *Jindai shi yanjiusuo jikan* 近代史研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica) 7 (1978), pp. 611–625.
Denby, Charles, *China and Her People: Being the Observations, Reminiscences, and Conclusions of an American Diplomat*, 2 vols., Boston: L.C. Page & company, 1906. Reprinted Taibei: Ch'eng-Wen Publishing Co, 1968.
DuBois, Thomas David, *The Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.
Fairbank, John K. (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.
Fairbank, John K., "Patterns behind the Tientsin Massacre", *HJAS* 20 (1957), pp. 480–511.
Zhengjiao fengchuan 正教奉傳 (The propagation of the orthodox [Roman Catholic] religion), comp. Huang Bolu [Pierre Hoang] 黃伯祿, 2nd ed., 2 vols., Shanghai: Ci mu tang, Guangxu 34 [1908].
Fiedler, Klaus, *The Story of Faith Missions*, Oxford: Regnum Books, 1994.
Forsythe, Sidney A., *An American Missionary Community in China, 1895–1905*, Cambridge, Mass: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press, 1971.
Franz, Andreas, *Mission ohne Grenzen. Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen*, Giessen / Basel: Brunnen Verlag, 1993.
Freytag, Mirjam, *Frauenmission in China. Die interkulturelle und pädagogische Bedeutung der Missionarinnen untersucht anhand ihrer Berichte von 1900 bis 1930*, Münster: Waxmann, 1994.
[Gennevoise, André-Félix-Chrysostome-Joseph], *Le Memorandum chinois ou violation du traité de Péking. Exposé et réfutation*, par un missionnaire de Chine, Rome: Imprimerie de la Propagande, 1872.
Giovagnoli, Agostino, and Elisa Giunipero (eds.), *The Catholic Church and the Chinese World: Between Colonialism and Evangelization (1840–1911)*, Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2005.
Gratuze, Gaston, *Un Pionnier de la mission tibétaine, le père Auguste Desgodins (1826–1913)*, Paris: Apostolat des éditions, 1969.
Groot, Jan Jacob Maria de, *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China: A Page in the History of Religions*, Leiden: Brill, 1901.
Grosse-Aschhoff, Angelus Francis J., *The Negotiations between Ch'i-Ying and Lagrené, 1844–1846*, St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: Franciscan Institute, 1950.
Guignet, Chris, "Le protectorat religieux français en Chine. Le cas des Missions du Hunan, Hubei et Henan (1842–1911)", in Weber (ed.), *La France en Chine, 1843–1943*.
Guo Hong 郭紅, "Duan Zhenju dimu'an yu Tianzhujiao zei Nei Menggu chuanjiao fangshi de gaibian" 段振舉地畝案與天主教在內蒙古傳教方式的改變 (The

land case of Duan Zhenju and the change of Catholic missionary methods in Inner Mongolia), in Zheng Peikai 鄭培凱, *Jiu zhou xue lin* 九州學林 Chinese culture quarterly, Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2004.

Hertslet, Edward, Godfrey Edward Proctor Hertslet, and Edward Parkes, *Hertslet's China Treaties. Treaties, &c. between Great Britain and China; and between China and Foreign Powers; and Orders in Council, Rules, Regulations, Acts of Parliament, Decrees, &C. Affecting British Interests in China. In Force on the 1st January, 1908*, London: Printed for H.M. Stationery Office, by Harrison and Sons, 1908.

Hunter, Jane, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

Hyatt, Irwin T., Jr., "The Chengtu Riots (1895): Myth and Politics", *Papers on China* Vol. 18 (Harvard, December 1964), pp. 26–54.

Janku, Andrea, "Sowing Happiness: Spiritual Competition in Famine Relief Activities in Late Nineteenth-Century China", *Minsu quyi* 民俗曲藝 = *Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore* 143 (2004), pp. 89–118.

Jiaowu jiao'an dang 教務教案檔 (Files on religious affairs and religious cases), Series nos. 1–7, 21 vols., Taibei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1974–1981.

Jörgensen, Helle, "Funktionalisierung der Mission durch chinesische Christen: Die protestantische Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft im Kreis Dongguan in der Provinz Guangdong, 1896–1902", in Mechthild Leutner and Klaus Mühlhahn (eds.), *Deutsch-chinesische Beziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert. Mission und Wirtschaft in interkultureller Perspektive*, (Berliner China-Studien, 38), Münster: Lit Verlag, pp. 219–260.

Jörgensen, Helle, "Zum wechselvollen Verhältnis von Mission und Politik: Die Berliner Missionsgesellschaft in Guangdong", in Mechthild Leutner and Klaus Mühlhahn (eds.), *Deutsch-chinesische Beziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert. Mission und Wirtschaft in interkultureller Perspektive*, (Berliner China-Studien, 38), Münster: Lit Verlag, pp. 183–218.

King, Marjorie, "Exporting Femininity, not Feminism: Nineteenth-Century U.S. Missionary Women's Efforts to Emancipate Chinese Women", in: Leslie A. Flemming (ed.), *Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia*, Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1989, pp. 117–135

Klein, Thoralf, *Die Basler Mission in Guangdong (Südchina) 1859–1931. Akkulturationsprozesse und kulturelle Grenzziehungen zwischen Missionaren, chinesischen Christen und lokaler Gesellschaft*, (Erfurter Reihe zur Geschichte Asiens, 3), Munich: IUDICIUM Verlag, 2002.

Konrad, Dagmar, *Missionsbräute. Pietistinnen des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Basler Mission*, Münster: Waxmann, 2001.

Koo, Vi Kyuin Wellington 顧維鈞, *The Status of Aliens in China*, (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 50,2 = 126), New York: Columbia University, 1912.

Kwok Pui-lan 郭佩蘭, *Chinese Women and Christianity, 1860–1927*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992.

Kwok Pui-lan, "Chinese Women and Protestant Christianity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century", in Bays, *Christianity*, pp. 194–208.

Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei, *The Bible and the Gun: Christianity in South China, 1860–1900*, New York & London: Routledge, 2003.

Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei, "Christian God and Hostile Communities: Collective Violence in Northeast Guangdong", in Robert J. Antony and Jane Kate Leonard (eds.), *Dragons, Tigers, and Dogs: Qing Crisis Management and the Boundaries of State Power in Late Imperial China*, Ithaca, N.Y.: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2002.

Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei, "God's Villages: Christian Communities in Late Nineteenth-Century South China", in Pamela J. Stewart and Andrew Strathern (eds.), *Asian Ritual Systems: Syncretisms and Ruptures*, Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2007, pp. 83–112.

Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei, "The Lord of Heaven versus Jesus Christ: Christian Sectarian Violence in Late-Nineteenth-Century South China", *positions: east asia cultures critique* 8,1 (Spring 2000), pp. 77–99.

Leung, Cécile, and Colette Deneubourg, "Un cas de féminisme sino-européen à Shanghaï (1867–1952)", in Noël Golvers and Sara Lievens (eds.), *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jeroom Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven, 2007, pp. 469–490.

Levering, Miriam L., "The Chungking Riot of 1886: Justice and Ideological Diversity", *Papers on China* Vol. 22A (Harvard, May 1969), pp. 158–183.

Litzinger, Charles A., "Patterns of Missionary Cases Following the Tientsin Massacre, 1870–1875", *Papers on China* Vol. 23 (Harvard, July 1970), pp. 87–108.

Liu Guoping 劉國平, "1895 Gutian jiaoan yanjiu", 1895 古田教案研究 (Research on the Gutian religious case of 1895), Ph.D. diss., Fujian shifan daxue, 2006.

Liu, Kwang-Ching, "Nineteenth-Century China: The Disintegration of the Old Order and the Impact of the West", in: Ho Ping-ti and Tsou Tang (eds.), *China in Crisis*, Vol. 1, Book 1: *China's Heritage and the Communist Political System* (1968), pp. 93–178.

Lü Shiqiang 呂實強, *Zhongguo guanshen fanjiao de yuanyin, 1860–1874*, 中國 官紳反教的原因, 1860–1874 (The causes of the anti-Christian movement by Chinese officials and gentry, 1860–1874), Taibei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1966.

Macauley, Melissa, *Social Power and Legal Culture: Litigation Masters in Late Imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

MacMurray, John Van Antwerp, *Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China, 1894–1919; A Collection of State Papers, Private Agreements, and Other Documents, in Reference to the Rights and Obligations of the Chinese Government in Relation to Foreign Powers, and in Reference to the Interrelation of Those Powers in Respect to China, During the Period from the Sino-Japanese War to the Conclusion of the World War of 1914–1919*, New York [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 1921.

Madsen, Richard P., "Beyond Orthodoxy: Catholicism as Chinese Folk Religion", in Stephen Uhalley Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, pp. 233–249.

McAllister, Susan Fleming, "Between Romantic Revolution and Victorian Propriety: The Cultural Work of British Missionary Narratives", Ph.D. diss., Department of English, University of Oregon, 1997.

Miller, Stuart Creighton, "Ends and Means: Missionary Justification for Force in Nineteenth Century China", in John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise*, pp. 249–282.

Naquin, Susan, *Millenarian Rebellion in China: The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.

Nevius, Helen S. C., *The Life of John Livingston Nevius, for Forty Years a Missionary in China*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1895.

Nevius, John L., "Methods of Mission Work", *Chinese Recorder* 17,2 (February 1886).

Padelford, Norman J., "Alien Religious Property in China", *American Journal of International Law* 26,2 (April 1932), pp. 296–314.

Prisco, Salvatore, III, "The Vegetarian Society and the Huashan-Kut'ien Massacre of 1895", *Asian Forum* 3,1 (1971), pp. 1–13.

Quale, Gladys Robina, "The Mission Compound in Modern China: The Role of the United States Protestant Mission as an Asylum in the Civil and International Strife of China, 1900–1941", Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1980.

Rankin, Mary Backus, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865–1911*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986.

Rankin, Mary Backus, "The Ku-t'ien Incident (1895): Christians versus the Ts'ai-hui", *Papers on China* 15 (Harvard, 1961), pp. 30–61.
Richards, Louis Napier, "The Rights of Foreigners to Reside and Hold Land in China", *Harvard Law Review* 15,3 (November 1901), pp. 191–207.
Rivinius, Karl Josef, *Weltlicher Schutz und Mission. Das deutsche Protektorat über die katholische Mission von Süd-Shantung*, Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1987.
Sato Kimihiko, "The Ku-t'ien Anti-missionary Incident (1895): Vegetarian Sect, the Shadow of the Sino-Japanese War, and the Conversion of the Missionary Diplomacy of the UK and U.S.", *Journal of Asian and African Studies* No. 72 (September 2006), pp. 65–123. In Japanese, with English abstract.
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., "The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism", in John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise*, pp. 336–373.
Scott, Charles Perry, *An Account of the Great Famine in North China, 1876–79, Drawn from Official Sources; Together with an Appendix of Extracts from Private Letters*, Hull: William Kirk & Sons, printers, 1885.
Stanley, Brian, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leicester: Apollos, 1990.
Steiger, George Nye, "China's Attempt to Absorb Christianity: The Decree of March 15, 1899", *T'oung Pao* 24 (1926), pp. 215–246.
Sweeten, Alan Richard, *Christianity in Rural China: Conflict and Accommodation in Jiangxi Province, 1860–1900*, Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2001.
Tang Ruiyu 唐瑞裕, *Qingji Tianjin jiaoan yanjiu* 清季天津教案研究 (Research into the Qing dynasty's Tianjin religious case), Taibei: Wenshizhi Press, 1993.
Tao Feiya 陶飛亞 and Liu Tianlu 劉天路, *Jidujiaohui yu jindai Shandong shehui* 基督教會與近代山東社會 (Christianity and society in modern Shandong), Ji'nan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1995.
Taveirne, Patrick, *Han-Mongol Encounters and Missionary Endeavors: A History of Scheut in Ordos (Hetao) 1874–1911*, Leuven: Leuven University Press and Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K.U. Leuven, 2004.
Thompson, Roger R., "Twilight of the Gods in the Chinese Countryside: Christians, Confucians, and the Modernizing State, 1861–1911", in Bays, *Christianity in China*, pp. 53–72.
Tiedemann, R. G., "Controlling the Virgins: Female Propagators of the Faith and the Catholic Hierarchy in China", *Women's History Review* 17.4 (September 2008), pp. 501–520.
Tiedemann, R. G., "The Controversy over the Formation of an Indigenous Clergy and the Establishment of a Catholic Hierarchy in China, 1846–1926", forthcoming in a *festschrift* in 2010.
Tiedemann, R. G., "Conversion Patterns in North China: Sociological Profiles of Chinese Christians, 1860–1912", in: Ku Wei-ying and Koen De Ridder (eds.), *Authentic Chinese Christianity: Preludes to Its Development (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries)* (Leuven Chinese Studies, Vol. 9), Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2001, pp. 107–133.
Tiedemann, R. G., "Indigenous Agency, Religious Protectorates, and Chinese Interests: The Expansion of Christianity in Nineteenth-Century China", in Dana L. Robert (ed.), *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706–1914*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2008, pp. 206–241.
Tiedemann, R. G., "A Necessary Evil: The Contribution of Chinese 'Virgins' to the Growth of the Catholic Church in Late Qing China", in Jessie G. Lutz (ed.), *Pioneer Chinese Christian Women, Gender, Christianity, and Social Mobility*, Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, forthcoming 2009.

Tiedemann, R. G., "Protestant 'Missionary Cases' (*jiao'an*) in Shandong Province, 1860–1900", *Ching Feng* n.s. 8.1–2 (2007), pp. 153–195.
Tiedemann, R. G., *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the 16th to the 20th Century*, Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2009.
Tiedemann, R. G., "Works of the Antichrist: Protestant Views of Catholic Missions in China", unpublished paper presented at the Dixième Colloque International Ricci de Sinologie: Les Rendez-vous Manqués entre Chine et Occident (1600–2000), Centre Sèvres, Paris, 6–8 September 2004.
Torjesen, Edvard P., *Fredrik Franson: A Model for Worldwide Evangelism*, Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1983.
Varg, Paul A., *Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890–1952*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.
Wang, Dong, *China's Unequal Treaties: Narrating National History*, Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2005.
Wang Lixin 王立新, "'Wenhua qinlüe' yu 'wenhua diguo zhuyi': Meiguo chuanjiaoshi zai Hua huodong liang zhong pingjia fanshi bianxi" '文化侵略' 與 '文化帝國主義': 美國傳教士在華活動兩種評價範式辨析 ('Cultural aggression' and 'cultural imperialism': An appraisal of two different approaches to American missionary activities in China), *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (2002.3), pp. 98–109.
Wang Zhongmao 王中茂, "Wan Qing Tianzhu jiaohui zai neidi de zhichan quan shulun" 晚清天主教會在內地的置產權述論 (Comments on the rights of the Catholic Church to purchase property in China's interior in the late Qing), *Qingshi yanjiu* 清史研究 (2007.3), pp. 87–94.
Weber, Jacques. *La France en Chine, 1843–1943*, Nantes: Presses académiques de l'Ouest, 1997.
Wehrle, Edmund S., *Britain, China, and the Antimissionary Riots 1891–1900*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966.
Wei Tsing-sing, Louis [Wei Qingxin 衛青心], *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine 1842–1856. L'ouverture des cinq ports chinois au commerce étranger et la liberté religieuse*, Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1960.
Wei Tsing-sing, Louis, *Le Saint-Siège, la France et la Chine sous le pontificat de Léon XIII. Le Projet de l'établissement d'une nonciature à Pékin et l'affaire du Pei-t'ang 1880–1886*, Schöneck/Beckenried: Administration de la Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire, 1966. First published in *NZM* 21 (1965), pp. 18–36; 81–101; 184–212; 252–271.
Wiest, Jean-Paul, "Roman Catholic Perceptions and Critiques of British and American Protestant Missions (1807–1915)", unpublished paper presented at the North Atlantic Missiology Project Symposium, held in Boston, Massachusetts, 21–24 June 1998.
Wiest, Jean-Paul, "Understanding Mission and the Jesuits' Shifting Approaches toward China", in Ku Wei-ying (ed.), *Missionary Approaches and Linguistics in Mainland China and Taiwan*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001, pp. 33–58.
Williams, Frederick W., *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, LL.D., Missionary, Diplomatist, Sinologue*, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1889.
Wyman, Judith, "The Ambiguities of Chinese Antiforeignism: Chongqing, 1870–1900", *Late Imperial China* 18,2 (1998), pp. 86–122.
Wyman, Judith, "Social Change, Anti-foreignism and Revolution in China: Chongqing Prefecture, 1870s to 1911", Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1993.
Xie Bizhen 謝必震, "Gutian jiao'an qiyin xintan" 古田教案起因新探 (Re-investigation of the causes of the anti-Christian violence in Gutian), *Jindaishi yanjiu* 近代史研究 (Modern historical studies) 103,1 (January 1998), pp. 161–170.

3.4. The Boxer Uprising

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, China's northern provinces became a major arena of anti-Christian and anti-missionary agitation, culminating in the Boxer Movement (*Yihetuan yundong* 義和團運動) of 1898–1900 and the actual Boxer Uprising (*Yihetuan qiyi* 義和團起義)[138] of 1900.[139] The origin of the Boxer Movement can be traced to the emergence of martial arts groups known as the Spirit Boxers (*Shenquan* 神拳) in northwestern Shandong in late 1898 where they encountered numerically insignificant but increasingly assertive Christian congregations. Its most characteristic aspects were the practice of mass spirit possession, along with the 'boxing' and deep-breathing exercises, as well as invulnerability rituals that were believed to make adherents imperious to injury by sword or bullet. Some of these practices may have been adopted from two anti-Christian precursor groups of the Boxer Movement, namely the Big Sword Society (*Dadaohui* 大刀會) and the Plum Flower Boxers (*Meihuaquan* 梅花拳).[140] Essentially, however, the Boxer Movement emerged in the border areas of northwestern Shandong and southeastern Zhili in late 1898. From there the phenomenon subsequently spread into Zhili, Shanxi, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria.

Among the several major developments in China at the end of the nineteenth century, two events are said to be of particular relevance to the rise of the Boxer Movement: the occupation of Kiaochow Bay 膠州灣 on the Shandong peninsula by Germany in November 1897 and the failure of the Hundred Days' Reforms in September 1898. Whereas relations between Chinese and foreigners were relatively peaceful in the Shandong in the immediate aftermath of the occupation and up to and including the Hundred Days' reforms, this period of relative

---

[138] From the very beginning Western observers employed terms such as Boxer 'revolution', 'rebellion', 'revolt', 'uprising', 'movement' and 'incident' to describe the violent anti-Christian and antiforeign episode of 1898–1900. None of these are entirely satisfactory. Although not ideal choices, 'movement' and 'uprising' would seem to be least objectionable.

[139] For comprehensive Chinese and Western-language bibliographies of the Boxer Movement, see Su Weizhi 蘇位智and Liu Tianlu 劉天路 (eds.), *Yihetuan yanjiu yibai nian* 義和團研究一百年 (One hundred years of Boxer studies), Jinan: Qi-Lu shushe, 2000, pp. 350–832.

[140] For a detailed discussion of the origins of the Boxer Movement see Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*; Cohen, *History in Three Keys*.

quiescence came to an abrupt end in Shandong soon after the palace coup of 21 September 1898. When militant-conservative and reactionary elements dominated the Court and the government at Beijing, the pragmatic approach to foreign relations gave way to a more pugnacious one. The effects of conservative retrenchment were soon felt throughout the empire.

Conventional wisdom has it that the aggressive nature of the Catholic missionary enterprise—and more specifically the often militant approach taken by Johann Baptist Anzer 安治泰 (1852–1903), vicar apostolic of South Shandong—was responsible for the Boxer Uprising.[141] No other Catholic priest in the history of the Christianisation of China has received so much negative comment as Anzer, the head of the Society of the Divine Word mission (SVD; also known as Steyl mission, since the religious institute was established in 1875 in the small village of Steyl, just across the German border in the Netherlands) in China. Thus, even in the immediate aftermath of the events of 1900, Protestant writers in Germany, for example, were quick to blame his aggressive approach to proselytisation for the rise of the Boxers. Anzer certainly was a controversial figure, but in the long history of *jiao'an* there were other equally controversial missionaries who pursued aggressive conversion strategies and relied on foreign diplomatic and military intervention. It may very well be that scholars in general conclude that the murder of the two SVD missionaries (Juye case 鉅野案 of 1897)[142] in precisely the province where Germany wanted to acquire a naval base must be proof of Anzer's close association with secular imperialist interests. It is, of course, true that in 1890 he accepted the German religious protectorate to further his missionary projects. But it would be a gross exaggeration to call him an ardent German nationalist. In any case, it has not been possible to establish a *direct* link between the anti-Christian and antiforeign conflicts in Anzer's South Shandong mission and the emerging Boxer Movement.[143]

Although Chinese Christians and foreign missionaries were its principal targets, the Boxer Movement was rather more than a simple *jiao'an*, namely a multi-stranded and complex response to mounting

[141] See e.g. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, especially Chapter 3: "Imperialism, for Christ's Sake".
[142] Tiedemann, "Not Every Martyr Is a Saint!"
[143] Tiedemann, "Missionaries, Imperialism and the Boxer Uprising".

endogenous and exogenous pressures. The 'movement' did not have a comprehensive organisational structure, but is best understood as an agglomeration of scattered, localised incidents stemming from a variety of contradictions. It was driven by a volatile mixture of grievances, resentment, misery and fear. This unique conjuncture of events and circumstances from late 1898 onwards was of pivotal importance to the explosive upsurge of anti-foreignism, expressed primarily in the form of widespread anti-Christian violence. Against the backdrop of dynastic decline, Chinese elites and masses responded in a variety of ways and for different reasons to this conjuncture. Thus, both innovative and conservative elites were increasingly critical of a weak central government that failed to deal effectively with the serious internal and external challenges at the end of the nineteenth century.[144]

Most crucially, all strata of society had to face up to the specific environmental crisis of 1898–1900. In other words, while the unfortunate entanglement of secular and religious imperialism was a contributory factor in the upsurge of anti-foreignism, it is important to note that these developments coincided with a major famine episode, namely the prolonged, extensive and severe drought, which in conjunction with other factors produced a rather explosive potential for violence, especially against the 'other' (i.e., the foreign missionaries and fellow-villagers who had adopted different socio-religious practices). As Paul Cohen has convincingly argued, the drought was the critically important element in the genesis of the Boxer Movement. "It was this factor, more than any other, in my judgment, that accounted for the explosive growth both of the Boxer movement and of popular support for it in the spring and summer of 1900".[145] In the face of crisis, people felt that the growing power of the Christians lay behind these destructive forces. It was in this context that the most frightful rumours spread across the countryside and into the cities. "Rumors that were linked to a sudden change in circumstances had unusual potency and were widely believed".[146] Fear of drought-induced death and the belief that foreigners and their converts were ultimately responsible for this natural disaster gave rise to 'false bad news' about foreigners, drawing "on the venerable Chinese tradition of scabrous, harrowing, often racist

[144] On the emergence of 'innovative elites', see Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China*.
[145] Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, p. 95.
[146] Ibid., p. 159.

lore about foreigners in general and Christians in particular".[147] The charge that Christians were poisoning wells was by far the most widely circulated and alarming news. "The well-poisoning rumor epidemic thus spoke directly to the collective fear that was uppermost in the minds of ordinary people at the time: the fear of death".[148] Given the particular conjuncture of circumstances, this inflammatory rumour had the potential of creating mass panic or what could even be termed mass hysteria.

The Boxer phenomenon and its brutal suppression by foreign troops was an extremely bloody but temporary episode of organised anti-Christian and antiforeign violence. It was the outcome of a critical conjuncture of circumstances during an abnormally severe natural calamity. Whereas in normal times a *modus vivendi* could be worked out, during the environmental crisis of 1898–1900, foreigners and local Christians were conveniently transformed into scapegoats. Yet when the much needed rain finally did fall, the pre-Boxer pattern of relations between Christians and non-Christians was quickly restored. Moreover, many of North China's surviving Christian communities emerged much stronger from the Boxer ordeal. As the Vincentian missionary Planchet put it:

> The Church of China received its baptism of fire in 1900. These Chinese, who were said to be faint-hearted and fickle in their faith, went into battle like old soldiers, and cut a very fine figure there. These neophytes, who formerly were called by the disdainful name of 'rice Christians', declared their faith like the Christians in the time of the persecutions of Rome or Lyons.[149]

Indeed, one could regard the Boxer Uprising as a significant turning point. For one thing, the traditionally turbulent parts of North China witnessed a remarkable subsidence of so-called 'missionary cases' after 1900. Catholic and Protestant missionaries, for their part, had come to realise that an aggressive approach, especially interference in litigation, was proving counter-productive in the longer run. At the same time, provincial officials and innovative local notables were now ready to invite missionaries and Christians to participate in the long overdue modernising reform programme, primarily in the area of education. In

[147] Ibid., p. 162.
[148] Ibid., p. 172.
[149] Planchet, p. 2.

other words, the Christian enterprise achieved a degree of recognition by the Chinese ruling class. In this favourable climate, Christianity continued to expand.

In spite of the many nineteenth-century *jiao'an* and the 'summer madness' of 1900, it would be misleading to focus solely on the violent encounters of Christianity and Chinese society. Historical records overwhelmingly report the incidence of conflict rather than the uneventful affairs of everyday life. It is, therefore, important to recognise that the growth of Christianity was not exclusively the result of antagonistic relations. Christian groups were, after all, only one element in a complex and fluid web of inter-group and intra-group rivalries as well as solidarities. Co-operation between converts and non-Christians was, therefore, not uncommon, especially when the entire local system was faced by external threats. As local conditions changed and circumstances demanded it, confrontation could easily give way to co-operation, and erstwhile bitter foes of Christianity could suddenly switch to support the local Christian communities.[150] In such situations members of local elites, too, could work with—or at least tolerate—indigenous Christians and foreign missionaries. Some notables were appreciative of Christian charity. Others began to show a keen interest in the 'new learning' disseminated by foreign evangelists. Thus, the assertion that Christians "became, to a great extent, a community apart, isolated and often estranged from their fellow Chinese"[151] does not necessarily always reflect relations between Christians and non-Christians in late Qing China. In other words, the question whether and in what ways were they a community apart would depend on specific local conditions and contradictions at a particular time. Greater scholarly attention needs in fact to be paid to the possibility of Christianity as a *Chinese* folk religion and converts as integral members of local systems, living in harmony with their non-Christian neighbours. They had, after all, done so for centuries before the treaties, periodic persecutions by the Chinese state notwithstanding.

[150] For one example of such remarkable change, see Tiedemann, "Anti-Christian Conflict in Local Perspective".

[151] Cohen, "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900", p. 557.

Bibliography

Cohen, Paul A., "Boxers, Christians, and the Gods: The Boxer Conflict of 1900 as a Religious War", in Paul A. Cohen, *China Unbound: Evolving Perspectives on the Chinese Past*, London: Routledge Curzon, 2003, pp. 105–130.

Cohen, Paul A., *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Esherick, Joseph W., *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Harrison, Henrietta, "Village Politics and National Politics: The Boxer Movement in Central Shanxi", in Robert Bickers and R. G. Tiedemann (eds.), *The Boxers, China, and the Worl*d, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007, pp. 1–15.

Hevia, James L., "Leaving a Brand on China: Missionary Discourse in the Wake of the Boxer Movement", *Modern China* 18,3 (July 1992), pp. 304–331. The article was reprinted in Tani E. Barlow (ed.), *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997, pp. 113–140.

Morra, Luciano, "I Boxer e la Chiesa cattolica in Cina nei secoli XIX e XX", Ph.D. diss., Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome, 1995.

Planchet, Jean-Marie (comp.), *Documents sur les martyrs de Pékin pendant la persécution des Boxeurs*, Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1922.

Rankin, Mary Backus, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865–1911*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986.

Su Weizhi 蘇位智and Liu Tianlu 劉天路 (eds.), *Yihetuan yanjiu yibai nian* 義和團研究一百年 (One hundred years of Boxer studies), Jinan: Qi-Lu shushe, 2000.

Thompson, Roger R., "Reporting the Taiyuan Massacre: Culture and Politics in the China War of 1900", in Robert Bickers and R. G. Tiedemann (eds.), *The Boxers, China, and the World*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007, pp. 65–92.

Tiedemann, R. G., "Anti-Christian Conflict in Local Perspective. The Life and Times of Pang Sanjie: Patriot, Protector, Bandit or Revolutionary?", in: Peter Chen-main Wang (ed.), *Contextualization of Christianity in China: An Evaluation in Modern Perspective* (Collectanea Serica), Sankt Augustin, Germany: Monumenta Serica, 2007, pp. 243–275.

Tiedemann, R. G., "The Church Militant: Armed Conflicts between Christians and Boxers in North China", in: Robert Bickers and R. G. Tiedemann (eds.), *The Boxers, China and the World*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007, pp. 17–41. An earlier Chinese version has been published as "Yihetuanmin yu Tianzhu jiaotu zai Huabei de wuzhuang chongtu" 義和團民與天主教徒在華北的武裝沖突 (Armed conflicts between Boxers and Catholics in North China), *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (2002), No. 5, pp. 79–93.

Tiedemann, R. G. 狄德滿, "Liyuantun jiao'an he Yihequan de qiyuan" 梨園屯教案和義和拳的起源 (The Liyuantun missionary case and the origin of the Boxers), *Yihetuan yanjiu hui tongxun* 義和團研究通訊 (Newsletter of the Boxer Research Society) No. 16 (March 1992), pp. 11–22.

Tiedemann, R. G., "Missionaries, Imperialism and the Boxer Uprising: Some Historiographical Considerations", in Ku Wei-ying 古偉瀛 (ed.), *Dong-Xi jiaoliu shi de xinju: yi Jidu zongjiao wei zhongxin* 東西交流史的新局: 以基督宗教爲中心 (New Situation of the History of East-Western Exchanges: With the Focus on Christianity), Taibei: Taida chuban zhongxin, 2005, pp. 309–357.

Tiedemann, R. G., "Not Every Martyr Is a Saint! The Juye Missionary Case of 1897 Reconsidered", in Noël Golvers and Sara Lievens (eds.), *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jeroom Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven, 2007, pp. 589–617.

Catholic Missions in China in 1845

Provinces or Regions	Religious Congregations	Christians	Chinese priests	European priests
Nanjing (diocese)	CM & SJ	62,000	5	10
Sichuan	MEP	54,000	30	10
Fujian	OP	30,000	8	8
Beijing (diocese)	CM	20,000	4	3
Hu-Guang (Hunan & Hubei)	OFM	18,000	7	10
Shaanxi	OFM	16,000	4	5
Shanxi	OFM	11,000	3	6
Jiangxi	CM	10,000	10	3
Macao (diocese)	Port. clergy	10,000	6	20
Mongolia	CM	4,000	5	6
Shandong	OFM	4,000	2	1
Yunnan	MEP	4,000	1	4
Henan	CM	2,000	2	2
Hongkong	Propaganda	800	1	2
Manchuria	MEP	8,00	1	4
Procurators 總務				5
TOTAL		253,000	89	99

Source: Wei, *Politique missionnaire*, p. 384. Wei provides explanatory notes on pp. 390–391 note 207.

3.5. TERRITORIAL SETTINGS AND CATHOLIC JURISDICTIONS

The distribution of Catholics in 1845 provides a rough indication that converts had been able to retain tenuous footholds in some provinces and regions in larger numbers than in other parts of the Qing Empire.

In addition to the missionary priests, the above table lists five procurators 總務. Procurators handled the missions' financial and business affairs at a procuration house (or *procure*) 辦事處. In the eighteenth century Propaganda Fide had its own procurators in Guangzhou (Canton). In 1786 Giovanni Battista Marchini moved the Propaganda Fide *procure* to Macao where he remained until at least 1820. It was moved to Hongkong in 1841.[152] By 1845 the Catholic missionary orders and societies had also set up their own procuration houses. Subsequently other societies would do the same, usually in one of the treaty port cities such as Shanghai.

[152] For an introduction to the archives of the Propaganda Fide *procure* in China, see Metzler, Josef, "Das Archiv der Missionsprokur der Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Canton, Macao und Hong Kong".

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a significant expansion of the missionary enterprise in China. The established Catholic religious orders and societies increased their foreign clergy and priests from newly established 'national' congregations (MEM, CICM, SVD) began to arrive in the Qing Empire. They had to be more formally accommodated by Propaganda Fide within the existing Qing administrative structures. The various 'mainline' Protestant missionary societies were operating under more loosely arranged 'comity agreements' by the end of the nineteenth century. In both cases the aim was to avoid unnecessary duplication of evangelistic work in a given territorial section of the country.

The Manchu Qing Empire consisted of five major components: (1) the Eighteen Provinces of China, sometimes referred to as China Proper or Inner China; (2) Manchuria, the Manchu homeland; (3) the Mongolian territories; (4) Tibet; and (5) Eastern Turkestan. The original eighteen provinces of Qing China were Anhui 安徽, Fujian 福建, Gansu 甘肅, Guangdong 廣東, Guangxi 廣西, Guizhou 貴州, Henan 河南, Hubei 湖北, Hunan 湖南, Jiangsu 江蘇, Jiangxi 江西, Shaanxi 陝西, Shandong 山東, Shanxi 山西, Sichuan 四川, Yunnan 雲南, Zhejiang 浙江, and Zhili 直隸. In 1887 the island of Taiwan (called Formosa in Western sources) was detached from Fujian and established as a separate province, but at the end of the Sino-Japanese War was ceded to Japan in 1895. The provinces of Zhili and Sichuan were administrated by a governor-general 總督 (usually called 'viceroy' in older Western sources) alone. Most other provinces were paired under a governor general: Liang-Jiang (Jiangsu, Anhui and Jiangxi), with the seat of the governor-general at Nanjing; Hu-Guang (Hunan and Hubei), with the seat of the governor-general at Wuchang; Yun-Gui, with the seat of the governor-general at Yunnanfu; Liang-Guang, with the seat of the governor-general at Guangzhou; Min-Zhe, with the seat of the governor-general at Fuzhou; Shaan-Gan, with the seat of the governor-general at Lanzhou. During the last four decades of the nineteenth century, some governors-general became frequently involved in 'religious cases'.

The Chinese provinces were subdivided into prefectures 府, independent departments 直隸州, independent subprefectures 直隸廳, districts 縣, departments 州, and subprefectures 廳. Beneath the provincial level, circuit intendants or daotai 道臺 (supervisory officials of circuits or *dao* 道) reported to the governor. The territorial circuit intendant—and usually less so the functional *daotai*—usually was the highest-ranking local official with whom missionaries dealt to settle

jiao'an. A *dao* was usually comprised of several civil prefectures as well as independent departments or independent subprefectures. Thus, when the Vicariate Apostolic of South Shandong was erected in 1885, its territorial extent was based on the YanCaoYiJi Circuit, i.e. the prefectures of Yanzhou, Caozhou, Yizhou as well as the independent department of Jining.

In addition to the regular Chinese subprovincial system, some of the border provinces with substantial numbers of non-Chinese peoples contained administrative units that were not part of the regular Chinese bureaucracy. Until the last years of the Qing, these ethnically diverse borderlands did not have clearly defined political boundaries with the neighbouring territories of Tibet, Burma and what by the end of the nineteenth century had become French Indochina. Such areas, mainly found in Yunnan, Sichuan, Gansu and Guizhou, were governed by non-Chinese chieftains (*tusi* 土司), for example, Batang *si* 巴塘司 in western Sichuan. Moreover, the relationship between these provincial borderlands and the neighbouring Qing dependencies was somewhat ambiguous. Catholic priests—as well as Protestant evangelists—and their diplomatic representatives insisted that missionaries had the right under the treaties to establish themselves and preach in *every* part of the Qing Empire. However, the Qing officials disputed, for instance, the French claim that the Qing territories of Manchuria, Mongolia and Tibet were covered by the Sino-French Convention of Beijing.[153] Accordingly, in the eighteen provinces of China foreign missionaries came under the jurisdiction of the Zongli Yamen after 1860, whereas the Lifanyuan 理藩院 (Court of Colonial Affairs) was supposed to look after missionary affairs in the Qing dependencies of Mongolia and Tibet.

In practice the foreign missionaries ignored Qing policy and moved into Inner Mongolia and Manchuria in the last decades of the nineteenth century, along with ever increasing numbers of Chinese settlers. Until 1907, Manchuria (later called 東三省 by the Chinese) was governed from Beijing as a separate possession, but in that year its

[153] ZLYM to Kleczkowski, 19 June 1861, *JWJAD*, Series I, Vol. I, doc. 8. See also Gaston Gratuze, *Un pionnier de la mission tibetaine*, p. 134; Guo Hong 郭紅, "Duan Zhenju dimu'an yu Tianzhujiao zei Nei Menggu chuanjiao fangshi de gaibian" 段振舉地畝案與天主教在內蒙古傳教方式的改變 (The land case of Duan Zhenju and the change of Catholic missionary methods in Inner Mongolia), in Zheng Peikai 鄭培凱, *Jiu zhou xue lin* 九州學林 (Chinese culture quarterly), Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2004.

three provinces of Shengjing 盛京 (or Fengtian 奉天), Jilin [Kirin] 吉林 and Heilongjiang 黑龍江 were overseen by a governor-general from Mukden (also called Fengtianfu 奉天府 and Shengjing 盛京; later Shenyang 瀋陽). Only Tibet was successful in keeping out the unwanted Christian missionaries. At the same time, evangelistic work among the non-Chinese Muslims of Eastern Turkestan proved virtually impossible. Following the defeat of Muslim rebels in the southern part of this vast territory by a Chinese army a few years earlier, was organised into the new province of Xinjiang 新疆 (meaning New Territory) in November 1884.[154]

In the course of the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church reorganised the missionary jurisdictions in the Qing Empire. It was during Gregory XVI's pontificate that the first steps were taken to transform the three *padroado* dioceses (Beijing, Nanjing, Macao) still subject to royal Portuguese patronage into vicariates apostolic 宗座代牧區 and prefectures apostolic 宗座監牧區, thereby placing them under the direct jurisdiction of Propaganda Fide in Rome. Each vicariate was headed by a vicar apostolic as titular bishop. In 1879 the missions of the Qing Empire were grouped in five ecclesiastical regions to ensure greater co-ordination and co-operation among the vicars apostolic and the religious orders and congregations. With a few exceptions, the boundaries of the ecclesiastical divisions were drawn so as to coincide with provincial and sub-provincial administrative divisions. Although some minor adjustments were made during the last years of the Qing, the relationship between Chinese civil administrative units and Catholic jurisdictions was still quite close. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Appendix, Catholics in the Qing Empire, 1911)*

At the same time, Catholic missionaries were part of a complex and active ecclesiastical hierarchy that deliberately paralleled the increasingly inert Chinese administrative hierarchy. Furthermore, in their dealings with local government functionaries, Catholic priests insisted on wearing Chinese official dress and considered it their right to travel in the style of Chinese officials and treat with them as social equals. Moreover, they often demanded preferential treatment, such as immediate and direct access to the local authorities up to and including

[154] On the administrative history of the Qing Empire, see Niu Pinghan 牛平漢 (ed.), *Qingdai zhengqu yan'ge zongbiao*; Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 (chief ed.), *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中國歷史地圖集, Vol. 8: *Qing shiqi* 清時期 (The Qing dynasty period).

provincial governors. Thus, the circular note of 1871 pointed out that a Catholic missionary in Shandong had dared style himself a *xunfu* 巡撫 (governor), an "unjustifiable and impertinent" act. Another circular note the Zongli Yamen had sent to the foreign Powers in 1878 stated that "China cannot tolerate or submit to" the fact that "among the missionaries are some who exalting the importance of their office, arrogate to themselves an official status, and interfere so far as to transact business that ought properly to be dealt with by the Chinese local authorities".[155] In certain parts of China the Catholic missionaries had indeed become formidable *political* actors by the last decades of the nineteenth century, explicitly challenging both the formal and informal agents of power. Although the imperial edict of 15 March 1899 integrated the Catholic hierarchy into the Chinese official ranked hierarchy, Catholic priests had assumed quasi-official Chinese status much earlier.[156]

The differential ecology of Christianity in the Qing Empire

Since religious belief of one kind or another was virtually universal and gave meaning to the lives of ordinary folk in premodern society, the reasons why some people chose to convert to Christianity, develop authentic Christian communities and provide moral leadership in local society remain important research questions. Why did Christianity take root more easily in some parts of China than in other localities? In a polity as large and spatially varied as the Qing Empire, were conditions in particular local environments more amenable to conversion? Were particular versions of Christianity more successful in particular settings? These are questions that require further scholarly investigation. It is clear though that the propagation and acceptance of the foreign religion was not a homogeneous process, as is indicated in the regional and local histories of Christianity in the Qing Empire.[157]

---

[155] Koo, *The Status of Aliens in China*, p. 313, quoting from *FRUS* (1871), p. 164, and *FRUS* (1880), p. 177. As these complaints indicate, Catholic priests had assumed quasi-official status long before the imperial edict of March 1899 (which remained in force until 12 March 1908).

[156] For the French translation of the edict, see Cordier, III, pp. 469–471. See also Steiger, "China's Attempt to Absorb Christianity: The Decree of March 15, 1899".

[157] Joseph Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, and George Hood, *Mission Accomplished?*, have produced historical studies of Protestant Christianity in eastern Guangdong province. Patrick Taveirne, *Han-Mongol Encounters and Missionary Endeavors*, in sharp contrast, has focused on Catholic missions in Ordos region of Inner Mongolia.

Catholic Ecclesiastical Regions of the Qing Empire, ca. 1905

Apostolic Vicariate, Prefecture or Mission	Year Erected	Under care of	Episcopal Residence at
FIRST REGION			
Southeastern Zhili 直隸東南 (冀東南)	1856	SJ	Zhangjiazhuang 張家莊, Xian *xian* 獻縣
Northern Zhili 直隸北境 (冀北)	1856	CM	Beijing 北京
Southwestern Zhili 直隸西南 (冀西南)	1856	CM	Zhengding 正定
Eastern Zhili 直隸東 (冀東)	1899	CM	Yongping 永平
Northern Henan 河南北境 (豫北)	1869	MEM	Weihui 衛輝
Southern Manchuria 南滿	1838	MEP	Mukden (Shenyang 瀋陽), Fengtian
Northern Manchuria 北滿	1898	MEP	Jilin 吉林
Eastern Mongolia 東蒙古	1883	CICM	Songshuzuizi 松樹嘴子
Central Mongolia 中蒙古	1883	CICM	Xiwanzi 西灣子, Zhili
Southwestern Mongolia 西南蒙古	1883	CICM	Sandaohezi 三道河子, Alašan special banner
SECOND REGION			
Northern Gansu 甘肅北境	1878	CICM	Liangzhou 涼州
Southern Gansu (Pref. Ap.) 甘肅南境	1905	CICM	Qinzhou 秦州
Ili or Kuldja (Mission) 伊犁	1898	CICM	Yili 伊犁 (Yining 伊寧; Mission "sui iuris")
Northern Shaanxi 陝西北境	1844	OFM	Gaoling 高陵
Southern Shaanxi 陝西南境	1887	P & P*	Guluba 古路坝, Chenggu *xian* 城固縣
Northern Shanxi 山西北境 (晉北)	1844	OFM	Taiyuan 太原
Southern Shanxi 山西南境 (晉南)	1890	OFM	Lu'an 潞安
Northern Shandong 山東北境 (魯北)	1839	OFM	Ji'nan 濟南
Eastern Shandong 山東東境 (魯東)	1894	OFM	Chefoo 芝罘 (Yantai 煙台)
Southern Shandong 山東南境 (魯南)	1885	SVD	Yanzhou 兗州
THIRD REGION			
Zhejiang 浙江	1846	CM	Ningbo 寧波
Southern Henan 河南南境 (豫南)	1844	MEM	Jinjiagang 靳家崗 near Nanyang 南陽
Western Henan 河南西境 (豫西)	1882	SX	Xiangcheng 襄城
Southern Hunan 湖南南境 (湘南)	1856	OFM	Huangshawan 黃沙灣 near Hengzhou 衡州
Northern Hunan 湖南北境 (湘北)	1879	OESA	Shimen 石門 near Lizhou 澧州
Northwestern Hubei 湖北西北 (鄂西北)	1870	OFM	Laohekou 老河口
Southwestern Hubei 湖北西南 (鄂南北)	1870	OFM	Yichang 宜昌
Eastern Hubei 湖北東 (鄂東)	1856	OFM	Wuchang 武昌

(*cont.*)

Apostolic Vicariate, Prefecture or Mission	Year Erected	Under care of	Episcopal Residence at
Jiangnan 江南 (Jiangsu, Anhui)	1660	SJ	Shanghai 上海
Northern Jiangxi 江西北境 (贛北)	1845	CM	Jiujiang 九江
Southern Jiangxi 江西南境 (贛南)	1879	CM	Ji'an 吉安
Eastern Jiangxi 江西東境 (贛東)	1885	CM	Fuzhou 撫州
FOURTH REGION			
Guizhou 貴州	1847	MEP	Guiyang 貴陽
Northwestern Sichuan 四川西北	1680	MEP	Chengdu 成都
Eastern Sichuan 四川東境	1860	MEP	Chongqing 重慶
Southern Sichuan 南四川	1860	MEP	Xuzhou 敘州 ('Suifu' 敘府)
Yunnan 雲南	1843	MEP	Yunnanfu 雲南府
Tibet 西藏 (i.e. parts of Sichuan & Yunnan)	1846	MEP	Dajianlu 打箭爐 (Sichuan)
FIFTH REGION			
Northern Fujian 福建北境	1696	OP	Fuzhou 福州
Amoy 廈門	1883	OP	Xiamen 廈門
Hong Kong 香港	1874	MEM	Xianggang 香港
Guangdong 廣東	1850	MEP	Guangzhou 廣州
Guangxi (Pref. Ap.) 廣西	1875	MEP	Nanning 南寧

* Pontifical Seminary of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul of Rome.
Note that the diocese of Macao was not under the direct supervision of Propaganda Fide but remained a Portuguese *padroado* jurisdiction. In addition to the Portuguese colony, the diocese included the island of Hainan and the district of Xiangshan (now Zhongshan) in Guangdong province between 1875 and 1908. In 1908 Hainan was given to the Prefecture Apostolic of Guangdong in exchange for Zhaoqing civil prefecture. Macao diocese also included Portuguese Timor and the Portuguese missions of Melaka and Singapore.

To account for the differential distribution of Christian communities in nineteenth-century China, it may be useful to consider the various ecological settings. The American agricultural missionary John Lossing Buck 卜凱 (1890–1975) divided the country into seven agricultural

---

Alan Sweeten, *Christianity in Rural China*, provides new insights into nineteenth century Catholicism in Jiangxi province. Ellsworth Carlson, *The Foochow Missionaries, 1847–1880*, and Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China*, have studied the treaty port city of Fuzhou. Lawrence Kessler, *The Jiangyin Mission Station*, provides a detailed historical account of an inland mission station in Jiangsu province. As has been pointed out elsewhere in this *Handbook*, Chinese scholars have published outline accounts of Christianity in, for example, Shandong, Sichuan and multiethnic Yunnan.

regions: the Spring Wheat Area, the Winter Wheat Gaoliang Area, the Sichuan Rice Area, the Yangzi Rice-Wheat Area, the Southwestern Rice Area, and the Double-Cropping Rice Area.[158] In the course of their evangelistic work, nineteenth-century missionaries and their Chinese co-workers had to take into account the different climatic conditions, cropping patterns and recurring seasonal activities in the countryside.

Regional systems analysis is another way of looking at spatial variations. The late G. William Skinner developed the concept of physiographic macroregions, with cores and peripheries. He divided nineteenth-century 'China Proper' into eight macroregions based on drainage basins, waterways of high transport efficiency and mountain ranges, each essentially coterminous with one of China's great economic systems. "Each region was characterized by the concentration of resources of all kinds—arable land, population, capital investments—in a central area [i.e., the 'core'] and a thinning out of resources toward the periphery."[159] The macroregional approach works well for much of China, with the exception of the North China macroregion. Since high population density implies the concentration of economic resources and thus is a crucial determinant of the extent of macroregional cores in this scheme, much of the densely populated North China Plain has been included in Skinner's core. However, this overpopulated area was actually quite peripheral in economic, cultural and especially administrative terms. Once this adjustment has been made, the regional systems approach proves quite useful to explain the contextual complexity and diversity as well as the differential localisation of Christianity in China.

As a result of the inequality in the endowment of resources between cores and peripheries, traditional high scholarly attainment (the higher degree holders, namely *juren* 舉人 and *jinshi* 進士) was also unevenly distributed. One of the principal functions of the gentry (*shenshi* 紳士) in late imperial China was their role as informal agents of the 'Confucian' state. In view of their unequal distribution, it can be assumed that relatively resource rich macroregional cores were in a better position than the peripheries to effectively employ state-sanctioned norma-

[158] Buck, *Land Utilization*, map on p. 27.

[159] Skinner, "Mobility Strategies in Late Imperial China", p. 300. For maps showing the macroregions and indicating macroregional cores, see Skinner, "Cities and the Hierarchies of Local Systems", pp. 7–8.

tive strategies. The consistent failure of districts in the macroregional peripheries—especially those that were also in administrative peripheries ('geopolitical marginality'), as was the case on the North China Plain which was dissected by several provincial boundaries—to produce significant numbers of gentry[160] contributed to the persistence of heterodoxy and rural collective violence. Thus, the type of Christian community that emerged in macroregional cores, for instance the Jiangnan Catholics, was often quite different from those that developed in the peripheries. How did particular missionary societies and individual missionaries adapt to the different local conditions?

Bibliography

Buck, John Lossing, *Land Utilization in China; A Study of 16,786 Farms in 168 Localities, and 38,256 Farm Families in Twenty-Two Provinces in China, 1929–1933*, New York: Reproduced by the Council on Economic and Cultural Affairs, 1956. (First published Nanjing: University of Nanking, 1937).

Carlson, Ellsworth C., *The Foochow Missionaries, 1847–1880*, (Harvard East Asian monographs, 51), Cambridge: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1974.

Cordier, Henri, *Histoire des relations de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales 1860–1902*, 3 vols., Paris: Félix Alcan, 1901–1902. Republished Taibei: Ch'eng-wen, 1966.

Dunch, Ryan, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857–1927*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Gratuze, Gaston, *Un Pionnier de la mission tibétaine, le père Auguste Desgodins (1826–1913)*, Paris: Apostolat des éditions, 1969.

Guo Hong 郭紅, "Duan Zhenju dimu'an yu Tianzhujiao zei Nei Menggu chuanjiao fangshi de gaibian" 段振舉地畝案與天主教在內蒙古傳教方式的改變 (The land case of Duan Zhenju and the change of Catholic missionary methods in Inner Mongolia), in Zheng Peikai 鄭培凱, *Jiu zhou xue lin* 九州學林 (Chinese culture quarterly), Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2004.

Hood, George A., *Mission Accomplished? The English Presbyterian Mission in Lingtung, South China: A Study of the Interplay between Mission Methods and Their Historical Contexts*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986.

Kessler, Lawrence D., *The Jiangyin Mission Station: An American Missionary Community in China, 1895–1951*, (The James Sprunt studies in history and political science, v. 61), Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Koo, Vi Kyuin Wellington, *The Status of Aliens in China*, (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 50,2 = 126), New York: Columbia University, 1912.

Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei, *The Bible and the Gun: Christianity in South China, 1860–1900*, New York & London: Routledge, 2003.

---

[160] While it is possible to gather statistical information on the district-level distribution of higher degree holders from provincial gazetteers, such information is generally not available for lower degree holders (*shengyuan* 生員, usually called *xiucai* 秀才 in the missionary literature).

Metzler, Josef, "Das Archiv der Missionsprokur der Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Canton, Macao und Hong Kong", in Ugo Marazzi and Carlo Gallotta (eds.), *La conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, (Collana 'Matteo Ripa', IV), vol. 2, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1985, pp. 75–139.

Niu Pinghan 牛平漢 (ed.), *Qingdai zhengqu yan'ge zongbiao* 清代政區沿革綜表 (Brief charts of successive changes in Qing period administrative areas), Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1990.

Skinner, G. William, "Cities and the Hierarchies of Local Systems", in Arthur P. Wolf (ed.), Studies in Chinese Society, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978, pp. 1–77.

Skinner, G. William, "Mobility Strategies in Late Imperial China: A Regional Systems Analysis", in Carol A. Smith (ed.), *Regional Analysis*. Vol. 1: *Economic Systems*, New York: Academic Press, 1976, pp. 327–364.

Steiger, George Nye, "China's Attempt to Absorb Christianity: The Decree of March 15, 1899", *T'oung Pao* 24 (1926), pp. 215–246.

Sweeten, Alan Richard, *Christianity in Rural China: Conflict and Accommodation in Jiangxi Province, 1860–1900*, Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2001.

Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 (chief ed.), *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中國歷史地圖集 (The Historical Atlas of China), Vol. 8: *Qing shiqi* 清時期 (The Qing dynasty period), Hongkong: Joint Publishing (H.K.) Co., 1992.

Taveirne, Patrick, *Han-Mongol Encounters and Missionary Endeavors: A History of Scheut in Ordos (Hetao) 1874–1911*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004.

Wei Tsing-sing, Louis [Wei Qingxin 衛青心], *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine 1842–1856. L'ouverture des cinq ports chinois au commerce étranger et la liberté religieuse*, Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1960.

4. Themes

4.1. Missionaries and Opium

Kathleen L. Lodwick

Opium presented a problem to Christian missionaries in China from the moment the first of their numbers disembarked, because it was not uncommon for the ships on which they travelled to the Middle Kingdom to carry the drug as cargo. As the years passed many Chinese came to associate opium with the missionaries, with many of the clergy reporting occasions when they attempted to preach only to be shouted down by cries of "Who brought opium to China?" When the first Protestant missionaries arrived in China in the early nineteenth century, they found their lives there closely entwined with those of their fellow countrymen who were in China to engage in business. These early missionaries were forced by the Chinese government to reside either in Macao or at the Canton factories, the only location where Western merchants were permitted to trade. It was in the foreign merchant houses that the missionaries studied Chinese, began printing Christian tracts in Chinese and, increasingly, found themselves tied to the opium problem.

Among these pioneers, Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851), an independent missionary, was most closely associated with the opium trade, for in the early 1830s he had travelled on opium vessels plying China's coastal waters so that he could distribute his Christian tracts from one side of the ship, while the merchants smuggled opium from the other. The British and American missionaries at Canton tried to distance themselves from Gützlaff, yet, they, too, were dependent on the merchants in one way or another.[1] By the late 1830s had, in many cases, come to share the traders' view that China needed to be 'opened' not just for trade, but also to the Gospel. Thus, by the time of the first Anglo-Chinese Opium Wars (1839–1841; 1856–60) many missionaries viewed the changes forced on China as necessary to their

[1] Peter Ward Fay, *The Opium War, 1840–1842*, especially the chapters on Catholic and Protestant missionaries. See also Peter W. Fay, "The Protestant Mission and the Opium War," *Pacific Historical Review* 40 (May 1971), pp. 145–61; Lazich, "American Missionaries and the Opium Trade in Nineteenth-Century China"

work.[2] Unfortunately, for those Chinese who would later link opium with Christianity it was the 1860 treaties with the Western countries which both legalised the trade in opium and permitted the preaching of Christianity.

Who first transported opium to China is still not clear, but the drug was not indigenous there, for it is not mentioned in traditional Chinese pharmacopoeia and its Chinese name, *yapian* 鴉片, is clearly an English loan word. (Interestingly, the craving for opium smoke, *yan* 煙 in Chinese, in turn, became a loan word in English, 'yen', to denote any craving.) Because the Chinese smoked the drug, it was likely introduced to China by the Portuguese along with the tobacco they first transported to Asia. By whatever method opium got to China, the government clearly recognised its dangers by 1727 when its use was prohibited by an imperial edict. Many Chinese smoked the drug and slept off its effects in public opium shops. Higher class addicts, of course, used the drug at home, sometimes in special rooms which they had constructed specifically for that purpose. No one is sure why so many Chinese people chose to smoke opium in the nineteenth century, but as a consequence China certainly had a problem of monumental proportions. Even though the reasons why any individual took to the drug might be intensely personal, what is clear is that the number of addicts was surely increased by the belief of many medical doctors that opium was a panacea. The drug was thought to cure malaria and tuberculosis, both rampant in China, as well as a host of other diseases and ailments. It should be noted that opium was also widely prescribed in Western countries, particularly to amputees of the Crimean, American Civil and Franco-Prussian Wars. Opium was also a common ingredient in patent medicines extensively used in the West. While opium in any form is addictive, in the West the drug was ingested as a medicine in private at home which Westerners found more acceptable than the public smoking of the drug which was done in China.[3]

As medical missionaries increased in number among the foreigners working in China, many came to see first-hand the damage opium

[2] Rubinstein, "The War They Wanted".

[3] On the various uses of opium in China, see the relevant chapters in Frank Dikötter, Lars Laamann and Zhou Xun, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China*, London: Hurst & Company, 2004. On China's internal opium trade and its prohibition, see David Anthony Bello, *Opium and the Limits of Empire: Drug Prohibition in the Chinese Interior, 1729–1850*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005.

wrought on users. Many of these medical doctors quickly gave up prescribing opium in any form for any disease because of its addictive nature and because they discovered by experience it did not cure the problems for which it had been prescribed. Once the drug was known in China, Chinese medical doctors also prescribed it. A common saying among the Chinese was "If you are sick and a doctor prescribes opium as a cure you will soon have the original disease, still uncured, and also the opium habit".

In the late nineteenth century scientific evidence of the pernicious nature of opium did not yet exist, but the missionary doctors in China all had ample case notes to demonstrate that the drug was highly addictive, the opium habit was extremely hard to break, and heavy, long-term users lost their ability to procreate and eventually starved to death as a result of the drug's interference with their digestive systems.[4] Exactly how many Chinese were addicted to opium in the closing years of the dynasty is impossible to determine, but estimates range from one to ten million people, with use much higher in the major opium-producing provinces such as Sichuan where as much as 80 per cent of the population was thought to use the drug.

As the purpose of the mission movement in China was to convert people to Christianity and as no church would admit an opium user to membership, addiction was a problem all missionaries had to confront. (A few churches did permit deathbed conversions if the addict had truly tried to break the habit and had been a faithful church attendee.) The numerous China missionaries represented all sects of Christianity and as a group could agree on no single religious viewpoint, yet on the opium question they were of one opinion: opium was harmful. (Roman Catholic missionaries were slow to become involved in the anti-opium movement, as the Vatican did not publicly denounce the opium trade and the use of the drug until 1892.)

Many missionaries tried to help addicts cure themselves of the habit and virtually every mission compound in China, whether or not a medical doctor was present, had an opium refuge at some time among

---

[4] For missionary observations on and reactions to opium consumption in China, see e.g. John Dudgeon, "The Opium Traffic from a Medical Point of View", *Friend of China* (1876), pp. 12–17. John Dudgeon 德約翰 (1837–1901), worked as an LMS medical missionary in China from 1863 until 1884 and remained in China until his death. He is often confused with another British medical practitioner, John Hepburn Dudgeon, who was, however, not active in China.

its buildings. Missionaries reported that the opium refuges with no windows and a strong lock and an extremely trustworthy guard at the door had the greatest success at "curing" addicts. The addict attempting a cure under these conditions was provided with three good meals a day, but as the withdrawal symptoms took over the individual's suffering was horrendous. Missionaries discovered that refuges which had windows hindered the "cure" as the addicts either crawled out and went in search of the drug or convinced someone on the outside to provide it to them. Many missionaries reported that after three days those addicts who managed to survive their withdrawal symptoms were "cured." Yet once the newly-cured addict was released from the refuge and returned home, the missionaries discovered the person was quickly re-addicted. Although the individual could live without the drug in the secure environment of the refuge, or even the mission compound, at home they were often living with other family members who used opium and/or they returned to their old lifestyles where the drug was readily available.

In an effort to find a pharmaceutical cure for opium addiction missionary medical doctors concocted all sorts of remedies and argued, through the pages of mission periodicals, over the efficacy of each. Alas, most of these home-made remedies contained at least trace amounts of opium, with the result that those taking them were never completely cured of their habits. As pharmaceutical remedies in the Western countries developed some medical personnel thought morphine pills were an ideal cure for the opium habit. So many of the morphine pills were dispensed by well-meaning missionaries, both medical and non-medical, that they quickly came to be known in Chinese as "Jesus opium" much to the horror of those who distributed them. As morphine is a derivative of opium, the pills only replaced opium addiction with an addiction to morphine.[5]

While China missionaries were gaining information which convinced them that opium was an extremely dangerous drug, they had difficulty convincing their fellow countrymen that they were right on this issue. Too many missionaries had loudly denounced the 'rum demon' to be taken very seriously on the subject of opium. The problem was greatly complicated by the fact that the British government

[5] On the controversial issue of 'Jesus opium', especially in connection with Pastor Xi's refuges in Shanxi, see Austin, *China's Millions* (2007), passim.

was directly engaged in the opium trade. Opium was grown on government land in India and sold to help finance the costs of governing that country. The government in London was loath to give up such a lucrative means of revenue, particularly as the Chinese seemed to desire the drug, now a legal trade item.[6]

But liberals in Britain turned their attention to the opium question once they had successfully convinced their government to end the trade in their empire. Individuals interested in the immoral nature of the trade, many of whom were clergy or members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) or other Nonconformist churches, organised the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade in 1874. The society published a newspaper, *The Friend of China*, and several books, some by China missionaries, to inform the public of their work. In a letter to the president of the Society in 1881, Li Hongzhang (1823–1901) wrote that Britain and China would never see eye to eye on the opium issue because the Chinese viewed it from a moral standpoint, while the British saw it as a fiscal matter. While Li's letter undoubtedly offended those who viewed him as a 'heathen', they had to agree with his assessment of the situation at least as far as the British government was concerned. Several years later the Society gained much publicity when it enlisted as a member Donald Matheson (d. 1901) who in 1849 had left employment in his family's firm, Jardine, Matheson and Company, because of its involvement in the opium trade. The Society worked primarily by exerting pressure on members of Parliament and in 1891 got the House of Commons to pass a resolution which declared the opium trade "morally indefensible." Pressure from the Society finally resulted in the appointment of the Royal Commission on Opium in 1893, but it proved to be extremely pro-opium and heard evidence in Britain and India, but not the China, the only place—the missionaries insisted—where the evil nature of the drug could be seen.

It was in response to the whitewashed report of the Royal Commission that the China missionaries organised the Anti-Opium League 中國禁煙會, with the American Presbyterian (South) missionary Hampden Coit DuBose 杜步西 (1845–1910) serving as its first President.[7] Communicating through the pages of the Protestant nonde-

[6] Lodwick, *Crusaders Against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China. 1874–1917*.

[7] On DuBose, see Junkin, Nettie DuBose. *For the Glory of God: Memoirs of Dr. and Mrs. H.C. DuBose, of Soochow, China*. Lewisburg, W. Va: children of Dr. and Mrs. DuBose, [n.d.].

nominational monthly *The Chinese Recorder*, the missionaries wrote a constitution for the League, recruited at least one member from every mission station, and called a national meeting at Shanghai. The League's major work was a survey of every Western-trained medical doctor in China concerning the nature of opium. In the event any doctor failed to receive the questionnaire, the League published it in *The Chinese Recorder*. Eventually, more than 100 doctors responded, most of them missionaries, but also a few Westerners practising among the foreign community in China and Chinese who had been educated in the West. Published in Chinese and English in 1899 this survey *Opinions of Over 100 Physicians on the Use of Opium in China* documented the true nature of opium addiction. Every doctor said the drug was addictive, virtually all users became addicts and few were ever really cured of the addiction. Such evidence was hard to ignore and even the Boxer Uprising did not deter the League's members from continuing to keep their position before the British public.

In 1906 the United States government appointed a Philippine Commission on Opium to study the issue to determine what its policy should be concerning the drug's use in the Philippines. The Commission visited China to gather evidence and in its final report sharply criticised the Chinese for their use of the drug. This public denunciation greatly spurred young nationalistic Chinese, many of whom had been abroad, into action. Public outcry against opium use finally convinced the government to take action and in 1906 an imperial edict calling for the end of opium use in China was issued. Unlike earlier attempts at opium suppression, this one had the support of a great many people and it was followed in 1907 by a treaty with Britain which called for the end of the opium trade over a ten-year period. Under this treaty, once opium had been eliminated from a province, imported opium was banned there. To ensure that the Chinese were complying with suppression, the British consular official Sir Alexander Hosie (1853–1925) journeyed throughout the major opium-producing regions of China in 1909–1910 to assess efforts to eradicate the crop. In many towns missionaries, who were frequently the only foreigners living in remote areas of China, were Hosie' s informants about the successes or failures of local efforts. Hosie's report indicated most efforts had been successful and accordingly the British limited the opium trade as required by treaty.[8] The 1911 revolution interrupted what had been

[8] Hosie, *On the Trail of the Opium Poppy* (1914).

the most successful post-Boxer reform of the Chinese government and opium returned to many parts of China in the early years of the republic. Protestant missionaries who had so long denounced the evil nature of the drug finally saw the Chinese make a real effort to rid their country of opium. The missionaries realised that the suppression movement had been Chinese led and Chinese run, but they nonetheless applauded the results.

Bibliography

Austin, Alvyn. *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832–1905*. Studies in the history of Christian missions. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2007.

Bello, David Anthony, *Opium and the Limits of Empire: Drug Prohibition in the Chinese Interior, 1729–1850*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005.

Dikötter, Frank, Lars Laamann and Zhou Xun, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China*, London: Hurst & Company, 2004.

Dudgeon, John, "The Opium Traffic from a Medical Point of View", *Friend of China* (1876), pp. 12–17.

Fay, Peter Ward, *The Opium War, 1840–1842: Barbarians in the Celestial Empire in the Early Part of the 19th Century and the War by Which They Forced Her Gates Ajar*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1975. Reprinted Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Fay, Peter W., "The Protestant Mission and the Opium War," *Pacific Historical Review* 40 (May 1971), pp. 145–61.

Great Britain. Royal Commission on Opium. 7 vols. Vol. 1 *First Report of the Royal Commission on Opium with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices*. Vol. 2, 3, 4, *Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Royal Commission on Opium from 29 Jan. To 22 February 1894, with Appendices*. Vol. *5, Appendices Together with Correspondence on the Subject of Opium with the Straits Settlement and China. etc.* Vol. 6, *Final Report of the Royal Commission on Opium*. Vol. 7, *Supplement to the Report*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1894–95.

Hosie, Alexander, *On the Trail of the Opium Poppy: A Narrative of Travel in the Chief Opium-Producing Provinces of China*. London: G. Philip & Son, 1914.

Junkin, Nettie DuBose (1905–1986), *For the Glory of God: Memoirs of Dr. and Mrs. H.C. DuBose, of Soochow, China*, Lewisburg, W. Va: children of Dr. and Mrs. DuBose, [n.d.].

Lazich, Michael C., "American Missionaries and the Opium Trade in Nineteenth-Century China", *Journal of World History* 17.2 (June 2006), pp. 197–223.

Lodwick, Kathleen L., *Crusaders Against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China. 1874–1917*, Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1996.

Park, William Hector, M.D., *Opinions of Over 100 Physicians on the Use of Opium in China*, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1899.

Parkes, H., "Opium and Christian Missions", *China Review* 5.1 (1876), pp. 55–59.

Rubinstein, Murray A., *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China, 1807–1840*, Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1996.

Rubinstein, Murray A., "The War They Wanted", *American Neptune* 48,4 (Fall, 1988), pp. 271–282.

Shen Tongsheng 沈桐生, ed., *Guangxu zhengyao* 光緒政要 (Important Political Events of the Guangxu reign), Shanghai: Chongyi tang, 1909.

Zheng, Yangwen, "The Social Life of Opium in China, 1483–1999", *MAS* 37,1 (2003), pp. 1–39.

4.2. Bible Translations and the Protestant 'Term Question'

Lauren Pfister

Catholic and Protestant Translation Overlaps

Although Roman Catholic missionaries did not produce any public rendition of the whole Bible until the 20th century, their Chinese catechetical texts and historical overviews included much biblical information and terminology. The troublesome choice regarding the appropriate Chinese rendering for the Latin word *Deus* or "God" was resolved by papal decree in 1704 as part of the larger problem related to the Rites Controversy.[1] Biblical terminology and theological terms were consequently developed around the word *tianzhu* 天主 "the Lord of Heaven", and then published in lectionaries, catechisms, and apologetical works prepared by the missionaries and expanded in the writings of some Chinese Catholic authors.

When the London Missionary Society's pioneer missionary, Robert Morrison 馬禮遜 (1782–1834), initiated his research on Chinese Bible translation before leaving for southeastern China in 1807, he discovered in the British Library an unfinished New Testament manuscript in Chinese originally prepared by an unknown Catholic missionary.[2] Once he was situated in China as an official translator for the East India Company, Morrison studied the language with Chinese informants, and fairly soon afterwards commenced his translation of the New Testament. Published in 1813, it manifested strong dependence on the Catholic precedent, but also shows more liberty in style and vocabulary, particularly in the gospels where no previous translation was available. This is because Morrison focused his attention on rendering the Greek text of the Textus Receptus rather than the Catholic Vulgate. Joined later by William Milne 米憐 (1785–1822) in the translation of the Hebrew scriptures, their collaborative efforts produced in

[1] The full set of documents is now available in English translation in Sure and Noll, pp. 8–24. Helpful background reading is presented in Minamiki (1985) and Mungello (1994).

[2] Subsequent research concluded that this manuscript was probably authored by a Catholic priest from the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris named Jean Basset 白日陞 (1662–1707) who worked in Sichuan province. For further details see Strandenaes (1987), pp. 22–23; Barriquand, "First Comprehensive Translation of the New Testament in Chinese".

1823 the first full Chinese Bible in China entitled *Shentian shengshu* 神天聖書.[3]

Significantly for later Protestant missionaries, Morrison consistently rendered the biblical words for "God", *Theos* in Greek and *Elohim* in Hebrew, by the Chinese term *shen* 神, and "spirit" (*pneuma* and *ruach* respectively) generally by the term *feng* 風 and sometimes *ling* 靈.[4] The fact that Morrison occasionally employed other renderings for theological terms in his dictionary and tracts was generally overlooked, the scriptural precedents becoming both a standard and an obstacle for later missionary translators.[5]

Alternate Versions by Other Missionaries in 1830s

Soon after Morrison's death a small group of Protestant missionaries led by Walter Henry Medhurst 麥都思 (1796–1857) initiated a new biblical translation project. They were not reliant on Catholic precedents, but aimed at creating a more easily decodeable and stylish version overcoming recognised deficiencies in the Morrison-Milne

[3] Another Chinese Bible was produced by Marshman and Lassar in Serampore, India, in 1822, but the Morrison-Milne version was always considered the earliest standard translation once it was published. More general details appear in Broomhall (1977). Utilising a large range of Protestant commentarial materials as well as standard Greek and Hebrew compilations, Morrison and Milne aspired to prepare a Chinese translation formally corresponding to the "original" texts. This approach also satisfied the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, who later published numerous copies. In his letter to the LMS Directors dated November 25, 1819, Morrison credits Milne with translating a total of 13 books from the Hebrew scriptures, including the book of Job and all of the historical books. Here he restates his reliance on the Basset manuscript for portions of the New Testament, but also itemises 23 works in European languages (including the Textus Receptus) employed in translation and interpretation, as well as more vague references (most likely for the sake of their protection) to "Several Roman Catholic works in Chinese" and "Native Teachers."

[4] Thoroughly described in Strandenaes (1987), pp. 22–47.

[5] Consistent with his scriptural translations Morrison in his similarly pioneering Chinese-English dictionary (1815–1822) included after a number of other definitions of "Shin," (or *shen*) the following: "Divinity; God, in the sense of heathen nations" (Vol. 2, p. 772). This carried immense authority until James Legge (1850, pp. 29, 30, 46) pointed out the variety of his renderings for the "God," "gods," the Christian God and "Holy Spirit" in Morrison's Chinese-English dictionary and Chinese pamphlets. Ironically, even the Table of Contents to the Morrison-Milne translation introduces both "Old and New Testaments" as books revealed by *shentian shangdi* 神天上帝, "the divine and heavenly Lord on High."

translations.[6] In spite of Medhurst's strongly argued justifications for a new version, including recorded complaints from Morrison's ordained Chinese evangelist, Liang Fa 梁發 (1789–1855), the BFBS refused in 1836 to publish this so-called "Medhurst translation".[7] The institutional interests of the British and American Bible Societies continued to influence decisions on Bible publications even though they rarely had the linguistic expertise during these years to decipher these matters carefully. Consequently, when the debates over how to translate key theological terms became a public and heated issue a decade later, these societies were extremely dependent on those who claimed to have adequate knowledge of Chinese language, published articles, and lobbied for their support in personal letters.[8]

Delegates' Committee: An Ideal Solution

Soon after Hong Kong was ceded to the British government and five port cities were opened to foreign residence, a dozen missionaries rep-

---

[6] Medhurst apparently did most of the work, but was joined at times by the well-informed Prussian missionary Karl Gützlaff 郭實獵 (1803–1851), the more technically minded American missionary Elijah Bridgman 裨治文 (1801–1862), and the young sinologically-minded mercantile translator and associate of the London Missionary Society, John Robert Morrison 馬儒翰 (1814–1843). These and later Protestant missionaries also studied Catholic literature published in modern European languages, but here the point is that they reviewed some Catholic productions in Chinese language itself. It was Morrison's publication (Malacca: Anglo-Chinese College Press, 1831) of Joseph-Henri-Marie de Prémare's 馬若瑟 (1666–1737) Latin text of the *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* (composed at Canton in 1728), that furthered Protestants' systematic studies of Chinese language in this earlier period.

[7] See Medhurst (1836) for details. This version is also known as the "Medhurst-Gützlaff translation."

[8] These institutional interests were an important factor in the decisions related to mass publications, and so shaped the nature of the debates and approaches taken by various missionaries to convince them of their position during the public controversies. Hills (n.d.) fully documents the problem in the American Bible Society, while a much briefer account of British involvement is described in William Canton (1910), Vol. 2. pp. 39–402. When the Bible Societies did not support missionary translations, versions were published at the mission presses in China and distributed among themselves and their own contacts. Consequently, by 1845 Bridgman could compare six different versions of the New Testament when highlighting certain problems of current biblical translations. This was because after the Morrison-Milne version there had been not only the co-operative effort under Medhurst's leadership already mentioned above, but also independent renditions made by Medhurst and Gützlaff. See Bridgman's description and comments in *CRep* 14 (1845), pp. 54–55. It is said that the Chinese Christian Union established by Gützlaff distributed the Hebrew scriptures in Gützlaff's rendering and the New Testament in the "Medhurst-Gützlaff" translation. (Canton, Vol. 2, p. 402.)

resenting four mission societies met in the island colony in 1843 to organise themselves for a larger and more co-ordinated effort in biblical translation. All agreed that the previous biblical translations were inadequate, even though Medhurst's was admittedly an advance over the Morrison-Milne version.[9] Intending to involve all willing missionaries in the process, they first determined general translation principles, discussed already recognised problems in subcommittees, and then divided up the New Testament into five portions. Each major mission station was assigned to translate one section from the Textus Receptus into a Chinese version "better adapted for general circulation." It was understood that they would prepare translations without explanatory notes to match expectations of the Bible Societies. After initial versions were completed, copies were made and sent to all other stations, while one "delegate" from each station was designated to work on the final version in a smaller editorial committee.[10]

Public interest was raised by the publication of the minutes of these Hong Kong meetings in the Bible Societies' organs, the Chinese Repository, other missionary magazines as well as in independent pamphlets. By the time the Delegates' Committee commenced meeting in Shanghai in 1847, there was already a growing public awareness of the unresolved dissent among missionaries regarding the proper Chinese renderings for a set of biblical words including "baptism," "God," "gods," "Holy Spirit," and "spirit." Lengthy position papers began to appear in that year in both public and private forms, intensifying into what became known as the "Term Question" debates.[11]

---

[9] This judgement on the earlier version was made, it should be noted, by a group including two of the four former translators involved in the Medhurst version. Public and Bible society misunderstandings over the inadequacy of the Morrison-Milne translation frustrated the effort from the beginning, illustrated by Walter Lowrie 婁理華 (1819–1847), the first delegate from Ningbo, in a letter of 1845. See Lowrie (1851), pp. 237–241.

[10] Hongkong joined Guangzhou (Canton) to make one station, while others from Shanghai, Ningbo, Fuzhou and Xiamen (Amoy) also took part. (Later adjustments included some missionaries to the Chinese from other places.) A copy of these minutes constitutes a long footnote in the China section of the *Fortieth Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London: 1844), pp. cviii-cxii.

[11] The complexity and multiformity of these debates are suggested from the lengthy yet not comprehensive bibliography on "the 'Term' Question" found in *BS*, pp. 1279–1294.

Alternate Versions by Chinese Evangelists

During the 1830s and 1840s Chinese Christian writers also left their personal impact on the means and styles of translations, breaking new ground along with their missionary teachers and collaborators. It has long been known that Liang Fa, a self-educated convert under Morrison and sincere Chinese evangelist, had written a document greatly influencing Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 (1814–1864), later the central prophet and ruling king of the Taiping insurgents. The fact that his works contained many biblical paraphrases consistently using other sets of theological terms, choosing in particular to refer to the biblical God as *Shangdi* 上帝, deserves serious attention.[12]

Although many less known Chinese consultants joined in the larger Delegates' Committee translation project, two Chinese figures deserve special notice. Medhurst relied on a young baptised scholar and later controversial reformist named Wang Tao 王韜 (1828–1897), whose training in classical Ruist/Confucian texts enhanced the readability and style of the Delegates' version. An even more significant Chinese author was the co-worker of James Legge 李雅各 (1815–1897), He Jinshan 何進善 (1817–1871). The earliest recognised Chinese translator of the Christian scriptures, as a child He had been trained in Chinese scholarly traditions and later after converting at age 20, he studied English, biblical Greek, and Hebrew in Calcutta and Malacca. His traditionally styled translations and commentaries on the gospels of Matthew and Mark in the 1850s remained standard works of Chinese Protestant Christianity until the 1880s.[13]

---

[12] This preferential set of terms became the dominant factor in Taiping theology as well as in their own publications of the Bible (following one of the 1830s versions, possibly of Gützlaff), even when including Hong's marginal notes denying certain orthodox Christian theological doctrines. From this angle the influences of the unbridled missionary technique of disseminating Christian biblical publications without explanatory notes or personal follow-up led to unexpected interpretations enforced by authoritative Taiping figures.

[13] Legge was never on the first Delegates' Committee, though he was invited to join in the translation of the Hebrew scriptures. Legge and He consequently worked independently on these translations and commentarial texts. He Jinshan's life and work are described and evaluated in Pfister (1997/98). Previously Latourette (1929), p. 833, claimed that no Chinese apologist or devotional writer had emerged from among earlier Chinese Protestants; He Jinshan's works should correct this negative evaluation. The only other recognised Chinese translator of the Christian scriptures was the prolific Yan Fu 嚴復 (1853–1921), who unlike He Jinshan was not ordained but was a professional translator.

Understanding the Indeterminacy of Term Question Debates

Previous studies have generally focused on the logical arguments associated with specific sets of translation terms during this first period of debates from 1847 to 1852.[14] At first the main positions were articulated by Medhurst, supporting shangdi and its accompanying terms, and William Boone (1812–1864), supporting the shen position. Medhurst's will to search for compromises led him to suggest a number of other alternatives, but Boone, a trained American lawyer, remained resistant to these suggestions. In 1850, the scholarly Legge took up an uncompromising position advocating a more consistent shangdi position, but was forced to publish his works outside of the Chinese Repository because Bridgman, the editor, shared Boone's convictions.

The complexity and length of Term Question literature during these years is daunting, but before any ultimate conclusions were or could be drawn, other interests temporarily stopped the debates. Initially the debaters had written on questions related to the nature of Chinese language, classical literature and the value of certain renderings, probing into areas of logic, philology, and theology.[15] The later debates were fuelled by more intense arguments about Chinese and missionary history, cross-cultural theology, as well as comparative religious and philosophical questions. They were ultimately skewed by the authors rhetorical and overstatements, the institutional intrusions of the Bible Societies, being finally demobilised by the initial military victories of the Taiping insurgents.[16] The Bible societies chose to publish different versions of the Delegates' Committee's New Testament, but only after the committee itself had broken into two factions. Subsequently, mission societies initiated their own independent translation projects.[17] In the end, practical interests in publishing Bibles, whatever their deficiencies, ultimately outweighed the more substantial problems.

---

[14] Covered in Williams (1878) and Spelman (1969), though further debates continued to arise well into the 20th century.

[15] See Medhurst (1847 and 1849), and Boone (1848).

[16] This first period of the Term Question debates is discussed at length in Pfister (2004).

[17] Ultimately the British society sided with the *shangdi* supporters and published their translations, while the American society published the shen versions. Many of these debates were complicated by nationalistic feelings, and though most British missionaries took the former position and most Americans, the latter, there was no simple division of positions on that basis. German missionaries, who were another relatively major group, generally supported the former position.

Unresolved Puzzlement and Multiplication of Versions

Beyond the frustrated search for exact translation equivalents in these debates there were other, more perennial, issues. Initially the goal of the Delegates' work was to produce a single standard version of the Christian scriptures in order to co-ordinate the biblical interpretations of multi-denominational Protestant missionary groups. The translators' failure to compromise consequently led to a multitude of versions being produced in different Chinese languages and dialects, including versions set at different registers of literacy.[18] This multiformity was initially feared by missionaries to lead to interpretative chaos, but ultimately it increased both access to biblical literature and the further engagement with the more perennial problems of Christian missions in China.

Another major question is related to the shangdi position advocated by Legge. This approach ultimately sought justification through accommodating to certain Chinese scholarly terms and concepts, a position advocating cultural sensitivity, building on conceptual similarities, and adopting a less confrontational missionary style. This remained a controversial issue well into the early twentieth century.[19] Another substantial issue related to the need for Bible texts with interpretative notes, a possibility the Bible Societies had initially rejected. Taiping developments pointed to the importance of the problem, and so heightened the useful significance of He Jinshan's biblical commentaries. These issues inherently suggested the value of adopting a scholarly style and Ruist conceptual terms, but it remained a moot question until the publication of Legge's watershed translations and commentaries to the Chinese Classics forced the debate into a new stage.[20]

---

[18] By the time Alexander Wylie published his bio-bibliographic information on Chinese missionaries in 1867, he could document published biblical portions in eight dialects with full New Testament translations in Fuzhou and Ningbo dialects. The majority of these used Chinese characters, but there were already some employing Romanised scripts (in "Amoy, Ningpo, Kin-hwa, and Shanghae") to teach Chinese commoners to "read" the Christian scriptures.

[19] This position was later generalised and coined "Leggism" in the later debates published in the *Chinese Recorder*, often going beyond or caricaturing what Legge himself had originally advocated.

[20] This became particularly evident in the rejection of Legge's paper from the proceedings of the 1877 General Missionary Conference in Shanghai, and spilled over into further controversy in Oxford in 1880, where Legge was then Professor of Chinese Language and Literature. The basis for Legge's more general questions came from

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Annual Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804–1860).

Boone, William, "An Essay on the proper rendering of the words Elohim and Theos into the Chinese Language," *CRep* 17 (1848), pp. 18–53, 57–89. Also published as William Jones Boone, *An Essay on the Proper Rendering of the Words Elohim and Theos into the Chinese Language*, Canton: Office of the Chinese Repository, 1848.

Boone, William Jones, "Defense of an Essay on the proper rendering of the words Elohim and Theos into the Chinese Language," *CRep* 19 (1850), pp. 345– , 409– , 465– , 569– , 625– . Also published as *Defense of an Essay on the Proper Rendering of the Words Elohim and Theos into the Chinese Language*, Canton: Printed at the Office of the Chinese Repository, 1850.

He Jinshan 何進善, *Make fuyin zhushi* 馬可福音註釋 (Commentary on the Gospel of Mark). Hong Kong: Anglo-Chinese College Press, 1856 (Xianfeng 6).

He Jinshan 何進善, *Matai fuyin zhushi* 馬太福音註釋 (St. Matthew's Gospel with a commentary), Hongkong: Anglo-Chinese College Press, 1855 (Xianfeng 5). Reprinted Shanghai: Shanghai Mei-Hua shuguan, 1874. (Vol. 1 of *Xinyue quanshu zhushi* 新約全書註释).

He Jinshan 何進善, *Xinyue quanshu zhushi* 新約全書註釋 (Introduction to the Commentary to the Whole New Testament), Hongkong: Anglo-Chinese College Press, 1855 (Xianfeng 5).

Legge, James, *Letters on the Rendering of the Name God in the Chinese Language*, Hongkong: Hongkong Register, 1850.

Legge, James, *The Notions of the Chinese concerning God and Spirits with an Examination of the Defense of an Essay on the Proper Rendering of the Words Elohim and Theos, into the Chinese Language, by William J. Boone*, Hongkong: Hongkong Register, 1852.

Liang Fa, *Quanshi liangyan* (Good Words to Exhort the Age). Canton: 183?.

Lowrie, Walter, *Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Missionary to China*. New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1851.

Medhurst, Walter Henry, *A Dissertation on the Theology of the Chinese with a View to the Elucidation of the Most Appropriate Term for Expressing the Deity, in the Chinese Language*. Shanghae [sic]: Mission Press, 1847.

Medhurst, Walter Henry, *Memorial Addressed to the British and Foreign Bible Society on a New Version of the Chinese Scriptures*. London: 1836.

Medhurst, Walter Henry, *On the True Meaning of the Word Shin, as Exhibited in the Quotations Adduced under that Word, in the Chinese Imperial Thesaurus, Called the Pei-Wan-Yun-Foo*, Shanghae: [Mission Press], 1849.

Morrison, Robert, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (6 Volumes in 3 parts), Canton: 1815–1822.

Morrison, Robert, *Jiushi wo zhu Yesu xinyi zhaoshu* 救世我主耶穌新遺詔書 (The Newly Transmitted and Authoritative Books of the Saviour of the World, Our Lord Jesus), Canton: 1813.

---

his work on the first edition of the Chinese Classics, which was published between 1861 and 1872. The second edition, involving certain revisions of the translations and commentary to the Four Books as well as a more positive evaluation of "Confucius," was published in 1893 to 1895.

Morrison, Robert, and William Milne, *Shentian shengshu* 神天聖書 (The Divine and Heavenly Sacred Writings), Canton: 1823.

St. Sure, Donald F. (trans.*), 100 Roman Documents concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy (1645–1941)*, (ed.) Ray R. Noll. San Francisco: Ricci Institute of the University of San Francisco, 1992. Chinese translation: Su'er 蘇爾 and Nuo'er 諾爾, *Zhongguo li yi zhi zheng xiwen wenxian yi bai pian (1645–1941)* 中國禮儀之爭西文文獻一百篇 (1645-1941), Shanghai : Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001.

Secondary Sources

Barriquand, François, "First Comprehensive Translation of the New Testament in Chinese: Fr Jean Basset (1662–1707) and the Scholar John Xu", *Verbum SVD* 49,1 (2008), pp. 91–119.

Broomhall, Marshall, *The Bible in China*, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1977; first published London, Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1934.

Canton, William, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. London: John Murray, 1910.

Eber, Irene, "The Interminable Term Question", in Irene Eber, Sze-kar Wan, Knut Walf (eds.), in collaboration with Roman Malek, Bible in *Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, XLIII, Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, in cooperation with The Harry S Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 135–161.

Eber, Irene, *The Jewish Bishop and the Bible: S.I.J. Schereschewsky (1831–1906)*, Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Hills, Margaret T., "Chinese Scriptures—1831–1860," in *American Bible Society History* (Essay #16, Part III-G, "Text and Translation," no date), manuscript in the American Bible Society, New York.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1929.

Mende, Erling, "Problems in Translating the Bible into Manchu: Observations on Louis Poirot's Old Testament", in Stephen Batalden, Kathleen Cann and John Dean (eds.), *Sowing the Word: The Cultural Impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1804–2004*, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004 and 2006, pp. 149–168.

Minamiki, George. *The Chinese Rites Controversy: From Its Beginning to Modern Times*, Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1985.

Mungello, David E. (ed.), *The Chinese Rites Controversy: Its History and Meaning*, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994.

Pfister, Lauren F., "A Transmitter but not a Creator: The Creative Transmission of Protestant Biblical Traditions by Ho Tsun-sheen (1817-1871)," in Irene Eber, Sze-kar Wan, Knut Walf (eds.), in collaboration with Roman Malek, *Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, XLIII, Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, in cooperation with The Harry S Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 165–197.

Pfister, Lauren F., *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man': James Legge and the Scottish Protestant Encounter with China. Assessing Confluences in Scottish Nonconformism, Chinese Missionary Scholarship, Victorian Sinology, and Chinese Protestantism*, (Scottish Studies International. Publications of the Scottish Studies Centre of the Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz in Germersheim, Vol. 34), 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004.

Spelman, Douglas G., "Christianity in Chinese: The Protestant Term Question", *Papers on China* (Harvard) 22A (1969), pp. 25–52.

Spillett, Hubert W., *A Catalogue of Scriptures in the Language of China and the Republic of China*, London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1975.

Starr, Chloë, "Reading Christian Scriptures: The Nineteenth-Century Context", in Chloë Starr (ed.), *Reading Christian Scriptures in China*, London and New York: T&T Clark, 2008, pp. 32–48.

Strandenaes, Thor, "Anonymous Bible Translators: Native Literati and the Translation of the Bible into Chinese, 1807–1907", in Stephen Batalden, Kathleen Cann and John Dean (eds.), *Sowing the Word: The Cultural Impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1804–2004*, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004 and 2006, pp. 121–148.

Strandenaes, Thor, *Principles of Chinese Translation as Expressed in Five Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt. 5:1–12 and Col. 1*, Uppsala: Almquist and Wiksell International, 1987.

Williams, Samuel Wells, "The Controversy among the Protestant Missionaries on the Proper Translation of the Words God and Spirit into Chinese", *Bibliotheca Sacra* 35 (1878), pp. 732–778.

Wong, Timothy Man-Kong 黃文江, "The Rendering of God in Chinese by the Chinese: Chinese Responses to the Term Question in the *Wanguo Gongbao*", in Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff (eds.), *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, pp. 589–613.

Zetzsche, Jost Oliver, *The Bible in China: The History of the* Union Version *or The Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica; Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1999.

4.3. Taiping Religion and Its Legacy

P. Richard Bohr

The Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864)[1] was China's—and the world's—greatest millenarian cataclysm.[2] The Taipings' militant faith in a biblical, universal God, whose transcendence dwarfed the immanent Confucian monarch, claimed between twenty and forty million lives in 16 of China's 18 provinces, nearly toppled imperial China, and presaged the country's twentieth-century revolutions. Traditionally, scholars acknowledge that religion played a decisive role in the Taiping rising.[3] But they have had deep disagreements as to whether the Taipings' religion was influenced primarily by Chinese sectarianism—with the biblical principles a cynical overlay[4]—or whether the Taipings appropriated so much from the missionaries that their faith should be considered "Taiping Christianity."[5] Recent research into the missionaries' evangelical message, China's heterodox traditions, and the Taipings' socio-economic and ethnic milieu reveals a far more complex process of acculturation in which syncretistic Taiping religion was derived as much from indigenous as from foreign sources.

Moral Crisis, Evangelical Christianity, and the Emergence of a Monotheistic Perspective, 1837–1843

Taiping religion originated with Hong Xiuquan (1814–1864).[6] Raised in Guanlubu 官祿佈, a village thirty miles north of Guangzhou, Hong belonged to South China's marginalised sub-ethnic Hakka (*kejia* 客家, "guest people") minority, that is to say, Han Chinese who had been pushed out of north China by barbarian invaders centuries earlier. The Hakka's arduous southward trek was sustained by their uniform

---

[1] For bibliographies regarding the Taiping Rebellion, see Jiang Bingzheng (1983); Michael (1971), III, pp. 1617–1771. For an analysis of historical sources see Teng Ssu-yü (1950); Teng Ssu-yü (1962).

[2] Cf. Cohn.

[3] Most Western scholars have long acknowledged religion's role in the Taiping movement. PRC scholars did not do so until the mid-1980's. See, for example, Xia Chuntao.

[4] See, for example, De Groot; Shih; Michael (1966); Weller (1994).

[5] See, for example, Boardman; Doezema; Lindley; Jen Yuwen (1973); Meadows; Reilly.

[6] For biographical perspectives on Hong, see *ECCP*, vol. 1, pp. 361–367; Spence.

dialect, industriousness, frugality, mutual dependence, and property sharing as well as their skills in marginal agriculture and guerrilla fighting. Poverty necessitated the Hakka's monogamy and their reluctance to take women out of farm and market work through foot-binding. After 1600, the Hakka began arriving in coastal Guangdong and its Guangxi hinterland. Most became labourers and tenant farmers on the rocky hillsides of the *Bendi* 本地 (original settlers, usually called 'Cantonese' in Western literature), who derided these unassimilated latecomers, with their "uncouth" customs and strange rites, as non-Chinese "hill dogs." The two groups often clashed over land and water rights.[7]

Hong's lineage, once prominent in scholar-official circles, owned enough land to afford him seven years of village schooling in preparation for the civil service examination, the primary avenue of Hakka upward mobility. But by 1837, he had failed the Guangzhou prefectural test three times. Exhaustion and guilt coincided with his reading of a Christian tract to precipitate a dream in which Hong saw himself transported to heaven. There, he was taken to a palace displaying "virtue-exhorting tablets" (i.e. the Ten Commandments) to meet his black-robed, blond-haired "Heavenly Father".

The patriarch complained that Confucius had failed to "expound the true doctrine" when editing China's classics and that "false gods" had taken credit for his creation of the world. And he lamented: "All human beings in the world are produced and sustained by me; they eat my food and wear my clothing, but not a single one of them has the heart to remember and venerate me; what is worse, they take of my gifts and worship demons; they purposely rebel against me, and arouse my anger". The "old father" then appointed Hong "Heavenly King", urging him to return China to monotheism by "exterminating the heterodox," "preserving the orthodox," and "relieving the people's distress." While returning to earth through the "thirty-three levels of heaven" during the next "forty days," his "Heavenly Elder Brother", Jesus, taught Hong to "slay the demons" of immorality.[8]

---

[7] Bohr (1981); Leong, 19–93; Nicole Constable, "Introduction: What Does It Mean to be Hakka?" in Constable (1996), pp. 3–35.

[8] For an account of Hong's dream sequence, see Hamberg, pp. 6–13. For an analysis of the cultural context of Hong's dream, see Wagner (1988). For a discussion of the ways in which Hong's dream scripted the Taiping movement, see Wagner (1982).

The source of Hong's vision was *Good Words to Admonish the Age* (*Quanshi liangyan* 勸世良言; 1832), the first Chinese attempt to explain Protestantism.[9] It was written by Liang Fa (1789–1855), woodblock printer to Robert Morrison (1782–1834) and William Milne (1789–1822), the first two Protestant missionaries to China. Along with other evangelically-minded farmers and tradesmen being spiritually reborn in the trans-Atlantic Second Great Awakening, Morrison and Milne felt compelled to extend spiritual rebirth and social reform to uplift non-Christian brothers and sisters and thereby precipitate, in Milne's own words, the "coming of Christ's kingdom among the nations".[10] The missionaries' sole hope to circumvent the 1724 imperial ban against Christianity (as the "ruin of morals and of the human heart"[11] because it "neither holds spirits in veneration nor ancestors in reverence"[12]) was clandestine distribution of the written word.

Good Words is a haphazard series of excerpts from the 1823 Morrison-Milne Bible (fourteen from Genesis, Ecclesiastes, and Isaiah and 48 from twelve New Testament books), many accompanied by Liang's own commentaries. Liang included ten of his homilies on evangelical themes highlighted in the nearly fifty tracts by Morrison, Milne, and five other missionaries which he had published.[13] He also provided an account of his own conversion experience and clandestine village evangelism, for which he had been imprisoned and beaten by local officials. Morrison himself edited the work, which was handed to Hong outside the Guangzhou examination centre in 1836 by the Yale-educated missionary Edwin Stevens (1803–1837).

Good Words[14] begins by depicting the evangelicals' activist God as a loving "Heavenly Father" reigning as the universal, "omnipotent," "omnipresent," "omniscient," and "merciful" creator-sovereign. After

---

[9] *Good Words* is contained in Mai Zhansi [McNeur], Appendix.

[10] Quoted in Robert Philip, *The Life and Opinions of the Rev. William Milne, D.D.*, London: John Snow, 1840, p. 37.

[11] Quoted in A. J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century*, book 1: *Barbarians at the Gate*, Sevenoaks: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989, p. 228.

[12] Quoted in Lindsay Ride, *Robert Morrison: The Scholar and the Man*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1957, p. 12.

[13] For an overview of the missionaries' evangelical message to which Liang Fa was exposed, see Bohr (2002); Carwardine; Rubinstein; Phillips, pp. 1–31; Treadgold, 2:35–56; Hutchison, pp. 43–61; Smith, pp. 1–11.

[14] For a theological analysis of *Good Words*, see Bohr (1985). For the connection between *Good Words* and Hong's dream, see Spence, pp. 51–65 and Yap. For the apocalyptic implications of *Good Words*, see Kuhn (1977).

the Fall, Liang wrote, God sent Christ to earth as a saviour in human form to "turn the world from religious heterodoxy" and dispatched the Holy Spirit to reveal the "secret" spiritual knowledge needed to drive out "wild thoughts and evil desires." Tragically, the Chinese people rejected Jesus and lapsed into "idolatry". According to Liang, China's consequent addiction to materialism, gambling, promiscuity, alcoholism, and opium smoking—some of which had ensnared the youthful Liang himself after moving from his native village to cosmopolitan Guangzhou—drove the Chinese into the "unfilial acts" of jealousy, quarrelling, avarice, swindling, stealing, family violence, and even murder. No longer able to choose the "correctness" of God's morality, corrupt emperors now allowed the wealthy to "oppress" the poor.

For Liang, only individual Christian conversion and moral activism through compliance with the Ten Commandments (of which he mentioned eight)[15] could inaugurate the Heavenly Kingdom (*Tianguo* 天國), which he portrayed as a morally-reconstituted dynastic order devoted to justice, brotherhood, and "great peace (*taiping* 太平)."[16] Failing this, Liang warned, God would "lead other countries to conquer our [unrepentant] country, occupy our country, and send us to other countries as slaves."[17] In more homely terms, Liang prophesied that "wolves, tigers and other animals…[will] harm those who do not believe in God."[18]

While teaching in the village school during the next six years, Hong reflected on *Good Words*. But his fourth exam failure in 1843 precipitated his break with the Confucian old order. He told his father, Hong Jingyang 洪競揚: "I am not your son".[19] In a re-enactment of Liang's account of the evangelicals' conversion drama, Hong and Li Jingfang (d. 1856), a distant maternal cousin, poured water over each other's heads, intoned "purification from all former sins, putting off the old, and regeneration." They swore to "trust in Jesus' full atonement" and "repent" by abandoning "idol worship," rejecting "worldly customs," and obeying the "Sacred [Ten] Commandments."[20] They each crafted a

---

[15] Liang did not include the injunctions against neglecting the Sabbath and blaspheming God's name.
[16] *Good Words*, pp. 21–25.
[17] Ibid., p. 132.
[18] Ibid., p. 16.
[19] Quoted in *Taiping Tianri* (Taiping Heavenly Chronicle), in Wang Zhongmin and Xiang Da, II, p. 639.
[20] Quoted in Hamberg, p. 20.

three-foot sword with which to "capture all the demons", "return them to the web of the earth", and unite the world into "one family…in harmonious union".[21] They fully anticipated the speedy advent of the Heavenly Kingdom, characterised—in Hong's paraphrase of the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記)—by "great peace [*taiping*] and unity".[22]

At home, Hong demolished his family's images of the kitchen, door, ox, pig, and dragon gods and removed Confucius and the God of Literature from his school and the schools of two failed examination candidates whom he also baptised: his paternal cousin Hong Ren'gan 洪仁玕 (1822–1864) and Feng Yunshan 馮雲山 (1822–1852), his stepmother's relative. He then gave each Hong lineage elder a set of sticks for "chastising" adulterers, seducers, thieves, gamblers, unfilial people, and those who "plot evil." He also preached about the urgent need for China's moral renewal. Li Jingfang's son, Li Zhenggao 李正高 (1823–1885), whom Hong had also baptised, recalled that he was attracted to Hong's message because "we lamented the moral and political decline of our country. According to our sentiment, Heaven had decreed that we should curb injustice and promote justice."[23] Hence, Li noted, "When we heard his [Hong's] dreams, our hearts flew to him, and we thought: certainly Heaven had heard our sighs and had chosen this man to bring better times."[24]

Reimagining Peace and Equality, 1844–47

In the spring of 1844, village elders ostracised Hong from Guanlubu for choosing God over the village deities, whom he refused to honour during the lunar new year festivities. Along with Feng Yunshan, Hong took his religious message to Hakka relatives who had recently fled Guangdong's population pressures and Hakka-Bendi feuds for southeastern Guangxi's Thistle Mountain 紫荊山, 250 miles to the west. In this ethnically complex, hardscrabble frontier region, China's domestic and global crises merged in the aftermath of the First Opium War (1839–42).[25] In particular, China's post-1842 treaty-port system broke

[21] Quoted in ibid., p. 25.
[22] Quoted in ibid.
[23] Quoted in Lutz and Lutz, p. 123.
[24] Quoted in Constable (1994), p. 166.
[25] Wakeman (1966); Liu Kwang-Ching (1968), 2:93–99; and Kuhn (1978), pp. 264–268.

Guangzhou's time-honoured international trade monopoly, abolishing 100,000 Hakka transport jobs throughout the Guangdong-Guangxi corridor. Thousands of Guangxi's Hakka miners lost unemployment after silver deposits dried up. And Hakka tenants were being pushed off the land by extortionate rents, usurious interest rates, and extralegal surtaxes levied by Bendi landlords seeking to consolidate landholding. Retreating to remoter fields, the Hakka encroached on the lands of Zhuang and Yao tribesmen, who attacked them.

Worse, demobilised Opium War volunteers, pirates fleeing British naval patrols, and secret society gangs flooded into Guangxi to extort, rob, kidnap, set up brothels, gambling dens, and protection rackets, and smuggle opium to feed a growing addiction among dispirited peoples. Hong was outraged that "In the present day so many brave people/Have wounded themselves with the opium pipe.... And, roasting and smoking opium, they become mad."[26] The outflow of silver to purchase the drug devalued the local copper currency, doubling land taxes and boosting commodity prices as farm production fell. Anarchy went unchecked by the corrupt local government.

As they itinerated throughout Thistle Mountain, Hong taught the people simple prayers to seek the Heavenly Father's protection in a hostile world. And he urged them to resist immorality so their souls "may ascend to heaven" and their bodies avoid being "devoured by serpents and tigers."[27] By the time Hong returned to Guanlubu in November 1844, over one hundred Hakka proclaimed him a messiah who "had come down from heaven" and sought baptism from him.[28]

His teaching post in Guanlubu now restored, Hong began composing missionary-style tracts to guide his followers toward "right behaviour."[29] Liang Fa, who had only a smattering of village schooling, had discovered God while carving the Morrison-Milne Bible. But Hong, the scholar, glimpsed Him in the pre-Confucian, classical texts of his examination study as *Shangdi* or *Tian*, China's original ruler who had created the world "in six days" and presided over a "liberal-minded," "public-spirited," global "Great Community" (*datong* 大同). This uni-

---

[26] Quoted in Jen Yuwen, (1958), III, p. 1725.
[27] Curwen, pp. 79–80.
[28] Quoted in Hamberg, p. 28.
[29] Quoted in Hong Ren'gan, "Hong Xiuquan's Background," in Michael (1971), II, p. 4. For an analysis of the theological development revealed in Hong's writings, see Bohr (1998); Bohr (2003); Wang Qingcheng (1981), and Choan-Seng Song, *The Compassionate God*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1982, chap. 10.

versal golden age of "great peace" (*taiping*) had, Hong argued, been alluded to in the "Evolution of Rites" ("Liyun") chapter of the *Book of Rites* and Mozi's (fl. 479–438 BCE) observation that China's ancient sage-kings "saw that the earth, when spoken of in its parts, comprised ten thousand kingdoms, but when spoken of collectively, constituted one family".[30]

In this utopian age, Hong wrote, the people were "peaceful and the country secure."[31] But it ended abruptly when Qin Shihuangdi 秦始皇帝 (r. 221–210 BCE) and his successors were seduced by "the old serpent-Devil" into worshipping the Buddha, Laozi, and other "false deities", promoting heterodox rituals, and usurping God's status by incorporating His title (*di*) into their imperial pretensions. This was heretical, Hong admonished, because "God alone is emperor. The monarchs of this world may only be called kings [*wang* 王]. But how can they be permitted to encroach a hairsbreadth upon this?…Even Jesus was not called emperor".[32]

Hong had earlier applauded Liang's conviction that Confucian "correctness" contained "the root and source of the true Way".[33] But in Thistle Mountain, Hong began to blame inter-community violence on Confucianism's vertical nature, which, he concluded, caused people to "love those of their own village, hamlet, or clan, and dislike those of other villages, other hamlets, and other clans".[34]

Perhaps inspired by contemporary scholars of the Gongyang commentary 公羊傳 on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋), Hong advocated the revival of China's pre-Confucian egalitarian commonwealth of "great peace and equality" (both ideals are implicit in the term *taiping*) through the establishment of an imminent, biblical Heavenly Kingdom (*Tianguo*) come to earth. In this revived utopia, Hong hoped, universal love would be impartially extended in equal amounts to all people, regardless of blood ties. As ancestor worship and social distinctions cease, violence would diminish. Motivated by love, not materialism, the have's and have-not's—recognising that

---

[30] Quoted in Jen (1958), III, p. 1726. Hong's utopian concept echoes the evolutionary theory of the ancient philosopher He Xiu 何休 (129–182). See Wolfgang Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness*, Michael Shaw, tr., New York: The Seabury Press, 1976, p. 117.

[31] Quoted in Jen Yuwen (1958), 3:1722.

[32] Quoted in ibid., III, p. 1731.

[33] Quoted in ibid., III, p. 1723.

[34] Quoted in ibid., III, p. 1725.

they are all equally-dependent as siblings of their common Heavenly Father—would care for one another. When disaster struck in one district, its neighbours would come to the rescue. In the forthcoming Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace and Equality (*Taiping Tianguo*), Hong promised, the strong will "no more oppress the weak, the many overwhelm the few, the wise delude the simple, or the bold annoy the fearful."[35]

Toward the Millennium: The God Worshippers' Rise, 1847–1851

During the spring of 1847, Hong Xiuquan and Hong Ren'gan were invited by the SBC missionary Issachar Jacox Roberts 羅孝全 (1802–1871), a former saddle-maker and product of Tennessee frontier revivals, to study Christianity at his Guangzhou chapel (which counted Liang Fa among its members). Roberts was a colleague of the German Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851), who regarded the Hakka Chinese as "proto-Christians" because of their communitarian values. With the Swede Theodor Hamberg 韓山明 or 韓山文 (1819–1854), who came to Hongkong through the Basel Missionary Society in March 1847, they sought the Hakka's "blitz conversion" through Hakka evangelists themselves.[36]

Roberts pronounced Hong's dream an authentic religious experience and reaffirmed Hong's religious convictions by preaching "the atonement, faith and repentance, and the resurrection of the dead, the vanity of…dumb idols which cannot save…and the absolute necessity of turning to the true God who made heaven and earth; and believing in Christ Jesus the only Savior of mankind, both of Chinese and foreigners."[37] Roberts gave Hong a copy of the Medhurst-Gützlaff Bible (a more comprehensible version than the Morrison-Milne translation) and the complete Ten Commandments. This was Hong's first exposure to the entire Bible. But rather than engage Hong in theological discourse, Roberts admonished his student merely to memorise the Bible. In addition to participating in worship and congregational life in Roberts' chapel, Hong imbibed a broad spectrum of Christianity in Guangzhou, where—in the spirit of evangelical reform-

[35] Quoted in ibid., III, p. 1726.
[36] Doezema; Teng Yuan Chung; and Lutz and Lutz, pp. 3–11.
[37] Quoted in Coughlin, p. 300.

ism back home—the missionary enclave and their nearly one hundred Chinese converts had built churches, schools, clinics, and libraries containing some 170 Chinese-language books on many topics, sacred and secular.[38]

After Hong Ren'gan returned home, Hong Xiuquan requested baptism and appointment as Roberts' "assistant preacher". But, suspecting ulterior motives, Roberts refused. Undeterred, Hong left Guangzhou in June 1847, still convinced he was Christ's younger brother and determined that, if he could not achieve his messianic goals through the church, he would do so via the Heavenly Kingdom.

The following August, Hong was in Guangxi, where his evangelical ideals had taken root amid Thistle Mountain's apocalyptic omens. Hong took charge of the 3,000-member God Worshippers Society 拜上帝會 (a term borrowed from *Good Words*), encompassing a dozen local assemblies which Feng Yunshan had organised during Hong's three-year absence. The God Worshippers, whom Hong perceived as the vanguard of the new millennium, were the ideal organisational expression of Hakka egalitarian and mutual support systems into which Hong could now inject Baptist and sectarian elements.[39] Before two burning lamps and three cups of tea, initiates confessed their "sins," pledged "not to worship evil spirits, not to practice evil things, but to keep" the Ten Commandments.[40] They were bodily immersed (according to Baptist practice) to the words of Hong's and Li's baptism four years earlier. The confession texts and initiates' names were then burned, the smoke sent upward to the Heavenly Father.

Corporate worship took place in disciples' homes. Men and women, calling each other "brother" and "sister" (a Hakka and a Baptist custom), sat on opposite sides of the room to symbolise moral probity. Facing the sunlight to honour Hong (who had already appropriated the Chinese messianic symbol of the sun), the congregation sang Christian hymns to the accompaniment of Chinese gongs, drums, and cymbals. An elder—Hong never did create an ordained clergy—recited Hong's intercessory prayers and delivered a homily lauding the Heavenly Father's mercy and Jesus' "merits" while enjoining "sincerity of heart"

---

[38] See Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese*.

[39] Constable (1994); Nicole Constable, "Poverty, Piety, and the Past: Hakka Christian Expressions of Hakka Identity", in Constable (1996), pp. 98–123; Nicole Constable, "Christianity and Hakka Identity," in Bays (1996), pp. 158–173.

[40] Quoted in Hamberg, p. 35.

and proscribing image worship. The service ended with the doxology honouring Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The God Worshippers also offered daily morning and evening petitions patterned on the Lord's Prayer, said grace before meals, and recited Hong's rewritten version of the Ten Commandments, which addressed the specific 'sins' afflicting Thistle Mountain.

Between the winter of 1848 and the summer of 1849, Hong was away, petitioning Qing officials for the release of Feng Yunshan, who had been imprisoned for his evangelism. Meanwhile, famine and typhus had closed in on the God Worshippers, now 10,000–strong. In Hong's absence, charismatic shamans asserted their leadership. Among them were Yang Xiuqing 楊秀清 (d. 1856), the illiterate boss of the local charcoal-workers who practiced Hakka spirit possession in the name of the Trinity, and Xiao Chaogui 蕭朝貴 (d. 1851), Hong's brother-in-law and a tenant farmer who employed local Yao 瑤族 spirit journey rituals to re-enact Hong's 1837 dream.

By the time Hong returned, the frequent descents of God and Jesus through Yang and Xiao were unleashing unprecedented religious ecstasy in the form of faith healing, dream interpretation, and speaking in tongues.[41] Although uneasy about restoring traditional Chinese folk ritual, Hong endorsed shamanism by dipping into local Hakka customs to "forecast rain or clear weather" and draw "magic charms [in God's name] to cure disease".[42] He also relied on the Sacred Treasury, a Hakka-style community chest (which Hong linked with Liang's reference to Christian charity in Matthew 19:23) into which the God Worshippers contributed their possessions. From this fund, Hong dispensed disaster relief to all comers. Li Xiucheng 李秀成 (1824–1864), soon to become the Taipings' 'Loyal King' (忠王), joined the God Worshippers during this difficult time because his family was "poor and it was difficult to make ends meet each day".[43]

Religious ecstasy also inspired an orgy of iconoclasm as the God Worshippers destroyed ancestral tablets, religious images, and temples, whether devoted to ancestor worship, state Confucianism, or

---

[41] For the text of the divine revelations spoken through Yang and Xiao, see Wang Qingcheng (1986) and the "Book of Heavenly Decrees and Proclamations" (also called the "Third Testament"), in Michael (1971), II, pp. 97–110.

[42] Quoted in Weller (1994), pp. 82–83. Although the missionaries had condemned this practice as "superstitious," a number of Hakka evangelists employed it as a proselytism tool (Lutz and Lutz, p. 136).

[43] Curwen, p. 83.

local Thistle Mountain cults glorifying such local themes as illicit love, matricide, or Zhuang dog worship.[44] In the rubble, the God Worshippers posted written explanations of their actions, along with the Ten Commandments. This violent assault against the old order disrupted local market activities, lineage and village alliances, and social services, thereby alarming the local Bendi elite, who unleashed their militias against Hong's flock.

In July, Hong ordered 20,000 God Worshippers to assemble at Jintian 金田 village, near Thistle Mountain's southern entrance. The Heavenly Father spoke through Yang's trances to assure the faithful that, in his wrathful "omniscience," he would judge and punish all violators of the Ten Commandments, now touted as the rules of engagement. Emboldened by the divine descents, united as siblings under the universal Heavenly Father, and certain that the Kingdom was at hand, the God Worshippers fought bravely against the Bendi militias, intrepid Hakka women fighters (hardened by centuries of self-defence) winning numerous upset victories.

In the winter of 1850, Hong denounced local officials for pocketing government relief funds and suppressing famine victims demonstrating against government rice hoarding and price-gouging. The Qing government, horrified by the God Worshippers' loyalty to a transcendent God above the Manchu Son of Heaven, assumed they were a traditional rebel threat and attacked them.[45]

A Warrior God, Dynastic Insurrection, and Martial Discipline, 1851–1853

On January 11, 1851, Hong merged religion and politics by announcing the inauguration of the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace and Equality (*Taiping Tianguo*). The following September, 50,000 Taipings captured the city of Yongan 永安, sixty miles northeast of Jintian. There, Hong combined elements from the Bible and the *Rites of Zhou* to create a theocratic government able to channel the Heavenly Father's religious, military, and civilian authority directly to the individual believer through Jesus, Hong, and his five "brother kings" (with Yang in charge of Feng and Xiao, who were soon to die in battle, as

[44] Weller (1996).
[45] See Levenson (1962).

well as two other kings). Local government clerks, examination candidates, and pawnbrokers were recruited as Taiping bureaucrats. Feng fashioned a partly solar calendar to highlight the Sabbath and stress dependence on the Heavenly Father by eliminating the fatalism of the lunar calendar's lucky and unlucky days. Men and women (including spouses) were segregated into separate campus until 1855.

In widely-distributed pamphlets,[46] Hong inserted the Taiping epic into biblical salvation history. Just as the "Devil-deluded" Egyptian pharaohs had oppressed the Jews, he charged, the "demon" Manchu emperors had persecuted the Chinese, destroying their families, defiling their women, humiliating their men (by making them shave their heads and wear pigtails, 'monkey caps', and 'barbarian' clothes), and debasing the Chinese language. Hong insisted that the Heavenly Father's campaign to rescue the Chinese through the Taiping mission would, after the Flood, the Exodus, Jesus' earthly ministry, and Hong's 1837 vision, constitute his fifth saving action through "great anger" in human history. The Heavenly Father now mandated that all Qing subjects unite as 'Chosen People' to throw off the Manchu yoke and march, exodus-like, to the Promised Land.

After breaking through the imperial encirclement of Yongan in April 1852, the Taipings, their hair now grown to fearsome length, destroyed Confucian libraries, razed shrines, temples, and monasteries, and executed Manchu and unrepentant Chinese civil servants, along with Buddhist and Daoist clergy. As they swept through Hunan and Hubei into the Yangzi River valley at Wuchang, far beyond the Hakka core area, the need to evangelise increasingly diverse recruits grew urgent. Taiping officers proclaimed: "Our Heavenly Father helps us, and no one can fight with him".[47] The anxiety generated by the image of an omniscient Heavenly Father, warrior-god and judge, rewarding battlefield bravery with "endless blessings" and "golden houses in heaven" and ordering summary beheading for the slightest infraction (including failure to memorise the Ten Commandments within three weeks of enlistment) moulded obedient Taiping troops.[48] Li Xiucheng himself recalled: "After I worshipped God I never dared to transgress

[46] See Michael (1971), II, pp. 141–167.
[47] Quoted in Callery and Yvan, p. 268.
[48] Quoted in Michael (1971), II, p. 235.

in the slightest, but was a sincere believer, always fearing harm from serpents and tigers."[49]

Institutionalising Theocracy: The Rise and Fall of 'New Jerusalem', 1853–1864

In March 1853, one million Taipings captured Nanjing, former imperial capital and gateway to China's economic heartland. Hong proclaimed Nanjing to be "New Jerusalem," the "rebuilt…tabernacle," "sent down from heaven by God" to be China's "Heavenly Capital."[50] Ignoring the missionaries' insistence on God's "immaterial" and "invisible" qualities, Hong claimed that the Heavenly Father, who had talked with him in heaven and come down into the Guangxi hills, had a beard, clothes, and wives and was grandfather to Hong's son and heir, the "Junior Lord." Now restored as China's rightful emperor, the "benevolent" and "unchangeable" Heavenly Father, who saves people from "selfish monarchs" and "unjust" magistrates, would soon vanquish the apostate Xianfeng emperor (1851–1861) in Beijing and renew his pre-imperial covenant with the Chinese.

Issachar Roberts had often compared himself to Paul and Nehemiah. So, too, Hong proclaimed himself the reincarnated Melchizedek, messianic hero of Genesis, who would govern China in God's stead as "priest of the God Most High" (Genesis 14:18) and "king of righteousness, and…king of peace" (Hebrews, 7:2).[51] On the Taiping Sabbath, no work was allowed and military action discouraged. The "best rooms" in the city became "Heavenly Father halls," where Taiping officials led worship services, recited the scriptures, and officiated at baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Community worship followed the God Worshipper pattern, but by now, sermons were patriotically exalting loyalty over filial piety, claiming that "A man should only regard his country, and not consider his own parents."[52] The Taipings held daily morning and evening worship at home, grace concluding with "Kill the demons!"[53]

---

[49] Curwen, p. 83.
[50] Quoted in Michael (1971), II, p. 235.
[51] Quoted in ibid., II, p. 225, 233.
[52] Quoted in ibid., II, p. 249.
[53] Lindley, I, pp. 360–391.

Hong also unleashed a cultural revolution intent on returning China to its pre-Confucian foundations.[54] The Taiping Bible—written in a simplified, punctuated vernacular and consisting of the Old Testament's first six books along with a complete New Testament and a third "True Testament" enshrining the Guangxi descents in 1848–1852—along with Taiping doctrinal pamphlets were widely distributed and became the basis of Taiping education and civil service examinations. Some Confucian books were burned while others were purged of references to ancestor worship and similar 'heterodox' notions. All property was turned over to the Sacred Treasury, and commerce became a state monopoly. While unmarried women, widows, orphans, and the infirm lived in special "institutes", the able-bodied were mobilised for non-stop work and universal conscription. Throughout the city, 25-person units pursued their occupational specialties to supply the Heavenly Capital and the far-flung military campaigns. The queue was banned and Ming dynasty costume reinstated. A new system of noble ranks and protocol was developed for the court of each of the six Taiping kings. In homage to Old Testament Jerusalem, Hong granted harems to himself and his brother kings. But he imposed monogamy on the rank and file, who faced instant beheading for opium smoking and gender mixing and beatings for absence from religious services, tobacco smoking, and other spiritual backsliding.

Proclaiming women to be the equal of their 'brothers' in transforming China, Hong abolished foot-binding, dowries, arranged marriage, wife purchase, widow suicide, prostitution, concubinage, and other forms of female 'servitude'. He also encouraged women to marry and even remarry of their own free will. And he mandated women's equal access to manual labour, education, civil service examinations, government and military service, and court nobility.

Taiping utopianism culminated in the egalitarian "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty". Rooted in Hong's belief that theocratic state power was the vehicle of God's love, it mandated a new relationship between the people and the state. With memories of Thistle Mountain's deprivations still vivid, Hong wrote: "[If] there is land, it should be farmed by all; if there is food, it should be eaten by all; if there are clothes and money, they should be worn and used by all. There should be no inequality. Everyone should be equally well fed

[54] For a summary of Hong's reforms, see Withers; and Zürcher.

and clothed".[55] Egalitarianism was intended to alleviate people's suffering and extend government control to a level of administration never before envisaged in China: the 'congregation' of 25 families. There, a 'sergeant' would insure that men and women receive equal amounts of similarly-productive land, that rents were abolished and taxes reduced, that labour was properly managed, and that each family keep as much of its produce as it needed, the surplus to be stored in public granaries for sustaining the orphaned, disabled, sick, and aged. The sergeant was also to adjudicate disputes, teach school to both boys and girls, and conduct worship services.

While Hong dealt with "heavenly matters," he delegated government and military management to Yang Xiuqing, portrayed as God's "golden mouth", as Christ-like "Comforter" delivering the Taipings from "misery and bitterness", and as "divine wind" of the Holy Spirit monopolizing knowledge (which Yang gleaned through his Nanjing-wide spy network based on the moral surveillance system in Roberts congregation). By the mid-1850's, Yang was, on God's behalf, proclaiming himself "holy" and Hong merely "eminent". Humiliated in this clash between priest-king and shaman, Hong instigated the assassination of Yang and 20,000 members of his court on 2 September 1856.

After the bloodbath, the Taiping rank and file could still recite the Ten Commandments, Hong's prayers, and the doxology. But after 'God's voice' fell silent, Taiping commanders focused on their own regional power bases at the expense of a comprehensive anti-Qing strategy. Many officers were indeed virtuous and forbade opium smoking, restricted alcohol use, lowered taxes, gave interest-free commercial loans, and provided largesse from their own pockets. But they had to rely on traditional land ownership and tax collection to finance the Heavenly Kingdom. Nor was the promise of land redistribution, which had attracted so many to the Taiping cause in the first place, to be realised.

---

[55] Quoted in Luo Yong and Shen Zuji, *Taiping Tianguo shiwenzhao* 太平天國詩文鈔 (Poetry and prose of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom), rev. ed., Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1934, I, 136a-136b.

Seeking Christian Orthodoxy: Hong Ren'gan's Aborted Reformation

In 1859, Hong made Hong Ren'gan Taiping generalissimo and prime minister.[56] The latter had been baptised in September 1853 by Theodor Hamberg and preached, ministered, and baptised in Hong Kong's clinics and prisons under the supervision of the Rev. James Legge (1815–1897). Hong Ren'gan hoped to supplant his cousin's Old Testament "compulsion of human force" by distributing prayers lauding Christ's "merciful forgiveness" and "the influence of the Holy Spirit".[57] He also installed a stone inscription of the Beatitudes in front of his palace and advocated the Taipings' rebaptism by foreign missionaries.

Having witnessed the second generation of Protestant missionaries linking the Bible with Christian material civilisation, Hong Ren'gan also advocated the Taipings' economic development and democratic reform through Sino-Western co-operation in trade, technology, industry, mining, transportation, and finance; rule of law and a court system; a British-style post office; an educated citizenry informed through a national press; access to Taiping leaders; and the establishment of Protestant churches to promote humanitarian progress, especially in the banning of infanticide and capital punishment and the creation of hospitals, adoption agencies, social welfare, and other social institutions like those in Hong Kong and Shanghai.[58]

In the early 1860's, these proposals were rejected by the Heavenly King, who had increasingly reverted to the very Confucian bureaucratism he had earlier condemned.[59] Meanwhile, the Western powers, nervous that an egalitarian Taiping China would abrogate the commercial treaty privileges they had extracted from the Qing, were already supplying Manchu forces with foreign mercenaries and materiel. As the intensifying Manchu siege of the Heavenly Capital choked off the rebels' food supply during the first half of 1864, Hong told the faithful to eat weeds (which he dubbed 'manna') rather than evacuate the city. He vowed to ascend to heaven one final time to beseech the Heavenly Father's deliverance. But on the first of June of that year, he died,

---

[56] For a biographical sketch of Hong Ren'gan, see *ECCP*, I, pp. 367–379. On his work with James Legge, see Pfister, *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man'*, II, passim., especially pp. 32–33, 42–44.

[57] Quoted in Michael (1971), III, p. 756.

[58] Teng Ssu-yü (1970–71).

[59] So Kwan-wai and Boardman.

perhaps by his own hand. Before imperial troops breached Nanjing's wall and sacked New Jerusalem a month later, Hong Ren'gan fled with the Junior Lord. But both were captured and executed the following winter. Imperial mopping up operations stretched into 1866.

Between Sectarian and Christian: An Evaluation of Taiping Religion

China's long history is punctuated by millenarian outbursts. Despite the government's unrelenting efforts to make religion serve the state, charismatic figures often responded to disaster by recruiting marginalised people into salvationist congregations devoted to heterodox ideas and rituals. Such groups often fought back when provoked by government attempts to suppress them.[60]

Like the Taipings, traditional Chinese sectarians were stirred by awe-inspiring deities. The merciful Eternal Mother, for example, encouraged her earthly children to destroy the prevailing political order so that she could grant them salvation in a new kalpa.[61] But the Taipings' anthropomorphic Heavenly Father descended directly into China to rescue his children from spiritual darkness and physical suffering. Traditional rebels sought to restore virtuous Confucian government, but the Taipings hailed the universal, transcendent God revealed in the Bible and China's classical texts as China's true emperor who diminished the usurping Confucian monarch, a mere Son of Heaven.[62]

Monotheism energised pre-Confucian utopianism and Hakka egalitarianism to inspire a millennial framework that attracted the disaffected. For traditional sectarians, equality did not extend beyond the White Lotus elect or secret society cells.[63] Yet Hong believed that the world's people were united in a moral siblinghood through their common Heavenly Father. For him, adherence to the Ten Commandments and corporate worship knit thousands of diverse groups into a unified, disciplined elect, even as the movement gained momentum and outgrew its Hakka base.

---

[60] For perspectives on the heterodox elements in Chinese sectarian tradition, see the chapters in Liu and Shek; Bays (1982); Harrell and Perry; Kleeman; Muramatsu; Naquin; Overmyer (1976); Overmyer (1999). For my analysis of the Taipings in the Chinese sectarian context, see Bohr (2004).

[61] Chan Hok-lam; Overmyer (1976); Ter Haar.

[62] Levenson (1962).

[63] Chan Hok-lam; Ter Haar; Murray; Ownby.

China's messianic leaders had long prophesied apocalyptic destruction of an "evil" orthodox order. Yet their Daoist utopias and Buddhist millenniums also lacked a plan, timetable, and organisation to restructure earthly society. By contrast, the Taipings' commitment to realising indigenous utopian goals through a foreign, biblically-inspired theocracy at Nanjing continued for thirteen years, the longest rebel utopia in Chinese history.[64] Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–1398), the White Lotus messiah to whom Hong often compared himself, ultimately jettisoned misty Buddhist millennialism for Confucian orthodoxy after overthrowing the Mongols and establishing the Ming throne at Nanjing. The Taipings, by contrast, adhered steadfastly to their religious convictions, refusing to seize strategic advantage by allying with other rebels who did not share their faith, even at the very moment when Qing troops were stretched thin fighting insurrections in every corner of the empire.[65]

For all the Taipings' universalism—they inserted the phrase "bless the brethren and sisters of all nations" at the end of their version of the Lord's Prayer—the foreigners ultimately condemned Taiping religion.[66] Initially hailing the Taiping crusade as a providential opportunity to swiftly Christianise China (while remaining silent about the pressing social and moral problems the Taipings sought to solve) Christians in the West became progressively disillusioned by the Taipings' Christianity without Christ; preference for good works over grace; rewriting Bible passages to, for example, excising Noah's drunkenness; giving wives to God and Jesus, and making Hong, not Christ, the focus of the forthcoming Kingdom. (The Heavenly King seemed to be trumping the Heavenly Elder Brother; because Melchizedek had blessed Abraham and was the messianic founder of the first Jerusalem, Hong, as the reborn Melchidezek, claimed to predate Jesus and therefore have foreknowledge of the Heavenly Father's descent into Egypt and Guangxi and of Jesus' birth into Abraham's lineage.)[67]

---

[64] For an insightful discussion of the uniqueness of the Taipings' challenge, see Levenson (1968), II, pp. 87–116.

[65] Perry.

[66] Gregory; Littell; Wagner; (1998); Teng Ssu-yü, (1971), pp. 173–205.

[67] It is quite remarkable that Hong, lacking formal biblical training, should have written annotations on two of the three biblical passages in which Melchizedek is mentioned and thereby intuit the priest-king's controversial status within Christianity. The Church Fathers, for example, condemned St. Epiphanius for suggesting that Melchizedek "was a power of God's superior to Christ". They also rejected St. Ambro-

Before he died in 1855, Liang Fa continued to pray "each hour of the day to the Almighty for His blessings on the Taiping leaders".[68] After serving as the Taipings' Director of Foreign Affairs for fifteen months in 1860–1862, Issachar Roberts, by contrast, denounced his former pupil's religion as "abominable in the sight of God" and welcomed Western military support of the Qing government as critical in the "interest of commerce and the Gospel".[69]

A remarkably syncretistic thinker, Hong was not alone in having unorthodox interpretations of biblical faith. The Basel missionaries working among the Hakka during the 1850's and 1860's observed that, of all the Guangzhou delta Chinese, the Hakka were the quickest to Christianise along lineage lines, destroy idols, abandon ancestor worship and death rituals, and cut off donations to local shrines and temples. But they complained that, in spite of their exposure to the Apostle's Creed and the Lutheran and Heidelberg catechisms, Hakka converts never appreciated the reality of original sin and regarded Jesus as a *bodhisattva* with 'merit' to dispense.[70] Indeed, William Milne himself had earlier predicted that to "impart the knowledge of the true God, the triune Jehovah,—to…[the Chinese], will be no easy task."[71] Nor did *Good Words* advance the cause. The book contains 91 references to God but only 15 to Jesus Christ, and a mere 14 to the Holy Spirit (which was inconsistently translated in four separate renderings of the term). And only once did Liang claim Jesus as God's *only* son.

For Hong, Trinitarian Christianity, in fact, compromised monotheism's very nature, because, he insisted, "God alone is the Supreme One. Christ is God's heir apparent…[but] is not God".[72] Were Christ divine, Hong concluded, "there would be two Gods".[73] In denying

---

se's suggestion that Melchizedek was the Holy Spirit and Marcus Eremita's notion that he was an incarnation of the Logos (see F. L. Cross, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford University Press, 1958, p. 883).

[68] Quoted in Wagner (1982), p. 15. In contrast to Liang Fa, other contemporary Chinese Christians scorned Hong's doctrines. Li Zhenggao, for example, eventually dismissed his former mentor as "a fanatic" whose "earthly kingdom" was illusory and whose "ideas about God…[were] materialistic". In short, he fumed, "Hong's vision was wrong. Hong saw God as an angry old man in a black gown; but…[I] new he was dressed in white and was not an angry old man but a reconciled, loving father (quoted in Lutz and Lutz, p. 128)".

[69] Quoted in Pruden, p. 301.

[70] Lutz and Lutz, pp. 3–12.

[71] Quoted in Philip, p. 229.

[72] Quoted in Michael (1971), 2:231.

[73] Quoted in ibid., II, p. 229.

Christ's divinity and neglecting the Hold Spirit, Hong ignored such Christian fundamentals as incarnation, dual nature, salvation, immanence, transcendence, and resurrection. (In fact, the Taipings had no Christmas, no Easter, no Cross, no Lord's Supper.) Yet these are the very issues which bedevilled many other Chinese as they struggled to come to terms with Christianity through the centuries.[74] And the Taiping leadership's contradictory interpretations of the religious principles led to the internecine conflicts which helped to destroy the movement.

The Taiping Rebellion cannot be understood apart from either its indigenous or its foreign roots, and it provides a unique case study of Christianity's impact on late imperial China. Following the Taipings' collapse, Liang Fa's evangelical faith and Hong Ren'gan's proposals for China's modernisation along Christian lines (which anticipated the Social Gospel themes among the next generation of China missionaries as well as the agendas of secular-minded Chinese reformers and revolutionaries) undergirded nearly nine more decades of missionary Christianity in China.[75] Moreover, Hong's religious synthesis anticipated the emergence of indigenous Chinese Christianity after 1900.[76] And although no trace of Taiping religion survived the destruction of Nanjing, many Chinese continued to link Christianity with indigenous religions to form new sectarian faiths.[77] During the Mao years, Christianity was not only severed from its missionary foundations but ruthlessly suppressed.

Currently, consumerism and the loss of socialist idealism amid China's economic takeoff are fuelling a Christian resurgence. By 2000, there were an estimated 30 million Chinese Protestants (up from one million in 1949) under 20,000 state-approved clergy worshipping in 35,000 registered venues. This means, according to a recent study, that "China now has the world's second-largest evangelical Christian population—behind only the United States—and [that] if current growth rates continue, China will become a global centre of evangelical Christianity in coming decades".[78]

---

[74] Roman Malek, "Faces and Images of Jesus Christ in Chinese Content. Introduction", in Malek, I, pp. 19–53.

[75] Cohen (1974); Cohen (1978); Bennett and Liu.

[76] Bays (1996)

[77] Bays (1982); Tiedemann (1996).

[78] Jason Kindopp and Carol Lee Hamrin (eds.), *God and Caesar in China: Policy Implications of Church-State Tensions*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004, p. 2.

In 2001, China joined the World Trade Organisation to accelerate its integration into the world economy. One consequence of exposing China to global competition, however, has been the growth of an appalling rich-poor gap in the wake of rising unemployment among China's bankrupt state-owned factories, a burgeoning "floating population" of millions of rural migrants inundating the cities in search of work, and escalating corruption. State-approved churches are not addressing these issues, which nevertheless strike deep chords within evangelical Christianity.

At the same time, popular grievances continue to find religious expression among charismatic pseudo- or non-Christian sectarians articulating the kind of millennialist visions of virtuous government and distributive justice which gave rise to the Taipings.[79] Further study of Taiping religion should help illuminate the degree to which—no matter how independent Chinese Christians claim to have become since 1949—the Chinese government continues to be wary of millenarian undercurrents from within as much as from without.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Clarke, Prescott and J. S. Gregory, comps., *Western Reports on the Taiping: A Selection of Documents*, London: Croom Helm; Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1982.

Curwen, C. A., trans. and ed., *Taiping Rebel. The Deposition of Li Hsiu-ch'eng*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Hamberg, Theodore, *The Visions of Hung-Siu-Tshuen, and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection*, Hong Kong: The China Mail, 1854.

Liang Fa, *Quanshi liangyan* 勸世良言 (Good words to admonish the age), in Mai Zhansi 麥沾思 [George Hunter McNeur], *Liang Fa quan* 梁發傳 (Life of Liang Fa), second ed., Hong Kong: The Council on Christian Literature for Overseas Chinese, 1968, Appendix.

Luo Yong 羅邕 and Shen Zuji 沈祖基 (comps.), *Taiping Tianguo shiwenzhao* 太平天國詩文鈔 (Poetry and prose of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom), 2 vols., rev. ed., Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1934.

Michael, Franz, in collaboration with Chung-li Chang, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*, 3 vols., Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1971, vols. 2 and 3: *Documents and Comments*.

[79] One of many examples of this phenomenon is the Heavenly Soldiers Fraternal Army, which has "practiced shamanistic rituals of spirit possession and exorcism and 'pledged to fight for a new, divine regime free from social classes, authorities, grades and ranks, and the like.' The sect was able to recruit thousands of followers from more than one hundred villages in southwestern China before authorities took action against it (ibid., p. 7)."

Philip, Robert, *The Life and Opinions of the Rev. William Milne, D.D.*, London: John Snow, 1840.

Wang Qingcheng 王慶成 (comp.), *Tianfu Tianxiong shengzhi: xin faxian de Taiping tianguo zhengui wenxian shiliao* 天父天兄聖旨：新發現的太平天國珍貴文獻史料 (The holy decrees of the Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Elder Brother), Liaoning: Liaoning People's Press, 1986.

Wang Zhongmin 王重民, Xiang Da 向達 *et al.* (eds.), *Taiping Tianguo* 太平天國 (Heavenly kingdom of great peace), Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan, 2. 8 vols., Shanghai: Shengzhou guoguang she, 1952.

Secondary Sources

Bauer, Wolfgang, *China and the Search for Happiness*, Michael Shaw, tr., New York: The Seabury Press, 1976.

Bays, Daniel H., "Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition", *CSWT* 4,7 (June 1982), pp. 33–55.

Bays, Daniel H., "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937", in Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997, pp. 307–316.

Bennett, Adrian A., and Kwang-Ching Liu, "Christianity in the Chinese Idiom: Young J. Allen and the Early *Chiao-hui hsin-pao*, 1868–1870", in John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974, pp. 159–196.

Boardman, Eugene Powers, *Christian Influence Upon the Ideology of the Taiping Rebellion, 1851–1864*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952.

Bohr, P. Richard, "The Hakka and the Heavenly Kingdom: Ethnicity and Religion in the Rise of the Taiping Revolution", *China Notes* 18,4 (Fall 1981), pp. 133–136.

Bohr, P. Richard, "Jesus, Christianity, and Rebellion in China: The Evangelical Roots of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom", in Roman Malek, (ed.), *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 50, Vol. II, Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica and China-Zentrum; Steyler Verlag, Nettetal, 2003, pp. 613–661.

Bohr, P. Richard, "The Legacy of William Milne", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 25,4 (October 2002), pp. 173–178.

Bohr, P. Richard, "Liang Fa's Quest for Moral Power", in Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank (eds.), *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985, pp. 35–46.

Bohr, P. Richard, "The Taipings in Chinese Sectarian Perspective", in Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek (eds.), *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004, pp. 393–430.

Bohr, P. Richard, "The Theologian as Revolutionary: Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's Religious Vision of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom", in Yen-p'ing Hao and Hsiu-mei Wei (eds.), *Tradition and Metamorphosis in Modern Chinese History: Essays in Honor of Professor Kwang-Ching Liu's Seventy-fifth Birthday*, 2 vols., Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1998, Vol. II, pp. 907–953.

Broomhall, A[lfred] J[ames], *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century*, Book 1: *Barbarians at the Gate*, Sevenoaks: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989.

Callery, Joseph M. and M. Yvan, *History of the Insurrection in China*, third ed., John Oxenford, trans., London: Smith Elder, 1854.

Carwardine, Richard, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790–1865*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Chan, Hok-lam, "The White Lotus-Maitreya Doctrine and Popular Uprisings in Ming and Ch'ing China", *Sinologica* 10,4 (1969), pp. 212–213.

Cohen, Paul A., "Christian Missions and their Impact to 1900", in John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10: *Late Ch'ing*, Part I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 543–590.
Cohen, Paul A., "Littoral and Hinterland in Nineteenth Century China: The 'Christian' Reformers", in John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974, pp. 197–225.
Cohn, Norman, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, rev. and expanded, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
Constable, Nicole, *Christian Souls and Chinese Spirits: A Hakka Community in Hong Kong*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
Constable, Nicole (ed.), *Guest People: Hakka Identity in China and Abroad*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996.
Coughlin, Margaret Morgan, "Strangers in the House: J. Lewis Shuck and Issachar Jacox Roberts, First American Baptist Missionaries to China", Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1972.
Doezema, William R., "Western Seeds of Eastern Heterodoxy: The Impact of Protestant Revivalism on the Christianity of Taiping Rebel Leader Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, 1836–1864", *Fides et Historia* 25,1 (Winter/Spring 1993), pp. 73–98.
Gregory, J. S., "British Missionary Reaction to the Taiping Movement in China", *Journal of Religious History*, 2 (1963), pp. 204–218.
Groot, J. J. M. de, *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China*, 2 vols., Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1903; repr. in one volume: Taibei: Chengwen, 1970.
Haar, B. J. ter, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992.
Harrell, Stevan and Elizabeth J. Perry, "Syncretic Sects in Chinese Society: An Introduction", *Modern China* 8.3 (July 1982), pp. 283–303.
Hutchison, William R., *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.
Jen Yu-wen [Jian Youwen, 簡又文] , *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.
Jian Youwen [Jen Yu-wen] 簡又文, *Taiping Tianguo dianzhi tongkao* 太平天國典制通考 (Studies in the institutions of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom), 3 vols., Hong Kong: Mengjin shuwu, 1958
Jiang Bingzheng 姜秉正 (comp.), *Yanjiu Taiping Tianguo shi zhushu zongmu* 研究太平天國史著述綜目 (A comprehensive bibliography of studies on the history of the Taiping Rebellion), Beijing: Shumu wenxian, 1983.
Kindopp, Jason, and Carol Lee Hamrin (eds.), *God and Caesar in China: Policy Implications of Church-State Tensions*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004.
Kleeman, Terry F., *Great Perfection: Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998.
Kuhn, Philip A., "Origins of the Taiping Vision: Cross-Cultural Dimensions of a Chinese Rebellion", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29,3 (July 1977), pp. 350–366.
Kuhn, Philip A, "The Taiping Rebellion", in John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10: *Late Ch'ing*, part I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 264–316.
Leong Sow-Theng, *Migration and Ethnicity in Chinese History: Hakkas, Pengmin, and Their Neighbors*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.
Levenson, Joseph R., "Confucian and Taiping 'Heaven': Political Implications of Clashing Religious Concepts", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4,4 (July 1962), pp. 436–53.
Levenson, Joseph R., *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy*, 3 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Lindley [Linle], Augustus F., *Ti-Ping Tien-Kwoh. The History of the Ti-Ping Revolution*, 2 vols., London: Day and Son, 1866.
Littell, John B., "Missionaries and Politics in China—The Taiping Rebellion", *Social Science Quarterly* 43 (1928), pp. 566–599.
Liu Kwang-Ching and Richard Shek (eds.), *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.
Liu Kwang-Ching, "Nineteenth-Century China: The Disintegration of the Old Order and the Impact of the West," in Ping-ti Ho and Tang Tsou (eds.), *China in Crisis*, 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968, Vol. I, pp. 93–178.
Lutz, Jessie G. and Rolland Ray Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850–1900*, Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1998.
Malek, Roman, "Faces and Images of Jesus Christ in Chinese Content. Introduction," in Roman Malek (ed.), *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 50, Vol. I, Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica and China-Zentrum; Steyler Verlag, Nettetal, 2002, pp. 19–53.
Meadows, Thomas Taylor, *The Chinese and Their Rebellions, Viewed in Connection with Their National Philosophy, Ethics, Legislation, and Administration: To which is Added an Essay on Civilization and Its Present State in the East and West*, London: Smith Elder, 1856.
Michael, Franz, in collaboration with Chung-li Chang, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*, 3 vols., Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1966, Vol. 1: *History*.
Muramatsu, Yuji, "Some Themes in Chinese Rebel Ideologies," in Arthur F. Wright, *The Confucian Persuasion*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960, pp. 241–267.
Murray, Dian H., in collaboration with Qin Baoqi, *The Origins of the Tiandihui: The Chinese Triads in Legend and History*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.
Naquin, Susan, *Millenarian Rebellion in China: The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
Overmyer, Daniel L., *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China*. Harvard East Asian series, 83. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.
Overmyer, Daniel L., *Precious Volumes: An Introduction to Chinese Sectarian Scriptures from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.
Ownby, David, *Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early and Mid-Qing China: The Formation of a Tradition*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
Perry, Elizabeth J., "Taipings and Triads: The Role of Religion in Interrebel Relations," in Janos M. Bak and Gerhard Benecke (eds.), *Religion and Rural Revolt: Papers Presented to the Fourth Interdisciplinary Workshop on Peasant Studies, University of British Columbia, 1982*, Manchester and Dover, N.H.: Manchester University Press, 1984, pp. 342–353.
Pfister, Lauren F., *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man': James Legge and the Scottish Protestant Encounter with China. Assessing Confluences in Scottish Nonconformism, Chinese Missionary Scholarship, Victorian Sinology, and Chinese Protestantism*. Scottish Studies International, Publications of the Scottish Studies Centre of the Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz in Germersheim, Vol. 34, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004. 2 vols.
Phillips, Clifton Jackson, *Protestant America and the Pagan World*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.
Pruden, George B., "Issachar Jacox Roberts and American Diplomacy in China During the Taiping Rebellion", Ph.D. diss., American University, 1977.
Reilly, Thomas H., *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom: Rebellion and the Blasphemy of Empire*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004.
Ride, Lindsay, *Robert Morrison: The Scholar and the Man*, Hongkong: Hong Kong University Press, 1957.

Rubinstein, Murray A., *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China, 1807–1840*, Lanham, Md. and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1996.
Shih, Vincent C. Y., *The Taiping Ideology*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967.
Smith, Carl T., *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1985.
So Kwan-wai and Eugene P. Boardman, with Ch'iu P'ing, "Hung Jen-kan, Taiping Prime Minister, 1859–1864", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20 (1957), pp. 262–294.
Song, Choan-Seng [宋泉盛], *The Compassionate God*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1982.
Spence, Jonathan D., *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1996.
Teng Ssu-yü, *Historiography of the Taiping Rebellion*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962.
Teng Ssu-yü, "Hung Jen-kan, Prime Minister of the Taiping Kingdom and His Modernization Plans", *United College Journal* (Hong Kong) 8 (1970–71), pp. 87–95.
Teng Ssu-yü, *New Light on the History of the Taiping Rebellion*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950.
Teng Ssu-yü, *The Taiping Rebellion and the Western Powers: A Comprehensive Survey*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971.
Teng Yuan Chung, "Reverend Issachar Roberts and the Taiping Rebellion", *Journal of Asian Studies* 23,1 (1963), pp. 55–67.
Tiedemann, R. G., "Christianity and Chinese 'Heterodox Sects': Mass Conversion and Syncretism in Shandong Province in the Early Eighteenth Century", *Monumenta Serica* 44 (1996), pp. 339–82.
Treadgold, Donald W., *The West, Russia and China*, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
Wagner, Rudolf G., "Imperial Dreams in China", in Carolyn T. Brown (ed.), *Psycho-Sinology: The Universe of Dreams in Chinese Culture*, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1988.
Wagner, Rudolf G., *Reenacting the Heavenly Vision: The Role of Religion in the Taiping Rebellion*, Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, 1982.
Wagner, Rudolf G., "Understanding Taiping Christian China: Analogy, Interest and Policy", in Klaus Korschorke (ed.), *"Christen und Gewürze": Konfrontation und Interaktion kolonialer und indigener Christentumsvarianten*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1998, pp. 132–157.
Wakeman, Frederic, Jr., *Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839–1861*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.
Wang Qingcheng, "Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's Early Thought and the Taiping Revolution", C. A. Curwen, trans., *Renditions* 15 (Spring 1981), pp. 103–138.
Weller, Robert, "Matricidal Magistrates and Gambling Gods Weak States and Strong Spirits in China," in Meir Shahar and Robert P. Weller (eds.), *Unruly Gods: Divinity and Society in China*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996, pp. 250–268.
Weller, Robert, *Resistance, Chaos and Control in China: Taiping Rebels, Taiwanese Ghosts, and Tiananmen*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994.
Withers, John Lovelle, II, "The Heavenly Capital: Nanjing Under the Taiping, 1853–1864", Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983.
Xia Chuntao夏春濤, *Taiping Tianguo zongjiao* 太平天國宗教 (Religion of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom), Nanjing: Nanjing University Press, 1992.
Yap, Pao Ming, "The Mental Illness of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 13,3 (May 1954), pp. 287–304.
Zürcher, Erik, "Purity in the Taiping Rebellion," in Walter E. A. van Beek (ed.), *The Quest for Purity*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988.

4.4. The Rural Dimension of Christianity in China

Alan Richard Sweeten

Previous generations of Western scholars laid the foundation for the study of Christianity in China by relying heavily on the missionary record. In numerous letters and reports missionaries wrote of the difficulties they experienced in China and frequently portrayed the opposition that they encountered as "persecutions".[1] Indeed, large-scale incidents targeting Christianity occurred in or near important urban centres. Examples of this are found in Changsha, Nanchang and Guiyang during the 1860s; Tianjin in 1870; Fuzhou in 1878; the Yangzi Valley cities in 1891; Chengdu in 1895, and so on. Various kinds of trouble involving Christianity also took place in rural areas all over China.

The search for the origins of conflict that involved Christianity has led to questions about who the converts were and why they converted. In the West, Kenneth Scott Latourette set the tone in 1929 when he wrote that often missionaries either enticed people to convert with the lure of treaty protection or attracted people seeking help for personal reasons and misfortunes. The derogatory term 'rice Christian' came into use to describe those with questionable motives and uncertain faith: throughout the nineteenth century—since most converts received baptism through Vatican-sanctioned rites rather than Protestant ones—this term usually referred to Chinese Catholics. According to Latourette, Catholics usually came from "the poorer" as well as from "the baser and more turbulent elements of society".[2] His conclusions still regularly surface in the analyses of others.[3] Chinese, especially those of the ruling (gentry) class, felt indignant about trouble-making converts using their religion to obtain unfair advantages and preferential treatment in local affairs and in law suits and sometimes reacted by instigating anti-Christian incidents. The gentry viewed Catholics

---

[1] See for example in English or French, *APF*, which provides letters from missionaries of various organisations for the period under discussion.

[2] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929, pp. 279–280 and 333.

[3] Paul A. Cohen, "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900", in John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, part I, *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 556–560; John R. Shepherd, "From Barbarians to Sinners", in Bays, *Christianity*, pp. 120–122.

critically, placing them at the root of the conflict because of their actions and because they tended to be one or more of the following: poor, morally suspect, criminally inclined, politically disloyal and alienated if not ostracised from their communities.

How many people deserve, appropriately or not, these characterisations will never be known. We do know the approximate totals for Christians and should always keep these numbers in proper perspective. During the second half of the nineteenth century Christians constituted a tiny minority within a population estimated at over four hundred and fifty millions. In 1850 we find approximately 330,000 Catholics; by 1901 this number had grown to 720,540 Catholics. Most lived in the provinces of Zhili (Hebei), Jiangsu, Shandong, Sichuan and Guangdong.[4] Protestant figures lag far behind: approximately 350 and 85,000 communicants for the years 1853 and 1900, respectively.[5] From the mid to late nineteenth century the majority of Protestant converts are found along the coast of China, especially in Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang provinces.[6] Total Catholic and Protestant numbers indicate that not even two tenths of one per cent of the Chinese people had converted by 1900.

The statistical data available unfortunately does not provide details on Christians' motivation for conversion nor their age, gender, occupation, financial status and place of residence. In different ways, however, demographic and supplemental observations are possible. Despite imperial proscription of Christianity from 1724 to 1844 Catholicism survived in China. It did so by assuming a low profile and by staying out of urban areas where officials might take action against it. A handful of priests, mostly Chinese, kept these semi-hidden and typically out-of-the-way Catholic congregations barely alive. European missionaries began arriving in the 1820s and 1830s and set out to resuscitate the rural Catholics. But Christianity's expansion to urban areas went slowly because the gentry based themselves in cities in greater numbers than in the countryside and oftentimes actively opposed missionaries seeking to open urban churches. Within the walls of certain

[4] Latourette, pp. 318–320, 323–325, 327 and 537; M. T. Stauffer (ed.), *The Christian Occupation of China: General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China, 1918–1921*, Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922, p. 461.

[5] Latourette, pp. 182, 479, 537 and 567.

[6] Latourette, p. 479. In the first decades of the twentieth century most Protestants still lived in the coastal provinces. Stauffer, p. 294.

provincial capitals such as Fuzhou, Changsha, and Nanchang gentry backed by government authorities delayed the building of churches until late in the century. Catholic work thus remained in the countryside where most converts lived.

Protestantism, on the other hand, lacking historical ties to the countryside in China, radiated out from the treaty ports and then from other cities where its missionaries had successfully established mission centres.[7] Although Protestant missionaries tended to live and work in or near urban areas still be vast majority of their converts came from rural areas.[8] Several Protestant denominations, for example, made their operational base in the Fuzhou suburbs yet made few converts there. In Fujian through 1880 more converts lived in the countryside than in Fuzhou City or its suburbs.[9] Similarly, Presbyterian missionaries in Jiangsu who established themselves in 1895 near the country seat of Jiangyin made two thirds of their converts in surrounding villages.[10]

Within provincial-level studies details and background information on rural Christians come to light. In Zhili (Hebei) province's countryside during the late Qing, Catholics came from both poor and better off villages and also included some lower degree holders. Participants in law suits between Catholics and non-Catholics differed little from one another based on age, gender, occupation, or lower degree status.[11] Legal cases involving Catholics for the same time period in Jiangxi province indicates that they came from a cross section of society. Converts might be lower degree holders or illiterate, landowning peasants or tenants, artisans or labourers, employed or unemployed, male or female, and old or young.[12] All over China it appears that converts

---

[7] Latourette, p. 417.

[8] Figures for the nineteenth century are not available, but this was the case in the late 1910s and early 1920s. See Stauffer, pp. 293–294 and 298–299.

[9] Ellsworth C. Carlson, *The Foochow Missionaries, 1847–1880*, Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1974, p. 77 and 93.

[10] Lawrence D. Kessler, *The Jiangyin Mission Station: An American Missionary Community in China, 1895–1951*, Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 1996, p. 11 and 110.

[11] Charles A. Litzinger, "Temple Community and Village Cultural Integration in North China: Evidence from 'Sectarian Cases' (*chiao-an*) in Chihli, 1862–1895", Ph.D. diss., University of California at Davis, 1983, p. 206, 213, 226–227.

[12] Allan Richard Sweeten, "Catholic Converts in Jiangxi Province: Conflict and Accommodation, 1860–1900", in Bays, *Christianity*, p. 39. For Shandong province, see R. G. Tiedemann, "Conversion Patterns in North China: Sociological Profiles of Chinese Christians, 1860–1912", in Ku Wei-ying and Koen De Ridder (eds.), *Authentic Chinese Christianity: Preludes to Its Development (Nineteenth and Twentieth*

came preponderantly from the ranks of ordinary people and from a variety of occupations and backgrounds. Although most Christians were poor, so were most Chinese. If converts were basically indistinguishable from average rural residents then it seems further categorisations are unnecessary.

Most ordinary people did not leave behind a written record of their life, thereby preserving personal comments on questions such as why they may have converted to Christianity. When Christians became embroiled in legal matters they made oral depositions in court, which scribes recorded and from which we may discern personal information. We mainly learn that some had been Christians for generations, implying the momentum of tradition as a reason for their faith. During the late Qing, belief in Christianity continues to move forward in time through families. Catholic missionaries especially nurtured Christian families and encouraged entire families to convert. Other reasons for being Christian are rarely articulated by commoners. From missionaries additional reasons become clear. A Vincentian priest in Jiangxi commented in 1886 that if your asked neophytes why and how they became Christians, some could not say; some indicated it was due to the influence of relatives or friends; and some wanted the priests' aid and protection in secular affairs; but the true reasons were known only to God.[13] Materialistic or selfish motivations would not be readily admitted by individuals yet existed. It appears, however, that these reasons have been overemphasised while not enough stress has been placed on personal and psychological explanations for conversion.[14] Also, living in a sectarian milieu influenced people, at least in some areas and for some elements of Chinese society. Daniel Bays argues that perhaps Christianity's appeal came because people viewed it as another sect offering personal salvation through millenarianism, revivalism and evangelism.[15]

Motivation for conversion to Protestantism runs the same gamut as for Catholics. Assistance in gaining inward peace, moral improvement, eternal life, intellectual considerations, freedom from drug addiction,

---

Centuries), (Leuven Chinese Studies, Vol. 9), Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2001, pp. 107–133.

[13] *Annales CM* 52 (1887), p. 432.

[14] Litzinger leans toward "personal psychology and motivation" to explain why some villagers became Catholic. Litzinger, p. 216.

[15] Daniel H. Bays, "Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition", *CSWT* 4,7 (June 1982), p. 33.

the futility of 'idolatry' in securing material security are some of the reasons given by Protestants.[16] In addition, Protestants also attracted converts in legal matters.[17] Missionaries of the Protestant faith, as did their Catholic counterparts, offered medical assistance, educational opportunities and charitable works in order to gain access to prospective converts. Many rural people needed help: some became devout Christians while others took it under false pretences.

Conversions to Christianity might come from individuals, families and portions of lineages and villages. Much variation exists regarding these social units not only within China but also within individual provinces. The emergence of any conversion patterns actually may prove to be illustrative only for a certain area during a certain time period. As one example, Catholicism in Guangdong from the 1860s to the 1880s spread easily through some lineages and occupational organisations because surname and work relationships may have been especially strong in certain areas of that province. For Guangdong we find mostly the conversion of families as well as parts of lineages and certain occupations.[18] In another area, northwestern Shandong, during the 1880s and 1890s conversions to Catholicism came from individuals and families whereas in the southwestern part of the province some villages converted.[19] Poor converts in Shandong, especially those who belonged to sectarian and bandit groups, found themselves drawn to the Catholic Church's political and financial power. The conversion *en masse* of groups of people, which occurred periodically in far flung parts of China, points most probably to a definable group's "desire to escape government persecution" or to obtain leverage against other groups locally.[20]

Conversion at one time by families or parts of lineages and villages creates the greatest scepticism about the sincerity of those who converted *en masse*. Since both Catholics and Protestants had study and

---

[16] Latourette, pp. 479–481.

[17] Carlson, p. 97. See also Kessler, pp. 97–98.

[18] Jean-Paul Wiest, "Lineage and Patterns of Conversion in Guangdong", *CSWT* 4,7 (June 1982), pp. 20 and 28–29.

[19] Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, p. 87.

[20] Esherick, pp. 86–91, discusses the situation in Shandong. Latourette cites the conversion of large villages in Guizhou province in 1864. Latourette, p. 326. Shepard mentions the conversion of "plains aborigines" in Taiwan during the 1860s and 1870s. Shepard, p. 122.

testing standards as prerequisites to baptism, how did missionaries deal with groups of people? What happened when members of a group did not progress at the same pace? What happened when members of a group did not progress at the same pace? How many with non-religious agendas would be willing to fake devotion through a long conversion process? Unfortunately, these are questions that cannot be answered at this time.

Another issue arising from this is when should one be considered a Christian? Should those engaged in study—catechumens to Catholics and enquirers to Protestants—and not yet baptised be considered 'converted'? According to Rome, one did not become Catholic until baptism.[21] Protestants agreed that baptism signified spiritual rebirth. Nonetheless, those not yet baptised still stood under the protective wing of missionaries who wanted to give them every opportunity to become church members. Given Catholic priests' tendency to convert family units or to accept larger groups as catechumens and then to shelter them, Chinese gentry and Protestants alike thought the Catholic conversion process to be defective and believers to be of questionable sincerity.

Protestants, on the other hand, concentrated on the conversion of individuals who would at some point profess belief, master doctrinal rudiments, and then be sanctified by the rite of baptism. Entire families or larger social groups seldom converted at one time, although such cases can be found. Note for instance the missionary in Jiangyin county, Jiangsu, who at the turn of the century saw conversion in terms of groups of people.[22] Also, some Protestant ministers worked with Christian families or sought Christian wives for their assistants in order to establish Christian families.[23] Catholic priests believed that Protestants inadequately prepared their believers through religious education and training for church membership. In Fujian during the 1870s there is evidence to support this contention. Working independently in rural areas Chinese assistants to missionaries sometimes made converts too hastily. Protestant ministers then had to excommunicate

[21] Vincentian missionaries, for example, carefully distinguished in statistical reports between catechumens and Catholics. See *Annales CM*.
[22] Kessler, p. 27.
[23] Carlson, p. 86.

a large number they considered to be "false" converts.[24] Generally speaking, those of the Protestant faith saw their converts as sincere and properly motivated. Their origins as peasants, artisans and shop owners made them "substantial" people. In taking the initiative to convert, they demonstrated positive characteristics. Although converts to Protestantism sometimes had imperfect motivations, still their pastors portrayed them as of better overall "quality" than Chinese Catholics. In fact, Protestants and Catholics both drew their followers from the same rural pool of ordinary people.

The Chinese Christian perspective regarding conversion is very different. Among the recorded oral testimonies in the *Jiaowu jiaoan dang* 教務教案當 (from the Zongli Yamen archives on Christian affairs and on cases and disputes involving missionaries and converts) material we find terms, all made in reference to Catholicism, such as *xuejiao* 學教, *fengjiao* 奉教, *rujiao* 入教 and *jinjiao* 進教. Only the first term makes it clear that study of religious doctrine constituted part of the process. The other terms seem to indicate emotional or psychological commitments regarding one's decision to receive or enter the faith. Within the documents for one province, Jiangxi, not a single Chinese Catholic mentions the rite of baptism or confirmation. This perhaps indicates that a personal decision or commitment better marked the time when one became Catholic than a church ritual. Chinese converts also do not choose to categorise themselves based on education, financial means, occupation, age or gender nor make disparaging remarks about one another based on evaluations regarding sincerity of faith.

How did those who converted to Christianity fare in comparison to their non-believing compatriots? For the vast majority life went on as usual, little changed. Linkages to missionaries may have helped in the form of relief during desperate times of famine. Yet missionaries had limited funds available for assistance and could make no guarantees to help the needy. During normal times only a small number of converts benefited materially from association with the church, whether Catholic or Protestant. Catechists, lay leaders, helpers, domestics and others all received small salaries, perhaps above prevailing wage levels. Certain work, for example as couriers, did lead to travel to other areas

[24] Carlson, p. 99. On the reluctance of Protestant missionaries to baptise enquirers in the Xiamen area of Fujian, see David Cheung (Chen Yiqiang), *Christianity in Modern China : The Making of the First Native Protestant Church*, Leiden: Brill, 2004.

and exposure to new opportunities. One Catholic from a backwater area of Jiangxi, who served as a courier and attendant to missionaries, later turned his experience and knowledge gained while visiting treaty ports into a profitable career in the tea trade.[25] Others who learned new languages such as English and French saw opportunities open up for them. Those that attended parochial schools also may have had increased chances, but for Catholics the schools sought to channel young men of talent into the priesthood. It seems fair to say that during the nineteenth century only a relative few successfully climbed the ladder of social mobility through Christianity.

Bibliography

Bays, Daniel H., "Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition", *CSWT* 4,7 (June 1982), pp. 33–55.

Carlson, Ellsworth C., *The Foochow Missionaries, 1847–1880*, Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1974, p. 77 and 93.

Cheung, David, (Chen Yiqiang), *Christianity in Modern China : The Making of the First Native Protestant Church*, Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Cohen, Paul A., "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900", in John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, part I, *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 543–590.

Esherick, Joseph W., *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Kang Zhijie 康志傑, *Shang Zhu de putaoyuan: E Xibei Mopanshan Tianzhujiao shequ yanjiu, 1634–2005* 上主的葡萄園: 鄂西北磨盤山天主教社區研究 (The Lord's Vineyard: A Study of the Mopanshan Catholic community in northwest Hubei), Xinzhuang, Taibei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2006.

Kessler, Lawrence D., *The Jiangyin Mission Station: An American Missionary Community in China, 1895–1951*, Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 1996.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929.

Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei, *The Bible and the Gun: Christianity in South China, 1860–1900*, New York & London: Routledge, 2003.

Litzinger, Charles A., "Rural Religion and Village Organization in North China: The Catholic Challenge in the Late Nineteenth Century", in Bays, *Christianity*, pp. 41–52.

Litzinger, Charles A., "Temple Community and Village Cultural Integration in North China: Evidence from 'Sectarian Cases' (*chiao-an*) in Chihli, 1862–1895", Ph.D. diss., University of California at Davis, 1983.

Shepherd, John R., "From Barbarians to Sinners: Collective Conversion Among Plains Aborigines in Qing Taiwan, 1859–1895", in Bays, *Christianity*, pp. 120–137.

[25] *Annales CM* (English version), 3 (1896), p. 464.

Stauffer, M. T., (ed.), *The Christian Occupation of China: General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China, 1918–1921*, Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922.

Sweeten, Alan Richard, "Catholic Converts in Jiangxi Province: Conflict and Accommodation, 1860–1900", in Bays, *Christianity*, pp. 24–40.

Sweeten, Alan Richard, *Christianity in Rural China: Conflict and Accommodation in Jiangxi Province, 1860–1900*, Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2001.

Sweeten, Alan Richard, "A Village Church in Jiangxi: Christianity in One Rural Locale from the Late Ming to the Late Qing", in Yen-p'ing Hao and Hsiu-mei Wei (eds.), *Tradition and Metamorphosis in Modern Chinese History: Essays in Honor of Professor Kwang-Ching Liu's Seventy-fifth Birthday*, 2 vols. Taibei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1998, pp. 1155–1172.

Thompson, Roger R., "Twilight of the Gods in the Chinese Countryside: Christians, Confucians, and the Modernizing State, 1861–1911", in Bays, *Christianity*, pp. 53–72.

Tiedemann, R. G., "Conversion Patterns in North China: Sociological Profiles of Chinese Christians, 1860–1912", in Ku Wei-ying and Koen De Ridder (eds.), *Authentic Chinese Christianity: Preludes to Its Development (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries)*, (Leuven Chinese Studies, Vol. 9), Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2001, pp. 107–133.

Wiest, Jean-Paul, "Lineage and Patterns of Conversion in Guangdong", *CSWT* 4,7 (June 1982), pp. 1–32.

4.5. Attitudes towards Chinese Culture(s), 1860–1900

Lauren Pfister

Culture(s), Civilisation(s), and Missionary Presuppositions

Any twenty-first century assessment of missionary attitudes toward non-European peoples in the latter half of the nineteenth century must become self-conscious of the differences between the use of the term 'culture' then and in the present age. 'Modern' conceptualisations of 'culture' and 'civilisation' in the social sciences were just being formed in the 1860s, while previously hegemonious biblical and theological ideas continued to provide the broadest groundwork for issues developed in and around intellectuals' debates and missionaries' presuppositions. Where we now move very quickly to affirm ethnological and anthropological assertions of a plurality of 'cultures', this multiformity was not the basic idea even among the more formative English anthropologists of the period, such as Edward Tylor (1832–1917).[1]

Earlier in the nineteenth century a contrast between romanticised commoners' "culture," strongly reinforced by earlier German conceptions, and the French preference for a modernised 'civilisation', anticipating and surviving the trauma of the French Revolution, battled over identifying the sources of human progress and the positive or negative significance of modern industrial society.[2] Basic to arguments developed later in the English language was a further biblically-based assumption that humankind was a unitary entity. From this angle what mattered most was how one accounted for the progress of modern society after its original spiritual decline, inherently denying the validity of any simple social evolutionary thesis. The Noahic flood and the dispersion of humanity after the judgment of Babylonian pride sug-

[1] Developed thoroughly in Stocking (1987), esp. 159–164 and 302–305. Tylor defined 'civilisation' in his seminal work in anthropology, *Primitive Culture* (1871), in significantly progressive terms: "the general improvement of mankind by higher organisation of the individual and society, to the end of promoting at once man's goodness, power, and happiness" (p. 162). Stocking further elaborates this definition by pointing out that Tylor determined the degrees of 'power' in civilisation by its expressions of "material and intellectual culture". This will be a significant feature in missionary inclinations, as will be seen below.

[2] Described and evaluated from the origins of sociology in Lasch (1991), pp. 127–167.

gested there was a digression of human life from an original revelatory wisdom, requiring missionaries to give an account of the 'modern' age in the light of both revelational and rational sources of renewal.[3] So when the privileged status of the unity of humanity was challenged later in the century by polygenetic anthrolopogical theories, there was still a very strong resistance felt not only in certain intellectual circles but especially among biblically-oriented communities.

In the 1860s missionaries' approaches to the 'heathen' were already firmly framed in their understanding of this kind of unitary vision of 'culture' and 'civilisation', though there were significant theological debates about the role and significance of its 'Christian' forms.[4] It was a vision regularly assuming a progressive development of human forms of life from 'savage', to 'barbarous', through more systemic to finally 'civilised' organisations, even when it might criticise the ambivalent heritage of Christian culture and/or civilisation.[5] Yet from another angle

---

[3] Much of the basic apologetics of the era rested on arguments developed by William Paley (1743–1805) and Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847), both deeply indebted to a special mixture of evangelical Christian scholarship and Scottish Realism or the so-called "Commonsense" school of philosophy. Current academic interpretations of their influence do not credit them sufficiently with the strong influences they continued to bear among European and North American Christian circles and on the mission field, continually repeated and developed there in spite of the gradual encroachment of rationalistic and evolutionary theories of human origins and social development which loomed large at the end of the nineteenth century. For contrasting views read Addinall (1991), pp. 35–137, McCosh (1875), Pfister (2004) and Covell (1986), pp. 99–106, particularly as Paley is introduced into China through W. A. P. Martin's 丁韙良 (1827–1916) influential book first published in 1854 and then continually republished throughout the rest of the century, *Tiandao suyuan* 天道溯源 *Tracing the Sources of the Heavenly Way*.

[4] The general affirmation of 'Christian culture' by missionaries belies the ambivalence they often expressed toward the militarism and mercantile materialism accompanying non-missionary enterprises in the late Qing dynasty, supported by European and American powers. This is explored in a variety of ways in Schlesinger (1974) and Stanley (1990).

[5] Though missionaries had more or less articulate understandings of their own assumptions about these "progressively cultured" rankings within "mankind", it is worth noting other representative accounts. For example, the English anthropologist Tylor in 1871 claimed "few would dispute" the ascending "order of culture" explicitly intended within the list of Australian, Tahitian, Aztec, Chinese, and Italian 'races' (Stocking, p. 162). One critical observer, when comparing the early Protestant missionaries with their Jesuit predecessors, criticised the former as "generally narrow-minded, conservative, and unimaginative", reflecting "a period of conservativism in the history of Christianity in Britain". Dawson (1967), pp. 134, 139. Missionary assessments of 'heathen inferiority' continued in later decades, illustrated by Dawson through the missionary-sinological writings of James Legge (1815–1897) and John

missionaries added to these controversies. Often what they described of the languages, habits, and customs of 'heathen nations' and 'pagan peoples' as long-term foreign residents among them became fodder for many of the debates over the unity or diversity of human origins. These questions notably continued to be debated in Christian circles well past the end of the nineteenth century.[6]

Embedded Culture Conflicts within Transforming Social Structures

In their encounters with Chinese people during this period, European and North American missionaries generally assumed a cultural hierarchy which placed elitist Chinese 'paganism' above 'savages' and 'barbarians', but beneath 'Christian civilisation'. This became a self-conscious preoccupation in both missionary and sinological journals, but was also reflected in and motivated by eschatological visions which energised their evangelistic enterprises.[7] As a consequence, the bifurcation particularly between Protestant missionary groups supporting post-millennial and pre-millenial eschatologies during this period do correlate with different approaches to Chinese people, and so these need to be interwoven into an overall evaluation of missionary attitudes toward 'Chinese culture'.[8]

Leighton Stuart (1876–1962). More nuanced readings of these kind of criticisms of missionary-sinologists are presented in Girardot (2002) and Pfister (2004).

[6] So advances in Chinese language studies fostered the "devolution of culture" thesis of the influential Oxonian philologist, Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900), while ethnological studies by missionaries regularly were used to justify Tylorian and Darwinian evolutionary and progressive models. For further details in these comparativist trends read Girardot (2002).

[7] Besides the mission societies own organs, such as the *Evangelical Magazine* (1793–1813), continued as the *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, of the London Missionary Society and *China's Millions* (British version initiated in the 1875; North American version in 1892/93) of the China Inland Mission, there was the more general Protestant missionary journal, the *Chinese Recorder* (initiated in 1868). In addition, sinological journals recognised some missionary contributions and published their writings in the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (initiated in 1858), the *China Review* (Hongkong, commenced in 1872), *T'oung Pao* (Paris and Leuven, commenced in 1890), the long running *Journal de savants* (Paris, initiated in 1665), and German-language serials such as the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna, commenced 1887).

[8] Postmillennial eschatology identified "Christian civilisation" as part of the influence of the Holy Spirit to attract non-Christian peoples to the faith and by this means hasten the hour of Christ's 'second coming'. This therefore increased missionary interests in education and publication. Premillennial eschatology focused on the imminent return of Christ independent of these cultural activities, and so tended to eschew

Complicating missionary approaches to various kinds of Chinese people were their denominational differences in ecclesiastical structures, theological developments, and worship rituals. Internal tensions between Catholic and Protestant missions in China, especially with regard to the rites controversies related to 'Confucius' and ancestors, are undeniable. These intensified during this period because of growing papal conservatism and entrenched anti-'Romish' stances interwoven into Protestant mission policies, though in some places there was interdenominational support in spite of these major hindrances.[9]

Internal political conflicts and ideological intensification in the Qing empire during this period coincided with variously mitigated waves of European imperialist interests, international mercantile developments, and the growth of new kinds of missionary bodies in China. In the 1860s the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, a movement undeniably connected with Protestant influences, remained a potent force in central China until its demise in 1864,[10] while the Second Opium War treaties signed after the burning of the Summer Palace in 1860 compromised the Qing hegemonial powers.[11] These treaties essentially made it politically necessary in 1861 for the Manchurian rulers to establish a modern Foreign Affairs Bureau under Prince Gong 恭親王 (Yixin 奕訢), abbreviated as the Zongli yamen 總理衙門.[12] Contrary to these legal conditions, previous Qing indoctrination in elaborations of the Sacred Edict—especially the Yongzheng 雍正 Emperor's *Shengyu guangxun*

---

almost all forms of missionary activities outside of preaching and evangelising for the sake of "the eternal salvation of the masses". This has not been discussed as much as should be in relevant literature, but is mentioned in Lasch (1990), Stanley (1990), and Pfister (2004).

[9] Latourette (1929), Cohen (1963 and 1978) and Broomhall (1982–1989) reveal many of these issues, Latourette neatly summarising some major differences between Roman Catholic and Protestant mission procedures, structures, and strategies (pp. 823–843). Though living in the Chinese context changed much that was done in the name of various Christian groups, historical and theological reasons for reviving denominational antagonisms in the nineteenth century were considered justified by many. So in their missionary organs it is not uncommon to read Protestant references to the 'Romish' or 'Popish' church, which were blatantly derogatory. Catholic aloofness at times manifested similarly uncompromising and disdainful attitudes against Protestants.

[10] The broader Christian connections of the Taiping insurgency and later missionary disassociation with its prophetic extremes is an immensely complicated story covered elsewhere in this Handbook.

[11] For readings of original documents, see Ji Shihe (1978) and for interpretation, Wakeman (1978).

[12] The seminal study on the Zongli yamen is Banno (1964).

聖諭廣訓 (Amplified Instructions on the Sacred Edict)—had explicitly criticised *Tianzhu jiao* 天主教, the Roman Catholic 'Heavenly Lord teaching', as a 'strange principle' or heterodoxy (*yiduan* 異端). Extensions of this antagonistic spirit against all Christian 'foreign teachings' were not uncommon even during this later period. Consequently, conflicts between the new Qing national policy and the more conservative local gentry attitudes fulminated around these newly empowered influences of foreign missionaries. These embedded conflicts led to numerous political problems and religious legal suits (*jiao'an* 教案) involving Chinese and foreign Christians, the intense malevolence producing the first publicly recognised Protestant Chinese martyrdom in October 1861.[13] Whatever changes were made by Qing imperial officials, foreign missionaries and their institutions, this kind of Chinese public antagonism persisted and erupted often enough into violent demonstrations.

Further complications already suggested above point out that the Manchurian governing institutions during this period were themselves also facing internal troubles. Recent scholarship supports the view that a more complex ideological situation was inherent in the Manchurian despotism, promoting "sinicisation" in Chinese sources while ruling peoples other than the Han under different conditions.[14] Consequently anti-Manchurian movements among the Taiping and later reform movements in the 1890s possibly reveal deeper pervasive problems in the multi-ethnic empire, both also involving various kinds of missionary support. Generally speaking, Han scholars in the 1860s and following two decades supported the Qing rulers, but gradually dissatisfaction and desires for reform grew up among some of them, many times due to the arguments and information drawn from missionary publications. Consequently, the growing influences

[13] For the teachings and popularisations of the Sacred Edicts, items regularly studied by China missionaries in the latter half of the nineteenth century, see Legge (1878) and Mair (1985). Problems in the 1860s with these religious affairs has been described and interpreted in Cohen (1963). The first martyr was a sextagenarian named Che Jinguang 車金光 from the city of Boluo 博羅 in eastern Guangdong, his death complicated by associations with London Missionary Society representatives and described in Pfister (1999). Anti-Christian pamphleting, billboarding and publications were also major forms of incendiary tactics employed by some Chinese antagonists. Descriptions of their forms and the extent of their distribution appear in Cohen (1963) and (1978), pp. 569–571.

[14] This is documented thoroughly in Rawski (1996).

of Chinese reformist attitudes in the 1890s concomitantly added more attractiveness to the teachings and lifestyles of similarly minded foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians. Conservative opposition to foreigners in general and missionaries in part consequently increased at this time. This came to a peak at the turn of the century in the devastating anti-foreign campaigns of the Yihetuan yundong 義和團運動 or the so-called Boxer Rebellion or Uprising (1899–1900), which led to further harsh international military responses.[15]

Some Basic Problems of Chinese Missionary Adjustments

Having understood the interpretive complexities behind any evaluation of missionary strategies, precision is enhanced by addressing missionary attitudes to representatives at different levels of Qing society. Scholar officials upholding the Ruist canon received different missionary responses than village farmers and city shopkeepers steeped in rituals shaped by Daoist and Buddhist traditions. Yet the more pervasive problems confronting missionaries were the matters of everyday life: cleanliness and clothing, food and "standards of living," understanding their language and customs, working and co-operating with Chinese Christians.[16]

Developments in accommodations to Chinese lifestyle in dress and food are various, the most responsive being the missionaries living inland, including many Catholics and members of the China Inland Mission 內地會.[17] Generally speaking, missionaries' responses to Chinese people, their living conditions, and traditional values ranged from being sensitively but detachably intimate at best to ignorantly and demonstrably inimical at worst.[18] Fears of contagious diseases augmented by previous treaty stipulations locked numbers of the earliest missionaries into ghetto-like compounds in the coastal cities, and

[15] These groups were also known simply as the Yihequan 義和拳 literally, the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists." An account and different interpretations of these events appear in Latourette (1929), pp. 501–526, Broomhall (1989) Vol. 7, pp. 291–438, and Varg (1958), pp. 31–35.

[16] On Protestant missionary reaction to Chinese religion, see Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies*.

[17] Dealt with thoroughly and in relation to the prototype established in part by Karl Gutzlaff 郭實獵 (1803–1851) in Broomhall (1982), especially Vols. 1 and 2.

[18] Some examples of the alienated and inimical missionaries are documented in Flynt and Berkley (1997).

many of the later generations of missionaries followed suit. Fatalities from diseases, ill-adjustment to climate, accidents, and more traumatic encounters were well known.[19] Therefore when James Hudson Taylor (戴德生, 1832–1904) committed himself on the principle of adaptation to living within the Chinese community and dress as a 'Chinaman', making this later a requirement for all who joined the China Inland Mission he established in 1865, it was considered radical and extreme.[20]

Treaty conditions in 1860 provided special protection for Chinese Christians and new liberties for Catholic missionaries to reclaim old lands and properties. Both they and Protestant missionaries were given new freedoms to travel under consular protection into the hinterlands, to preach without hindrances, to purchase lands, as well as to build residences and churches.[21] Yet though travel and residence outside of the major cities was possible, it required excellent linguistic skills, a well established social network, and modes of adaptation which many missionaries did not attain. Catholic networks were far more advanced than those of Protestants, and usually only involved celibate priests while Protestants had to contend with their families, often forcing innovations such as missionary schools for children in one city while parents were living and working elsewhere.[22] When the China Inland Mission initiated sending single women missionaries into the inland 'stations' to work with children and Chinese women, this was considered unsafe and unwise, especially because of the very conservative

[19] When Alexander Wylie (1815–1887) published his *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* in 1867, there had already been 61 "deaths during service" among 338 missionaries representing 31 seperate mission boards. Six died "violent deaths," 13 others from disease or accident while travelling, and many lost their spouses (who were not counted among these numbers). See Wylie, iv–vi.

[20] Previous to Taylor's adoption of this principle, to wear Chinese clothes and a false queue was considered a matter of 'disguising' oneself while travelling in the 'hinterland' in order to avoid detection. Obviously, those who refused to do so stood out among any Chinese crowds, and so quickly became objects of interest, curiosity, or scorn, depending on the situation. See Broomhall (1982–1984), volumes 1, 3 and 4, where Taylor's decision in the 1850s and the reaction of other missionaries are described, as well as the founding of the China Inland Mission is documented.

[21] Many details about these matters are discussed in Cohen (1963, 1978), Latourette (1929) and Broomhall (1982–1989).

[22] Latourette (1929) provides many details about these matters, and more limited studies of Catholic situations in nothern China and Jiangxi province are found in Bays (1996). Problems and developments with single women missionaries are illustrated in Hyatt (1976), the famous Southern Baptist missionary Charlotte Moon 李題鰲 (1840–1912) being especially notable.

attitudes Chinese men had about women. While many missionaries considered these to be new modes of adaptation, Chinese residents reacted to them as intrusions while foreign consular officials started complaining more and more about their inability to protect missionaries who travelled and lived outside of the treaty ports. Nevertheless, even before and after anti-foreign fears exploded in the Tianjin massacre of 1870, representative missionaries continued to argue that public pressure at home and in China against them was misguided. Arguing that missionaries were lesser problems than obtrusive merchants and destructive armies, they insisted that Christian missions did more good than harm and so refused to relinquish their treaty rights.[23]

Missionaries Confronting Chinese Cultural Systems and Values

The Tianjin treaty stipulations formed the 'ideal conditions' which became the actual testing ground for many conflicts between Chinese commoners, Chinese gentry and missionaries, as well as between the Zongli Yamen and foreign consulates. While missionary objectives involved a continuing expansion of contact with the masses of Chinese people, political and cultural pressures brought about the existence of some relatively exclusive mission 'stations' and 'compounds'. In the large coastal cities it was possible for missionaries to live in compounds that sustained many of their own cultural values and preferences, while in the countryside this was far less feasible or desirable.

Many unexpected points of conflict arose for foreign missionaries who established their compounds among Chinese people previously unaware of foreign traditions and values. For example, missionary choices of locations for buildings and compounds were usually based on utilitarian judgements, the styles of architecture (especially

[23] Detailed discussion of the Tianjin Massacre as well as its broader national and international context from Chinese and non-Chinese sources is found in Broomhall (1985), Vol. 5, pp. 238–257. In the same source, see an abridged copy of the famous "Missionary Memorandum" in which four missionaries in 1869 addressed major British officials in countering arguments which blamed missionaries for the growing political problems in China (pp. 458–462). For an example of a lengthy Ruist rejection of most missionary activities laced with resentment against specific missionary insensitivities manifest in China during this period, see Pung Kwang Yu (1893). Peng Guangyu 彭光譽, the First Secretary of the Chinese Legation in Washington D.C., was invited to the World Religious Congress in Chicago (1893) as the representative of 'Confucianism' or what is more properly called *Rujiao* 儒教.

of church buildings) following non-Chinese stereotypes. Stirring up xenophobic feelings, these foreign residences and worship "halls" (tang 堂) also created what were perceived as obvious clashes with traditional geomantic values (fengshui 風水).[24]

As their interaction with more Chinese people in the hinterland increased, an awareness of the variety of people groups and their degrees of 'backwardness' and 'cultural development' gradually became both more comprehensive and precise. The number of alternative approaches to these people are reflected in the bold Protestant developments of medical, educational, and publishing institutions established and run by missionaries and Chinese co-workers.[25] Here the ideological implications of their empirically based medical methods and rationalised educational techniques ranged from selective reforms to outright rejections of Chinese traditional views of society, the natural environment, and religious worlds. Protestant publications strategically spanned a wide range of topics intended to challenge long held Chinese assumptions.[26] A few missionaries gained high levels of fluency in scholarly Chinese, and so left very positive impressions among Chinese readers even in spite of the antagonistic factors mentioned above. Others epitomised missionary scholarship on Chinese religious and philosophical traditions, an area of expertise which developed extensively during this period. Their works covered elitist as well as folk traditions, regularly offering informed but critical assessments, a very different attitude from those who tended to demonise anything contrary to Christian belief and doctrine.

The diversification of Protestant Bible translations in many ways symbolises the problems and achievements of missionary understandings

---

[24] Chinese popular literature tells stories of *fengshui* battles caused because one family built a better home or refined the environment of their ancestral gravesite. This caused mental havoc and spiritual anxiety among neighbors who wanted to maintain their own geomantic advantages. Missionaries were generally unaware of these matters, considering them to be superstitious, and so rarely if ever consulted the "geomancers" who were the informal authorities officiating in these 'battles'. See J. J. M. de Groot (1892) and Eitel (1985) for details.

[25] Beside the many mission society publications which document the development of these institutions, see Cohen (1978), Gu (1980), Bays (1996), Lodwick (1997).

[26] Latourette (1929) explicitly repeats some of these critical questions in his final summary statements. Gu Changsheng 顧長聲, *Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo* 傳教士與近代中國 (Missionaries and Modern China) (1980) adds the force of Marxist critique to these complaints. For a consideration of Gu's critique, see Pfister, "In the Eye of a Tornado", especially pp. 93–102.

of Chinese people. After the breakdown of the translation work prepared by the Delegates' Committee of missionaries meeting in Shanghai in 1852, a growing variety of translations produced in different dialects and at different registers of Chinese language continued to appear.[27] These involved not only publications in Chinese characters and vocabulary distinctive for an area, but also innovating in producing romanised renditions for the less literate. While versions meeting Ruist scholarly standards were still considered necessary in the 1890 General Conference meetings, innovations in printing methods and reducing dialects to script were also pursued. At their best, these translations illustrated that foreign and Chinese collaboration could produce attractive Chinese literature, but there were always some which required numerous refinements because of awkward wording, inaccuracies, and unintended connotations.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Readings in any of the major missionary journals are essential, but especially the relevant portions of the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, *China's Millions*, and *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. Numerous denominational and mission society archives also possess documents from the latter half of the nineteenth century. Proceedings of the two general conferences of Protestant missionaries to China held in Shanghai (1877, 1890) also discuss many related problems. Missionary autobiographies and biographies are often replete with instances of cultural adaptation and rejection. In addition, consult the following:

Beal, Samuel, *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king* (The Texts Of Chinese Buddhism), vol. 19 in F. Max Müller's series, the *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875?.

Eitel, Ernst John, *Feng-shui: The Science of Sacred Landscape in Old China*, with a comment by John Michell. 5th ed., London: Synergetic Press, 1985. First published as: *Feng-shui, or, The rudiments of natural science in China*, London: Trübner, 1873.

Hardwick, Charles, *Christ and Other Masters: An Historical Inquiry into some of the Chief Parallelisms and Contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the Ancient World*, Cambridge: Macmillan and Company. Volume 1, 1855; Volume 2, 1858.

Qi Sihe 齊思和 (ed.), *Di'er ci yapian zhanzheng* 第二次鴉片戰爭 (The Second Opium War), 6 vols., Shanghai: People's Press, 1978.

Legge, James, *The Chinese Classics with a translation, critical and exegetical notes, prolegomena, and copious indexes* (8 tomes in 5 volumes). Hong Kong: Anglo-Chinese College Press, 1861–1872. Oxford: Clarendon Press, partially revised, 1893–1895.

Legge, James, "Imperial Confucianism", *China Review* 6,3 (March 1878), pp. 147–158 (I); 6,4 (April 1878), pp. 223–235 (II); 6,5 (May 1878), pp. 299–310 (III); 6,6 (June 1878), pp. 363–374 (IV).

[27] Extensively documented in Spillett (1975).

Legge, James, *The Religions Of China: Confucianism and Taoism Described and Compared with Christianity*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880.
Legge, James, *The Texts of Confucianism*, Vols. 3, 16, 27, 28 in F. Max Müller's series, the *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879, 1882, 1885.
Legge, James, *The Texts of Taoism*, Vols. 39 and 40 in F. Max Müller's series, the *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891.
Pung Kwang Yu, "Confucianism," in John Henry Barrows (ed.), *The World's Parliament of Religions*, Volume 1. Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Co., 1893, pp. 374–439. For the Chinese version, see Peng Guangyu 彭光譽, *Shuo jiao* 說教 (On *jiao*), Meiguo Jinshan Hua ji bao guan Yu Tingshun pai yin 1893; Beijing: Wen kuang chai, 1896.

Secondary Sources

Addinall, Peter, *Philosophy and Biblical Interpretation: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Conflict*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Anderson, Gerald H., et al. (eds.), *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1994.
Banno, Masataka, *China and the West, 1858–1861: The Origins of the Tsung-li yamen*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.
Bays, Daniel H. (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
Beeching, Jack, *The Chinese Opium Wars*, New York and London: Harcourt Brace Javonovich, 1975.
Broomhall, A[lfred] J[ames], *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century*, 7 volumes, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1982–1989.
Cheng, W. K., "Between Mission and Empire: John Macgowan and the Construction of China Knowledge", in Kathleen L. Lodwick and W. K. Cheng (eds.), *The Missionary Kaleidoscope: Portraits of Six China Missionaries*, Norwalk, Conn.: EastBridge, 2005, pp. 78–100.
Christensen, Torben and William R. Hutchison (eds.), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880–1920*, Struer, Denmark: Aros, 1982.
Cohen, Paul A., *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963.
Cohen, Paul A., "Christian Missions and their Impact to 1900," in John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China*, Volume 10: *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911*, Part I, Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 543–590.
Covell, Ralph, *Confucius, the Buddha, and Christ: A History of the Gospel in Chinese*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1986.
Dawson, Raymond, *The Chinese Chameleon: An Analysis of European Conceptions of Chinese Civilization*, Clarendon: Oxford University Press, 1967.
Dikötter, Frank, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, Hongkong: Hong Kong University Press, 1992.
Flynt, Wayne, and Gerald W. Berkley, *Taking Christianity to China: Alabama Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1850–1950*, Tuscaloosa, Alabama: Alabama University Press, 1997.
Girardot, Norman J., *The Victorian Translation of China: James Legge's Oriental Pilgrimage*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
Groot, J. J. M. de, *The Religious System Of China: Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect: Manners, Customs and Social Institutions Connected Therewith*, 6 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1892.
Gu Changsheng 顧長聲, *Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo* 傳教士與近代中國 (Missionaries and Modern China), Shanghai: People's Press, 1980. Revised editions were published in 1991 and 2004.

Hyatt, Irwin T., Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three Nineteenth Century American Missionaries in East Shantung*, Cambridge: Harvard Unversity Press, 1976.
Lasch, Christopher, *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and its Critics*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1991.
Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *A History of Christian Missions in China*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929.
Lodwick, Kathleen L., *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874–1917*. Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1996.
Mair, Victor H., "Language and Ideology in the Written Popularizations of the Sacred Edict," in David Johnson, et al. (eds.), *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, pp. 325–359.
McCosh, James, *The Scottish Philosophy, Biographical, Expository, Critical, From Hutcheson to Hamilton*, London: MacMillan and Co., 1875.
Pfister, Lauren F., "In the Eye of a Tornado: Lessons to be Learned from Critiques of Christian Missionaries, *Ching Feng* n.s. 8,1–2 (2007), pp. 91–116.
Pfister, Lauren F., *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man': James Legge and the Scottish Protestant Encounter with China. Assessing Confluences in Scottish Nonconformism, Chinese Missionary Scholarship, Victorian Sinology, and Chinese Protestantism*. Scottish Studies International, Publications of the Scottish Studies Centre of the Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz in Germersheim, Vol. 34, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004. 2 vols.
Rawski, Evelyn S., "Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History," *JAS* 53,4 (November 1996), pp. 829–850.
Reinders, Eric, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., "The Missionary Enterprise and Theoriesof Imperialism," in John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974, pp. 336–373.
Spillett, Hubert W., *A Catalogue of Scriptures in the Language of China and the Republic of China*. London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1975.
Stanley, Brian, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperalism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leicester: Apollos Press, 1990.
Stocking, George W., *Victorian Anthropology*, New York: Free Press, 1987.
Sun Lixin, *Das Chinabild der deutschen protestantischen Missionare des 19. Jahrhunderts. Ein Fallstudie zum Problem interkultureller Begegnung und Wahrnehmung*, Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2002.
Varg, Paul A., *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.
Wakeman, Frederic, Jr., "The Canton Trade and the Opium War," in John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, Volume 10: *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911*, Part I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 163–212.
Walls, Andrew F., *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*, Edinburgh and Maryknoll: T & T Clark and Orbis, 1996.

4.6. Conversion Methods: Theory and Practices

Samuel H. Chao 趙享恩

Conversion, as used in this article is synonymous with that of world evangelism. In Protestant theological/missiological thought, Christian conversion, or evangelism, has a two-fold purpose, one immediate and the other remote. The immediate purpose is the conversion of a person and his fellowship into the Christian church through faith in Christ, by water baptism and celebrating the Lord's Supper (Eucharist). The remote purpose is the proclamation of the Lordship of Christ over all His creation and the extension of the Kingdom of God throughout the world by way of fellowship, teaching and witness. The first principle of conversion is recorded in the Gospel of Mark's account of the Great Commission: "Go into all the world and preach the good news to all creation. Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved, but whosoever does not believe will be condemned" (Mark 16: 15–16 NIV). The second purpose of conversion is found in the Gospel of Matthew's account of the same Great Commission: "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you" (Matthew 28: 18–19 NIV).

Unfortunately, 'conversion' to Christianity as described above is nowadays an objectionable term in some circles. Moreover, it was anathema among scholar-officials in nineteenth-century China. Thus, because of this antipathy to Christianity's expansion in China, persecution, riots and revolts raged against the missionaries from the late nineteenth century up to and including the People's Republic of China. In other words, societies in which religion is a strong cultural bond see conversion to another faith as a threat to the stability of society.[1]

Conversion, to be genuine, must involve a complete change of heart, mind and life. The root meaning of conversion is 'to turn'. It is, therefore, a threefold turning: from the 'original sin' to righteousness, from death to life, from gods and idols to Jesus Christ the Son of God. By conversion the person becomes a "new creature, old things

[1] Leslie Newbigin, "Conversion", in Stephen Neill (ed.), *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission*, Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1971, p. 147.

are passed away; all things become new" (2 Corinthians 5:17). Following conversion, the new convert does not remain in isolation. He becomes a member of a local or indigenous church, part of the Body of Christ, by accepting Christian baptism in the name of the Trinity, and becomes an active member of the universal church. The convert becomes part of its fellowship, work, witness and spiritual growth.[2] Although there are certain similarities in the Roman Catholic conversion processes,[3] the specific focus of this article in on Protestant evangelism and conversion methods as demonstrated in the life and work of John Livingston Nevius (1829–1893) in Shandong province between 1861 and 1893.

Nevius, an American Presbyterian (North) missionary to China, and his methods of evangelism are presented here as a case study. He is known for having established over sixty Chinese local churches under what later became know as the 'Nevius Plan' of planting indigenous churches on the principle of self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating church growth, without using mission funds. His ideas, based on mission work in central Shandong, were published in 1886 as *Methods of Mission Work*.[4] The text became required reading for most Presbyterian missionaries to China and Korea for over fifty years since its publication.

Evangelism via Class Instruction for Church Membership

As a result of extensive itinerant evangelism in eastern and central Shandong for fifteen years, Nevius had established sixty rural outstations by 1885. Now perhaps the most important question facing him was this: What was the most effective way to shepherd these new

---

[2] For a discussion of 'conversion' among early nineteenth-century diaspora Chinese, see Seitz, Jonathan A., "The Comparative 'Merits' of Christian Conversion", (2008). On the methods of Protestant missions in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Latourette, *History of Christian Missions in China*, pp. 416–465.

[3] On Catholic conversion methods, see Kervyn, *Méthode de l'apostolat moderne en Chine*; Beckmann, *Die katholische Missionsmethode in China*. On the priority of the indirect apostolate (feeding the people, healing the sick, instructing the ignorant, sheltering the homeless) in Inner Mongolia, see Patrick Taveirne, *Han-Mongol Encounters and Missionary Endeavors*, pp. 363–402. On catechumenates, see e.g. Richard Hartwich, "Die Katechumenate in der Steyler Süd-Shantung Mission—Ein Bericht", *Verbum SVD* 21,2 (1980), pp. 229–246.

[4] John L. Nevius, *Methods of Mission Work*, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1886).

converts to Christ? Moreover, was it possible to oversee these congregations with the help of "only about a dozen candidates for the ministry in the whole field"? The problem was that there were simply not enough Chinese pastors to meet the demands of these outstations.[5] In the face of this dilemma, Nevius developed a plan under which local Christian leaders helped oversee new believers. The missionaries were too few in number to handle this responsibility among the widely scattered communities. Furthermore, even if the missionaries had been able to oversee these stations, they would only have prevented the Chinese Church from moving toward self-support and independence. Nevius was deeply aware of this.

Consequently, he placed the responsibility for teaching new believers in the hands of the local leaders. He emphasised teaching rather than preaching. This approach was well adapted to Chinese culture where long, formal discourses were totally alien. Even the educated Chinese found they could scarcely follow the Western style of long sermons. For the simple country people, it was virtually impossible. In any case, the lay leaders appointed by Nevius were not able to provide this kind of formal preaching because of their limited biblical knowledge and training.[6] Accordingly, Nevius chose a few basic Christian doctrines and made them the basis for a teaching programme for new converts. All new Christians and candidates for baptism were required to memorise the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and a few other important passages of Scripture. They also had to commit to memory a simple catechism which contained a summary of Christian doctrine.[7] This class instruction took place during the probation period for new converts which could last anywhere from six months to two years. During this time, they were expected to attend church services regularly and perform the religious duties of all professing Christians.

As a teaching tool for the local leader to use, Nevius produced a manual that guided the leader through a systematic teaching programme and supervision of catechumen classes. The *Manual for Enquirers* (CA 1885) covered the fundamental doctrines and practices of the Church. All inquirers and candidates for baptism received a

[5] Nevius, *Planting and Development of Missionary Churches*, p. 35.
[6] Ibid., pp. 36–37.
[7] Ibid., pp. 37–38.

copy of this manual, together with the catechism and the four Gospels. The *Manual for Enquirers* provided instruction in nearly everything a new believer needed to know to embark on the Christian journey. Besides general directions for Bible study, it had sections on prayer (various forms for different situations), the Apostles' Creed as well as Scripture passages to be memorised. Another section covered Bible stories and the parables of Jesus, with an explanation of their meaning and significance. New believers were to learn these stories and then tell them to others, as a form of witness and instruction. Still another section covered the rules for organising and running the rural stations, with the duties of the leaders, along with samples of forms for keeping attendance records and charting the progress of each believer. Naturally, one section covered the specifically Presbyterian "Form of Church Covenant".[8]

In addition, there were special Scripture lessons to prepare converts for baptism and participation in the Lord's Supper. The manual also gave instructions on worship services and contained a selection of the most popular hymns. It indicated how to keep the Sabbath holy, directions on spending Sunday and a short essay on the "Duty of Every Christian", i.e. to spread the Gospel message to others.[9] Through this manual, Nevius encouraged all church members to keep a complete record of their general reading, their progress in a Bible reading course, Scripture memorisation and the giving of tithes both in money and in time. Finally, it explained how to interpret the Scripture passages and to review one's spiritual exercises.[10]

At many outstations Chinese women were students of the Bible and instructors in these classes. They were known as Chinese Bible women or unordained women evangelists. They worked alongside both the Chinese pastors and foreign missionaries. According to the well known American Board missionary to China, Arthur Henderson Smith, many of these women had received their training from Mrs. Helen Nevius, the results of whose laborious instruction in music were audible in many outstations. Smith had made extensive field observations on Nevius' mission field.[11]

---

[8] Ibid., p. 38.

[9] *Ru dao chu xue* 入道初學 (Manual for Christians), Shanghai: North China Tract Society, 1885.

[10] Nevius (1958), p. 10, 33, 39.

[11] A. H. Smith, "A Side Light on Missionary Experiments in Central Shantung", *CR* (February 1888), p. 58.

The *Manual* was for all classes of people, the educated and scholars as well as those unable to read. All were required to learn how to use this book not only for their own benefit but also in order to teach others. They soon became familiar with its contents and moved on to the next level of study, which was a general study of the Scriptures with the help of commentaries which Nevius had prepared for them.

Nurturing new converts: seven principles

Nevius was not one who felt that his duty was done after having brought people into the church. He wrote manuals as well as a great many tracts. Furthermore, he organised classes and taught the Bible and basic theology to train new believers in the Christian way of life and help them teach others. His guiding principle was "Each one teach one". Knowing how fragile and vulnerable new converts were, he followed these principles to nurture their faith as his way of teaching evangelism.

1. "*Let each man abide in the calling wherein he was called*" (I Corinthians 7: 20). Paul's admonition here—also repeated in verse 24—was to be the standard norm for all Christians, according to Nevius. They should begin to bear witness to the Gospel by word and deed in the very situation they were in when they first received Christ.[12] The real issue for Nevius here was that new converts should not be employed as the missionary's 'native assistants' in evangelism. Nevius believed firmly that before one goes into full-time ministry of any kind, he (or she) should sense a divine call. Such a person should not be sent out to preach the Gospel until his character had been tested and his call had been proved by the fruits of his volunteer ministry. What is more, he insisted that the person demonstrate a willingness to renounce all worldly pursuits in order to follow Christ completely.[13]
2. "*Do not set any precedents which you do not intend to follow always*". Nevius said, "If the first Christians receive pay, or other material assistance, that will set the standards for all future generations."[14]

[12] Nevius (1958), p. 19.
[13] Ibid., p. 20.
[14] Ibid., p. 21.

3. "*Let new converts preach the Gospel, without remuneration, if they are gifted, while carrying on their normal life occupations*." Although Apostle Paul maintained that the "laborer is worthy of his hire", he himself worked without pay when serving among his own race in a community of unbelievers.[15] Missionaries, Nevius argued, are only temporary messengers sent into a foreign country to perform a specific task. When that has been accomplished, they should withdraw. On the other hand, the Chinese Church must be planted as a permanent, living body that continues to grow and expand on its own. No Chinese church should expect to receive permanent subsidies from abroad.[16]
4. *Teach new converts that they are not to renounce the world once they become Christians*. That is what Buddhism teaches. Christ teaches that His followers are to live *in* the world but not be influenced by it. They are to live out their Christian walk in their everyday life.[17]
5. *Take advantage of their enthusiasm*. New converts are the most effective witnesses to family, friends and neighbours on account of their zeal.[18]
6. *Do not try to overprotect them financially when they make mistakes*. Hardship and even bitter persecution, Nevius said, will "put iron in their blood". It has been proved over and over again, he maintained, that when missionaries interfere in lawsuits, trying to protect a new convert against financial problems, it never pays off—either for the convert *or* the missionary.[19]
7. *Train church members to live out their Christian walk in their normal occupation*. In time, gifted leaders will gradually emerge whom the local church is willing to support. Circumstances may change and gifts may develop as time passes. If the young Christians seem to show promise as potential evangelists, then let them develop their gifts through informal ministry where they live, while waiting for God's call to an expanded ministry.[20]

---

[15] I Corinthians 9: 18.
[16] Nevius (1958), p. 21.
[17] Ibid., p. 24.
[18] Ibid., p. 25.
[19] Ibid., pp. 26–27.
[20] Ibid., pp. 27–29.

Training and church discipline

Other features of Nevius' secret of establishing self-supporting churches giving birth to church growth and country evangelism are:

1. *Personal evangelism and lay witnessing.* Neither street preaching—whether by paid Chinese evangelism or by missionaries—nor the distribution of Christian books and tracts actually resulted in converts, according to Nevius. Only in rare cases did literature directly lead a person to accept Christ.

   The sixty rural mission outstations he had established were a direct result of personally reaching out to individuals on a one-to-one basis in an informal social setting. He took "great pains" to convince the people that "we are really interested in them and desire their good". The first few people won to Christ immediately went out and witnessed to others in their extended family, and so the Gospel spread from family to family and from village to village. Not only the common people in the countryside but all levels of society were eventually reached.[21]
2. *'House churches'.* The local believers set up their own place of worship, usually in a believer's home. Occasionally, they would rent a public place. These 'house churches' would range in size from ten to fifty people. The room where they met was often decorated with scrolls, Scripture passages and maps, yet it was simple, in keeping with their rural setting. As a result, these believers wee relatively free from the type of crowd violence often directed against the street chapels. Although the Christians of one outstation did build their own church, not one of the sixty congregations had a distinctive chapel building that drew public attention.[22]
3. *Let laymen conduct Sunday services.* As a rule, lay Christians led the Sunday worship services, something that was virtually the same throughout the rural stations in China. On occasion, a trained catechist or preacher would lead them. However, the missionary would advise the local pastor to instruct a few of the more "intelligent and earnest church members at each station", who would then be responsible for teaching and supervising. They would also

[21] Nevius, "Mission Work in Central Shantung", *CR* (October 1880), p. 361.
[22] Ibid.

conduct the worship services. In most of these outstations, the congregational singing compared favourably with that among Chinese believes elsewhere. Where no qualified person was available to lead a service extemporaneously, the believers would follow the form of worship from the Church of England's *Prayer Book* or from other traditions available.[23]

4. *Expect all lay members to teach others*. The laity was expected to minister to each other, teaching what they had learned to those not as mature in the faith. The church leader's duty, Nevius believed, is to impress on the people that "all church members" are "learners and teachers at the same time". In an unbroken chain, the missionary or the Chinese pastor taught Scripture to the local leaders, and they shared this with others who, in turn, instructed those who were newer in the faith than they.

   In Nevius' territory, these lay leaders met at his home in Yantai (Chefoo) once or twice a year, spending anywhere from one to three months in intensive study of the Scriptures and in learning to sing hymns. These lay leaders received free board and room while they were on this study programme.

   Church members were expected to continue their study of the Scripture, and their progress was checked periodically by either the missionary or his Chinese helpers whenever they visited the area.

   To prepare the enquirers for baptism and church membership, they received a catechism, some portion of the Scriptures, a hymn book and several forms of prayer that they were to study.[24]
5. *Keep church organisation simple*. Only elders and deacons served in the church. They were ordained by the missionary and Chinese evangelist only after a thorough examination. Especially in the early stages, Nevius kept the organisation simple, following the pattern of the New Testament church. He did not want to burden the new believers with the unnecessary mechanics of church polity. Nor did he want to impose foreign customs and traditions on the Chinese church.[25]
6. *Set high standards for church membership*. Nevius insisted that new converts and enquirers should be kept "on probation previous to

[23] Ibid., p. 362.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.

baptism" for a period of "not less than six months"—and, in cases of addiction to opium, alcohol and gambling—this period should be extended for up to two years. Some thought his requirements were "rather strict" and that if he had relaxed them, he would have received many more candidates for baptism and membership.

During this six-month period of probation, enquirers were expected to diligently study the Bible and eagerly perform all the Christian duties in much the same way as the church members themselves. It there were any question of the enquirer's sincerity, then probation was also extended. Everyone was expected to observe the Sabbath, and Nevius was happy to note that "public sentiment and practice" on this issue was encouraging.

As for church discipline, Nevius believed that these cases should be handled quickly. One form of discipline he meted out was to have church members speak and "preach without pay as they have opportunity". By constantly nurturing believers in their faith, he hoped that fewer and fewer disciplinary problems would arise. And he proved to be right. Over a period of time, the number of persons denied baptism because of disciplinary problems dropped to only three percent per year.[26]

Finally, because of Nevius' faithful practice of these evangelistic methods, his work produced over 1,800 baptisms in his field alone. Moreover, the method proved highly effective in Korea in the late nineteenth century and today, as well as in other parts of the world.[27]

Conclusion

The above conversion method may not have found widespread application beyond Nevius' own area of evangelistic activity, yet several of its constituent elements were shared by most missionaries in late nineteenth-century China. Still, it is important to note that in addition to these basic patterns, modified to some extent by particular denominational requirements and attitudes, a number of different evangelisation methods were also employed at this time.[28] In addition,

[26] Ibid., p. 363.
[27] C.A. Clark, *Nevius Plan for Mission Work, Illustrated in Korea*, (1937).
[28] See, for example, Nishan J. Najarian, "Religious Conversion in Nineteenth-century China".

a distinction needs to be made between the intensive conversion strategies pursued by most of the Protestant mainline missionary societies[29] and the extensive evangelisation strategies pioneered by Karl Gützlaff ('blitz conversion') and subsequently implemented by the early China Inland Mission in the form of long-distance itinerations.[30] Finally, the strategy of 'mass conversion' was successfully employed by Catholic missionaries in certain parts of China. In order to understand the ways in which the Chinese people responded to these endeavours, it is, of course, also necessary to examine their conversion motives as well as the kinds of incentives that were offered by the missionaries.

Bibliography

Austin, Alvyn. *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832–1905*. Studies in the history of Christian missions. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2007.

Beckmann, Johannes, *Die katholische Missionsmethode in China in neuester Zeit (1842–1912). Geschichtliche Untersuchung über Arbeitsweisen, ihre Hindernisse und Erfolge*, Immensee: Verlag des Missionshauses Bethlehem, 1931.

Chao, Samuel H., "John L. Nevius (1829–1893) and the Contextualization of the Gospel in 19th Century China: A Case Study." *Asia Journal of Theology* 2,2 (1988), pp. 294–311.

Chao, Samuel H., "John L. Nevius (1829–1893) and the 'Modernization of Mission Methods' 1870–1881: Itinerant Evangelist, Famine Relief Leader, and Researcher on Demonology", in Lin Zhiping 林治平, *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo xiandaihua guoji xueshu yantaohui* 基督教與中國現代化國際學術研討會, Taibei: Yuzhouguang chubanshe, 1994.

Chao, Samuel Hsiang-en, "John Livingston Nevius (1829–1893): A Historical Study of His Life and Mission Methods", Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1991.

Cheung, David (Chen Yiqiang 陳貽強), *Christianity in Modern China: The Making of the First Native Protestant Church* (Studies in Christian Mission, 28), Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Clark, Charles Allen, *The Nevius Plan for Mission Work, Illustrated in Korea*, Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society, 1937.

Hartwich, Richard, "Die Katechumenate in der Steyler Süd-Shantung Mission—Ein Bericht", *Verbum SVD* 21,2 (1980), pp. 229–246.

Kervyn, Louis, *Méthode de l'apostolat moderne en Chine*, Hongkong: Imprimerie de la Société des Missions-Etrangères, 1911.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929; reprinted Taibei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970.

[29] One particularly noteworthy example of the intensive approach, involving a painfully slow conversion process, is found in the early RCA mission at Xiamen. See David Cheung, *Christianity in Modern China*.

[30] For details concerning CIM conversion methods, see Austin, *China's Millions*.

Najarian, Nishan J., "Religious Conversion in Nineteenth-century China: Face-to-Face Interaction between Western Missionaries and Chinese", in Sidney L. Greenblatt, Richard W. Wilson and Amy Auerbacher Wilson (eds.), *Social Interaction in Chinese Society*, [New York:] Praeger, 1982, pp. 67–111.

Nevius, John L., "Historical Review of Missionary Methods", in *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China* (Held at Shanghai, 2–20 May 1890), Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890, pp. 288–295.

Nevius, John L., *Methods of Mission Work*, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Missions Press, 1886. This work was first serialised in the *Chinese Recorder*: "Principles and Methods Applicable to Station Work", *CR* 16,10 (November 1885), pp. 421–424; 16, 11 (December 1885), pp. 461–467; continued under the title "Methods of Mission Work", 17,1 (January 1886), pp. 24–31; 17,2 (February 1886), pp. 55–64; 17,3 (March 1886), pp. 102–112; 17,5 (May 1886), pp. 165–178; 17,7 (July 1886), pp. 252–260; 17,8 (August 1886), pp. 297–305.

Nevius, John L., "Mission Work in Central Shantung", *CR* (October 1880), pp. 357–364.

Nevius, John L., *Planting and Development of Missionary Churches*, 4th ed., Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1958. This is the 1886 work under a different title. A more recent edition: Hancock, N.H.: Monadnock, 2003.

Nevius, John L. 倪維思, *Ru dao chu xue* 入道初學 (Manual for enquirers), Shanghai: North China Tract Society, 1885. An earlier version: *Ru dao chu xue* 入道初學, Shanghai: Mei-Hua shuguan, 1881. Also available in an electronic version via the Internet at http://nla.gov.au/nla.gen-vn1826856

Newbigin, Leslie, "Conversion", in Stephen Neill (ed.), *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission*, Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1971.

Seitz, Jonathan A., "The Comparative 'Merits' of Christian Conversion: Early Diasporic Chinese Protestantism (1803–1840) in Formation", Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 2008.

Smith, Arthur Henderson, "A Side Light on Missionary Experiments in Central Shantung", *CR* (January 1888), pp. 53–61.

Taveirne, Patrick, *Han-Mongol Encounters and Missionary Endeavors: A History of Scheut in Ordos (Hetao) 1874–1911*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004.

4.7. Good Works

Kathleen L. Lodwick

Protestant missionaries in China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries often viewed 'good works' as a means of reaching the Chinese to tell them about Christianity. These good works consisted of running orphanages, distributing food in times of famine, educating children and providing medical services, including the establishment of opium refuges for addicts who wished to break their habits. The nature of these various endeavours changed over the years. At the same time, variations in operational procedures existed among the mission agencies and in different parts of China.

Many orphanages begun in the nineteenth century were aimed at caring for the unwanted and abandoned children, usually girls and many of them babies, whom the missionaries found or who were left at mission compounds. Orphanages were of particular importance to the Roman Catholic missionary enterprise in China.[1] This aspect of the apostolate was supported by the Society of the Holy Childhood (*Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance*), founded in France in 1843 by Charles de Forbin-Janson, the bishop of Nancy.[2] The society provided financial support for the baptism of infants in danger of death and the maintenance of abandoned and orphaned children. Its *Annales de l'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance*, published since 1846, carried letters from missionaries informing readers back home of the high infant mortality in China, aggravated by the practice of infanticide, especially of girls.[3] At the same time, the reports from China described the efforts made by the missionaries and their indigenous auxiliaries to baptise moribund children and to rescue those who would otherwise have been killed by their parents.

By the middle of the nineteenth century some Protestant missions, too, began to establish foundling homes. However, after the Tientsin incident of 1870 in which an agitated Chinese crowd—responding to

---

[1] For a list of Catholic orphanages in China in the mid-1870s, see Palatre, pp. 165–169.

[2] For a brief overview, see Alain Sauret, "China's Role in the Foundation and Development of the Pontifical Society of the Holy Childhood". See also Harrison, "A Penny for the Little Chinese".

[3] On missionary attitudes toward female infanticide, see Mungello, D. E., *Drowning Girls in China: Female Infanticide Since 1650*, (2008).

a rumour that the foreigners were killing children to use their body parts for Western medicine—attacked a Roman Catholic orphanage, many Protestant missionaries became cautious about establishing orphanages. Consequently, as the number of converts grew, abandoned children, many of whom had been treated at mission hospitals, were placed with Christian families rather than institutionalised. Those missions which did maintain orphanages taught Christianity to the children in the hope that they would grow up to become church members. Some of the foundling homes, such as the Protestant Door of Hope in Shanghai, also served as refuges for girls who had been sold as servants or prostitutes.[4]

Famine relief was another area in which missionaries found an opportunity to serve, yet, frequently the scale of China's famines defeated even the most dedicated. Timothy Richard's accounts of the famine in north China in the late 1870s and his attempts to alleviate the suffering of at least some of the victims illustrate the enormity of the task. So severe and widespread was the famine that Richard reported having travelled for miles without seeing a living person, or even a dog.[5] Undertaking to aid anyone enough to allow that person's survival, was a daunting task, yet some of the missionaries did so with some success. Other times of famine, or food shortages, saw missionaries attempt to aid only those seeking help at the mission compound such as the people Pearl S. Buck mentioned her family had helped by handing food out an opening in the mission compound gate to those starving Chinese who knocked there. Twentieth century famine relief most often took the form of Red Cross aid or ecumenical efforts which joined various mission groups into one relief agency which was charged with distributing the needed food which had been obtained abroad.

Almost from the beginning of Protestant mission work in China, medical services were seen as a means of reaching the Chinese. Dr. Peter Parker, M.D., an American who was among the first missionaries to reach China, opened an eye clinic in Canton in the 1830s

---

[4] For a detailed study of the Door of Hope and Children's Refuge 濟良所, established in Shanghai in 1901, see Sue Ellen Gronewold, "Encountering Hope: The Door of Hope Mission in Shanghai and Taibei 1900–1976", Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1996.

[5] On Richard's involvement in famine relief, see Bohr, *Famine in China and the Missionary*.

to serve the Chinese. Very quickly Parker found himself called upon to perform surgery, frequently on gross tumours which Chinese doctors declined to treat. Parker's skill was recorded by the painter George Chinnery who documented some of the cases. Parker, of course, also treated the foreigners at Canton and the issue of whether or not mission doctors should treat foreigners became a recurring topic of discussion between mission boards at home and mission doctors in China.

Church folk at home who supported mission medical doctors with their money were told through church periodicals that those funds were being used to treat poor Chinese as a means of reaching them to spread the Gospel. Each mission medical doctor, of course, had taken the oath to treat anyone who came to them and found they could not refuse to provide services to those in need of help. This issue caused many doctors grief, particularly in the early years of mission work in China, and it was most acute in those locations where a mission doctor was the only medical person available. In the treaty ports Chinese Imperial Customs Service personnel often relied on the mission doctors for treatment and the Customs Service regularly budget funds for those services. Mission boards at home felt such service was outside the bounds of mission work, yet could think of no way to demand it cease as the doctors customarily put the fees they received into the mission's coffers.

In the early years of the Protestant mission effort in China many mission boards required that medical doctors also be ordained. As medical education in the West became for formalised and more costly few men attained both degrees and so mission boards began accepting medical doctors who were not ordained. Gradually it became customary for the medical doctors to attend to the medical problems of their patients and leave to the Chinese evangelists the work of spreading the Gospel to those in the hospital or medical waiting room. Women doctors were much sought by mission boards as a means of reaching Chinese women, but like their male counterparts the women doctors concentrated on providing medical care not on evangelism.

By the early twentieth century some churches, notably the American Presbyterians, felt that medical doctors on the field were there first to look after the health of the missionaries. If the doctors also wanted to operate hospitals—and all did—the mission board insisted the hospitals become self-supporting as quickly as possible, as they were extremely expensive to maintain. The mission boards had discovered that as noble as offering medical service to Chinese in need

was it did not produce converts. A survey taken in 1874 reported that out of some 400,000 patients treated by members of the Medical Missionary Society of China in the years between 1861 and 1872, twelve converts had been made. Similarly, a 1932 survey of 120 mission hospitals spread throughout China found that they averaged only about 20 converts each per year. However, that same survey reported that 84 per cent of the doctors and nurses working in the mission hospitals were Christians. Despite the fact that medical mission work did not produce church members, by 1941 over 51 per cent of all hospital beds in China were in mission hospitals. Additionally, the missionaries introduced Western-style medicine to China and established the country's first Western medical schools.

Opium refuges were a part of nearly every mission compound in China at one time or another as no church would accept an opium addict as a member and many missionaries, both medical and non-medical, sought to try to cure addicts in the hope of gaining converts. Although many remedies for the habit were tried the missionaries soon found that there were social aspects to addiction and addicts thought cured at opium refuges became quickly re-addicted once they left the environment of the refuge and the mission compound. An 1899 survey of Western-trained medical doctors working the China, the vast majority of whom were missionaries, indicated that no one was ever truly cured of the opium habit and not one person who had attempted the break the habit had been received as a church member, save some who were converted on their deathbeds.

Education was another area which changed greatly over the years of the Protestant mission endeavour in China. Early missionaries, and frequently the wives, started school for the sons of poor Chinese in the hope that the students would convert to Christianity. Since these students had no opportunity for traditional Chinese education parents permitted them to be schooled by the foreigners, particularly as the students were customarily provided with room, board, clothing and a small stipend. The missionaries desired that these students become Christians and church workers, spreading the Gospel to their countrymen and aiding the missionaries in translating Christian works into Chinese. Unfortunately, for the missionaries their students soon learned that lucrative opportunities for employment awaited them in the businesses engaged in Sino-foreign trade, particularly if they had acquired some knowledge of English. Some students did, of course, become church workers and some were ordained after studying with

the missionaries, and in later years, after graduating in theology from the Christian colleges which were established. It should be noted that the thirteen Christian colleges which were established introduced Western-style higher education to China, and their graduates formed the educated elite of twentieth-century China.

The purposes of mission schools changed once a small Christian population was established in any area. At that point the missionaries sought to provide education for the children of church members, many of whom were impoverished and could provide no other education for their children. Mission schools in China always omitted non-Christian students, but all who enrolled were required to attend religious lessons and church services as the goal of the missionaries was to have the students join the church as they reached the appropriate age.

Whether or not mission schools offered courses in English depended on the location of the school, which mission ran it, what the students demanded, and what types of professions the graduates planned to engage in. As Protestants, the missionaries naturally wanted their converts to be able to read the Bible, and to that end the missionaries poured many hours into attempts to develop Romanised scripts for the Chinese language and publish the Bible and Christian works in these newly developed writing systems. As the ability to read a Romanised Chinese dialect meant the individual could read only works published in that form, this method of education proved nearly worthless and was abandoned by those missions truly interested in producing educated graduates. Those mission schools located in or near China's major population centres, particularly those operated by mainline Protestant denominations, were likely to offer some courses in English. Frequently it was the students and their parents who insisted the foreigners teach their language at the mission schools since it offered the students greater advantages after graduation. Schools which sent large numbers of their graduates on to the Christian colleges, to medical schools, or to universities abroad all offered English classes. The teaching of English was a double-edged sword. It opened the world of Western ideas and learning to the students, but it also alienated them to some degree from their own people and culture. Interestingly, the level of English taught at the mission schools was quite good as the teachers were all native speakers, and most, at least in the 20th century, held teaching degrees from Western universities.

The teaching of Chinese in the mission schools always provided the missionaries problems. They knew it was essential for their

students, but finding appropriate teachers, particularly for girls schools was a problem. Well-educated Chinese preferred the career opportunities traditionally offered them rather than employment by foreigners. Although most missionaries found personal tutors for themselves, these men were not always acceptable to them as teachers of children. Additionally, unless the missionary principal or teacher was highly skilled in the local Chinese dialect or in Mandarin that person had no way of knowing what the Chinese teacher was teaching the mission school students.

When Chinese nationalism became a force in China during the May Fourth movement, students in mission schools began to demand that control of the schools be given to Chinese. When the Nationalist government made this demand, and the related one that schools not have as their main purpose the propagation of a religion, many mission schools faced a dilemma. Although most missions continued to insist their schools were organised to provide education for the children of church members, increasingly in the 1920s and after the student bodies were composed of children of wealthy families who desired modern education for their offspring. In these years Christian children attending mission schools were likely to be there on scholarships provided by the missionaries. Although some schools had long had Chinese church and/or community leaders as members of their boards, few were in the hands of Chinese principals prior to this regulation taking effect, in large part because the funds for operating the schools came from the mission boards in foreign countries. Faced with the new regulations many mission schools simply closed their doors until they could resolve the issue. Other schools solved the problem by handing over control of the schools to Chinese Christians and having the local church offer religious classes for the students outside the regular school hours. Although from the very beginning the mission schools had sought converts from among their students, the schools typically recessed for two weeks or more at Chinese New Year so that the students could return home, although Chinese Christians were discouraged if not forbidden, to participate in traditional celebrations of the holiday. These same mission schools were typically in session at Christmas and Easter so that the students could observe these holidays at church services.

'Mission schools undoubtedly produced more converts than medical work did, yet most students who attended mission schools did not become church members, and those who did were most likely the

children of church members. The good works which Protestant missionaries in China engaged in were noble ventures in themselves, but overall they were not successful in producing the large numbers of converts which were always the hope of the missionaries and their supporters at home.

Bibliography

Bays, Daniel H., "The Early History of Protestant Schools in Wuhan (1860–1900)", in Peter Chen-main Wang 王成勉 (ed.), *Setting the Roots Right: Christian Education in China and Taiwan* 將根紮好: 基督宗教在華教育的檢討, Taibei: Liming wenhua, 2007, pp. 239–268.

Bohr, Paul Richard, *Famine in China and the Missionary; Timothy Richard As Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876–1884*, Harvard East Asian monographs, 48. Cambridge, Mass: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press, 1972.

Choa, G. H., *"Heal the Sick" Was Their Motto: The Protestant Medical Missionaries in China*, Shatin, N.T., Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1990.

China Educational Commission, *Christian Education in China; A Study Made by an Educational Commission Representing the Mission Boards and Societies Conducting Work in China*, New York City: Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1922.

Conference on Christian Education in China. *Chinese Christian Education; A Report of a Conference Held in New York City, April 6th, 1925, Under the Joint Auspices of the International Missionary Council and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America*. 1925.

Gronewold, Sue Ellen, "Encountering Hope: The Door of Hope Mission in Shanghai and Taibei 1900–1976", Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1996.

Harrison, Henrietta, "'A Penny for the Little Chinese': The French Holy Childhood Association in China, 1843–1951", *American Historical Review* 113 (February 2008), 72–92.

Hyatt, Irwin T., Jr., "Protestant Missions in China, (1877–1890): The Institutionalization of Good Works", *Papers on China* 17 (Harvard University, December 1863), pp. 67–100. Reprinted in Kwang Ching Liu (ed.), *American Missionaries in China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966, pp. 93–126.

Lutz, Jessie G. *China and the Christian Colleges 1850–1950*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971.

Malek, Roman, "Christian Education and the Transfer of Ideas on a Local Level: Catholic Schoolbooks and Instructional Material from Shandong (1882–1950)", in Peter Chen-main Wang 王成勉 (ed.), *Setting the Roots Right: Christian Education in China and Taiwan* 將根紮好: 基督宗教在華教育的檢討, Taibei: Liming wenhua, 2007, pp. 79–155.

Miao, Chester S., and Frank W. Price, *Religion and Character in Christian Middle Schools: A Study of Religious Education in Christian Private Middle Schools of China*, Shanghai: Christian Educational Association, 1929. Chinese translation: Miao Qiusheng 繆秋笙 and Frank Wilson Price 畢範宇, *Jidujiao zhongxue xiao zongjiao jiaoyu de yanjiu* 基督教中學校宗教教育的研究, Shanghai: Zhonghua Jidujiao jiaoyu hui, 1930.

Mungello, David E., *Drowning Girls in China: Female Infanticide Since 1650*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008.

Palatre, Gabriel, *L'Infanticide de l'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance en Chine*, Shanghai: autographie de la Mission catholique à l'orphelinat de Tou-sè-wè, 1878.
Richard, Timothy. *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, New York, N.Y.: Frederick A. Stokes, 1916.
Sauret, Alain, "China's Role in the Foundation and Development of the Pontifical Society of the Holy Childhood", in Jeroom Heyndrickx (ed.), *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K.U. Leuven, 1994), pp. 247–272.
Wang, Peter Chen-main 王成勉 (ed.), *Setting the Roots Right: Christian Education in China and Taiwan* 將根紮好: 基督宗教在華教育的檢討, Taibei: Liming wenhua, 2007.

4.7.1. *Medical Missions*

R. G. Tiedemann

The 'ministry of healing' 醫治的事奉 has been an integral part of the Christian religion, starting with Jesus, the "exorcist and healer".[1] Or as Henry Sigerist, a historian of medicine, put it, "Christianity came into the world as the religion of healing, as the joyful Gospel of the Redeemer and of Redemption. It addressed itself to the disinherited, to the sick and to the afflicted, and promised them healing, a restoration both spiritual and physical."[2] Caring for others and alleviating suffering was thus a Christian virtue that was promoted by Catholics and Protestants alike. Thus, medical missionary work accompanied direct evangelism almost from the beginning of the Protestant endeavour in China. However, for much of the nineteenth century such work was not necessarily welcomed by non-medical mission personnel, the mission boards back home or the vast majority of the Chinese people. Some fellow missionaries felt that medical work did not sufficiently promote direct evangelisation. On the other hand, especially after 1900, there were those who rejected 'scientific' medical intervention and relied solely on 'faith healing' or 'divine healing' 神醫. At the same time, as a result of deeply entrenched suspicions fostered by a long tradition of fear of the outsider, most Chinese—except the most desperate—shunned the foreign medical assistance.

Early Protestant Medical Missionary Work in China

When the first Protestant missionaries of the modern era went to their mission fields during the last decade of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries, the concept of special medical missions did not immediately manifest itself. This is certainly the case among the small band of missioners on the China coast and in Southeast Asia. On the other hand, under the influence of postmillennial 后千禧年 expectations, the ideas of progress, improvement and 'disinterested benevolence' were commonly held by the men and

---

[1] See Porterfield, *Healing in the History of Christianity*, (2005), Chapter 1: "Jesus: Exorcist and Healer".

[2] Sigerist, *Civilization and Disease*, (1943; repr. 1970), pp. 69–70.

women of the evangelical awakening 福音派的覺醒 and religious revival movements 奮興運動 at this time. In the minds of some nineteenth-century 'evangelicals', these ideas became linked to the belief that the superiority of Christianity and Western civilisation should be revealed through good works. In this connection, a more specialised ministry of healing in China seems to have been first advocated by the innovative pioneer of Protestant evangelisation strategies, the Prussian Karl Gützlaff 郭實獵 (1803–1851). As Christoffer Grundmann has pointed out, "Gützlaff made a special and significant contribution to the development of the medical missions' concept in so far as he popularized and briskly recommended the use of dispensing medicines and simultaneously handing out evangelistic tracts in order to bring as many people as possible in contact with the Gospel."[3] It is, of course, ironic that Gützlaff has forever been condemned as the purveyor of Bibles and opium on account of his having travelled once or twice in opium vessels along the coast of China. While some scholars today hold the view that opium became an attractive commodity in China because of its important social and therapeutic role,[4] Gützlaff clearly deplored opium *smoking* in the mid-1830s: "I loathe the idea of the most nefarious opium, but I could never banish it out of a ship where I was by mere sufferance."[5] His claim that he had nothing to do with the distribution of opium "except restoring habitual smokers from their evil habit"[6] may not be entirely truthful, but it indicates that the Prussian missionary took an early interest in the health-care needs of China. In this connection, it should also be noted that Gützlaff was willing to examine what he regarded as the positive and negative aspects of Chinese medicine.[7] At the same time, in an article published under the name 'Philosinensis' in the April 1835 issue of the *Chinese Repository*,

[3] Grundmann, "Contextualizing the Gospel by 'Imitating Christ'", in Peter Chenmain Wang 王成勉 (ed.), *Contextualization of Christianity in China*, (2007), p. 79. See also Grundmann, *Sent to Heal*, (2006), Chapter 3.

[4] For this controversial view, see Dikötter et al., *Narcotic Culture*, (2004).

[5] Gützlaff to Church Missionary Society (CMS), Macao, 13 October 1835, in: CMS Archive, Special Collections Department, Main Library, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham, United Kingdom. A few years later, he described opium addiction as a "national catastrophe" for China. See Charles Gützlaff, *China Opened*, (1838), I, p. 508, 509.

[6] Gützlaff to CMS, Macao, 13 October 1835, CMS Archive.

[7] See Charles Gutzlaff, "The Medical Art Amongst the Chinese", (1837), pp. 154–171.

he stressed the important contribution the missionary enterprise could make in this regard.

> A missionary station ought to have a hospital and a physician:—this is apostolical. If the bodily misery which prevails throughout China is taken into consideration, this is perhaps a sine qua non of a station.… But it should not be deemed sufficient to afford medical help merely, for which there will be many applicants; a lively interest in the welfare of individuals, kind assistance in the hour of need, or a friendly word under sufferings, open the heart for the reception of truth. By imitating our Savior and his apostles in well-doing, we shall prove our aim to be called his disciples.… It should never be forgotten, that it is the most sacred duty of all to alleviate sufferings, and thus to show that the Gospel is indeed a message of mercy.… It is by the irresistible power of this noble quality that we hope to gain ground.[8]

Archival sources of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) indicate that Gützlaff may have stressed this point even earlier in his correspondence with that organisation. The first medical missionary to China, Peter Parker 伯驾 who had arrived in Guangzhou on 26 October 1834, had been instructed by the ABCFM to seek Gützlaff's advice. Parker's medical work in southern China, especially the establishment of the 'Eye Infirmary' at Guangzhou, has received considerable scholarly attention.[9]

The potential of medical missionaries as agents in the evangelisation of China was stressed in 1836 in the "Original Suggestions for the Formation of a Medical Missionary Society in China":

> Viewing with peculiar interest the good effects that seem likely to be produced by medical practice among the Chinese, especially as tending *to bring about a more social and friendly intercourse* between them and foreigners as well as *to diffuse the arts and sciences* of Europe and America, and in the end *to introduce the Gospel of our Saviour in place of the pitiable superstitions* by which their minds are now governed, we have resolved to attempt the formation of a society to be called the Medical Missionary Society in China.[10]

---

[8] *Chinese Repository* (Guangzhou, April 1835), p. 568. Gützlaff would subsequently write under the Chinese equivalent of 'Philosinensis', namely 'Gaihan' = *ai Han* 愛漢.

[9] See Gulick, *Peter Parker and the Opening of China* (1973). See also [Peter Parker], "Ophthalmic Hospital at Canton", *CRep* 4 (1835/36), pp. 461ff; Anderson, "Peter Parker and the Introduction of Western Medicine in China".

[10] Cited in Balme, *China and Modern Medicine: A Study in Medical Missionary Development* (1921), p. 41. Emphasis in the original.

The specific notion of 'medical missions' to China was reiterated in the joint appeal by the former British East India Company surgeon Thomas Richardson Colledge 郭雷樞 (1797–1879) and the ABCFM missionaries Peter Parker and Elijah Coleman Bridgman 裨治文 (1801–1861). The writers insisted that the men who were to conduct the institutions should be

> thoroughly imbued with the spirit of genuine piety, ready to endure hardships, and to sacrifice personal comfort, that they may commend the gospel of our Lord and Savior, and so coöperate in its introduction among the millions of this partially civilized yet 'mysterious' and idolatrous empire—men willing to suffer the loss of all things for joys that await those who for Christ's sake do good on earth.[11]

To a second appeal a year or so later, the three men linked the promotion of medical missions with the advantages such endeavours would bring to commerce.[12]

The plan of medical missions was finally realised with the formal institution of 'The Medical Missionary Society in China' 中國醫藥會 by a group of foreigners (missionaries, medical men and traders) in February 1838.[13] While the Society's main purpose was to "spread the benefits of rational medicine and surgery among the Chinese" by encouraging "gentlemen of the medical profession to come and practice gratuitously among the Chinese", it insisted that the practitioners of such "rational medicine and surgery" were to furnish "testimonials from some religious body as to their piety, prudence, and correct moral and religious character".[14] While religious work is not explicitly mentioned, a candidate's religious background seems to nevertheless have been an important consideration.

Yet the new Medical Missionary Society in China kept a relatively low profile. Still, British and American missionary societies did sent out physicians and surgeons in regular intervals, including William Lockhart 雒魏林 (1811–1896)[15] and Benjamin Hobson 合信 (1816–1873)

---

[11] Bridgman, Colledge and Parker, "Suggestions for the Formation of a Medical Missionary Society", *CRep* 5 (1836/37), pp. 370–373.

[12] Lengthy extracts from this second 'address' are found in Grundmann, (2007), pp. 86–88.

[13] See Lazich, "Seeking Souls through the Eyes of the Blind", in Hardiman (ed.), *Healing Bodies, Saving Souls*, pp. 59–86.

[14] *The Medical Missionary Society in China*, (Canton, 1838), p. 3, 4.

[15] Lockhart established a hospital in Shanghai in 1844, later known as the Lester Chinese Hospital 仁濟醫院 (*Renji Yiyuan*). See E.S. Elliston, *Ninety-five Years a Shanghai Hospital*, (1941).

by the London Missionary Society in 1839. Daniel Jerome MacGowan 瑪高温 (1815–1893) of the American Baptist Missionary Union arrived in Ningbo in 1843 and established a hospital there under the auspices of the Medical Missionary Society in China. In 1854 John Glasgow Kerr 嘉約翰 (1824–1901), representing the American Presbyterian (North) mission, took over the work which had been started by Peter Parker in Guangzhou.[16] Over the next few decades more medical doctors arrived in China as part of the rapidly expanding missionary enterprise. It would seem, however, that the missionary societies back home were not wholeheartedly supporting medical missionary work and were reluctant to provide adequate material resources. The members of the American Board, for example, soon began to have their doubts about medical work by missionaries, as they felt that it led to a neglect of evangelism. Thus, they began to pressurise their men in the field to curtail their non-religious work. Among other things, the ABCFM suddenly broke off its relationship with Dr. Peter Parker on account of his almost exclusive devotion to medicine rather than to missionary activity. As Edward V. Gulick has noted, "During Parker's medical career of two decades in China, over 53,000 patients were treated in his hospital in Canton—most of them by him, some by Dr. Kwan or one of the several visiting [ship's] doctors."[17] This heavy work load would have left very little time for direct evangelistic work.

The implication was that more clerical missionaries should be sent to China, rather than medical men. Specialist medical activities were to be advocated "only to such a degree as these provided opportunities to preach the Gospel to patients awaiting treatment."[18] Indeed, many of the early foreign evangelists acquired rudimentary medical knowledge before setting out for the China mission field. In 1842 the Church Missionary Society informed a surgeon that they would employ him on the understanding that medicine "was only to be an occasional occupation".[19] The medical missionaries responded that their medical

[16] Sara W. Tucker, "The Canton Hospital and Medicine in Nineteenth Century China 1835–1900", Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1982.

[17] Gulick, p. 165. Looking after so many patients—including a surprisingly large number of Chinese women—in the spirit of "disinterested benevolence" was only possible as a result of the support of his missionary colleagues as well as the foreign and Chinese merchant communities, including the generous assistance afforded by the Hong merchant 'How Qua' 浩官 (Wu Bingjian 伍秉鉴). For references, see Grundmann, (2007), pp. 82–83, footnotes 36–38.

[18] Grundmann, (2007) p. 92.

[19] C. Peter Williams, "Healing and Evangelism", p. 271.

work was genuine Christian ministry, demonstrating the pure disinterested benevolence of the Divine Healer. Thus they challenged the conventional conviction that 'proper' missionary work consisted of preaching, teaching and caring for the soul of the 'heathen'. But their argumentation carried little weight. Indeed, the first CMS doctor to go to China, the practicing surgeon William Welton 溫敦 (1808–1858), studied to become an ordained priest in the Church of England before setting out to commence medical work in Fuzhou (Fujian) in 1850.[20]

In 1852, missionary societies throughout Europe employed only thirteen medical missionaries. Between 1851 and 1870, the CMS recruited seven doctors out of a total of 307 new missionaries. These ratios continued into the 1870s.[21] During these years medical work remained a small part of the larger missionary project. Still, as far as the CMS was concerned, by the 1880s China had the largest group of dispensary hospitals in any one country in which CMS worked. In Fujian the CMS medical missionary Birdwood Van Someren Taylor 雷 started an itinerant mission, helped by Chinese medical catechists whom he had trained. Other CMS doctors began work among opium addicts (begun in 1866 at Ningbo) and leprosy patients (notably at Beihai from 1890, and Hangzhou from 1892).

Although the relatively small number of medical missionaries found it difficult to cope with the relatively large number of disadvantaged and desperate patients, most Chinese resisted the intrusion of foreign practices. In addition to objections by traditional Chinese medical specialists, Western medical methods raised suspicions of magic and witchcraft among the population at large. What to the representatives of rational medicine and surgery appeared nothing but the intelligent application of sober-minded insight for the good of others was perceived quite differently by many Chinese.[22] As a recent study by Barend ter Haar has shown, traditional fears about kidnappings, snatching of body parts, etc., had been prevalent in Chinese society long before the arrival of foreign missionaries. Outsiders would be singled out for scapegoating based on long-established patterns of fear and stereotyping. As obvious strangers, foreign missionaries became targets during episodes of collective fear in the course of the nineteenth century.

---

[20] Wylie, pp. 199–200.
[21] Williams, "Healing and Evangelism", pp. 271–272.
[22] See e.g. James L. Maxwell, *The Medical Mission in Formosa: Report 1867–8*, p. 3. See also Shang-Jen Li 李尚仁, "Miraculous Surgery in a Heathen Land".

In other words, "the accusations towards the missionaries fitted into a long and orally transmitted tradition of fear that had already been responsible for many deaths before the advent of Christianity".[23] As ter Haar puts it: "At the time, the inability of people to explain the disappearances of their children, coupled with the well-established pattern of blaming kidnappings on travelling beggars, medical specialists and the like, frequently led to mob action, excessive torture and more formalised legal action."[24]

While such popular irrational fears had existed for centuries in China, during the nineteenth century Western missionaries, and their associates, came to be identified as the primary suspects in cases of kidnapping, organ-snatching and foetus-theft, "largely replacing earlier scapegoats, such as travelling beggars, monks and other outsiders".[25] Since Western medical missionaries did indeed remove parts of the body in a variety of surgical procedures, it is not surprising that under certain circumstances suspicion should fall on them.

These potential dangers notwithstanding, toward the end of the nineteenth century the medical missionary enterprise progressed steadily. Thus, the number of professional medical missionaries rose from ten in 1874 to 300 working in 250 mission hospitals and dispensaries in 1905. The number of Chinese patients treated had also increased at the significant rate. Female medical mission work began with the arrival of the MEC medical doctor Lucinda L. Combs 寇慕貞 (1849–1919) in Beijing in 1873.[26] However, it was her successor, the Canadian-born MEC missionary Dr. Leonora Annetta Howard 荷活 (1851–1925)—wife of Alexander King 王山達 (1850–1939) of the LMS—who gained attention as a female doctor on account of having attended to the gynecological problems of Li Hongzhang's wife in 1879.[27] By 1905 there were 93 women among the 300 medical doctors working in the China missions.[28]

---

[23] Barend J. ter Haar, *Telling Stories: Witchcraft and Scapegoating in Chinese History*, p. 31.

[24] Ibid., p. 126.

[25] Ibid., p. 154.

[26] Lucinda Combs (also Coombs) married Andrew Stritmatter (1847–1880) in 1877 and transferred to the MEC station at Jiujiang.

[27] Margaret Negodaeff-Tomsik, *Honour Due: The Story of Dr. Leonora Howard King*.

[28] See the statistical tables in *China Centenary Missionary Conference, Held at Shanghai, April 25 to May 8, 1907: Records*, pp. 770–782.

In order to better co-ordinate the growing medical work, as well as promote medical education and public health, the China Medical Missionary Association (CMMA) was formed in 1886. The Association also supported the translation of Western medical texts into Chinese,[29] the establishment of uniform medical terminology in Chinese and the conduct of medical research. In 1925 it became the Missionary Division of the China Medical Association. When the China Medical Association and the National Medical Association of China united to form the Chinese Medical Association in 1932, the missionary activities were taken over by this Council. In Europe and North America, too, efforts were made to improve the quality of medical missionary work. Thus, the non-denominational Medical Missionary Association was established in London in 1878 to provide grants for potential medical missionaries to study medicine and opened a hostel for their residence in the city during their studies.[30] Its periodical, *Medical Missions at Home and Abroad*, kept the medical missionary community informed about developments in the mission fields and in medical research. The New York Medical Missionary Society (later the International Medical Missionary Society) was founded in 1881. It also provided funding to students undergoing training, and the first of them graduated in 1884. Dr. Martyn Scudder, who had been a medical missionary in India, founded the American Medical Missionary Society in Chicago in 1885. In Germany, the Stuttgart Association for Medical Mission was established in 1898 and in 1906 became part of the German Institute for Medical Mission (DIFÄM) which had been established in Tübingen that year to support the work of German and Swiss Protestant medical missionaries.[31]

Conclusion

In the course of the nineteenth century, Protestant medical missionaries endeavoured to introduce both 'scientific medicine' and the

[29] The CMMA continued an endeavour started by Benjamin Hobson and John Glasgow Kerr who had already translated a wide variety of medical texts. See John Z. Bower, "Chinese Translations of Western Medical Textbooks", *Osler Library Newsletter* No. 18 (February 1975).

[30] John Wilkinson, *Coogate Doctors*, (1991), pp. 22–3. It should be noted that the EMMS had been established in 1841 as the first medical mission society in Europe, prompted a visit to Edinburgh in that year by Peter Parker. Ibid., pp. 1–3, and 6–7.

[31] Wilkinson, *Coogate Doctors*, p. 23

Christian faith. Certainly by the late nineteenth century the missionary societies came to support the medical work because they believed that successfully treated patients would be more amenable to receiving the Christian message. At the same time, the foreign doctors, in addition to demonstrating their surgical and other medical skills, translated numerous Western medical works. It would, however, be an exaggeration to claim that this was part and parcel of a concerted effort by the West to transform Chinese society. As Ryan Dunch has pointed out,

> it is important to recognize that missionary science translations were not part of a master plan, whether of individuals, of mission boards, or of abstractions like modernity, capitalism, or the imperialist project. They flowed instead out of conjunctions between tangible and contingent historical factors: chiefly the inclinations and abilities of individual missionaries, and the interests of those Chinese with whom they formed relationships, interests which could in fact be the driving force, as we see in the cases of the missionary doctors [Benjamin] Hobson and [Daniel Jerome] Macgowan.… There are indications, therefore, that Hobson and Macgowan wrote their science books in response to an interest expressed by Chinese physicians and other intellectuals with whom they were acquainted.[32]

While some marginal interest in scientific translations[33] was shown by certain Chinese, the medical missionaries had little success in gaining converts to Christianity by these means. As Yi-Li Wu has shown in the analysis of the Chinese language medical works published by Benjamin Hobson, particularly his *Fuying xinshuo* 妇婴新说 (English title: Treatise on Midwifery and Diseases of Children, Shanghai, 1858), topics such as midwifery were of no interest to Chinese physicians. Moreover, they rejected the religious subtext in these publications.[34]

On the other hand, it is clear that the medical missionary enterprise expanded in the course of the nineteenth century and was able to attract an ever-increasing number of Chinese patients to mission hospitals and dispensaries. It was essentially the indigent who could not afford to consult Chinese medical practitioners who visited the

---

[32] Ryan Dunch, "Missionary Science as Natural Theology in China and Japan".

[33] Whereas Jesuits had been the principal purveyors of Western science to the Chinese in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Protestant missionaries took over that role in the nineteenth century. See Benjamin A. Elman, *On Their Own Terms*, chapters 8 and 9.

[34] Yi-Li Wu, "God's Uterus: Benjamin Hobson and Missionary Midwifery in 19th Century China".

missionary clinics, or those who came for treatment for particular diseases and afflictions, as well as those who sought out Western medical help as a last resort. In this way and over time, the foreign doctors managed to reduce the prevailing Chinese opposition to themselves and to their 'miraculous' works. Thus, in the early twentieth century medical missions developed rapidly and were spreading to all parts of the country. Moreover, Western medical procedures and 'scientific medicine' were introduced not only to the major cities but also to China's vast hinterland. *(cross-reference Handbook II, Part II, 4.4. The ministry of healing)*

Bibliography

Anderson, Gerald. "Peter Parker and the Introduction of Western Medicine in China", *Mission Studies* 23,2 (2006), pp. 203–238.

Balme, Harold, *China and Modern Medicine: A Study in Medical Missionary Development* (London: United Council for Missionary Education, 1921).

Barnes, Linda L., *Needles, Herbs, Gods, and Ghosts: China, Healing, and the West to 1848*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Bower, John Z., "Chinese Translations of Western Medical Textbooks", *Osler Library Newsletter* No. 18 (February 1975).

Bridgman, Elija Coleman, Thomas Richardson Colledge and Peter Parker, "Suggestions for the Formation of a Medical Missionary Society, offered to the consideration of all Christian nations, more especially to the kindred nations of England and the United States of America", *Chinese Repository* 5 (1836/37), pp. 370–373.

China Centenary Missionary Conference, Held at Shanghai, April 25 to May 8, 1907: Records, Shanghai: Centenary Conference Committee, 1907.

Dikötter, Frank, Lars Laamann and Zhou Xun, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China* (Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2004).

Dunch, Ryan, "Missionary Science as Natural Theology in China and Japan", Harold White Fellowships Lecture 2003, National Library of Australia; http://www.nla.gov.au/grants/haroldwhite/papers/rdunch.html (last accessed 5 April 2008).

Elliston, E[ric] S[haftesbury], *Ninety-five Years a Shanghai Hospital, 1844–1938: Chinese Hospital, Shantung Road Hospital, the Lester Chinese Hospital*. (Read as a paper at a private meeting on 28 May 1941, Shanghai), Shanghai: Lester Chinese Hospital, 1941.

Elman, Benjamin A., *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550–1900*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Grundmann, Christoffer H., "Contextualizing the Gospel by 'Imitating Christ': The Emergence of Medical Missions in Nineteenth Century China", in: Peter Chen-main Wang 王成勉 (ed.), *Contextualization of Christianity in China: An Evaluation in Modern Perspective* (Collectanea Serica), Sankt Augustin, Germany: Monumenta Serica, 2007, pp. 73–95.

Grundmann, Christoffer H., *Sent to Heal: Emergence and Development of Medical Missions*, Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2006.

Gulick, Edward V., *Peter Parker and the Opening of China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973).

Gutzlaff, Charles, *China Opened; or a Display of the Topography, History, Customs, Manners, Arts, Manufactures, Commerce, Literature, Religion, Jurisprudence, etc. of the Chinese Empire*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1838. 2 vols.

Gutzlaff, Charles, "The Medical Art Amongst the Chinese", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 4 (1837), pp. 154–171.

Haar, Barend J. ter, *Telling Stories: Witchcraft and Scapegoating in Chinese History*, Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Lazich, Michael C., "Seeking Souls through the Eyes of the Blind: The Birth of the Medical Missionary Society in Nineteenth-Century China", in David Hardiman (ed.), *Healing Bodies, Saving Souls: Medical Missions in Asia and Africa*, Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, pp. 59–86.

Li Shang-Jen 李尙仁, "Miraculous Surgery in a Heathen Land: Protestant Medical Missions to Nineteenth-Century China", paper presented at the Conference on Religion, Popular Culture and Social Changes in Asia, Friday, 1 June 2006, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. An earlier English-language version (2003) was posted without the author's name; see www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~linfs/rh/active/miraculous.PDF (last accessed 2 April 2008). For a longer Chinese version see: "Zhiliao shenti, zhengjiu linghun—shijiu shi ji xifang chuan yixue zai Zhongguo" 治療身體, 拯救靈魂: 十九世紀西方傳教醫學在中國, presented at the Conference on Religion and Healing and The Second Meeting of the Asian Society for the History of Medicine, Organized by the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, 16–19 November 2004; available at: http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~medicine/ashm/lectures/paper/paper9.pdf (last accessed 2 April 2008)

Maxwell, James Laidlaw, *The Medical Mission in Formosa: Report 1867–8*, Birmingham: Martin Billings, Son and Co., 1868?.

The Medical Missionary Society in China: Address, with Minutes of Proceedings, etc., Canton: Printed at the Office of the Chinese Repository, 1838]. Signed at end: Thomas R. Colledge.

Negodaeff-Tomsik, Margaret, *Honour Due: The Story of Dr. Leonora Howard King*, Ottawa: Canadian Medical Association, 1999.

[Parker, Peter], "Ophthalmic Hospital at Canton: First Quarterly Report, from the 4th of November 1835 to the 4th of February 1836, Conducted by the Rev. Peter Parker, M.D.", *Chinese Repository* 4 (1835/36), pp. 461ff.

Porterfield, Amanda, *Healing in the History of Christianity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Sigerist, Henry E., *Civilization and Disease*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1943; repr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Tucker, Sara W., "The Canton Hospital and Medicine in Nineteenth Century China 1835–1900", Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1982.

Wilkinson, John, *The Coogate Doctors: The History of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society 1841 to 1991*, Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, 1991.

Williams, C. Peter, "Healing and Evangelism: The Place of Medicine in Later Victorian Protestant Missionary Thinking", in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *The Church and Healing*, (Studies in Church History, 19), Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982, pp. 271–285.

Wu, Yi-Li, "God's Uterus: Benjamin Hobson and Missionary Midwifery in 19th Century China"; paper prepared for "The Disunity of Chinese Science" conference, University of Chicago, 10–12 May 2002; http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~rhart/conferences/chinesescience/papers/wu.pdf (last accessed 5 April 2008).

PART TWO

REPUBLICAN CHINA

1. Sources 1900–1949

After the traumatic experiences of the Boxer Uprising, a degree of stability returned to the China mission fields. Indeed, the established Catholic and Protestant missionary societies were able to expand their operations during the early decades of the twentieth century. At the same time, many new societies and groups became active in China and new nationwide and interdenominational organisations were created. Given the limitations of space, this chapter focuses primarily on these new bodies and the information provided for the older societies will generally not be duplicated here. Scholars should, therefore, also consult the sources for late Qing China. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 1. Sources, Late Qing)*

1.1. Chinese Primary Sources

Compared to the volume and variety of primary sources available for the study of Christianity in the Late Qing period, considerably less material exists and is accessible for the Republican period.

1.1.1. *Archival sources*

The Chinese archives scene has been outline in Part I of this *Handbook* and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that further primary sources pertaining to Christianity and generated locally by Chinese and Westerners are bound to be discovered in provincial, prefectural and county archives throughout China. After all, every mission station and every Chinese church accumulated written material. Since the search remains a task for the future, here only a few major archives will be mentioned. In addition to the provincial archives listed under Late Qing sources, the following national-level repository is important for research into Christianity in Republican China.

Second Historical Archives of China 中國第二歷史檔案館, Nanjing, Jiangsu, China.

This institution holds archival materials from 1912 to 1949. The Archives are open to scholars and researchers. However, a proper letter of introduction from academic institutions is required. Some archival materials may be listed in the in-house catalogue, or published catalogues, but still not open to the public.

Besides the Second Historical Archives, the following institutions hold major collections of primary sources pertaining to Christian higher education. The archival material of other Christian universities and colleges are mentioned in the works by Peter Ng Tze-ming 吳梓明 below.

Central China Normal University 華中師範大學, Archives, Wuhan, Hubei Province 430070, China.

The archives include the documents of Central China University 華中大學 from 1924 to 1951. This Christian University was formed by the merger of Boone University, Yale-in-China and other nearby colleges.

West China University of Medical Sciences 華西醫科大學, Archives, Chengdu, Sichuan 610044, China.

The archival records (1909–1951) of the former West China Union University 華西協和大學 are mainly kept at this repository.

For a guide to the Christian university records held by the above repositories, see

Ng Tze-ming, Peter 吳梓明 and Philip Leung Yuen-sang 梁元生, *Zhongguo jiaohui daxue wenxian mulu* 中國教會大學文獻目錄 (Catalogues of the records of Chinese Christian universities), Hongkong: Xianggang Zhongwen daxue Chongji xueyuan zongjiao yu Zhongguo shehui yanjiu zhongxin 香港中文大學崇基學院宗教與中國社會研究中心, 1998. 5 vols.

Vol. 1. *Zhongguo jiaohui daxue lishi wenxian zonglan* 中國教會大學歷史文獻綜覽, compiled by Ng Tze-min 吳梓明, Leung Yuen-sang 梁元生 and Lee Kam Keung 李金強; vol. 2. *Zhongguo di 2 lishi dang'anguan guanzang ziliao* 中國第二歷史檔案館館藏資

料, edited by Li Yuming 酈玉明; vol. 3. *Huazhong shifan daxue dang'anguan guancang ziliao* 華中師範大學檔案館館藏資料, compiled by Ma Min 馬敏 and Fang Yan 方燕; vol. 4. *Huaxi Yike daxue dang'anguan guancang ziliao* 華西醫科大學檔案館館藏資料, compiled by Zhang Liping 張麗萍; vol. 5. *Shanghai Shi dang'anguan guancang ziliao* 上海市檔案館館藏資料, compiled by Ma Changlin 馬長林.

The following conference volume contains a number of essays in Chinese and English, discussing the various archival resources pertaining to the Chinese Christian colleges.

Ng Tze-ming, Peter 吳梓明 (ed.), *Zhongguo jiaohui daxue lishi wen xian yantaohui lunwenji*, 中國教會大學歷史文獻研討會論文集 (International Symposium on Historical Archives of pre-1949 Christian Higher Education in China). Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1995.

Ng Tze-ming, Peter, "Historical archives of pre-1949 China Christian colleges and recent developments in research on education in the PRC"; Qu Shipei & Li Qiong, "A brief introduction to Yenching University (Yanjing daxue)"; Shi Jinghuan & He Xiaoxia, "A study of the Archives of Fu Jen Catholic University (Furen daxue) kept in the Beijing area"; Tao Feiya, "On the archives and historical studies of Cheeloo University (Qi-Lu daxue)"; Li Dezheng, "The significance of Cheeloo University (Qi-Lu daxue) to modernization in Shandong"; Wang Renyuan & Wang Qisheng, "Archival materials of pre-1949 China Christian Colleges as stored at the Second Historical Archives (Di er lishi dang'anguan)"; Qin Hao & Ren Lijian, "Remarks on future research: Archives of the University of Nanking (Nanjing daxue)"; Sun Haiying, "On the archives of Ginling College (Jinling nüzi daxue)"; Zhang Mengbai, "A brief introduction to the archives of Soochow University (Dongwu daxue)"; Chen Yingwu, "Report on Archives of Soochow (Dongwu, Tung-wu) Univ. kept in Suzhou, Shanghai, and Nanjing"; Huang Peiwei, "Dispersion and preservation of archival materials on Christian Colleges in Shanghai"; Ma Changlin, "Brief description of archival documents of Christian Universities in the Shanghai area"; Xu Yihua, Archives of St. Johns University (Sheng Yuehan daxue) in Shanghai Municipal Archives (Shanghai Shi dang'anguan)"; Zeng Jusheng, "Introducing

the archives of Hangchow University (Zhijiang daxue)"; Zeng Jusheng & Xu Hui, "Fragments of the Archives of Hangzhou University (Zhijiang daxue 之江大學)"; Ma Min & Fang Yan, "Archives of Huachung University (Huazhong daxue)"; Zhang Liping, "Archives of West China Union University in West China University of Medical Sciences Archives (Huaxi yike daxue dang'anguan, Huaxi xiehe daxue)"; Xie Bizhen, "Review of Fukien Christian University and Hwa Nan Women's College archives (Fujian jiaohui daxue, Huanan nüzi lixueyuan)"; Hu Shouwei & Huang Yongxiang, "Archives of Lingnan (Lingnan daxue)"; Lee Sui-ming (Li Ruiming), "Historical documents of Lingnan University"; Wong Chiu-chung (Huang Chaozong), "Collections of the Chinese University of Hong Kong libraries (Zhongwen daxue)"; Wan Yiu-chuen (Yin Huiquan), "Historical publications of Christian Colleges in China: Collections in the University of Hong Kong Libraries"; James S. C. Cha, "Historical archives on pre-1949 Christian higher education as kept in Taiwan"; Jessie G. Lutz, "Research materials on Christian Colleges art Harvard University"; Martha Lund Smalley, "Sources at Yale University for the study of Christian education in pre-1949 China"; Dagmar K. Getz, "YMCA historical resources"; Peter Mitchell, "Why Canada? The Canadian involvement and possible archives available in Canada"; Edward Malatesta, "Resources at the Jesuit Archives in France pertaining to l'Institut des Haute Industrielles et Commerciales de Tianjin"; Gao Shiliang, "Values of the archives and study of the history of modern education in China"; Zhang Kaiyuan, "The future of scholarly research on the archives of Christian Colleges in China"; Huang Xinxian, "Missionaries and the modernization of education in China"; Zhang Liping, "Rejection and adaptation of Christian Universities to traditional Chinese culture: the case of West China Union University (Huaxi xiehe daxue)"; Wang Xiaopeng, "Significance of archives to the study of modern education in China: a case study of the educational thinking of Wu Yi Fang (Wu Yifang 吳貽芳)"; Li Chee-kong (Li Zhigang), "Study of the historical materials about Christian Colleges as recorded in the China Church Year Book (Chinese), 1914–1936 (Zhongguo Jidujiaohui nianjian 中國基督教會年鑒)"; Leung Yuen-sang (Liang Yuansheng), "In search of the Anglo-Chinese College (Zhongxi shuyuan 中西書院) [of Shanghai]: A cross-cultural and multi-archival endeavour"; Archie R. Crouch, "Administrative and procedural requirements for the publication of a guide to resources of Christian colleges in China"; Jean-Paul Wiest, "Maryknoll China History Project".

1.1.2. *Local histories*

New gazetteers have been published for virtually every county and higher-level administrative jurisdiction in Mainland China since the 1980s. Many have sections on Catholicism and Protestantism. However, the quality and extent of coverage varies considerably, depending on the expertise and enthusiasm of the local gazetteer editorial committee. Some gazetteers offer only a few lines, others devote several pages to Christianity. One notable example of substantial coverage is the volume devoted entirely to religion of Yunnan province:

Yunnan sheng difang zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 雲南省地方志編纂委員會, *Yunnan sheng zhi* 雲南省志 (Gazetteer of Yunnan province). *Juan* 66: *Zongjiao zhi* 宗教志 (Gazetteer of religions), Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1995. This volume provides many details about local Christianity that are not otherwise available for the late Qing, republican and People's China.

Since access to the several thousand gazetteers is difficult, the passages covering Christianity are now available on the internet for most counties and higher-level jurisdictions, including autonomous regions such as Xinjiang. The passages concerning Christianity have been extracted from the new gazetteers by Chan Kim-kwong 陳劍光 and others.

URL: http://www.hsscol.org.hk/fangzhi/main.htm

This web site has an index that enables researchers to find the relevant local gazetteer and view the pages dealing with Christianity. Some of the gazetteers provide better coverage of the Republican period than others.

In Taiwan, too, new province-level gazetteers has been produced for China. Note, for example,

Zhang Yufa 張玉法, *Minguo Shandong tongzhi* 民國山東通志, Taibei: Shandong wenxian zazhi she, 2002. 5 vols.

The *wenshi ziliao* 文史資料 publications, usually translated as 'collection of historical materials' or 'selections of historical accounts', offer different insights into the history of Republican China. The earliest national and provincial *wenshi ziliao* series began to appear in 1960, but most series on the city and county level were produced after 1978. Although there is some coverage of the Boxer Uprising and the 1911

Revolution, the *wenshi ziliao* articles tend to concentrate on the Republican period (1912–1949), covering political, social and cultural matters as well as biographies, autobiographies and reminiscences. On account of the size of the collection, the scattered references to Christianity are difficult to find. However, the following indexes help facilitate that task. For an index to 52 *wenshi ziliao* titles covering 1960–1981, see *Wushierzhong wenshi ziliao pianmu fenlei suoyin: chuangkan hao—1981* 五十二種文史資料篇目分類索引：創刊號, Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1982. In 1992 a five volume index of more than 2300 titles covering over 300,000 articles published between 1960–1990 appeared in Beijing: Li Yongpu 李永璞 (ed.), *Quanguo geji zhengxie wenshi ziliao pianmu suoyin, 1960–1990* 全國各級政協文史資料篇目索引, 1960–1990, Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 1992. In 2000 the SuperStar Project in Beijing published a CD-ROM version with more than 230 disks, including the national, provincial and local as well as some additional series. For further details, see http://www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/database/wenshi/intro.htm

Protestant directories and yearbooks

Zhonghua Jidujiaohui nianjian 中華基督教會年鑒 (Chinese Christian church yearbook), Vols. 1–13, Shanghai, 1914–1936. Issued by Zhonghua xuhang weibanhui 中華續行委辦會, 1914–1921; by Zhonghua quanguo Jidujiao xiejin hui 中華全國基督教協進會, 1922–1936.

1.2. Western Primary Sources

1.2.1. *Bibliographies of Western Primary Sources*

General Bibliographies

The following volumes are important introductions to Christianity in China, either in manuscript or (mainly) in printed form.

For Catholic missions in twentieth-century China, the following collection is an essential research tool:

Streit, Robert, continued by Johannes Dindinger, Johannes Rommerskirchen, Josef Metzler and Nikolaus Kowalsky (eds.), *Bibliotheca Missionum* (*BM*).

Vol. I, *Grundlegender und allgemeiner Teil*, Münster: Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, 1916.

Vol. XIII, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1885–1909*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1959.

Vol. XIV/1, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1910–1950*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1960.

Vol. XIV/2, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1910–1950*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1960.
Vol. XIV/3, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1910–1950*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1961.
Vol. XXII, *Grundlegender und allgemeiner Teil, 1910–1935*, und Nachtrag zu Bd. 1, Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1963.
Vol. XXIII, *Grundlegender und allgemeiner Teil, 1936–1960*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1964.

Scholars seeking information on Protestant missions should, among other things, consult the following works:

Chu, Clayton H., *American Missionaries in China. Books, Articles and Pamphlets Extracted from the Subject Catalogue of the Missionary Research Library*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. 3 vols.
Ho, Herbert Hoi-lap, *Protestant Missionary Publications in Modern China, 1912–1949: A Study of Their Programs, Operations, and Trends*, Hong Kong: Chinese Church Research Centre, 1988. Originally presented as Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1979. Chinese translation: Ho Hoi-lap 何凱立, *Jidujiao zai Hua chuban shiye, 1912–1949* 基督教在華出版事業, 1912–1949, Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2004.
Lodwick, Kathleen Lorraine, *The Chinese Recorder Index: A Guide to Christian Missions in Asia, 1867–1941*, Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1986. 2 vols.

Bibliographies Arranged by Roman Catholic Religious Orders

Dominicans

González, José María, *Historia de las Misiones Dominicanas de China*, vol. 5: *Bibliografias*, Madrid: 1967.

1.2.2. *Topographical survey*

Periodicals

Spiritual, human and material resources were vital to sustain the missionary enterprise. Publicity was, therefore, essential to directly or indirectly solicit these resources. Thus, missionary letters, reports and accounts were published in missionary magazines, newsletters, local newspapers back home as well as books to inform readers and popularise the evangelistic endeavour. In addition, most Catholic and Protestant missionary societies published annual reports. Given the fact that there were well over 400 missionary organisations active in Republican China, only a selected list of missionary periodicals can be listed below. For more comprehensive lists, see Crouch, *Christianity in China*, "Serial Titles", pp. 407–486; and the online finding aid for British missionary periodicals, the *Missionary Periodicals Database*, hosted by the Yale University Divinity School Library: URL: http://research.yale.edu:8084/missionperiodicals/index.jsp.

Finally, it should be noted that a significant number of the smaller Protestant mission groups have left no written record. They had no home board that could publicise their activities. Often not even their denominational affiliation is not known. Check the Appendix of this *Handbook* for their names.

Catholic

Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum vel ad ordinem quoque modo pertenentia, Quaracchi [Aquas Claras] near Florence, 18882-.

Amerikanisches Missionsblatt, Shermerville and Techny, Illinois, 1902-; in 1915 continued as *Familienblatt und Missionsbote*. SVD publication.

Angeles de las Misiones. Revista mensual de Misiones Extranjeras, dirigida por MM. Mercedarias, Colegio de la Vera Cruz (Bérriz, Vizcaya), 1927-.

Antoniusbote, Monatsschrift für die Franziskaner-Missionen, Werl i. Westf.,

Apostolado Seráfico en China. Revista mensual ilustrada de los Misioneros Franciscanos Españoles del Vicariato del Shensi-Septentrional. Santiago (Spain), 1914/15); continued as: *Apostolado Franciscano*. Revista mensual ilustrada de Misioneros Franciscano-Españolas dirigida por los Padres de Cantabria. Bilbao, 1916–1925; continued as *Misioneras Franciscanas*. Bilbao; San Sebastián; Oñati, 1932-.

Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano y Boletín Official de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas, Madrid, 1914. From 1928: *Archivo Agustiniano*. Revista bimestral historica de los Agustinos Españoles. Valladolid.

Archivo Ibero-Americano. Estudios históricos sobre la Orden Franciscana en España y sus Misiones. Madrid: 1914–1935; second series 1941-.

Archivum Franciscanum Historicum. Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1908-.

Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu. Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Roma, 1932-.

Au dela: echo missionnaire et familial des Auxiliatrices des Ames du Purgatoire, Paris: Auxiliatrices des Ames du Purgatoire, 1932-.

Bethlehem. Illustrierte katholische Zeitschrift. Organ des Missionshauses Bethlehem. Immensee. . . . Italian edition: *Betlemme*. Immensee, 1898-.

Bolletino Salesiano. Periodico mensile per i cooperatori delle opere e missioni di Don Bosco, Turin, 1877-. (online 1877 to 1957: http://www.sdb.org/bs/). See also *The Salesian Bulletin* Turin, 1892-.

The Brief. Franciscan missionary magazine under the patronage of St. Anthony of Padua. Dublin, 1946–1961. Irish China missionaries also published in *Assisi*, an Irish Franciscan monthly; Dublin, 1929–1952.

Bulletin des Missions. Abbaye St. André, Lophem-lez-Bruges, 1924–1952. With supplement "Le courrier monastique chinois". OSB publication.

Cahiers des Auxiliaires, Bruxelles, 1938–1940; continued as *Cahiers des Auxiliaires laïques des missions*. 4–12 (1945–1952); lithographed; since 1946 printed.

Catholic Missions. New York: Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1907–1923. In 1924 unite with *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* to form *Catholic Missions and Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*.

China. St. Francis Xavier Mission Seminary, Scarboro Bluffs, Ont., 1919-; continued as *Scarboro Missions* in 1950.

China. A Quarterly Record, religious, philanthropic, political. London, 1902–1915. Publication of the Christian Literature Society for China.

The Christian Family. Techny, Illinois; in 1931 combined with *Our Missions*. SVD publication.

Congrégation des Chanoinesses Missionnaires de Saint-Augustin. Congo, Indes Anglaises, Iles Philippines, Antilles, Chine, Etats-Unis. Almanach 1925.—From 1928: *Nos Missions.* Chanoinesses Missionnaires de S. Augustin, Louvain.—From 1938: *Le Champ d'Apostolat des Chanoinesses-Missionnaires de Saint-Augustin*., "La Chasse", Héverlé-Louvain.

Flemish version:

Congregatie der Missiëzusters von den H. Augustinus. Kongo, Engelsch Indië, Philippijnsche eilanden, Antillen, China, Amerika. Almanak 1925.—From 1928: *Onze Missiën.* Missiezusters von den H. Augustinus. Leuven.—Since 1938: *Het Missieveld der Kanunnikessen-Missionarissen von Sint Augustinus*, "De Jacht", Heverlee-Leuven.

España Misionera: revista trimestral ilustrada. Consejo Superior de Misiones. Madrid, 1944-.

The Far East. Official Organ of the Maynooth Mission to China. Navan, Ireland, 1918-.

The Far East. Official Organ of the Chinese Mission Society of St. Columban. St. Columbans, Nebraska, 1918-.

The Far East. Devoted to Catholic Foreign Mission Work. Australian edition. Melbourne, Victoria, 1920–1950.

Fede e Civiltà. Rivista mensile di cultura e spiritualità missionaria a servizio della Chiesa locale. Parma, 1903–1978. Between 1927–1947 the title was: *Le Missioni Illustate*. Rivista dell'Istituto Missioni Estere di Parma.

The Field Afar. Maryknoll, N.Y., 1907 to present.

Franciscan Herald. Chicago; Teutopolis, 1913-.

Grand-Saint-Bernard-Thibet, revue trimestrielle, Fribourg, 1946-. CRB publication.

Hiltruper Monatshefte: zu Ehren Unserer Lieben Frau vom heiligsten Herzen Jesu. Münster, 1923–1939, 1949–1953. Not published 1940–1948. MSC publication.

Italia Missionaria. Mensile Giovanile Illustrato. Milano, 1919-.

Katholisches Missionsjahrbuch der Schweiz, continued as *Missionsjahrbuch der Schweiz*. Hrsg.: Schweizerischer Katholischer Missionsrat. Fribourg, 1933-.

Lotus Leaves (Sisters of Charity, Mount Saint Joseph, Ohio), 1929–1951.

Het Missiewerk: Tijdschrift voor missiekennis en missieactie. 's-Hertogenbosch, 1919/20–1971.

Il Missionario Cattolico. Bolletino del Seminario Pont. dei SS. AA. Pietro e Paolo, Roma, 1912–1926. Continues *Periodico Mensile delle Missioni Estere*.

Le Missioni Estere Vincenziane. Rivista mensile illustrata. Chieri, Torino, 1922/23-.

Missionsgrüße der Steyler Missionsschwestern, 1922-.

Missye katolickie [Misje katolickie]: Czasopismo miesięczne ilustrowane, Kraków, 1882–1939.

Monumenta Serica. Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peking, Beijing; Los Angeles; Sankt Augustin, 1935-.

Nuestra Vida. Revista mensual en favor de las Misiones de la Tarahumara y Anking. Mexico D.F., 1937-. SJ publication.

Le Précurseur (Soeurs missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception, Montreal) 1920-. English version: *The Precurser*, 1923-. MIC publication.

Relations de Chine, revue trimestrielle publiée par les Jésuites de Paris pour faire connaître leur mission de Chine. Blois; Paris, 1903–1940.

Revue d'histoire des missions, Paris: Les Amis des Missions, 1924-. In 1938 merged with *Etudes missionnaires*, Paris: Amis des missions.

St. Vincentius a Paulo. Tweemaandelijksch tijdschrift van de Congregatie der Missie Lazaristen. Helden-Panningen, 1911-.

El Siglo de las Misiones: revista mensual ilustrada, Burgos; Bilbao, 1914–1966. SJpublication.

Steyler Missions-Bote. Monatsschrift der Glaubensverbreitung. Organ der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes, Steyl, 1902/03-.

Vita Nostra. Bollettino privato dei Missionari della Pia Società di S. Franc. Saverio in Cina. Parma, 1917-.

La Voz de Anking. La Habana: Colegio de Belén, 1946–[1950?].

Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, Münster i.W., 1911-. From 1928: *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*.

Catholic periodicals published in China

Acta et Nuntia Vicariatus Apostolici de Tsingtao, published in Latin in Qingdao from 1930.

L'Ami des Missionnaires du Kiang-si. No. 1 (April–June 1918). By 1930 eighteen issues had been published by CM missionaries.

Apostolato Francescano in Cina. Bolletino del Vicariato Apostolico di Hankow affidato ai Frati Minori dell Veneta Provincia di San Francesco. Hankou, 1932-. Monthly, in Italian.

Apostolicum. Periodicum Pastorale et Asceticum pro Missionariis. Ji'nan, 1930-. Published in Latin and Chinese by OFM missionaries.

L'Araldo Missionario. Giornaletto mensile. Vicariato di Laohokow Hupe, Cina, 1930-. Lithographed. Published by Italian OFM.

Boletim do Governo Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau. Macao, 1903/04-.

Boletín de la Misión Capuchina de Pingliang. Pingliang, China, 1947-. Lithographed.

Le Brigand. Publication des Jésuites canandiens missionnaires au Suchow, Chine. 1930–1950.

Le Bulletin Catholique. Edité par A. Hubrecht C.M. curé de la paroisse St. Louis à Tientsin. Tianjin, 1918–1923.

Le Bulletin catholique de Pékin. Beijing, 1914-. CM publication.

Bulletin de la Société des Missions-Étrangères de Paris. Hongkong, 1922-.

Bulletin du Pium Opus. Œuvre de Messe et Croisade de Prières sous le Patronage de Marie Immaculée. Zhengding: Trappe de N.-D. de Liesse. Since 1929. With "Supplementum Latino-Sinicum". OCR publication.

Bulletin religieux du Vicariat Apostolique du Tche-ly Central. Baoding, 1913-. CM publication.

China Letter of the American Jesuits to Their Friends in the States, Zi-ka-wei, Shanghai, 1929–1941.

Ciyouhui jikan 茲幼會季刊 (Salesian Quarterly), Macao, Tip. S.S. Quarterly since 1931.

Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis. Commissio Synodalis in Sinis, Beiping, 1928–1947. Continued as China Missionary, Shanghai, 1948-. Issues for 1925–38 have the caption title: *Dossiers de la Commission Synodale. Digest of the Synodal Commission*.

For the contents of the *CCS* volumes, see *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis. Guide to the Microfiche Collection*, Bethesda, Md.: CIS Academic Editions, Congressional Information Service, 1988, with an introductory essay by Jean-Paul Wiest. As he points out, this "Catholic periodical was published for priests, brothers and sisters in China" and "was destined to play a major role in shaping the Chinese Catholic Church".

Communicationes ad Missionarios Praefecturae Apostolicae de Sanyuan. Tungyuanfang, 1932-. Irregular, published in Latin by Italian OFM.

Communicationes pro Missionariis Shantung Septentrionalis, Ji'nan, 1921-. OFM publication in Latin.

Il Crociato. Periodico Familiare del Vicariato di Hanchungfu. Hanzhong, Shaanxi, 1938-. PIME publication.

Echo de la Mission du Chantong Oriental. Chefoo [Yantai], 1904–1924. From 1925 called *Echo du Vicariat de Chefoo*. OFM publication.

Ecos da Missão de Shiu-Hing. With supplement *Religião e Patria*. Hongkong, 1914-.

Ecos del Tungting, Changde, Hunan, 1931; from 1932 *Ecos del Apostolado*. PP. Misioneros Agustinos de la Provincia del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas.

Franciscans in China. A Monthly Message from American Franciscans to Their Friends at Home. Wuchang, 1922–1942.

Inter Nos. Foglietto della Missione Salesiana di Shiu-Chow (monthly since 1920).

L'Italiano in Cina. Pia Società S. Paolo. Nanjing, 1936-. The Paulists had initiated an apostolate of the press in Nanjing in 1934.

Kansu-Echo. Lanzhou, 1929-. SVD publication.

Kaomi Regionsblatt S.V.D., Gaomi, 1937; continued as *Kaomi Regionskorrespondenz*, 1938–1942; thereafter *Missionskorrespondenz*. Zeitschrift zur Gestaltung und Förderung des priesterlichen Missionslebens. Irregular publication.

Leuchtturm 燈塔. *Zeitschrift für Deutsch-sprechende Chinesen und Japaner* 濟寧德華學報. Hrsg. vom St. Franz Xav. Kolleg, Jining. In 1913–1914, 1925–1926 published as *Leuchtturm. Monatsschrift für deutschsprechende Chinesen*.

Mélanges missionnaires: (Publication privé, reservée aux missionnaires). Shanghai, Catholic Central Bureau, 1949–1950. This series is also called *Études missionnaires*. Vol. 4A is titled: *Visite des familles: moyen efficace d'apostolat*, Shanghai, 1949. Vol. 2A: *La paroisse et l'apostolat*, Shanghai, 1950.

La Misión de Anking. Comillas, 1924–1931; continued as *Noticias de la Misión de Anking*: evangelizada por Padres de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia de León: correspondencia de los misioneros con sus bienhechores, Anqing, 1932–1939.

Muxiao duosheng 母校鐸聲 (Il sono della Campana dell'Alma Mater), Macao, Orfanotrophium Imm. Conceptionis S.S.; monthly since 1931.

Noticias de China. 1915-; from 1929: *Noticias de la Misión de Wuhu*, Wuhu, 1929–1949. Suspended 1942–1944. Published by Spanish SJ.

Notizie della Missione di Pengpu. Bengbu, 1934-. Published by Italian SJ.

Nova et Vetera missionariis utilia. Yichang, 1916-.

Our China Mission. Published by the Franciscan Fathers of New York. Shashi, Hubei, 1937-.

Le Petit Messager de Ningpo. Vicariat Apostolique du Tche-Kiang Oriental. Ningbo, 1911-. CM publication.

Le Petit Nouvelliste de Yünnanfu. Kunming, 1908-. Lithographed. MEP publication.

Renseignements du Bureau Sinologique, Zi-ka-wei (Shanghai), 1927–1951. SJ publication.

The Rock. The Hongkong Catholic Magazine. Hongkong, 1920–1927; n.s. 1928-.

Sacerdos in Sinis. Pekini. Typographia Lazaristarum in P'é-t'ang, 1917-. Monthly; in Latin and Chinese.

St. Fidelis-Stimmen. Missionsnachrichten aus Tsinchow, Kansu. Qinzhou, 1924-. OFMCap.

Todos Misioneros. Revista mensual ilustrada, Guide, 1928-. ORSA publication.

Le Trait d'union. Bulletin des anciens élèves du Collège Français de Taming. Daming, 1922-.

Tsingtauer Missionskorrespondenz. Qingdao, 1929-. SVD publication.

Annual directories

Annuaire des Missions catholiques de China, Shanghai, 1933–1948. Previously published as: *Hiérarchie, Missions, Séminaires, Ecoles catholiques*, Shanghai, 1921–1922; and as *Missions, Séminaires, Ecoles catholiques*, Shanghai, 1923–1932.

The *Annuaire* is organised according to mission territories in China, listing mission stations, regular and secular Chinese and foreign priests, lay brothers, sisters in charge of local religious communities of women, as well as information concerning the direct and indirect apostolates.

A final, rather shorter issue: *Annuaire de l'Eglise catholique en Chine* 中華全國教務, 1950. Statistique de l'année (juillet 1948–juin 1949). Etat des Missions de Chine au 1 juillet 1949. 45^{e} Année. Bureau Sinologique de Zi-ka-wei 徐家匯光啓社, Shanghai: Imprimerie de T'ou-sè-wè 上海徐家匯土山灣印書館, mai 1950.

Annuaire des Missions catholiques du Manchoukuo, Moukden: Impr. de la Mission Catholique, 1935–1940.

Les Missions de Chine et du Japon, compiled by J.-M. Planchet CM. Beijing, 1916–1933; continued as *Les Missions de Chine*, Shanghai, 1933/1934–1938/1939.

Religieuses missionnaires (Études missionnaires, 5A), Shanghai: Catholic Central Bureau, 1950.

PROTESTANT

Advent Christian Missions. Charlotte, N.C., American Advent Mission Society, 1920–1979.

The Alliance Weekly, New York, 1911–1955. CMA publication.

Aus Yünnans Bergen, Marburg, Lahn, 1928[?]–1939; continued as *Missions-Nachrichten aus Yünnan*, Marburg, Lahn, 1947–1952. Swiss edition: *Missions-Nachrichten aus Yünnan*. Ländli, Oberägeri, 1945–1951. YM publication.

Aus zwei Welten. Blätter für evangelischen Frauendienst in China und Afrika. Herausgegeben vom Berliner Frauenmissionsbund, Berlin, 1923–1939. BMG publication.

Bible Churchmen's Missionary Messenger, London, 1923–1933); continued as *Missionary Messenger*, London, 1934–1963.

The Bulletin of the Diocese of Western China, London, 1904?-1937; succeeded by *Bulletin of the Diocesan Association for Western China*, Wallington, 1937–1951; continued as *The Four Streams: Newsletter of the Diocesan Association for Western China*, Ashford, Kent, 1951–1960. Covers CMS, CIM and BCMS activities.

China-Bote. Monatsschrift der Deutschen China-Allianz-Mission, Barmen, 1892–1952.

Der China-Bote. Organ des Njaßa-Bundes, Berlin, 1921–1926. BMG publication.

Chinas Millionen: Organ der Deutschen China-Inland-Mission, 1906–1940: Organ der Liebenzeller Mission, im Verband der China-Inland-Mission, Liebenzell, 1906–1940.

China's Millions, London: China Inland Mission, 1875–1952. From 1892 there were also North American and Australasian editions.

The Church Abroad, London, 1903–1968. SPG publication.

The Church Overseas, London, 1928–1934. Published jointly with the Church Missionary Society for the Missionary Council of the Church of England. Incorporates *Church Missionary Review and East and the West*. Continued as: *East and West Review: an Anglican Missionary Quarterly Magazine*, London, 1935–1964.

Dansk Missionsblad, Copenhagen, 1884–1952.

Echoes of Service and Illustrated Record of Labour in the Lord's Name in Many Lands. London; Bath, 1885-. Organ of "missionaries of churches of those who are known as Brethren". The CMML missionaries were also known as "Open Brethren".

Evangelii Härold: Tidning för andlig väckelse och fri mission, Stockholm, 1916–1956. (An introductory issue appeared on 9 December 1915). Carries news concerning Swedish Pentecostalism.

Evangeliskt Vittnesbörd: organ för Fria missionsförbundet, Helsingfors, 1922–1987. FFC publication.

Flames of Fire, Bedford, 1911–1928. Incorporates "Tidings from Tibet and Other Lands". PMU publication.

Foreign Field of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, London, 1904–1932.

Friends Oriental News, Damascus, Ohio: Missionary Board of Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends in the interest of American Friends Missions in Asia, 1908–1962.

Det Gode Budskap. Organ for De Frie Evangeliske Forsamlinger i Norge, Saltnes, 1904-.

Heidenwereld, Orange City, Iowa, 1896–1928); from 1920 with parallel title of *Missionary Monthly*; continued as *Missionary Monthly Reformed Review*, Holland, Mich., Heidenwereld Publishing, 1929–1947.

The Herald, London, 1911-. BMS publication.

India's Women and China's Daughters, London, 1880–1939; continued as: *Looking East: At India's Women and China's Daughters*, London, 1940–1957. CEZMS publication.

International Review of Missions. Geneva, 1912-. Issued 1912–1921 by World Missionary Conference Continuation Committee; 1922–1962 by International Missionary Council; 1962- by World Council of Churches Commission on World Mission and Evangelism.

Kina Missionären, St. Paul, Minn.: Foreign Mission Society; Rock Island, Ill.: China Mission Society, 1908–1925. Augustana Synod publication.

Kinamisjonaeren, Oslo, 1914–1951. NMC publication.

Der kleine Bote des Königs. Berichte aus der Mission unter den Miaos, Diakonissenmission Friedenshort, Sonneneck bei Rheineck: Miao-Missionsbund, March 1923-. FDM publication.

Korsets Seier, Oslo, Norway; published since 1910 with news on the Pentecostal movement.

Den Kristne Buddhistmisjon, Oslo, 1932–1948; continued as *Den Nordiske kristne buddhistmisjon: fellesorgan for den nordiske kristne buddhistmisjons venner,* Kobenhavn, 1949–1963.

The Land of Sinim: Chronicle of the Church of England Mission in North China; official periodical of the North China and Shantung Mission Association, Leeds, 1896–1951. Concerns the SPG mission.

Light and Life. Magazine of the Dublin University Missions, 1935–1970. Includes news from the Dublin University Fukien Mission (Anglican).

Ljusglimatar från Mongoliet; tidskrift för Svenska mongolmissionen, Stockholm, 1918–1951.

The Mission Field. A Monthly Record of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home and Abroad. London, 1856–1941.

Mission to Lepers, London, 1914–1938.

Missionary Broadcaster of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission, Chicago, 1925–1967.

Missionary Echo of the United Methodist Church. London, 1908–1932.

The Missionary Herald of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Belfast: Office of the Assembly's Missions, 1871–1947.

Missionary Link, New York, 1864–1971. WUM publication.

Missionary Monthly, Toronto, 1925-. United Church of Canada. Woman's Missionary Society.

Missionary Monthly, Huntington, Ind., 1924–1954. UB publication.

Missionary News Letters from China. (Women's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society).

The Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1901–1914; continued by: *Record of the Home and Foreign Mission Work of the United Free Church of Scotland*, 1914–1928.

The Missionary Review of the World, New York etc., 1878–1939.

Missionary Tidings, Winona Lake, Ind.: General Women's Missionary Society of the Free Methodist Church), 1897–1951.

Missionary Visitor, Mount Morris, Illinois: Brethren's General Missionary and Tract Committee, 1902–1930.

Missions of the Evangelical Church, Cleveland, OH: Missionary Society of the Evangelical Church, 1923–1946.

Missions, 1910–1967. Formed by union of *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, *Baptist Home Mission Monthly*, and *Good Work*. ABFMS publication.

Missionsberichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, Berlin, 1908–1921; continued as *Berliner Missionsberichte*, Berlin, 1922–1949.

Missionsförbundet, Stockholm, 1883–1939; continued as *Svensk veckotidning*, 1939-. SMF publication.

Missionsposten. Tidning för Baptistsamfundets utländska mission. Stockholm, 1912–1932.

Missionstidning för Finland, Helsingfors, 1859–1963. FMS publication.
Missionstidningen Sinims Land: organ för Svenska missionen i Kina, Stockholm, 1923–1981.
Mitteilungen aus der Basler Frauenmission, Basel, 1901–1929; continued as: *Unser Dienst in der Mission*. Monatsblatt d. Basler Frauenmission, Basel, 1930–1955.
Nachrichten von der Arbeit des Berliner Frauen-Missions-Vereins für China, Berlin, 1909–1919. BMG publication.
Norsk Missions-Tidende, Trondhjem; Stavanger, 1846-. NMS publication.
The Oriental Missionary Standard, 1914–1944; continued as *Oriental and Inter-American Standard*, 1944–1949.
Our Sisters in Other Lands, London, 1879–1937; continued as: *Far Horizons: A Quarterly Magazine of the Overseas Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church of England*, 1938–1966.
Our Work in the Orient. An account of the progress of the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Societies (from 1914: Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society), Boston; Chicago, 1909–1927. Merged with *Guidebook of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society*, to form *Overseas*, New York.
The Outlook of Missions, Philadelphia, 1909–1942. RCUS publication.
Pentecostal Evangel, Springfield, Mo., 1913–1949. AG publication.
Presbyterian Messenger, London, 1908–1966. EPM publication.
Das Schleswig-Holsteinische Missionsblatt, Breklum; Husum, 1876–1941.
Star of Cathay. China Missions of the Church of the Brethren, Elgin, Ill., 1933–1948. Some issues seem to have been published in Shanxi.
Svenska Kyrkans Missionstidning, Uppsala, 1915–1955. SKM publication.
Trons Segrar, Kumla, 1890–1993. Published by the Swedish Holiness Union.
The United Church Record and Missionary Review, Toronto, 1925–1939. UCC publication.
The United Methodist Church Report of the Missions (Home and Foreign), London, 1908–1932.
Without the Camp. "Magazine of the American Mission to Lepers." Published in New York, 1914–1958. There were also Australian, Canadian, New Zealand and Scottish editions.
Woman's Missionary Friend. Boston, 1893–1940. Published by the WFMS.

Woman's Work. (Woman's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church), New York, 1886–1924.
World Call, Indianapolis, 1919–1973. Disciples of Christ publication.

In addition to the newsletters of CMS missions mentioned in the preceding list, the following are available on microfilm: Adam Matthew Publications, Church Missionary Society Archive, Section I: East Asia Missions. Part 21: Periodicals for South Central and West China 1899–1970. URL: http://www.adam-matthew-publications.co.uk/collections_az/cms-1–21/contents-of-reels.aspx

Prayer Cycle for the CMS Cheking Mission, 1928; then Prayer Cycle and Newsletter for the CMS Checking Mission, 1930–1945; retitled *The Chekiang Newsletter*, 1947–1950.
The Chengtu Newsletter, 1936–1946.
Fukien Diocesan Magazine, 1917–1936; retitled *Fukien News*, 1940–1949.
The Newsletter of the C.M.S. Kwangsi Hunan Mission, Bristol, 1904–1952 (title varies).

Protestant periodicals published in China

After 1900 a considerable number of periodicals, newspapers and newsletters were published in China by foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians. Below only some of the more important titles are mentioned. For a more complete list, see the "Serial Titles" section in Archie Crouch et al., *Christianity in China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*.

Anking Newsletter, Anqing, [American Episcopal Diocese of Anking], 1920?-.
Bible for China. Bible Union of China, Shanghai, 1921–1925; continued as *Bulletin of the Bible Union of China*, 1925–1937.
China Christian Advocate, Shanghai, China Central Conference of the Methodist Church, 1914–1941. MEC publication.
China Division Reporter, Shanghai, 1931–1951. SDA publication.
The China Fundamentalist. Christian Fundamentals League of China, Shanghai, 1928–1940; continues *The China Fundamentalist and Anti-Bolshevik Bulletin*.

China Medical Missionary Journal, Shanghai, Medical Missionary Association of China, 1887–1931; continued as *Chinese Medical Journal* 中華醫學雜誌, Beijing, 1932-.

China Mission News Letter, Nanjing: United Christian Missionary Society, 1927–1949.

Educational Review: Montly Bulletin of the Educational Society of China, Shanghai, 1909–1938. Absorbed by *Chinese Recorder*.

Fenchow, Fenzhou (Shanxi), American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1919–1936 (irregular).

The Foochow Messenger, Fuzhou, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1903–1940.

Foochow News, Fuzhou, Methodist Episcopal Mission, 1924–1941.

Friends of Moslems: The Quarterly Newsletter. Society of Friends of the Moslems in China, Hankou, 1927-.

Gleanings, Jigongshan, Henan, 1920–1935; continued as *China Gleanings*, Henan, China, 1936–1938. LUM publication.

Hainan Newsletter, American Presbyterian Mission, 1912–1949.

Journal of the West China Border Research Society, West China Union University, Chengdu, 1922–1945.

Kakchieh Weekly News (Jushi [Kakchieh] 碣石 near Shantou, Guangdong, American Baptist Mission.

Leper Quarterly: Chinese Mission to Lepers, Shanghai, 1928–1941; continued as *Leprosy in China*, 1949–1951.

Missions-Nachrichten aus Tangshan (1920–1928); continued as *Ausbreitung des Evangeliums in Tangshan* (1928); continued as *Verkündet das Evangelium. Nachrichten aus Tangshan* (1929–1938); continued as: *Nachrichten aus China* (1938–1941). Newsletter produced by Ernst Kuhlmann of the Mission Help (Velbert) mission at Dangshan (Jiangsu; now in Anhui province).

Quarterly Bulletin of the East China Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, Shanghai, 1909–1926; continued by *Half-yearly Bulletin of the East China Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society*, Shanghai, 1927–1930; continued by *Annual Bulletin of the East China Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society,* Shanghai, 1931-.

Report. Mission Among the Higher Classes in China; later International Institute of China. Beijing, 1891–1927. Published by Gilbert Reid.

West China Missionary News, Chengdu: West China Missionary News Publication Committee, 1899–1945. Vols. for 1899–1938 published by West China Missions Advisory Board.

Note that some of the above mission periodicals from the Chinese mainland are available on microfilm:

Peterson, Stephen L., and Edmund S. Wehrle (eds.), *Missionary Periodicals from the China Mainland*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977. 35 reels.
Reel 1: Anking Newsletter; Reels 2–5: China Christian Advocate; Reels 6–10: China Christian Year Book; Reel 11: A Century of Protestant Missions in China. China Mission Hand-Book; Reels 12–17: China Medical Journal; Reel 18: China Mission Advocate; Reels 19–24: Educational Review; Reel 25: Fenchow; Reel 26: Foochow Messenger; Reel 27: The Four Streams. Newsletter of the Diocesan Association for Western China; Reel 28: Hainan Newsletter; Reels 29–35: West China Missionary News.

Chinese Christian periodicals

Whereas the foreign-language periodicals provided Western readers with general information about the state of Christianity in China, Chinese-language serial publications are more likely to contain specific and detailed information on local church affairs. For a substantial list of Chinese Christian periodicals, see the *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China under Protestant Auspices*, compiled by Charles Luther Boynton and Charles Dozier Boynton, Shanghai: Published for the National Christian Council of China by the Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 1936, pp. 210–218. A number of Chinese Christian periodicals are also listed in the "Serial Titles" section in Archie Crouch et al., *Christianity in China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*. Because neither list provides Chinese characters, further research is required to properly identify and locate these periodicals. The following works provide additional information on Chinese language periodicals:

Ku T'ing-ch'ang, *The Protestant Periodical Press in China*, edited under the auspices of the Department of Journalism, Yenching University, Beijing: Reprinted from *CCS* 11 (1938), pp. 262–320.

Löwenthal, Rudolf, *La presse catholique en Chine*, Beijing: [s.n.]. Extracted from *Bulletin catholique de Pékin* 23 (April–May 1936).

Löwenthal, Rudolf, with the assistance of Ch'en Hung-shun, *The Religious Periodical Press in China*, Beijing: The Synodal Commission

in China, 1940. Reprinted San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1978.
Parts of the book had first appeared in *CCS*:
"The Catholic Press in China", *CCS* 9 (1936), pp. 272–312.
"The Russian Orthodox Press in China", *CCS* 10 (1937), pp. 1017–1024.
"The Catholic Press in Manchuria", *CCS* 11,7 (July 1938), pp. 750–759.

Directories and Yearbooks

The China Mission Year Book, Being "The Christian movement in China". Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1910–1925 (vols. 1–13); continued with vol. 14 as *China Christian Year Book*, Shanghai, 1926-. Reprinted Taibei, 1973.
See also the Chinese version: *Zhonghua Jidujiaohui nianjian* 中華基督教會年鑒 (Chinese Christian church yearbook).

Directory of Foreign Missions. Missionary Boards, Societies, Colleges, Coöperative Councils, and Other Agencies of the Protestant Churches of the World, edited by Esther Boorman Strong and A. L. Warnshuis, New York and London: International Missionary Council, 1933.

Directory of Protestant Missions in China, See entry under *1.3.2. Biographies.*

1.2.3. *Published collections of primary sources*

Records of the Catholic Church

Whereas a substantial amount of primary material has been published for the Qing period, very little is found in print for the republican period. One exception concerns the material generated by or about Vincent Lebbe 雷鳴遠 (1877–1940) from the Archives Vincent Lebbe, published in several volumes in the 1980s.

Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe: Pour L'église chinoise. I. *La Visite apostolique des missions de Chine 1919–20*. Introduction et notes par Cl[aude] Soetens, (Cahiers de la Revue Théologique de Louvain, 5), Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de la Faculté de Théologie, 1982.

Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe: Pour L'église chinoise. II. *Une Nonciature à Pékin en 1918?*. Introduction et notes par Cl[aude] Soetens,

(Cahiers de la Revue Théologique de Louvain, 7), Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de la Faculté de Théologie, 1983.

Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe: Pour L'église chinoise. III. *L'Encyclique Maximum illud*. Introduction et notes par Cl[aude] Soetens, (Cahiers de la Revue Théologique de Louvain, 9), Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de la Faculté de Théologie, 1983.

Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe: A. Sohier (†), *Un an d'activité du Père Lebbe: 1926*. Introduction et notes par Cl[aude] Soetens, (Cahiers de la Revue Théologique de Louvain, 12), Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de la Faculté de Théologie, 1984.

Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe: La Règle des Petits Frères de Saint-Jean-Baptiste. Introduction et notes par Cl[aude] Soetens, (Cahiers de la Revue Théologique de Louvain, 16), Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de la Faculté de Théologie, 1986.

Primum concilium sinense, anno 1924 celebratum. Acta, decreta, normae et vota, Shanghai, 1930.

Records of Protestant missions

The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National Christian Conference Held in Shanghai, Tuesday, May 2, to Thursday, May 11, 1922. Editorial Committee: F. Rawlinson, Helen Thoburn and D. MacGillivray, Shanghai: The Oriental Press, 1922.
Available online: http://www.archive.org/details/thechinesechurch00thobuoft

Report of Conference on the Church in China Today: The Report of a Conference of Christian Workers with Dr. John R. Mott, Chairman of the International Missionary Council, January 5–7, 1926, Shanghai: National Christian Council of China, [1926].
Available online: http://www.archive.org/details/MN41606ucmf_4

1.2.4. *Manuscript sources in archives*

On account of the rapid expansion of the missionary enterprise and the proliferation of missionary societies and associations after 1900, a vast amount of material relating to Christianity in China was generated in the course of the first half of the twentieth century. This rich accumulation of primary material has been deposited in hundreds of repositories in Europe, North America, Australia and East Asia. Until now no comprehensive research guide for these widely scattered documents exists. The closest thing to such a guide is R. G. Tiedemann,

Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2009). This reference guide endeavours to account for all the missionary societies that were active in China, but it provides only basic information on individual missionary societies' institutional archives—if their location is known. In other words, this 'rough guide' is in many ways an initial attempt to account for more than 400 Catholic and Protestant missionary organisations that were active in Republican China. Considerably more time, effort and funding would be required to produce a comprehensive and accurate world-wide research guide along the lines of Archie Crouch's rather more detailed *Scholars' Guide* to a great variety of relevant resources in the libraries and archives of the United States. The *Scholars' Guide* also lists the whereabouts of the personal papers of ceretain individual missionaries. For further details, see the introductory passage for archival material in the United States below.

Given the constraints of space, the archival information provided under 'Late Qing Sources' in Part I of this *Handbook* will not be repeated here. Consult the Qing section for the relevant missionary, university and diplomatic repositories for holdings concerning the major Catholic and Protestant missionary organisations that were active in the late Qing Empire and continued to be involved in the missionary enterprise in China during the republican period. However, it should be noted that several mergers of missionary and church organisations took place after 1900. At the same time, members from different religious provinces in Europe and North America of some of the larger Catholic organisations (CM, OFM, OP, SJ) took charge of mission territories in China. Thus, the relevant provincial archives of these orders, congregations and societies—but not specifically listed in the *Handbook*—should also be consulted.[1] Below the archival holdings are listed of those organisations that entered the China field at the very end of the Qing and during the republican period. In addition to the institutions listed below, there were a number of usually small missionary groups about which very little information has come to light and that did not retain any written material. For a complete list of mis-

[1] The relevant CM, OFM, OP and SJ provincial archives can be found in Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China*.

sionary bodies in China, consult the relevant tables in the Appendices section of this *Handbook*.

Austria

Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (OFMCap). Provinzarchiv der Nordtiroler Kapuziner, Kaiserjägerstraße 6, A-6020 Innsbruck, AUSTRIA.

Belgium

Archives Vincent Lebbe. Service des Archives de l'Université Catholique de Louvain (ARCV), Rue Montesquieu, 27, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve, BELGIUM.

Vincent Lebbe influenced the papal encyclica *Maximum illud* of 1919, inspired the formation of the Society of Auxiliaries of the Missions in Belgium and founded two Chinese religious congregations (**Little Brothers of St. John the Baptist** and **Little Sisters of St. Theresa of the Child Jesus**). For a listing of relevant archival material, see

Cl. Soetens, *Inventaire des Archives Vincent Lebbe* (Cahier de la Revue Théologique de Louvain, 4), Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de la Faculté de Théologie, 1982.

A considerable amount of archival material from the Vincent Lebbe archives has been published by Claude Soetens in several volumes.

Benedictine Congregation of the Annunciation (OSB). Archief Sint-Andriesabdij Brugge, Sint-Andriesabdij van Zevenkerken, Zevenkerkenstraat 4, B-8200 Brugge, BELGIUM. See also under United States.

Missionary Canonesses of St. Augustine (MCSA; now ICM). Archivio, Casa Generalizia, Suore Missionarie del Cuore Immacolato di Maria (ICM), Via di Villa Troili 30 I-00163 Rome, ITALY. Some material has been transferred to Taiwan.

Society of Auxiliaries of the Missions (SAM). Société des Auxiliaires des Missions (S.A.M. asbl), 244, Chaussée de Waterloo, B-1060 Bruxelles, BELGIUM.

CANADA

Antonian Sisters of Mary Queen of the Clergy (AM). Congrégation des Soeurs Antoniennes de Marie, 927 rue Jacques-Cartier Est, Chicoutimi, Qué. G7H 2A3, CANADA.

Brothers of the Christian Schools (FSC). Archives, Frères des écoles chrétiennes de Québec, 300, ch. du Bord-de-l'Eau, Laval, Ste-Dorothée (Québec) H7X 1S9, CANADA.

Clerics of Saint Viator (CSV). Clercs de Saint-Viateur du Canada, Service des archives C.S.V., 7400, boul. Saint-Laurent, Montréal (Québec) H2R 2Y1, CANADA.

Grey Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (MFIC; GSIC). Grey Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, 720 MacKay Street, Pembroke ON K8A 8J8, CANADA.

Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of the Angels (MNDA). Archives des Soeurs de Notre-Dame des Anges, 323, rue Queen, Lennoxville, Québec, J1M 1K8, CANADA.

Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (MIC). Service des archives Soeurs missionnaires de l'Immaculee-Conception; Street Address: 100 Place Juge Desnoyers, Laval (Quebec) H7G 1A4, CANADA.

Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAC). International Office Archives, Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 2450 Milltower Court, Mississauga, Ontario L5N 5Z6, CANADA.

Quebec Foreign Mission Society (MEQ). General Motherhouse: 180 place Juge-Desnoyers, Pont-Viau, Ville de Laval, Qué., H7G 1A4, CANADA.

Scarboro Foreign Mission Society (SFM). Archives, Scarboro Mission Society, 2685 Kingston Road, Scarborough, Ont., M1M 1M4, CANADA.

DENMARK

Danish Missionary Society (DMS). Det Danske Missionsselskab (Danmission), Strandagervej 24, 2900 Hellerup, DENMARK.

FINLAND

Finnish Free Missionary Society (FFC). Fria Missionsförbundet & Missionskyrkan i Finland, Högbergsgatan 22, FIN-00 130 Helsinki, FINLAND.

FRANCE

Brothers of the Christian Schools (FSC). Archives lasalliennes, 95 rue Deleuvre, F-69004 Lyon, FRANCE.

GERMANY

Benedictine Congregation of St. Ottilien (OSB). Archiv, Erzabtei, D-86941 St. Ottilien, GERMANY.

Brothers of Mercy of Our Lady of Perpetual Help (FMMA). Generalarchiv, Barmherzige Brüder von Maria Hilf, Nordallee 1, Postfach 2506, D-54292 Trier, GERMANY.

German Women's Bible Union (MBK). MBK—Evangelisches Jugend- und Missionswerk e.V., Hermann-Löns-Str. 9, D–32105 Bad Salzuflen, GERMANY.

German Women's Missionary Union (GWMU). Deutscher Frauen-Missions-Gebetsbund e.V., Unter dem Klingelschacht 38, D-57074 Siegen, GERMANY.

Hildesheim Mission to the Blind (HVBC). Hildesheimer Blindenmission, Helmerstrasse 6, D-31134 Hildesheim, GERMANY.

Liebenzell Mission (LM). Archiv der Liebenzeller Mission, Postfach 1240, D-75375 Bad Liebenzell, GERMANY.

Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Issoudun) (MSC). Hiltruper Herz-Jesu Missionare, Am Klosterwald 40, D-48165 Münster, GERMANY.

Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (OFMCap). Archiv der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Provinz der Kapuziner, Kapuzinerplatz 134, D-56007 Koblenz, GERMANY.

Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission (SHELM). Breklumer Missionsarchiv, Aktions- und Besinnungszentrum, Kirchenstrasse 4–13, D-25821 Breklum, GERMANY.

Sisters of St. Francis Solano (CSS). Archiv, Solanus-Schwestern, Schönbrunnerstraße 6/7, D-8300 Landshut, GERMANY.

IRELAND

Missionary Society of St. Columban (SSC). Archives, Columban Fathers, St. Columban's, Dalgan Park, Navan, Co. Meath, IRELAND.

Missionary Sisters of St. Columban (SSC). Archives, General Motherhouse, Missionary Sisters of St. Columban, Magheramore, Wicklow, IRELAND.

ITALY

Archivio Celso Costantini. Biblioteca, Seminario Vescovile di Concordia-Pordenone, Via Seminario 1, I-33170 Pordenone, ITALY.

Augustinians of the Assumption (AA). Archivio, Agostiniani dell'Assunzione, Via San Pio V, 55 , I-00165 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Daughters of Mary Help of Christians (FMA). Istituto Figlie di Maria Ausiliatrice, Direzione Generale, Via dell'Atenio Salesiano, 81, I-00139 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Brothers of the Christian Schools (FSC). Archivio, Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane, Casa Generalizia, Via Aurelia, 476, CP 9099 (Aurelio), I-00165 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Claretian Missionaries (CMF). Missionari Clarettiani, Via del Sacro Cuore di Maria, 5, I-00197 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Clerks Regular of the Immaculate Conception (MIC). Archivio, Curia Generalizia dei Chierici Mariani, Via Corsica, 1, I-00198 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Congregation of Picpus (SSCC). Archivio Generale, Congregazione dei Sacri Cuori di Gesù e di Maria, via Rivarone, 85, I-00166 Roma (RM), ITALIA.

Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (CSsR). Segreteria Generale della Congregazione del Santissimo Redentore, C.P. 2458, I-00100 Roma, ITALIA. Street address: Via Merulana, 31, I-00185 Roma (RM), ITALIA.

Congregation of the Stimmatini (CPS; CSS). Congregazione delle Sacre Stimmate, Via Mazzarino, 16, I-00184 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Foreign Missions Society of Parma (SX). Missionari Saveriani, Casa generalizia, Viale Vaticano, 40, I-00165 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Egypt (FCIM; FMCIM). Francescane Missionarie del Cuore Immacolato di Maria (dette d'Egitto),Via Caterina Troiani 90, I-00144 Roma (RM), ITALIA.

Marist Brothers of the Schools (FMS). Archivio, Casa Generalizia dei Fratelli Maristi delle Scuole, Piazzale Marcellino Champagnat 2, C.P. 10250, I-00144 Roma (RM), ITALY. (**CGFM**)

Mercedarian Missionary Sisters (MMB). Suore Mercedarie Missionarie, Viale Paola 10, I-00198 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Minim Sisters of the Sacred Heart (MSC). Istituto Minime Suore del Sacro Cuore, via G. da Sangallo, 2, I-59016 Poggio a Caiano (PO), ITALY.

Ministers of the Sick (MI; OCam; OSC; CRMI; OSCam). Archivio Generale dei Ministri degli Infermi (**AGMI**), Piazza della Maddalena, 53, I-00186 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit (SSpS). Archivio, Missionarie Serve dello Spirito Santo, Via Cassia, 645, I-00189 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Order of Cistercians of Strict Observance (OCR; now OCSO). Archivio, Casa Generalizia OCSO, Viale Africa, 33, I-00144 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Order of Friars Minor Conventual (OFMCon). Curia Generalizia, Ordine Francescano Minori Conventuali, Piazza dei Santi Apostoli 51, I-00187 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Order of Recollects of St. Augustine (ORSA; now OAR). Archivio Generale, Curia Generalizia degli Agostiniani Recolletti, C.P. 10760, Viale dell'Astronomia, 27, I-00144 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Religious Missionaries of Saint Dominic (OP). Archivo de la Casa Generalicia de las Religiosas Misioneras de Santo Domingo, Via di Val Cannuta, 138, I-00166 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Religious of the Sacred Heart (RSCJ). Archivio Generale, Società del Sacro Cuore di Gesù «Santo Sofia Barat», Istituto del Sacro Cuore, Via San Francesco di Sales, 18, I-00165 Roma, RM, ITALY. Additional material is held by several RSCJ provincial archives.

Salesians of Don Bosco (SDB; formerly SS). Archivio Salesiano Centrale, Casa Generalizia, Via delle Pisana 1111 C.P. 18 333 I-00163 Roma (RM), ITALY.

School Sisters of the Third Order of St. Augustine / Augstinian Missionary Sisters (AM). Agostiniane Missionarie (Suore), Gobierno General, Via Remo Pannain 34 Int. 19, I-00165 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Sisters of the Divine Saviour (SDS). Suore del Divin Salvatore, Generalato, Viale Mura Gianicolensi, 67, I-00152 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Sisters of the Good Shepherd (RGS). Casa Generalizia, Suore del Buon Pastore, Via Raffaello Sardiello, 20, I-00165 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Society of Mary (SM; Marianists). Archivio, Curia Generalizia dei Marianisti (Società di Maria), Via Latina, 22, I-00179 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Society of the Divine Saviour (SDS). Archivio Generale, Curia Generalizia della Società del Divin Salvatore, Via delle Conciliazione, 51, I-00193 Roma (RM), ITALY.

Ursulines of the Roman Union (OSU). Archivio, Casa Generalizia, Suore Orsoline dell'Unione Romana, Via Nomentana, 236, I-00162 Roma, ITALIA.

Ursulines of the Sacred Heart (Parma) (OMSC). Archivio, Orsoline del Sacro Cuore, di Parma, Casa generale, Borgo Orsoline, 2, I-43100 Parma, ITALY.

Netherlands

Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists or Vincentians) (CM). Archief, Congregatie der Missie, Kerkstraat 8, NL-5981 GG Panningen, THE NETHERLANDS.

Daughters of Mary and Joseph (Holland). Moederhuis Dochters van Maria en Jozef, Papenhulst 5 , NL-5211 LC 's-Hertogenbosch THE NETHERLANDS.

New Zealand

Presbyterian Church of New Zealand (PCNZ). Presbyterian Church Archives, Knox College, Arden Street, Opoho, Dunedin, NEW ZEALAND.

Norway

Christian Missions to Buddhists in China (CMB). Areopagos. Postboks 7169, Majorstua NO-0307 Oslo, NORWAY.

Free Evangelical Assemblies of Norway (FEFM). De Frie Evangeliske Forsamlinger, Møllergata 40, NO-0179 Oslo, NORWAY.

Norway's Free Evangelical Mission to the Heathen (NFEH). When the NFEH was dissolved in 1934, its former missionaries were supported by local Norwegian Pentecostal assemblies. In China these independent missionaries were hence collectively known as the Norwegian Evangelical Mission. The work at home as well as on the mission field was based on voluntary cooperation. Relevant sources are held by De Norske Pinsemenighetenes Ytremisjon (PYM), *Postadresse*: PB 2 Tveita, NO-0617 Oslo; *Besøksadresse*: Tveitenveien 152, Tveita, Oslo**,** NORWAY.

Norwegian Alliance Mission (NorAM). Det Norske Misjonsforbund, Chr. Kroghs gt. 34, NO-0186 Oslo, NORWAY.

Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission (NLF). Den Evangelisk Lutherske Frikirke, P.O. Box 23 Bekkelagshøgda, NO-1109 Oslo, NORWAY.

Norwegian Lutheran Mission (NLK; now NLM). NLM-arkivet, Sinsenveien 15, NO-0572 Oslo, NORWAY.

Norwegian Mission Alliance (NMA) / 'Tsjilimisjonen'. Misjonsalliansen i Norge Postadresse: Den norske Misjonsallianse, PB 6863 St. Olavs plass, N-0130 Oslo Gateadresse: Sven Bruns gate 9.

Norwegian Mission in China (NMC). Evangelisk Orientmisjon, Boks 5369, Majorstuen, NO-0304 Oslo, NORWAY.

Norwegian Missionary Society (NMS). NMS Arkiv, Misjonshøgskolen, Misjonsveien 34 A, N-4024 Stavanger, NORWAY

Norwegian Tibet Mission (NTM). Tibetmisjonen, Chr. Kroghsgt. 30, Pb 9111, Grønland, NO-0133 Oslo, NORWAY.

Poland

Polish Union of Ursulines (OSU). Provincial Archives of the Ursulines of the Roman Union, ul. Starowiśna 9, PL-31-038 Kraków, POLAND.

SLOVAKIA

Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (Szatmar). Archives of the Mother Convent: Milosrdných Sestier Sv. Vincenta-Satmárok, Do Dielca 52, SK-03401 Ružomberok, SLOVAKIA.

SPAIN

Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (CSsR). Congregación del Santísimo Redentor, Provincia de Madrid, Casa Provincial, C/ Manuel Silvela, 14 , E-28010 Madrid, SPAIN.

Missionary Augustinian Recollect Sisters (MAR). Curia General, Hermanas Agustinas Recoletas Misioneras, Calle San José 34, E-28917 La Fortuna (Madrid), SPAIN.

Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (OFMCap). Archivo Histórico Provincial de Capuchinos de Navarra-Cantabria-Aragón (Pamplona), C/ Padre Esteban de Adoáin, 1, E-31014 Pamplona, SPAIN.

Order of Recollects of St. Augustine (ORSA; now OAR). Archivo de la Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino, Orden de Agustinos Recoletos, Convento de los Agustinos Recoletos, Paseo del Monasterio, 1, E-31340 Marcilla (Navarra), SPAIN.

SWEDEN

Church of Sweden Mission (SKM). Arkivet, Svenska Kyrkan, 751 70 S-Uppsala, SWEDEN.

Orebro Missionary Society (OM). Örebromissionen-Arkiv, Arkiv-Centrum Örebro Län, Nikolaigatan 3, SE-702 10 Örebro, SWEDEN.

Swedish Alliance Mission (SwAM). Svenska Alliansmissionen arkiv, Jönköpings läns folkrörelsearkiv, Klostergatan 25; Postal Address: Box 3072, S-550 03 Jönköping, SWEDEN.

Missionsmuseet, Jönköpings läns museums arkiv, Dag Hammarskjölds plats 2, Jönköping; Postal Address: Box 2133, S-550 02 Jönköping, SWEDEN.

Swedish Baptist Mission (SwBM). Svenska Baptistsamfundet, Starrbäcksgatan 11, SE–172 99 Sundbyberg, SWEDEN.

Betel folkhögskola [Betel College], Stockholm Åkeshovsvägen 29, SE-168 39 Bromma, SWEDEN.

Swedish Free Mission (SFM) / Free Church of Sweden (FCS). The Pentecostal Research and Information Center (Pingströrelsens Informationscentrum), Kaggeholms Folkhögskola, SE-178 54 Ekerö, SWEDEN.

Support for the work of the Swedish Free Mission (Svenska Fria Missionen) (SFM) in China was co-ordinated by the Filadelfia Church in Stockholm. However, in 1930 the Free Church of Sweden (Svenska Fria Pingstmissionen) (FCS) was established by A. P. Franklin (1877–1949) and supported by the Södermalms Fria Församling in Stockholm in competition with the SFM. Consequently, between 1930 and 1934 some of the Swedish Pentecostal missionaries in Hebei province published in the short-lived FCS organ *Missionsfacklan: tidning för evangelii spridning i hem- och hednaland*, (Stockholm) 1930–1934. By 1934 the issues had been resolved between the two Pentecostal groups in Sweden and activities in China were continued by the SFM.

Switzerland

Bethlehem Missionary Society (SMB). Archiv, Bethlehem Mission Immensee, Postfach 62, CH-6405 Immensee, SWITZERLAND.

Dominican Sisters of St. Joseph (Ilanz) (OP). Archiv, Dominikanerinnen von Ilanz, Klosterweg 16, CH-7130 Ilanz, SWITZERLAND.

Olivetan Benedictine Sisters (OSB). Archiv, Olivetaner Benediktinerinnen, Kloster Heiligkreuz, Lindencham, CH-6330 Cham, SWITZERLAND.

Sisters of Mercy of the Holy Cross (Ingenbohl) (SCSC; now CSC). Instituts-Archiv, Barmherzige Schwestern vom Heiligen Kreuz, Kloster Ingenbohl, CH-6440 Brunnen, SWITZERLAND.

Young Women's Christian Association of China (YWCA). Archives, World YWCA, 16 Ancienne Route, CH-1218 Grand Saconnex, Geneva, SWITZERLAND. See also the national YWCA of the United States.

Taiwan

Canons Regular of Grand St. Bernard (CRB; CR). The Mission Archive (in Yunnan, in Tibet, then in Taiwan) has been deposited at the Mission House, Canons Regular of St. Augustine (CR), 64 Poai Road, Hsincheng Tsun, Hsincheng, (Hualien) [971], Taiwan 聖奧斯定詠禮會, 會院, 花蓮縣新城鄉新城村博愛路64號

Archives of the Far East Delegate General of the Order of Friars Minor, Taishan, Taiwan. This collection, containing letters and reports between the Franciscan Delegate General Alphons Schnusenberg 舒迺伯 (1887–1971) and the Franciscan superiors and missionaries in China (1934–1949), was formerly kept in the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Hongkong. The originals are now in the Chinese Provincial Office, Order of Friars Minor, Taishan, Taiwan 中華方濟省會院, 台北縣泰山鄉. Duplicates are in the Office of the Secretary General for Missionary Evangelization OFM (Secretaria Generalis Missionum OFM—SGMA) in Rome: Archivio, Segretariato generale per l'evangelizzazione, Curia Generalizia dei Frati Minori, Rome.

United Kingdom

Mission to Lepers. Archives, The Leprosy Mission International, 80 Windmill Road, Brentford, Middlesex TW8 0QH, UNITED KINGDOM.

The Leprosy Mission International, Brentford, holds extensive records of its work as both The Mission to Lepers and the Leprosy Mission.

Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU). Donald Gee Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Research, Mattersey Hall, Mattersey near Doncaster DN10 5HD, UNITED KINGDOM.

Salvation Army (SA). Salvation Army International Heritage Centre, House 14, The William Booth College, Denmark Hill, London, SE5 8BQ, UNITED KINGDOM.

See also under United States.

United States of America

On the manuscripts and other materials available in the collections of the United States, the following publication is an essential guide:

Crouch, Archie, et al. (eds.), *Christianity in China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1989.

A revised and expanded edition of this guide, incorporating much new material, is forthcoming:

Wu, Xiaoxin (ed.), *Christianity in China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*, second edition, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 2009.

American Advent Mission Society (AAM). Headquarters Archives, Advent Christian General Conference, P.O. Box 23152, 14601 Albermarle Road, Charlotte, NC 28212, U.S.A.

American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS). Until 1910 known as the American Baptsit Missionary Union; for details, see **American Baptist Historical Society** in Part I of this Handbook.

American Friends Mission (AFO). Friends Library, Everett L. Cattell Library, Malone College, 515 25th Street NW, Canton, OH, 44709, U.S.A.

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). Archives, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC Archives), 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102, U.S.A.

Assemblies of God Mission (AG). (1) Assemblies of God World Missions Archives, 1445 North Boonville Avenue, Springfield, MO 65802, U.S.A.

(2) Archives, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, Assemblies of God, 1445 North Boonville Avenue, Springfield, MO 65802, U.S.A.

Benedictine Congregation of St. Procopius (OSB). Archives, American Cassinese Congregation (Benedictines), St Procopius Abbey, 5601 College Rd, Lisle, IL 60532, U.S.A.

Benedictine Congregation of St. Vincent (OSB). Archives, Saint Vincent Archabbey, Latrobe, PA 15650, U.S.A.

Benedictine Congregation of the Annunciation (OSB). Archives, St. Andrew's Abbey, 31001 N. Valyermo Road, Valyermo, CA 93563, U.S.A.

See also under Belgium.

Benedictine Sisters (OSB). Archives, Sisters of the Order of Saint Benedict Monastery, 104 Chapel Lane, St. Joseph, MN 56374-0220, U.S.A.

China Free Methodist Mission (FMA). Marston Memorial Historical Center and Archives, World Ministries Center of the Free Methodist Church, 770 N. High School Road, P. O. Box 535002, Indianapolis, IN 46253-5002, U.S.A.

China Mennonite Mission Society (ChMMS). Some relevant material is found at the Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, Hiebert Library, 1717 S. Chestnut, Fresno, CA 93702-4709, U.S.A.

Archival materials of the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Mission (KMB) and the Mennonite Brethren Church (MBrC) have also been deposited at the Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies.

Christian Reformed Church Mission (CRC). Archives, Denominational Historical Collection of the Christian Reformed Church, 3207 Burton Street NE, Grand Rapids, MI 49506, U.S.A.

Church of God (Cleveland) (CG). Hal Bernard Dixon, Jr., Pentecostal Research Center, William G. Squires Library, 260 11th Street NE, P. O. Box 3448, Cleveland, TN 37311-0670, U.S.A.

Church of God Mission (Anderson—Indiana) (CGM). Archives and Special Collections, Anderson University, 1100 East Fifth Street, Anderson, Indiana 46012-3495, U.S.A.

Church of the Brethren Mission (CBM). Brethren Historical Library and Archives, Church of the Brethren General Offices, 1451 Dundee Avenue, Elgin, IL 60120, U.S.A.

Church of the Nazarene (CN). Nazarene Archives, Church of the Nazarene International Headquarters, 6401 The Paseo, Kansas City, MO 64131, U.S.A.

Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists or Vincentians) (CM). DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives, DePaul University Libraries, Special Collections & Archives, 2350 N Kenmore Avenue, Room 314, Chicago, IL 60614, U.S.A.

Congregation of the Passion of Jesus Christ (CP). The Passionist Historical Archives, 526 Monastery Place, Union City, NJ 07087, U.S.A.

Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society (CBFMS). Carey S. Thomas Library, Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary, P.O. Box 10,000, University Park Station, Denver, CO 80210, U.S.A.

Dominican Sisters of St. Mary of the Springs (OP). Congregational Archives, Dominican Sisters of Peace Motherhouse, 2320 Airport Drive, Columbus, OH 43219, U.S.A.

ELCA Archives, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 321 Bonnie Lane, Elk Grove Village, IL 60007, U.S.A. Mailing address: 8765 W. Higgins Road, Chicago, IL 60631, U.S.A.

Holds archival material of the following Lutheran missions in China:

American Lutheran Mission (of Shandong) (ALM).

Augustana Synod Mission (Aug; ELAug)

Evangelical Lutheran Mission of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States (MELCM). Department of Archives and History, Lutheran Church—Missiouri Synod, Concordia Historical Institute, 801 De Mun Avenue, St. Louis, MO 63105, U.S.A.

Hunan Bible Institute (BIOLA). Rose Memorial Library, BIOLA University, 13800 Biola Avenue, La Mirada, CA 90639, U.S.A.

Lutheran Board of Missions (LBdM). Lutheran Free Church Papers, 1911–63, Record Group 9 in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Region 3 Archives, 2481 Como Avenue, St. Paul MN 55108, U.S.A.

Lutheran Brethren Mission (LBM). Archives, Church of the Lutheran Brethren, 1020 W. Alcott Avenue, Fergus Falls, MN 56537, U.S.A. Mailing Address: PO Box 655, Fergus Falls, MN 56538-0655

Lutheran United Mission (LUM). Lutheran United Mission, Norwegian Lutheran Church of America; Record Group 2, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Region 3 Archives, 2481 Como Avenue West, Saint Paul, MN 55108-1445, U.S.A.

Maryknoll Fathers (MM). Maryknoll Mission Archives, P.O. Box 305, Maryknoll, NY 10545-0305, U.S.A.

Maryknoll Sisters of St. Dominic (MM). Archives, Maryknoll Sisters of St. Dominic, Inc., Maryknoll, NY 10545, U.S.A.

Mennonite Central Committee (MCC). Mennonite Church USA Archives-Goshen, 1700 S. Main Street, Goshen, IN 46526 , U.S.A.

Mennonite General Conference Mission (MGC). Mennonite Church USA Archives, Bethel College, 300 East 27th Street, North Newton, Kansas 67117-0531, U.S.A.

Mission to Lepers. American Leprosy Missions, Inc., 1 Broadway, Elmwood Park NJ 07003, UNITED STATES. For the archives of the international organisation, see United Kingdom.

Missionary Research Library Archives, The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, 3041 Broadway at 121st Street, New York, NY 10027, U.S.A.

The Charles Luther Boynton Papers, 1897–1964, include the National Christian Council of China Records, 1913–1950; the records of the Shanghai Community Church; as well as lists, obituaries and biographical items of China missionaries.

Note that there are also Charles Luther Boynton papers at Library and Archives, Hoover Institution, 434 Galvez Mall, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-6010, U.S.A.

Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God (SMIC; MSIC). Generalate Archives, Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, 48 Garden Avenue, West Paterson, NJ 07424, U.S.A.

National Holiness Mission (NHM). Archives, World Gospel Mission, Box 948, Marion, IN 46952, U.S.A.

Oriental Missionary Society (OMS), including the papers of the South China Holiness Mission (SCHM). OMS International Collection, Department of Special Collections, B. L. Fisher Library, Asbury Theological Seminary, North Lexington Avenue, Wilmore, KY 40390, U.S.A.

Pentecostal Holiness Mission (PHM). Archives and Research Center, International Pentecostal Holiness Church, P.O. Box 12609, Oklahoma City, OK 73157, U. S. A. Street Address: The Arch (Pentecostal Holiness Church), 7300 Northwest Expressway, Bethany, OK 73008, U.S.A.

Reformed Presbyterian Mission (RPC). Some materials are found in: Library, Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 7418 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15208, U.S.A.; also in the McCartney Library, Geneva College, 3200 College Avenue, Beaver Falls, PA 15010, U.S.A.

Rockefeller Foundations Archives. Rockefeller University, Rockefeller Archive Center, Pocantico Hills, North Tarrytown, NY 10591-1598, U.S.A.

The China Medical Board Collection forms the most significant part of the archives. The CMB was established in 1914 to improve medical and hospital care in China. Consequently, the Board established Peking Union Medical College (PUMC) and made grants to missionary societies to advance their own medical facilities and institutions. In 1928 the CMB was incorporated as the China Medical Board of New York, Inc. For further details, see Crouch, *Christianity in China*, pp. 284–289.

Salvation Army (SA). Salvation Army Archives and Research Center, 145 West Fifteenth Street, New York, NY 10011, U.S.A. For the Salvation Army International Heritage Centre, see United Kingdom.

Scandinavian Alliance Mission (SAM). Archives of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America, TEAM, PO Box 969, Wheaton, IL 60189-0969, U.S.A. The material is uncatalogued and not easily accessible.

Seventh-Day Advent Mission (SDA). Office of Archives & Statistics, Adventist World Headquarters, 12501 Old Columbia Pike, Silver Spring, MD 20904-6600, U.S.A.

Center for Adventist Research, James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49103, U.S.A.

Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood (ASC). Archives, Adorers of the Precious Blood of Christ (Ruma), Ruma Center, 2 Pioneer Lane, Red Bud, IL 62278-3848, U.S.A.

Sisters Adorers of the Precious Blood (APB). Sisters of the Precious Blood, Monastery of the Precious Blood, 700 Bridge Street, Manchester, NH 03104, U.S.A.

Sisters of Charity (Cincinnati) (SC). Archives, Sisters of Charity Motherhouse, 5701 Delhi Pike, Mount Saint Joseph, OH 45051, U.S.A.

Sisters of Charity of Saint Elizabeth (Convent Station) (SC). Archives, Sisters of Charity of Saint Elizabeth, P.O. Box 476, Convent Station, NJ 07961-0476, U.S.A.

Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross (SL). Sisters of Loretto Motherhouse, 515 Nerinx Road, Nerinx, KY 40049-9999, U.S.A.

Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur (Cincinnati) (SNDN). Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Ohio Province Archives, The Provincial House, 701 East Columbia Avenue, Cincinnati, OH 45215, U.S.A.

Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods (SP). The Sisters of Providence Archive is located on the lower level of Owens Hall on the grounds of the motherhouse of the Sisters of Providence, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, IN 47876-1096, U.S.A.

Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi (OSF). Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, St. Francis Convent, 3221 South Lake Drive, St. Francis, Wisconsin 53235, U.S.A.

Sisters of St. Francis of the Holy Family (OSF). Celano Archives, Sisters of St. Francis of the Holy Family, Mount St. Francis, 3390 Windsor Avenue Extension, Dubuque, IA 52001, U.S.A.

Society of Mary (SM; Marianists). Marianist Archives-Eastern Region, University of Dayton, Roesch Library, 300 College Park Avenue, Dayton, OH 45469, U.S.A.

South China Boat Mission (SCBM). Library, Christar, Box 14866, Reading, PA 19601-4866, U.S.A.

South China Peniel Holiness Missionary Society (SCPHM). Voice of China and Asia Missionary Society, Inc., P.O. Box 15, Pasadena, CA 91102, U.S.A.

Swedish American Mission (SEFC). Archive material of the Evangelical Free Church of America is in the Library of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2077 Half Day Road, Deerfield, IL 60015, U.S.A.

See also: The Evangelical Free Church of America, 901 East 78th Street, Minneapolis, MN 55420, U.S.A.

United Brethren in Christ (UB—Old Constitution/Radicals**).** United Brethren in Christ Archives, Huntington University Library, 2303 College Avenue, Huntingdon, IN 46750, U.S.A.

United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America (UNLC). The United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America Papers, 1890–1917, are in Record Group 5 of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Region 3 Archives, 2481 Como Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55108, U.S.A.

UNLC merged into the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America in 1917 (see Lutheran United Mission), along with the Hauge Evangelical Lutheran Synod of America; and the Synod of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church.

United Pentecostal Church (UPC). United Pentecostal Historical Center, United Pentecostal Church International, 8855 Dunn Road, Hazelwood, MO 63042-2299, U.S.A.

United Service to China Records (UCR/USC). The United Service to China was organised by the Coordinating Committee for China Relief and Rehabilitation as United China Relief in 1941 as an attempt to raise money in the United States, to educate Americans about China and the Chinese people, and to carry on relief work in China. It represented the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China (ABMAC), the China Emergency Relief Committee, the China Aid Council, the

American Committee for Chinese War Orphans, the Church Committee for China Relief, the American Committee for Chinese Industrial Cooperatives (Indusco, Inc.), and the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China (ABCCC). The name was changed to United Service to China in 1946. The relevant archival material is kept in two repositories:

1.) Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, NY 10018, U.S.A.
2.) Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University Library, 65 Olden Street, Princeton, NJ 08540, U.S.A.

Yale Divinity School Library Special Collections, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven, CT.

Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections: http://www.library.yale.edu/div/colgarch.htm#CHMS

Concerning the Yale Divinity School archival material mentioned in connection with the Qing period (*cross-reference Handbook II, Part I, 1.2.5. Manuscript sources in archives*), the following collection should be consulted for personal papers relating to the republican period:

China Records Project Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection, Record Group No. 8, Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library. The China Records Project Miscellaneous Personal Papers Collection is an open collection. It currently contains material from more than 325 individuals, primarily Protestant missionaries to China.

In addition, the following collections are of particular relevance to the period 1900–1949.

Chinese Students Christian Association in North America (RG13): Support agency for Chinese students studying in North America (1909 to 1952).

Guide to the Archives of the Chinese Students' Christian Association in North America, compiled by Martha Lund Smalley, Yale University Library, November, 1983.

http://webtext.library.yale.edu/xml2html/divinity.013.con.html#colOver

Church of Christ in China Border Service Department (RG17). Records of work among ethnic minorities in West China (1939–1950).

Guide to the Papers of the Border Service Department of the Church of Christ in China, compiled by Martha Lund Smalley, Yale University Library, June, 1993 & September, 2003.

URL: http://webtext.library.yale.edu/xml2html/divinity.017.con.html#colOver

Church of Scotland Missionary Archive (Microfilm: Film Ms. 370), Part 1: Missions to India and China, 1829–1933 (7 reels). REEL 6: MS.7611 China, 1918, 1923–1925, 1927, 1933.

Adam Matthew Publications, URL: http://www.adam-matthew-publications.co.uk/collections_az/COScotland-1/contents-of-reels.aspx

Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (RG42), (RG42A). Organisation that sought to recruit students for missionary service and to nurture the missionary enterprise (1888–1957). (285 linear ft.) Addendum to RG42. (1949–1959). This large collection contains some material on China.

Guide to the Archives of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (Record Group No. 42), compiled by Martha Lund Smalley, Yale University Library, October, 1980: http://webtext.library.yale.edu/xml2html/divinity.042.con.html#colOver

Guide to the Addendum to the Archives of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (Record Group No. 42A), compiled by Carl Beckwith and Martha Lund Smalley, Yale University Library, September, 1997: http://webtext.library.yale.edu/xml2html/divinity.042a.con.html#colOver

United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia (RG11), (RG11A), (RG11B), (RG11C) (RG11D), (RG11E), (RG11F), (RG11G). Records relating to the Board, antecedent bodies, and the colleges and universities in China and later throughout Asia that they represented (1882–1995).

Archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, Record Group No. 11, Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library. The collection provides extensive detailed and substantive information about the Protestant colleges and universities in China which were the focus of the Board's activities prior to 1955. *Guide to the Archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia*, compiled by Martha Lund Smalley and Karen Jordan, Yale University Library, March, 1982: http://webtext.library.yale.edu/xml2html/divinity.011.con.html#colOver

Archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education In Asia—Addendum, Record Group No. 11A, Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library. *Guide to the Archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education In Asia—Addendum*, compiled by Martha Lund Smalley and James E. Monsma, Yale University Library,

March, 1987: http://webtext.library.yale.edu/xml2html/divinity.011a.con.html#colOver

See also China Christian Colleges and Universities Image Database, http://research.yale.edu:8084/ydlchina/query.jsp

World Student Christian Federation (Record Group No. 46/7)

Archives of the World Student Christian Federation: Asia, Record Group No. 46/7, Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library.

The Yale Divinity Library holds the official archives of the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) through 1925; later official archives are held in Geneva. Many documents in the recordgroup date from after 1925. The WSCF was created in 1895 to fulfill its founders' vision of an international student Christian movement which could encourage and coordinate the work of existing national student Christian movements, as well as stimulate the formation of unified student movements in countries where they did not exist. The work of the Federation was carried out through conferences and committee meetings, publications, exchanges of literature, and visits to national movements by its secretaries and agents.

Guide to the Archives of the World Student Christian Federation: Asia, compiled by Paul Codispoti, Joan R. Duffy, and Martha Lund Smalley, Yale University Library, 1984, 1989: http://webtext.library.yale.edu/xml2html/divinity.046-7.con.html#colOver

Young Men's Christian Association of China (YMCA). Records of YMCA International Work in China. Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Elmer L. Andersen Library, Suite 318, University of Minnesota, 222 21st Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55455.

The Kautz Family YMCA Archives collects the historical records of its national organisation, the *YMCA of the USA* and also holds records of the *Minneapolis* and *Greater New York YMCAs*, as well as those of *Y's Men International*, a service club in partnership with the YMCA. Records of special programmes sponsored or supported by the YMCA are also included. They include work with Chinese labourers in France (Chinese Labor Corps in France—Box 88), the Chinese Christian Student Association (CSCA) and mass education programmes conducted by James Yen, programmes conducted by the lecture department headed by C. H. Robertson, health education programmes headed by William Wesley Peter, as well as famine, flood, and war relief programmes.

Young Women's Christian Association of China (YWCA). National Board of Archives, Young Women's Christian Association of America, 726 Broadway, New York, NY 10003, U.S.A. For the International YWCA, see under Switzerland.

Oral History Projects

Billy Graham Center Archives, 500 College Avenue, 3rd floor, Wheaton, IL 60187-5593, U.S.A.

This resource centre for evangelistic and missionary activities holds a substantial collection of audio tapes and transcripts. For details, see Crouch, *Christianity in China*, pp. 106–115. Some of the transcript material is available online: Oral History Transcripts in the BGC Archives; URL: http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/ohtrans.htm

Claremont Colleges: China Missionaries Oral History Project. Special Collections Department, Honnold Library, Claremont Colleges, Eighth and Dartmouth Streets, Claremont, CA 91711, U.S.A.

In 1969, the Oral History Program of Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, California, received a grant from the Henry Luce Foundation for a three-year project on the influence of the China missionary movement in the Far East. The task was to be accomplished by conducting taped interviews with Christian workers selected to reflect the work of several denominations, the various career lines in missionary work, and the geographical spread of missions in China. The result of the project was taped interviews with forty-five ex-missionaries, representing fifteen denominations or sponsoring agencies. For details concerning the interviewees, the tape recordings and transcripts, see *Claremont Graduate School Oral History Program: A Bibliography*, by the Claremont University Center, 1978. See also Crouch, *Christianity in China*, pp. 10–13.

The Billy Graham Center Archives at Wheaton College, Illinois, holds the above transcripts on microfilm.

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, ELCA Region 3 Archives, 2481 Como Avenue West, Saint Paul, MN 55108-1445, U.S.A.

Between 1976 and 1980 the Midwest China Study Center (later the Midwest China Center) conducted interviews with more than 100 individuals. For details, see Kurt Eric Johnson, *Oral History Summaries: A Guide to the Collection*, St. Paul, MN: Midwest China Center, 1983. See also Crouch, *Christianity in China*, pp. 198–205.

Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, Archives, Maryknoll, NY 10545, U.S.A.

The China History Projects consists of 260 tapes and transcripts of American fathers, brothers and lay missionaries. See Crouch, *Christianity in China*, p. 250.

Maryknoll Sisters of St. Dominic, Inc., Maryknoll Sisters Archives, Maryknoll Sisters Center, Maryknoll, NY 10545, U.S.A.

The China History Project contains 103 taped interviews, with transcriptions, of Maryknoll Sisters in South China; as well as 91 taped interviews of Maryknoll Fathers; and 49 taped interviews of Chinese people. See Crouch, *Christianity in China*, p. 251.

Besides these major collections, relevant oral histories are found in a few other U.S. repositories. For the full list, see Crouch, *Christianity in China*, pp. 487–499.

1.3. Secondary Sources and Reference Works

1.3.1. *Bibliographies*

Sinology

For essays introducing the history of Republican China, consult *The Cambridge History of China* (Dennis Twitchett & John K. Fairbank, general editors):

Fairbank, John K. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 12: *Republican China 1912–1949, Part 1*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Fairbank, John K., and Albert Feuerwerker (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 12. *Republican China 1912–1949, Part 2*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

In addition to useful general information on China, the following work contains brief accounts of missionary societies in the early Republic.

Couling, Samuel, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica*, Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh; London: Oxford University Presss, 1917. Reprinted Taibei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1973. Reprinted Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Note also

Cole, James H., *Twentieth-century China: An Annotated Bibliography of Reference Works in Chinese, Japanese, and Western Languages*, Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2004. 2 vols.

Libraries with substantial Christianity in China collections

Most major Western university libraries will have resources concerning Christianity in China, including the

Biblioteca, Pontificia Università Antoniamun, Rome; Bibliothek, Steyler Missionswissenschaftliches Institut, Sankt Augusti, Germany; Flora Lamson Hewlett Library, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California; McAlister Library, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California; Monumenta Serica Institute Library, Sankt Augustin, Germany; New College Libary, University of Edinburgh, Scotland; Ricci Institute Library, University of San Francisco; Scheut Memorial Library, Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, Leuven University, Belgium; School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London)—incorporating the libraries of the London Missionary Society and the Methodist Missionary Society; University of Birmingham Information Services, Orchard Learning Resources Centre, Selly Oak Campus (formerly Selly Oak Colleges).

Special mention should be made of the following repositories:

Biblioteca, Pontifica Universitas Urbaniana, Via Urbano VIII, 16, I-00120 Città del Vaticano. This library holds the extensive Catholic missionary collection of the Pontifical Missionary Library after its transfer from the Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples.
For a background study, see Joseph Metzler, "The Pontifical Missionary Library 'de Propaganda Fide'", in Josef Metzler, *De Archivis et bibliothecis missionibus atque scientiae missionum inservientibus*. Prepared on the occasion of Johannes Rommerskirchen's 70th birthday. (Vol. 21 of *Euntes docete*. Commentaria Urbaniana), Rome: Pontificia Università Urbaniana de Propaganda Fide, 1968, pp. 347–360.

The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, 3041 Broadway at 121st Street, New York, NY 10027, U.S.A.
Its holdings include the Missionary Research Library Collection (MLR), promoted by John R. Mott in the wake of the 1910 Edinburgh World Conference on Missions and opened in 1914.

Evangelism and Missions Collection, Wheaton College Archives & Special Collections, 500 E. College Ave., 3rd floor, Wheaton, IL 60187–5593, U.S.A.
The Evangelism and Missions Collection (formerly the Billy Graham Center Library) receives journals and newsletters from around the world. Histories, biographies and published records cover missionary work and church growth. Microform sets include the records of several American and European missionary societies.

Yale Divinity Library, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven, CT 06511, U.S.A.
The Day Missions Library, a special component of the library, is particularly rich in China-related resources.

Note also that several of the larger Catholic and Protestant missionary and denominational organisations have retained their own in-house libraries, such as for example the

Crowther Centre Library, Church Mission Society, Watlington Road, Oxford OX4 6BZ, UNITED KINGDOM.
Bibliothèque asiatique, Missions Etrangères de Paris, 128, rue du Bac, F-75341 Paris, FRANCE.

Bibliography of mission and church histories

General histories of Christianity in Republican China

Butturini, Giuseppe, *Le Missioni cattoliche in Cina tra le due guerre mondiali: Osservazioni sul metodo moderno di evangelizzazione di p. Paolo Manna*, Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana, 1998.

The Cambridge History of Christianity. Volume 9: *World Christianities c.1914–c. 2000*, edited by Hugh McCleod, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Charbonnier, Jean, *Christians in China: A.D. 600 to 2000*, trans. M. N. L. Couve de Murville, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2007. Originally published as *Histoire des chrétiens de Chine*, Paris: Indes savantes, 2002.

Ng Tze-ming, Peter 吳梓明, and Wu Xiaoxin 吳小新 (eds.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo shehui wenhua: diyijie guoji nianqing xuezhe yantao lunwenji* 基督教與中國社會文化 : 第一屆國際年青學者研討會論文集 (Studies in Christianity and Chinese society and culture: essays from the first International Young Scholar's Symposium), (Zongjiao yu Zhongguo shehui yanjiu congshu, 10; 宗教與中國社會研究叢書, 8; Anthology Series on the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, 8), Hongkong: Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2003.

Ng Tze-ming, Peter 吳梓明, and Wu Xiaoxin 吳小新 (eds.), *Jidu yu Zhongguo shehui* 基督與中國社會 (Studies in Christianity and Chinese society and culture: essays from The Second International Young Scholars' Symposium), (Zongjiao yu Zhongguo shehui yanjiu congshu, 10; 宗教與中國社會研究叢書, 10; Anthology Series on the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, 10), Hongkong: Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2006.

Soetens, Claude, *L'église catholique en Chine au XX siècle*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1997.

Bibliography of histories of selected Catholic mission societies

After 1900 many new Catholic missionary organisations entered the China field. Particularly noteworthy are the various religious communities of women from Europe and North America. The following works provide brief introductions to this great variety of religious institutes:

Arens, Bernard, *Handbuch der katholischen Missionen*, 2nd, rev. ed., Freiburg: Herder & Co, 1925.

French edition:

Arens, Bernard. *Manuel des missions Catholiques*. Louvain: Éditions du Museum Lessianum, 1925.

Day, Peter, *A Dictionary of Religious Orders*, Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 2005.

Guida delle missioni cattoliche, redatta sotto gli auspici della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Roma: Unione Missionaria del Clero in Italia, 1934. The latest Guida was published in 2005.

Guide des missions catholiques, publié sous le Haut Patronage de la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande, Paris: La Propagation de la Foi, 1936–37. 3 vols.

Handbuch der katholischen Missionen, Munich: Priestermissionsbund in Bayern, 1936.

Heimbucher, Max Josef. *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*, 3rd, rev. ed., 2 vols. Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1933–34. Repr. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh; Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1965.

Tragella, Giovanni Battista, *Italia missionaria*, Roma: Italica gens; Milano: Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere, 1939.

The annual directory of the Holy See, the *Annuario Pontificio*, also lists a bewildering variety of religious institutes. See the latest issue, the *Annuario Pontificio 2009*, produced by the Segretaria di Stato and published by the Libreria Editrice Vaticana. It contains the latest data on the various religious communities of men and women. Note that the *Annuaire pontifical catholique*, published annually from 1898 to 1948 by the Maison de la Bonne Presse in Paris, was not compiled by the Holy See.

Antonian Sisters of Mary Queen of the Clergy

Guissard, Polyeucte, *Histoire de la Congrégation des Soeurs Antoniennes de Marie, Reine du Clergé (1904–1958)*, Chicoutimi: Maison Mère, 1960.

Benedictine Congregation of St. Ottilien

Kaspar, Adelhard, and Placidus Berger, *Hwan Gab—60 Jahre Benediktinermission in Korea und in der Mandschurei*, Münsterschwarzach: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 1973.

Renner, Frumentius (ed.), *Der Fünfarmige Leuchter: Beiträge zum Werden und Wirken der Benediktinerkongregation von St. Ottilien*. Vol. 2: *Klöster und Missionsfelder der Kongregation von St. Ottilien*, Sankt Ottilien: Eos-Verlag, 1979.

Benedictine Sisters

Muehlenbein, Wibora, *Benedictine Missions to China*, St. Paul: The North Central Publishing Company, 1980.

Bethlehem Missionary Society

Rust, Ambros, *The Red Darkness: Swiss Missionaries Experience the Infiltration of Communism in China*; trans. from the German by Mae F. Brachhold, Immensee: Printing Office, 1961.

Canons Regular of Grand St. Bernard

Giroud, Frédéric, *La mission des chanoines du Grand-Saint-Bernard au Tibet (1933–1952)*, mémoire de licence, Université de Fribourg, 1986.

Loup, Robert, *Martyr au Thibet: Maurice Tornay, chanoine régulier du Grand-St-Bernard, 1910–1949*, Fribourg, 1950.

Zermatten, Maurice, *Terre de fer et ciel d'airain, ou La passion de Maurice Tornay (1910–1949)*, Savièse, 1988.

Claretian Missionaries

Rebollar Blanco, Agustín, *Misioneros claretianos en China* [Zamora: Monte Casino, 2002].

Clerics of Saint Viator

Missions Saint-Viateur: 15 ans d'apostolat en Mandchourie, 1931–1946, Montréal: Mission Saint-Viateur, tirage de 1946.

Clerks Regular of the Immaculate Conception

Wojciechowsicz, Michal, "Placówka wschodnia w Harbinie", in: Jan Bukowicz and Tadeusz Górski (eds.), *Marianie 1673–1973*. Praca zbiorowa pod redakcją Jana

Bukowicza i Tadeusza Górskiego, Rzym = Rome: [Marianorum Immaculatae Conceptionis], 1975, pp. 244–268.

Congregation of the Passion of Jesus Christ (Passionists)

Carbonneau, Robert, "Life, Death and Memory: Three Passionists in Hunan, China, and the Shaping of an American Mission Pespective in the 1920s", Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1992.
Caulfield, Caspar, *Only a Beginning: The Passionists in China 1921–1931*, Union City, N.J.: Passionist Press, 1990.

Daughters of Mary and Joseph (Holland)

Eijt, Josepha Maria Antonia, *Religieuze vrouwen: bruid, moeder, zuster. Geschiedenis van twee Nederlandse zustercongregaties 1820–1940*, Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1995.

Daughters of Mary Help of Christians

Bibliographia generale delle missione salesiane. III. *Notiziario delle Figlie di Maria Ausiliatrice*, a cura di A. Maraldi, Roma, 1975.

Foreign Missions Society of Parma

Conforti, Guido Maria, *I Missionari saveriani nel primo centenario della nascita del loro fondatore* (Parma: Istituto Saveriano per le Missioni Estere, 1965). 522 pp.
Conforti, Guido Maria [presentazione di Giuseppe Caprio], *Missione di Cina. Olocausto*, Città del Vaticano: Libreria editrice vaticana, 1988. Vol. 4 of: *Servizio ecclesiale e carisma missionario*.
Garbero, Pietro, *I Missionari Saveriani in Cina. Cinquant'anni di apostolato*, Parma: Istituto Saveriano per le Missioni Estere, 1965.

Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Egypt

"Il venticinquesimo anno delle Suore Francescane Missionarie d'Egitto in Laohokow. Le Suore Francescane Missionarie d'Egitto in terra di Confucio (1910–1935)", *L'Araldo Missionario* VI (Laohokow 1935), pp. 226–251, 252–256; VII (1936) 18–19, 44–47, 53–55, 127–131, 206–208, 269–275; VIII (1937) 44–47.

Jesuits (Society of Jesus)

Bortone, Fernando, *La stella azzurra di Ciang Caiscek: l'apostolato dei gesuiti italiani nella Cina centrale (1922–1949)*, (Collana sulla Cina, 4), Casamari, Frosinone: Tip. dell'Abbazia, 1981.
Fleming, Peter Joseph, "Chosen for China: the California Province Jesuits in China, 1928–1957: a case study in mission and culture", Ph.D. diss., Berkeley, Graduate Theological Union, 1987.
Renaud, Rosario, *Le Diocèse de Süchow (Chine). Champ apostolique des Jésuites canadiens de 1918 à 1954*, Montreal: Les Editions Bellarmin, 1982.
Vámos, Péter, *Két kultúra ölelésében. Magyar jezsuiták a Távol-Keleten* (Embracing Two Cultures. Hungarian Jesuits in the Far East), Budapest: Jézus Társasága Magyarországi Rendtartománya, 1997.

Marist Brothers of the Schools

Thiry, Ignace, *La Passion des Frères Maristes en Chine*, 6th ed., Genval, Belgium: Ed. Marie-Médiatrice, 1956.
Wilmet, Louis, *Les Frères Maristes en Chine*, Genval, Belgium: Secrétariat des oeuvres et missions des Fères Maristes de Belgique, 1927.

Maryknoll Fathers

Wiest, Jean-Paul, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918–1955*, Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1988.

Minim Sisters of the Sacred Heart

Giovanneschi, Emilio, *Estamos en China (1932–1949)*, Poggio a Caiano: Suore Francescane Minime del S. Cuore, 1990.

Missionary Canonesses of St. Augustine

"Ce que la Chine nous communique: San-Cheng-Kung (1923). Soei-Yuan (1924). Palakai (1929). Kao-Kia-Ing-Tze (1932). Ninghia (1932). Hou-ho (1936). Pékin (1946)", in: *Un Demi-Siècle d'Apostolat Missionnaire 1897–1947. Chanoinesses-Missionnaires de Saint-Augustin*, Héverlé, [1946].

Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of the Angels

Gervais, Émile, *Les Soeurs Missionnaires Notre-Dame des Anges (Congrégation Religieuse Sherbrookoise): Ses Origines, Son Esprit et Son Oeuvre*, Sherbrooke: sans éditeur, 1963.
Bacon, René, avec la collaboration de Gisèle Desloges MNDA, *Soeurs missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges. De l'institution à l'institution (1905–1922),* Lennoxville: Soeurs Missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges, 1996.
Bacon, René, avec la collaboration de Gisèle Desloges MNDA, *Soeurs Missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges. Se faire Chinoises avec les Chinoises (1922–1932)*, Lennoxville: Soeurs Missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges, 1999.

Missionary Sisters of St. Columban

Fischer, Edward, *Maybe a Second Spring: The Story of the Missionary Sisters of St. Columban in China*, New York: Crossroads, 1983.
Leonarda, Mary, *Days of Danger*, St. Columban's, Nebr.: St. Columban's Foreign Mission Society, 1940.

Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit

Hartwich, Richard, (ed.), *Steyler Missionare in China. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte*, 6 vols., St. Augustin; Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1983–1991.

Olivetan Benedictine Sisters

Heilig Kreuz Schwestern. Aus Cham in Manchukuo, Yenki, Manchoukuo: Bischöfliche Missionsdruckerei, s.a.

Order of Cistercians of Strict Observance (Trappists)

Jen, Stanislaus, *Te martyrium candidatus, laudat exercitus! The Centenary of the Foundation of Our Lady of Consolation Yang Kia Ping, the Proto-Abbey of the Cistercian Order in China and in the Far East, 1883–1983*, [Hongkong, ca. 1978].
Jen, Stanislaus 任達義 OCSO, *Zhongguo Xidu hui xundao zhe zhuanji 1947–1953* 中國熙篤會殉道者傳記 1947–1953, Lantao, Hongkong, 1985.
Quattrocchi, Paolino Beltrame, *Monaci nella tormenta: la passio dei monaci trappisti di Yan-Kia Ping e di Liesse testimoni della fede nella Cina di Mao-Tze-Tung*, (Cîteaux, commentarii cistercienses, vol. 3), Saint Nicolas-les- Cîteaux, Abbay de Cîteaux: Ordo Cisterciensium Strictoris Observantiae, Postulatio Generlais, 1991.

Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)

Camps, Arnulf, and Pat McCloskey, *The Friars Minor in China (1294–1955), especially the years 1925–55*, based on the research of Friars Bernward Willeke and Domenico Gandolfi, OFM, Rome: General Secretariate for Missionary Evangelization, General Curia, Order of Friars Minor, 1995.
Cerasa, Nicola, *Breve storia della missione di Taiyuan Shansi Cina*, Roma: Provincia Romana dei Frati Minori, 1988.
Dujardin, Carine, *Missionering en moderniteit. De Belgische minderbroeders in China 1872–1940*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996.

Order of Friars Minor Capuchin

Walter, Gonsalvus (ed.), *Gotteskampf auf Gelber Erde. Festgabe zum Silbernen Bischolfsjubiläum Sr. Exzellenz Salvator Petrus Walleser O.M.Cap.*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1938.
Hintringer, Hermenegild, *Gräber am Sungari. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kapuzinermission von Kiamusze*, Fügen, Tyrol: Seraphisches Liebeswerk, n.d.
"La Prefectura Apostólica de Pingliang (Kansu-China)", in: *Anuario de las Misiones de los PP. Capuchinos de la Provincia de Navarra-Cantabria-Aragón*. Año 1934. (Pamplona, 1934), pp. 156–240.

Order of Friars Minor Conventual

Luo, Matteo, *Una missione in Cina dei Francescani Minori Conventuali (1925–1952)*, Bologna: Ed. Missionaria Italiana, 1975. A second edition was published at Oristano in 1980.

Order of Preachers (Dominicans)

González, José María, *Historia de las Misiones Dominicanas de China*, vol. 4 (1900–1954), Madrid and Buenos Aires: Ediciones Studium, 1955.

Polish Union of Ursulines

Łaciak, Jadwiga, *Misje Urszulanek w Harbinie 1928–1949* (The Ursuline Mission in Harbin 1928–1949), Lublin, 2000. Typescript.

Religious Missionaries of Saint Dominic

Villarroel, Fidel, *Religiosas Misioneras de Santo Domingo. Un Siglo de Apostolado (1887–1987)*, Rome: Typografía Vaticana, 1993.

Religious of the Sacred Heart

Chi, Madeleine, *Shanghai Sacred Heart: Risk in Faith, 1926–1952*, St. Louis: The Author, 2001.

Salesians of Don Bosco

Bibliographia generale delle missione salesiane. Vol. 1: Saverio Gianotti, *Bibliografia italiana 1844–1992*, Roma: LAS 1995.

Rassiga, Mario, *Opera Salesiana in Cina. Cenno storico*, Hongkong: Aberdeen Technical School, 1973–1975. 3 vols. Part I: (1906–1930); Part II: (1930–1936); Part III: (1937–1945).

Rassiga, Mario, *75 years of Salesian work in China: 1906–1981*, Hongkong: Vox Amica Press, n.d.

Scarboro Foreign Mission Society

William C. McGrath, *The Dragon at Close Range*, rev. ed., Scarboro Bluffs: St. Francis Xavier Seminary; Shanghai: A.B.C. Press, 1938.

Grant Maxwell, *Assignment Chekiang: 71 Canadians in China, 1902–1954*, Scarboro, Ont.: Scarboro Foreign Mission Society, 1982.

School Sisters of Notre Dame (Kalocsa)

Ónodi, M. Kőfalviné, "A Kalocsai Iskolanővérek kínai missziója 1926–1948" (The mission of School Sisters of Kalocsa in China. 1926–1948), in *Bács-Kiskun megye múltjából. Évkönyv* 16 (Kecskemét: Bács-Kiskun Megyei Önkormányzat Levéltára, 2000), pp. 105–142.

School Sisters of the Third Order of St. Augustine / Augstinian Missionary Sisters (AM)

Alonso, Carlos, *Historia de una familia religiosa: Las Agustinas Misioneras, 1883–1971*, Valladolid: Ed. Estudio Agustiniano, 1985.

Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood

Siegfried, Regina, *"Missionaries More and More": The History of the China Mission of the Adorers of the Blood of Christ, 1933–1945*, Bloomington, Ind.: AuthorHouse, 2005.

Sisters of Charity of Saint Elizabeth (Convent Station)

Pendergast, Mary Carita, *Havoc in Hunan: The Sisters of Charity in Western Hunan 1924–1951*, Morristown, NJ: College of Saint Elizabeth Press, 1991.

Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross

Gutterres, Antonella Marie, *Lorettine Education in China, 1923–1952: Educational Activities of the Sisters of Loretto in China, Hanyang, and Shanghai*, Taipei: United Publishing Center, 1961. First written as a M.A. thesis, St. Louis University (1961).

Manion, Patricia Jean, "West to East: Hanyang, China 1923–31", in Ann Patrick Ware (ed.), *Naming Our Truth: Stories of Loretto Women*, Inverness, Ca.: Chardon Press, 1995.

Manion, Patricia Jean, *Venture Into the Unknown: Loretto in China 1923–1998*, St. Louis, Mo.: printed by Independent Publishing Corporation, 2006.

Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur

Lanahan, Mary Francesca, *History of the Notre Dame Mission in Wuchang, China: Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Ohio Province, 1926–1951*, Mount Notre Dame, Cincinnati, Ohio: M. F. Lanahan, 1983.

Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods

Wolf, Ann Colette, *Against All Odds: Sisters of Providence Mission to the Chinese, 1920–1990*, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, Ind.: Sisters of Providence, 1990.

Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi

Alderson, M. Julian, *Franciscans in Shantung, China, 1929–1948*, Milwaukee, Wis.: St. Francis Motherhouse, 1980.

Sisters of St. Francis Solano

Schubert, Renata, "Das Ende unserer Mission in China", *Vita Fratrum: brüderlicher Gedankenaustausch der Bayerischen Franziskanerprovinz*, pp. 233–253.

Society of the Divine Saviour

Menke, Willibrord (ed.), *Christi Licht über China. Erlebtes und Erlauschtes aus der Salvatormission Shaowu, Fukien, China*, Berlin: Salvator-Verlag, 1939.

Ursulines of the Roman Union

Mahoney, Irene, *Swatow: Ursulines in China*, [New York]: Graphics/Print Production, 1996.

Ursulines of the Sacred Heart (Parma)

Spinelli, Mario, *Sull'orlo dell'inferno. Storia delle Orsoline Missionarie del Sacro Cuore*, Roma: Città Nuova, 2002.

PROTESTANTS

Stauffer, Milton Theobald, Tsinforn C. Wong, M[alcolm] Gardner Tewskbury (eds.), *The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China, Made by the Special Committee on Survey and Occupation, China Continuation Committee, 1918–1921*, Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922. Facsimile reprint San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1979.
Contents: Introduction—Preface—List of Missionary Societies—General background—Change & progress in Christian movement in China—Christian occupation of provinces—Large unclaimed areas—Provinces compared—Comparison of larger missionary societies—Comparision of larger denominational groups—Comparison in terms of nationality of foreign workers—Christian work among special classes—Chinese church—Education—Medical—Christian literature—Roman Catholic & Russian Orthodox Churches—Corrigenda—Appendices.

Chinese translation: Zhonghua xuxing weibanhui diaocha tewei hui bian 中華續行委辦會調查特委會編, *Zhonghua gui zhu: Zhongguo Jidujiao shiye tongji, 1901–1920* 中華歸主: 中國基督教事業統計, (一九○一-一九二○), ed. Si Defu 司德敷, Wang Zhenfang 王振芳, Du Lihua 都立華, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, Minguo 11 [1922]. Reprinted Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1987; republished as a two-volume set in 2007.
An extensive compilation of maps, charts and tables issued as part of the mission critical re-evaluation of its position. Although some rather sensitive souls have found the title objectionable, this comprehensive work provides a detailed overview of the Protestant endeavour in China, including the movement towards indigenisation and developing Chinese leadership.

Bibliography of histories of selected Protestant mission societies

American Friends Mission

Cattell, Catherine DeVol, *From Bamboo to Mango*, Newberg, Or.: The Barclay Press, 1976.

DeVol, Charles E., *Fruit That Remains: The Story of the Friends Mission in China and Taiwan Sponsored by The Evangelical Friends Church—Eastern Region (Formerly Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends)*, Canton, Ohio: Evangelical Friends Church—Eastern Region, 1988.

American Friends Service Committee

Adcock, Cynthia Letts, "Revolutionary Faithfulness: The Quaker Search for a Peaceable Kingdom in China, 1939–1951", Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1974.

Assemblies of God Mission

Yang, Joshua C., *The Assemblies of God Missionary Effort in China*, Springfield, Mo.: Yang, 1985.

Augustana Synod Mission

Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church. Board of World Missions, *Our Second Decade in China, 1915–1925; Sketches and Reminiscences by Missionaries of the Augustana Synod Mission in the Province of Honan*, [Rock Island, Ill.] Board of foreign missions of the Augustana Synod [1926].

British and Foreign Bible Society

British and Foreign Bible Society, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles*, London: 1911.

China Mennonite Mission Society

Epp, Margaret, *This Mountain Is Mine*, Chicago: Moody Press, 1969.

Christian Missions to Buddhists in China

Harbakk, Ernst, and Filip Riisager (eds.), *Veien videre: den nordiske kristne buddhistmisjon 75 år*, Oslo: Den Nordiske Kristne Buddhistmisjon, 1997.

Reichelt, Karl Ludvig, and Wang Daoping 艾香德, 王道平, *Daofengshan de gongzuo* 道風山的工作 (The work at Tao Fong Shan), Hongkong: Xianggang: Dong-Ya Jidujiao daoyouhui, Minguo 27 [1938].

Christian Reformed Church Mission

Beets, Henry, *Toiling and trusting. Fifty years of mission work of the Christian Reformed Church among Indians and Chinese, with Chapters on Nigeria and South America*, Grand Rapids Printing Co.: Grand Rapids, 1940.

Church of Sweden Mission

Brundin, Gunnar, *I hjärtat av Kina: Återblick på en 25-årig missionsgärning*, Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans bokförlag, 1945.

Church of the Brethren Mission

Brief History of the Church of the Brethren in China, Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Pub. House, 1915.
Crumpacker, Frank H., et al., *Brethren in China*, Elgin, Ill: Brethren Pub. House, 1937.
Geisert, Bradley Kent, "Brethren Rural Reconstruction in China, 1920–1950", M.A. diss., University of Virginia, 1975.
Handbook of the Brethren Mission in China, Hankow: Central China Religious Tract Society, 1915.
McMurry, Francis P., "The China Tractor Boys", M.A. diss., University of Maryland, 1969.
Minnich, Herbert Spenser, "Devolution of Missionary Administration in China", M.A. diss., Northwestern University, 1926.
Sollenberger, Howard, *History of the UNRRA Brethren Service Unit*. Church of the Brethren, General Brotherhood Board (1 January 1948).

Church of the Nazarene

Hitherto! 1914–1939: Silver Anniversary of the Church of the Nazarene in China, by the missionary staff of the Church of the Nazarene in China, n.d.
Parker, J. Fred, *Mission to the World: A History of Missions in the Church of the Nazarene through 1985* (1988).
Smith, Timothy L., *Called unto Holiness. The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years*, Kansas City: Nazerene Publishing House, 1962.
Taylor, Mendell, *Fifty Years of Nazarene Missions*, 3 vols., Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press, 1952–1958.

Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society

Covell, Ralph R., *Mission Impossible: The Unreached Nosu on China's Frontier*, Pasadena, Calif.: Hope Pub. House, 1990.
Founded on the Word, Focused on the World: The Story of the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society, Wheaton, Ill.: CBFMS, 1978.
Meibei jinxin xuandaohui 美北浸信宣道會 (Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society), s.l.: Meibei jinxin xuandaohui, 1988.

Covenant Missionary Society

Matson, Peter, *Our China Mission: A Story of the Mission Covenants Work in China*, Chicago: Covenant Book Concern, 1934.

Danish Missionary Society

Buch, Kirsten Berggreen, *Hver en storm: vækst og brydninger i Harbin Lutherske kirke og det Danske Missionsselskabs indsats*, Valby: Unitas, 2000.

Door of Hope and Children's Refuge

Gronewold, Sue Ellen, "Encountering Hope: The Door of Hope Mission in Shanghai and Taibei 1900–1976", Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1996.

Evangelical Lutheran Mission of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States

Arndt, Edward J., "Flashback in the History of the China Mission [of the LCMS]", *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 66,2 (1993), pp. 75–92.
Meyer, Richard H., "The Missouri Evangelical Lutheran Mission to China", unpublished M. A. thesis, Washington University, 1948.
Suelflow, Roy A., "The Mission Enterprise of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in Mainland China: 1913–1952", unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1971.

Free Evangelical Assemblies of Norway

Froholt, Asbjørn, *De Frie Evangeliske Forsamlingers Misjon 75 år. Et jubileumsskrift*, Moss: Elias Forlag, [1985].

Friedenshort Deaconess Mission

50 Jahre Friedenshort-Missionsarbeit 1912–1962, ed. by the Friedenshort Mission, Lahr-Dinglingen, 1962.
Welzel, Margarete, *Boten des himmlischen Königs. 40 Jahre Missionsarbeit in den Bergen Chinas*, Freudenberg, 1959.

German Women's Bible Union

Brandt, Käte, *Steine gab's und immer Brot. 75 Jahre MBK—Geschichte und Geschichten*, Bad Salzuflen: MBK-Verlag, 1994.
mbk-mission 1925–1965 (Festschrift), ed. by the MBK-Mission, Bad Salzuflen, 1965.
Reiswitz, Ursula von, *Missionsanfänge in Hochwan und Wusheng*, Bad Salzuflen: MBK-Verlag, 1949.
Was Gott an uns gewendet hat. Gestern und heute in der MBK-Arbeit, Bad Salzuflen: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für evangelische Frauen- und Mädchen-Bibel-Kreise [MBK], 1959.

German Women's Missionary Union

Bülow, Marie von, *Lichtträgerinnen. Zeugnisse aus dem Leben einiger Missionarinnen des Deutschen Frauenmissions-Gebetsbundes*, Lahr-Dinglingen: Verlag der St.-Johannis-Druckerei, 1952.
Pasut, Ursula, *Frauen in der Welt, Frauen in der Mission. Geschichte und Gegenwart des Deutschen Frauen-Missions-Gebetsbundes (DFMGB)*, 2nd ed., Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1985.

Gospel Mission (Baptist)

Adrian Lamkin, Jr., "The Gospel Mission Movement within the Southern Baptist Convention", Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1980.

Hildesheim Mission to the Blind

Gisela Schulte, *Frauen tragen die Hälfte des Himmels: hervorragende Frauen in der Arbeit der Hildesheimer Blindenmission: aus dem Leben von Louise Cooper, Martha Postler und Wong Bo Oi: Festgabe zum 110jährigen Bestehen der Hildesheimer Blindenmission*, Hildesheim: s.n., 2000.

Hunan Bible Institute (BIOLA)

Harrison, Robert T., "Biola in China: The Hunan Bible Institute and Its Ongoing Legacy", (1985). MS in the General Holdings of Rose Memorial Library, Biola University.
Clements, Charles Everleigh, "The Bible Institute of Los Angeles in China: An American Missionary Experience as Viewed from the Stewart Papers", M.A. dissertation, California State University, Fullerton, 1975.

Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Mission (KMB)

Wiens, A. K., and Gertrude Wiens, *Shadowed by the Great Wall: The Story of Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Missions in Inner Mongolia (1922–1949)*, Hillsboro, Kansas: General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, Board of Christian Literature, 1979.

Liebenzell Mission

Steinhilber, Wilhelm, *In aller Welt am Netz. Festschrift zum 75. Jubiläum der Liebenzeller Mission*, Bad Liebenzell: Verlag der Liebenzeller Mission, 1974.

Lutheran Board of Missions

Frederik Ditmanson, *They Carry On: Past and Present Experiences and Future Needs and Hopes of the Lutheran Free Church Mission in China* (1944).

Lutheran Brethren Mission

Levang, Joseph H., *The Church of the Lutheran Brethren: 1900–1975*, Fergus Falls, Minn.: Lutheran Brethren Publishing Company, 1980.
Kilen, Juline R., *Forty Years in China: A Brief History of the Church of the Lutheran Brethren Mission Work in China, 1902–1942*, Fergus Falls, Minn.: Broderbaandet Publishing Company, 1942.

Lutheran United Mission

Syrdal, Rolf, *White Unto Harvest in China: A Survey of the Lutheran United Mission of the N.L.C.A., 1890–1934*, Minneapolis: Board of Foreign Missions, 1934.

Mennonite Brethren Church

Janzen, A.E., *Foreign Missions: Mennonite Brethren Mission in West China*, Hillsboro, Kansas: Board of Foreign Missions, 1949.
Wiens, Frank J., *Fifteen years among the Hakkas of South China*, n.p. n.d.
Wiens, Frank J., *Pionierarbeit unter den Hakkas in Süd-China*, s.l.: s.n., 1922.

Mennonite Central Committee

Schrag, Tim E., *The Mennonites Confront the Revolution: The Rise and Fall of MCC in China, 1945–50* (1976). Mennonites Contributions Contest Winner, Bethel College, Kansas.

Mennonite General Conference Mission

Brown, Henry J., *The General Conference Mennonite Mission*, Tamingfu: Author, 1940.

National Holiness Mission

Cary, William Walter, *Story of the National Holiness Missionary Society*, Chicago: National Holiness Missionary Society, 1940.

Norway's Free Evangelical Mission to the Heathen / Norwegian Evangelical Mission

Bratlie, J. (ed.), *Pinsevekkelsen i Norge gjennem 30 år: 1907–1937: en kortfattet oversikt over pinsemenighetene og deres virksomhet*, Oslo: Filadelfiaforlag, 1937.
Gulbrandsen, Parley, *Hilsen fra Kina* (1926).
Gulbrandsen, Parley, *Noen tanker om den ytre misjon og en kort oversikt over pinsevennenes misjonsfelt*, Oslo: Filadelfia, [1939].
Rudolph, Willy, *Fra krigen Japan-China: misjonær Willy Rudolphs oplevelser*, Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1938.
Rudolph, Willy, *Jeg kommer i morgen*, Oslo, 1950.
Solvoll, Arnulf, *China på nært holt*, Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1948. Reissued as: *Kina på nært holt*, Hovet: Hermon, 1995.
Witzøe, Ivar M. (ed.), *De aapne døre: Norges frie evangeliske hedningemissions arbeidere og virke gjennem 10 aar*, Larvik: Hedningemissionen, 1925.

Norwegian Alliance Mission

Diesen, Ingulf, and Hallvard Hagelia, *Veien videre: Det Norske misjonsforbund 1884–1984*, Oslo: Ansgar, 1984

Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission

Den Evangelisk lutherske frikirkes Kinamisjon, *De første 25 år: 1916–1941*, Oslo: Kirken, 1941.

Norwegian Lutheran Mission

Misjonsalbumet. Norsk luthersk misjonssambandsmisjonærer of misjonsmarker gjennom 70 år. 1891–1961, Oslo: Gry, 1968.

Norwegian Mission Alliance / 'Tsjilimisjonen'

Dehlin, Harald Stele, *Grotid i øst: en misjonskavalkade: Den Norske misjonsallianse 1901–1976*, Oslo: Lutherforlag, 1976.
Hjelm-Larsen, Harald, *Komme ditt rike: Den norske Misjonsallianse i 50 år 1901–1951*, Oslo: Den norske Misjonsallianse, [1951].

Norwegian Mission in China

50 år i Mesterens tjeneste: Den Norske kinamisjon 1889–1939, Oslo, 1939.
Lunde, Albert, *Den norske kinamisjon (ass. C.I.M.) gjennem 40 år: 1889–1929*, Oslo: printed at Nikolai Olsens boktrykkeri, 1929.

Norwegian Missionary Society

Tschudi, Aadel Brun, "The Occupation of a Field: The Norwegian Missionary Society in Hunan", in *Norge-Kina: Kompendium fra seminar våren og høsten 1972*, Oslo: Østasiatisk Institut, Universitetet i Oslo, n.d., pp. 84–94.

Norwegian Tibet Mission

Eriksen, Th., and K. Alvheim, *Kristen misjon i et lukket land: Den Norske Tibetmisjon histore*, Oslo: Luther forlag, 1978.
I Guds tid; Den Norske Tibetmisjon 60 år (Jubilee No. of *Tibetaneren* July–August 1998).
Voreland, Asbjørn (ed.), *Tibetmisjonen gjennom 50 år: 1938–1988*, Oslo: Tibetmisjonen, [1988].

Orebro Missionary Society

100 år i ord och bild—Örebromissionen 1892–1992, Örebro, 1992.

Oriental Missionary Society

Kilbourne, Edwin W., *Bridge Across the Century*. Vol. 1: *Japan—Korea—China*, Greenwood, Indiana: OMS International, 2001.
Wood, Robert D., *In these Mortal Hands: The Story of the Oriental Missionary Society; the First 50 Years*, Greenwood, Indiana: Oriental Missionary Society, 1983.

Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada

Miller, Thomas William, *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada*, Mississauga, Ont., Canada: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994.

Pentecostal Assemblies of the World

Golder, Morris E., *History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World*, Indianapolis: Pentecostal Assemblies of the World?, 1973.

Pentecostal Holiness Mission

Beacham, A., Jr., *A Brief History of the Pentecostal Holiness Church* (1983).
Campbell, Joseph E., *The Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1898–1948*, Advocate Press, 1949.

Synan, Vinson, *The Old-Time Power: A History of the Pentecostal Holiness Church* (1973).
Synan, Vinson, *The Old-Time Power The Centennial History of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church*, Franklin Springs, GA: Life Springs Resources, 1998.
Turner, W[illiam] H[enry], *Pioneering In China*, Franklin Springs, GA: Publishing House of the PHC, 1928.

Pentecostal Missionary Union

Gee, Donald, *Wind and Flame.* Incorporating the former book 'The Pentecostal movement' with additional chapters, [Croydon] : Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1967.

Presbyterian Church of Korea

Choi Young-woong, "The Mission of the Presbyterian Church of Korea in Shandong, North China, 1913–1957", in Klaus Koschorke (ed.), *Transkontinentale Beziehungen in der Geschichte des Außereuropäischen Christentums / Transcontinental Links in the History of Non-Western Christianity*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002) pp. 117–130.
Kim Hwal-young, "Mission to 'Samaria': A History of the China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Korea (1912–1959)", D. Miss. diss., Reformed Theological Seminary, Jackson, Miss., 1993. Published as Hwal-young Kim, *From Asia to Asia: A Study on Mission History of the Presbyterian Church (1876–1992)*, Manila: Philippine Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, 1994.

Presbyterian Church of New Zealand

Davis, Herbert, *The Canton Villages Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, Dunedin [N.Z.]: Foreign Missions Committee, 1916.
Jansen, E[lwyn] G[eorge], *Jade Engraved: New Zealand Missionaries and Their Chinese Colleages in Japan's "China Incident"*, Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1947.
McNeur, George Hunter, *Viewing and Visiting the Canton Villages*, Dunedin [N. Z.]: Foreign Missions Committee of The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1903.

Reformed Presbyterian Mission

Our Mission in Manchuria [Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America. Board of Foreign Missions], Philadelphia?: Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, Board of Foreign Missions, 1936.
Robb, Alice Elizabeth, *Hoi Moon = Open Door: Fifty-five Years of Reformed Presbyterian Mission Work in South China*, Pittsburgh: Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Presbyterian Church (Covenanter) of North America, ca. 1970.
Taggart, D[avid] Raymond (ed.), *Forty Years in Our China Mission* [Topeka, Kan.: The Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed presbyterian Church of North America, 1936]. "An outline sketch written by three former missionaries to this field, Drs. A. I and J. K. Robb, and the Rev. Jesse Mitchel, and published in the form of three articles in the *Covenanter Witness* in the year 1934."

Saalem Mission (Finnish Pentecostal)

Luoto, Valtter, *Into the Storm*, Chennai: Maranetha Full Gospel Association, 1999. Trans. and revised from the original Finnish version: *Merta päin: lähetysmatkoilla Toimi Yrjölän mukana* (Vantaa: RV-kirjat, 1980; [Keuruu]: [Aika], 1999). This

biography of Toimi Leonard Yrjölä 俞友來 (1909–1989) provides the best account of Finnish Pentecostal missionary work in Manchuria. An improved 2nd English-language edition has since been published in India.

Salvation Army

Yee, Check-Hung, *Good Morning China—The Chronicle of The Salvation Army in China 1916–2000*, Alexandria, Va.: Crest Books, Salvation Army National Publications, 2005.

Scandinavian Alliance Mission

Beckman, E[rik] R[ichard], *The Massacre at Sianfu: and other Experiences in Connection with the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America*, Chicago: [J. V. Martenson], 1913.

For Nils J. Friedström's 費安河 account of the mission's Mongolia field (SAMM 協同會), see:

Princell, Josephine (ed.), *Alliansmissionens tjugufemårsminnen* (25th anniversary reminiscences of the Alliance Mission), Chicago: Skandinaviska Alliansmissionen, 1916, pp. 386–403.

Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission

Freytag, Justus (ed.), *Zwischen Fremdheit und Nähe. China und Nordelbien: 100 Jahre kirchliche Beziehungen*, Schenefeld: EB-Verlag, 2003.

Seventh-Day Advent Mission

Fernandez, Gil G. (ed.), *Light Dawns over Asia: Adventism's Story in the Far Eastern Division 1888–1988*, Silang, Cavite: Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies (AIIAS) Publications, 1990.

Swedish Alliance Mission

Öberg, Torgny, *Karavanklockornas land*, Stockholm: Folkets i Bilds förlag, 1957.

Utanför muren: skildringar från Svenska Alliansmissionens verksamhet i norra Kina, Jonköping, 1937.

Swedish American Mission

Norton, Hugo Wilbert, "The Contribution of the Evangelical Free Church of America to Foreign Missions". Th. D. dissertation, Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, Chicago, 1955. xiv, 249 leaves.

Norton, Hugo Wilbert, *European Background and History of Evangelical Free Church Foreign Missions, 1887–1955*. 2nd rev. ed., Moline, Ill.: Christian Service Foundation, 1964.

Swedish Baptist Mission

Danielson, Hjalmar, and K.A. Modén, *Femtio år i Kina: kort historik över Svenska Baptistsamfundets verksamhet i Kina 1891–1941*, Stockholm: Baptistmissionens Bokförlags, 1941.

Swedish Free Mission / Free Church of Sweden

Johannesson, Jan-Endy, *Dokumentation av svensk pingstmission i Kina* (Research Reports in Missiology, Mission History and Missionary Anthropology, Report No. 3), Stockholm: PMU Mission Institute, 1988.
For comments conerning the relationship between the Swedish Free Mission and the short-lived Free Church of Sweden mission, see the relevant entry in the archives section *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part II, 1.2.3. Manuscript sources in archives)*.

United Brethren in Christ (Old Constitution/Radicals)

Bowman, Ellen, *Our Mission in China (1959).*

Young Men's Christian Association of China

Garrett, Shirley S[tone], *Social Reformers in Urban China: The Chinese YMCA, 1895–1926*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.
Xing, Jun [Hsing, Chün], *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution The American Social Gospel and the YMCA in China, 1919–1937*, Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press, 1996.

Young Women's Christian Association of China

Garner, Karen, *Precious Fire: Maud Russell and the Chinese Revolution*, Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003.
Littell-Lamb, Elizabeth A., "Going Public: the YMCA, 'New' Women, and Social Feminism in Republican China", Ph.D. diss., Carnegie Mellon University, 2002.

Local histories of Christianity

In recent years Chinese scholars have begun to produce historical accounts of Christianity in particular provinces or of particular Christian communities. In addition to the publications mentioned under late Qing sources *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 1. Sources 1800–1911)*, the following examples provide coverage of the Republican period:

Bao Guizhen 寶貴貞 and Song Changhong 宋長宏, *Menggu minzu Jidu zongjiao shi* 蒙古民族基督宗教史 (History of Mongol Christianity), Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2008.
Disanjie jindai Zhongguo Jidujiao shi yantaohui: Xianggang Jidujiao shi 第三屆近代中國基督教史研討會: 香港基督教史 (Third Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China: History of Christianity in Hongkong), Xianggang: Modern History Research Centre, Hong Kong Baptist University 香港浸會大學近代史研究中心; Christianity and Chinese Culture Research Centre, Alliance Bible Seminary 建道神學院基督教與中國文化研究中心, 2003. 2 vols.
Contains articles in Chinese and English.
Dong Renda 東人達, *Dian Qian Chuan bian Jidujiao chuanbo yanjiu, 1840–1949* 滇黔川邊基督教傳播研究, 1840–1949 (Study of the spread of Christianity in Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan, 1840–1949), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2004.
Liu Jixi 劉吉西 et al. (eds.), *Sichuan Jidujiao* 四川基督教 (Christianity in Sichuan), Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1992.
Xu Bingsan 徐炳三, "Cong jindai Fuzhou Jidu jiaohui kan nü xintu de jiaohui diwei" 從近代福州基督教會看女信徒的教會地位 (The position of female Christians in

the Church from the perspective of modern Christianity in Fuzhou), *Zongjiao xue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 (Religious studies) (2007.2), pp. 210–215.
Xu Bingsan 徐炳三, "Jindai Zhongguo Dongbei Jidujiao yanjiu: yi zheng jiao guanxi wei yanjiu shijiao (1867–1945)" 近代中國東北基督教研究: 以政教關係爲研究視角 (1867–1945), Ph.D. diss., Central China Normal University 華中師範大學, 2008.
Yang Xuezheng 楊學政 and Ying Fuk-tsang 刑福增 (eds.), *Yunnan Jidujiao chuanbo ji xian zhuang diaocha yanjiu* 雲南基督教傳播及現狀調查研究 (The spread of Christianity in Yunnan, past and present), Xianggang: Jiandao shenxueyuan, 2004.
Ying Fuk-tsang 刑福增, *Xianggang Jidujiao shi yanjiu daolun* 香港基督教史研究導論 (Introduction to Chinese Church history of Hongkong), Xianggang: Jiandao shenxueyuan, 2004.
Yu Yuliang 庾裕良, Chen Renhua 陳仁華 and Wu Guoqiang 吳國強 (eds.), *Tianzhujiao, Jidujiao zai Guangxi ziliao huibian* 天主教基督教在廣西資料匯編 (Collection of source material on the Catholic and Protestant religions), Nanning: Guangxi minzu chubanshe, 1985.

Further examples of local studies are listed in the section on Christianity among the ethnic minorities. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part II, 4.7. Christianity and China's ethnic minorities)*

1.3.2. *Biographies*

General biographical dictionaries

In addition to the biographical dictionaries mention in Part I, the following work offers brief data on American missionaries to China:

David Shavit, *The United States in Asia: A Historical Dictionary*, New York etc.: Greenwood Press, 1990.

Chinese Christians

Boorman, Howard L., Richard C. Howard and Joseph K.H. Cheng (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1967–1979. 3 vols.
Hamrin, Carol Lee, with Stacey Bieler (eds.), *Salt and Light: Lives of Faith that Shaped Modern China*, Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2009.

Members of a Roman Catholic religious order or congregation

For members of a religious order or congregation (mainly Western but also including Chinese) it is important to identify the religious order or congregation to which they belong. If it is not known to which order or congregation a certain missionary belonged, *Bibliotheca Missionum* (*BM*) should be checked, for it gives short biographical information on many missionaries (see the pages indicated by an asterisk in the index of authors or of persons in the respective *BM* volumes):

Streit, Robert, continued by Johannes Dindinger, Johannes Rommerskirchen, Josef Metzler and Nikolaus Kowalsky (eds.), *Bibliotheca Missionum*,
Vol. XIII, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1885–1909*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1959.
Vol. XIV/1, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1910–1950*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1960.
Vol. XIV/2, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1910–1950*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1960.

Vol. XIV/3, *Chinesische Missionsliteratur, 1910–1950*, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1961.

The following annual directories of the Catholic missions in China provide basic information on regular and secular foreign and Chinese clergy—as well as in some cases on sisters in charge of religious communities of women—in the various mission territories, namely the French version of an individual's name, the Chinese character for the *xing* 姓, and the mission station.

Annuaire des missions catholiques de Chine, Shanghai: Bureau Sinologique de Zi-ka-wei; Imprimerie de T'ou-sè-wè, 1932–1950.

Les missions de Chine et du Japon, compiled by J.-M. Planchet, Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1916-; later called *Les missions de Chine*, [par les] Lazaristes du Pei-t'ang (Peking), Shanghai: Procure des Lazaristes, 1936–1940/1941.

During the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, a separate directory was published for the missions in this part of the country:

Annuaire des Missions catholiques du Manchoukuo, Moukden: Impr. de la Mission Catholique, 1935–1940.

Clerks Regular of the Immaculate Conception

Album of the Deceased Members of the Congregation of Marian Clerics of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, 1700–1998, Andrew R. Maczynski, MIC, Project Coordinator. 1st printed edition, Stockbridge: Marian Press, 1999. In English and Polish.

Franciscans (Order of Friars Minor)

Menz, Kilian (comp.), *Necrologium Fratrum Minorum in Sinis*, Peiping: Domus Franciscana Li-Kwang-kiao, 1948; 3rd ed. compiled by Daniel Van Damme, Hong Kong: Tan Pin Ko School, 1978.

Jesuits

Societatis Jesu, *Status Missionis Nankinensis*, (Zikawei),1882–1932.

Lazarists

Van den Brandt, Joseph, *Les Lazaristes en Chine, 1697–1935: Notes biographiques*, Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazarists Pei-T'ang, 1936.

Ferreux, Octave, *Histoire de la Congrégation de la Mission en Chine (1699–1950)*, Paris, 1956; Chinese translation (by Wu Zongwen 吳宗文): *Qianshi hui zai Hua chuanjiao shi* 遣使會 在華傳教史, Taibei: 華明書局, 1977.

Missions Étrangères de Paris

Launay, Adrien, *Mémorial de la Société des Missions-Étrangères*, Paris: Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, 1916. 2 vols.

PROTESTANT

China directories

The China Mission Year Book, Being "The Christian movement in China". Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1910–1925 (vols. 1–13); continued with vol. 14 as *China Christian Year Book*, Shanghai, 1926-. Reprinted Taibei, 1973.
See also the Chinese version: *Zhonghua Jidu jiaohui nianjian* 中華基督教會年鑒 (The Chinese Christian church year book), Shanghai: 1914–1936.

Directory of Protestant Missions in China . . . In the Order of Missions Under the Various Stations in Each Province, with an Alphabetical List of Mission Workers, edited for the China Continuation Committee (later for the National Christian Council of China) by Charles Luther Boynton, Shanghai: Christian Literature Society Depot / Kwang Hsüeh Publishing House, 1915–. Previously published as a section of the *China Mission Year Book*. Directories for the following years are known to exist: 1916, 1921, 1923–24, 1926–30, 1932–36, 1940, 1950. The 1940 directory was printed and published by The North-China Daily News & Herald, Ltd., Shanghai.

The Educational Directory and Year Book of China, Shanghai: Educational Directory and Year Book of China Publishing Co., 1914– . "A reference book for all interested in education in China." Annual. Continues *Educational Directory of China*.
Consists of 3 parts. Part 1 contains information of a general and education nature; Part 2 is a directory of teachers in colleges and schools, university professors, lecturers and others connected with education; Part 3 is a directory of schools, colleges, universities and medical schools, arranged according to provinces, together with the names of the staffs and dother information.

The Educational Directory for China: An Account of the Various Schools and Colleges Connected with Protestant Missions, and also Government and Private Schools under Foreign Supervision, comp. Nathaniel Gist Gee, [Suzhou:] Educational Association of China, 1905. 2nd issue.

Mission Educational Directory for China; Containing a Brief Description of Educational Institutions Connected with Protestant Missions, with a List of the Protestant Missionaries in the Chinese Empire, Shanghai, 1910.

During the Republican period Taiwan was excluded from the Protestant China directories. See the Japanese directories and Christian year books.

The following publication lists missionaries in charge of the China operations of missionary societies:

1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China Under Protestant Auspices, compiled by Charles Luther Boynton and Charles Dozier Boynton, Shanghai: published for The National Christian Council of China by the Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 1936. This publication also lists most Protestant missionary societies with work in China and provides information on a number of interdenominational associations.

China Inland Mission

Benson, Linda K., *Across China's Gobi: The Lives of Evangeline French, Mildred Cable, and Francesca French of the China Inland Mission*, Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2008.

Disciples of Christ (FCM; UCMS)

They Went to China: Biographies of Missionaries of the Disciples of Christ, Indianapolis: Dept. of Missionary Education, United Christian Missionary Society, 1948.

Brief biographical sketches of Norwegian Protestant missionaries to China, representing a number of Norwegian missionary societies, are found in the

Norsk Misjonsleksikon. Utgitt med tilsludning fra Norsk Misjonsråd og de misjoner dette representerer. Redaksjon: Fridtjov Birkeli et al., Stavanger, Norway: Nomi, 1965–1967. 3 vols.
Note that the new online introduction to the NMS mission archive has biographical details for its missionaries to China, Hongkong and Taiwan. Although very brief, the information complements and updates the NMS entries in the *Norsk Misjonsleksikon*. URL: http://www.mhs.no/arkiv/category_56.shtml

Electronic databases

In recent years two online biographical databases have been launched, aiming to produce brief biographical sketches of foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians. They are works in progress.

Ricci 21st Century Roundtable Database on the History of Christianity in China, hosted by the Ricci Instiute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, includes a biographical section with information on individuals who have played a role in the history of Christianity in China. This section includes, but is not limited to, missionaries, teachers, doctors, ordained and lay Chinese converts, critics, and the literati. URL: http://ricci.rt.usfca.edu/roundtable.html

Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity 華人基督教史人物辭典, administered by the Global China Center, Charlottesville, Virginia, U.S.A.
This resource intends to record the "Life Stories of Significant Figures in Chinese Christianity Across the Centuries and Around the World". Since this project is still in its initial stages, most of the entries thus far have been copied from published general biographical dictionaries, especially from the *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (1998), which contains biographical sketches of mainly Western missionaries. URL: http://www.bdcconline.net

Miscelleneous Online Resources

The American Context of China's Christian Colleges and Schools. A co-operative project to provide access to primary source materials documenting the interaction between the China Christian colleges and American liberal arts colleges between 1900 and 1950. URL: http://www.library.yale.edu/div/colleges/

China Christian Colleges and Universities Image Database. This database provides detailed description of photographs and films held in the archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia and the Lingnan University Board of Trustees. URL: http://research.yale.edu:8084/ydlchina/index.jsp

Missionary Periodicals Database. Records all periodicals on foreign missions published in the United Kingdom between the eighteenth century and the 1960s by missionary societies and commercial publishers. URL: http://research.yale.edu:8084/missionperiodicals/

Nanking Massacre Project. A digital archive of documents and photographs from American missionaries who witnessed the Japanese invasion and occupation of Nanjing in 1937. Special Collections of the Yale Divinity School Library. URL: http://www.library.yale.edu/div/Nanking/

Researching World Christianity: Doctoral Dissertations on Mission Since 1900 lists 242 dissertations on Chinese Christianity: URL: http://resources.library.yale.edu/dissertations/srchresults.asp

Note also the **Internet Mission Photography Archive** (IMPA) which offers historical images from Protestant and Catholic missionary collections in Britain, Norway, Germany, and the United States. The photographs reveal the physical influence of missions, visible in mission compounds, churches, and school buildings, as well as the cultural impact of mission teaching, religious practices, and Western technology and fashions. Indigenous peoples' responses to missions and the emergence of indigenous churches are represented, as are views of landscapes, cities, and towns before and in the early stages of modern development. URL: http://digarc.usc.edu/impa/controller/index.htm

An associated project is the **Basel Mission Picture Archive**: http://www.bmpix.org/index.html

2. The Actors

2.1. The Catholic Church in China 1900–1949

Robert E. Carbonneau

The Chinese term *luan* 亂 offers a fluid means to interpret the history of the Catholic Church within China from 1900 to 1949.[1] China's disorder and malaise permeated the simultaneously iconoclastic and dynamic Catholic mission efforts of the era under study. Relying on an established Eurocentric organisational foundation of the nineteenth century, twentieth-century Catholicism continued to participate, serve, and grow in China. Uncertain Chinese political and social conditions often imposed limits of participation for contemporaries, including foreign missionaries and Chinese Catholics. While stable and healthy development of the Catholic Church was a goal, *luan* necessitated that Catholics be adaptable in gospel witness and societal contributions. Compounding the issue was the Chinese view that Catholicism possessed *wai guo* 外國 (foreign) status and a scepticism as to how a *ben guo jiaohui* 本國教會 (native Church) would function over time. This section summarises four periods between 1900 to 1949. Comments on historiography and a bibliography conclude the article.

Sustaining Presence: 1900 to 1918

1900 saw 720,540 Catholics in 41 vicariates and prefectures apostolic. Of 1,375 priests 471 were Chinese; 904 were foreign. By 1910 Catholics had increased to 1,292,287 in 47 jurisdictions; 638 were Chinese and 1,438 were foreign.[2] The Boxer Uprising in 1900 epitomises *luan.* More than antiforeign and anti-Christian persecutors, the Box-

[1] *Luan* has had political overtones. It is defined as "Disorderly; reckless. Rebellion. To confuse." See *Mathews Chinese-English Dictionary*, Shanghai: China Inland Mission 1931, p. 600. Also, in part, as "in disorder; in a mess; in confusion"; disorder, upheaval, chaos; riot; unrest, turmoil; confuse, mix up jumble. confused (state of mind); in a turmoil. See *The Pinyin Chinese-English Dictionary,* Beijing: Beijing Commercial Press, 1992, p. 447.

[2] Statistical information varies. Unless noted Catholic statistics are taken from Gregory Grady, S. J. "The Fortitude of Catholics In China" *Worldmission* 12 (February, 1951), p. 27. It was common not to include total number of Catholic Sisters working in China in many official statistical lists.

ers represented political and social rebellion among Chinese. Almost one hundred European Catholic missionaries and over thirty thousand Chinese Catholics were killed—becoming the new martyrs. The psychic impact upon missionaries reverberated beyond the event, for the Boxer phenomenon could always rise again. By the late 1940s the Communists understood the Chinese Boxers killed by foreign troops as symbols of true opposition to the imperialist missionary who had continued to gain unfair stature by way of the Boxer indemnities exacted after 1900.

The end of the Qing Dynasty and the new Republic (1912) saw provinces seek greater independence. Confucian tradition was re-examined in light of Western influence and business. Warlords and bandits caused havoc. Confronting this instability, violence, and death, Catholics tried to sustain their presence. More rural than urban, Catholicism had a foothold in most provinces by 1911 through the missionary efforts of priests, sisters, and lay brothers from European religious congregations.[3] Chinese Catholic converts tended to be poor; families more than individuals. Influenced by Chinese catechists, many were required to cease traditional or 'pagan' rituals. Greater emphasis was placed on secondary schooling, but hospital work remained limited. Greater importance was attached to further developing the orphanage system. Chinese catechetical tracts were printed. Aurora University was founded in 1903. Financial support came from overseas as well as mission property owned by the missionaries in China. Mission initiatives in China under *Propaganda Fide* in Rome were held in check by the unequal treaties. France possessed inordinate power to curtail attempts at Vatican-Chinese rapprochement in the early decades. Chinese Catholicism's skewed dependency on European missionaries became apparent when many were called home by their governments during World War I (1914–1918).

However, a group of European priests, led by Vincent-Frédéric-Marie Lebbe 雷鳴遠 and Antoine Cotta 湯作霖, deplored the foreign character of the Catholic Church and the inequality between Chinese priests and European missionaries. They sought a new voice for Chinese Catholics and argued that racial considerations hampered the

[3] For the geographical distribution of Catholics at the end of the Qing Empire, see the following table in the Appendix of Handbook II: "Catholics in the Qing Empire, 1911".

recruitment of Chinese priests. In particular, their blatant treatment as second-class members precluded gaining vocations from the Chinese middle and upper classes. It was above all the Laoxikai Affair in October 1916, i.e. the riots provoked by the French annexation of the Chinese quarter of Laoxikai 老西開 to the French Concession in Tianjin to include the newly built Laoxikai church, which made Lebbe and Cotta realise that the French religious protectorate was an obstacle to the creation of a truly Chinese Church.[4] In 1917 they and a group of like-minded European and Chinese priests were banished from Tianjin by the mission's superiors. Lebbe complained that they were treated like "apostates, Protestants, rebels, rule-breakers".[5]

Lebbe was born on 19 August 1877 in Belgium. He entered the Congregation of the Mission in 1895 and worked as a Lazarist missionary in the Tianjin mission between 1901–1917. Beginning in 1901, he promoted the idea of an authentic Chinese clergy and Church, as well as an end to European ecclesiastical imperialism. He urged lay Catholics to dialogue with the wider issues facing China. In 1915 he and a group of Chinese Catholics started the first Catholic daily newspaper, the influential *Yishibao* 益世報 [Social Welfare]. However, on account of his activities, Lebbe was transferred to Zhejiang province in 1917. In 1920, as a consequence of his controversial stance on European domination of the church in China, he was sent back to Europe by the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities. Upon his return to China seven years later, he became a Chinese citizen in 1928 and served under a newly ordained Chinese bishop. He founded two Chinese religious congregations: The Little Brothers of St. John the Baptist 耀漢小兄弟會, and The Little Sisters of St. Theresa of the Child Jesus 德來小妹妹會. He died in China in 1940.[6]

Cotta was born in Cairo on 7 January 1872 and came to France in 1891 to enter the Congregation of the Mission. He served as a missionary in Madagascar between 1898 and 1905 and in China from 1906 to 1919. Having been forced out of the mission by his Lazarist superiors,

---

[4] For a brief account of the Laoxikai Affair, see Soetens, *L'église catholique en Chine au XX^e siècle*, pp. 72–73.

[5] Lebbe to Vanneufville, Shaoxing, [21 January 1918], in *Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe*, Vol. I, p. 77.

[6] See Van den Brandt, No. 411, pp. 142–143; *BDCM*, pp. 388–389.

he subsequently went to the United States and joined the Maryknoll Fathers. He died in 1957.[7]

Other prominent Chinese Catholic voices included the Shanghai businessman and benefactor Lu Bohong (Joseph Lo Pa-hong) 陸伯鴻 (1875–1937) who was the moving spirit behind the foundation of Catholic Action in 1912 and remained influential until his assassination. The Chinese Catholic diplomat Lu Zhengxiang 陸征祥, later known as Dom Pierre-Célestin Lou Tseng-Tsiang OSB, (1871–1949), promoted contact between the China and the Vatican. Between 1900–1918 Chinese Catholicism sustained its presence with a European identity. It welcomed but did not implement an indigenous organisational structure and character.

Hope and Reorganisation: 1919 to 1934

In 1920, 52 regions served 1,994,483 Catholics; there were 963 Chinese and 1,417 foreign priests. By 1930, there were 2,498,015 Catholics, 1,438 Chinese priests, and 2,164 foreign priests.[8]

The papal encyclical *Maximum Illud* (1919), shaped in part by Vincent Lebbe, ushered forth a new *post-guerre* world-wide mission impulse and hope for Chinese Catholicism. *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1926) created a native episcopacy when six Chinese bishops were installed on October 28, 1926. Was this a new era or a new policy in the Chinese Catholic Church?[9] In 1928 there were 2,527 Chinese sisters and 414 brothers. Regional and diocesan seminarians numbered 722.[10]

Celso Benigno Luigi Costantini 剛恆毅 (1876–1958), having been elevated to titular Archbishop of Theodosiopolis in Arcadia, was sent to China as Apostolic Delegate 宗座代表 in 1922, French opposition notwithstanding. He advocated a new vision for Catholic China.[11] Buoyed by an influx of zealous North American and European missionaries, often with greater financial resources, the Catholic missionary

[7] See Van den Brandt, No. 511, p. 172; *BDCM*, p. 154.

[8] Grady, op. cit.

[9] Pascal M. D'Elia, *Catholic Native Episcopacy in China*, sets the tone and raises the question.

[10] *The Sign* 9 (May 1930), p. 618.

[11] On his activities in China, see Celso Costantini, *Con i missionari in Cina*. See also Ticozzi, "Celso Costantini's Contribution to the Localization and Inculturation of the Church in China".

enterprise was revitalised and internationalised.[12] Costantini called the first plenary council, held in Shanghai from 15 May to 12 June 1924, to reorganise priorities. Accordingly, nationality and citizenship were to be secondary to the Gospel. Chinese clergy and missionaries were to have equal rights. Chinese was to be the primary language. Religious women were to be employed to educate girls. Education in schools and universities was affirmed. Chinese customs were not to be criticised. Fu Jen University 輔仁大學 was established in Beijing (1926). To implement indigenisation, the *Commissio Synodalis* 公教教育聯合會 (Synodal Commission) of the Roman Catholic Church in China was inaugurated in 1928.

Costantini, however, walked a political tightrope. The 1927 decision not to request indemnity or "compensation for the blood of martyrs" for murdered missionaries depicted the Holy See as less imperialistic; yet it frustrated foreign diplomats who valued extraterritoriality.[13] Where then did missionary allegiance reside, citizenship or gospel? Unresolved, the question haunted missionaries through the 1950s. Due to ill health Costantini left in 1933 and was replaced by Mario Zanin 察寧 (1890–1958) in 1934.

The *waiguo* remained suspect during the May Fourth Movement (1919), the rise of Chinese Communists (1921), Chiang Kai-shek's Northern Expedition (1926–1928), and the Long March (1934). Strident Communist and Nationalist anti-Christian policy forced Catholic missionaries to evacuate many interior missions in 1927. "Reds", bandits, and warlords were often indistinguishable. All at some time killed or held missionaries for ransom. Occasionally, missionaries negotiated local disputes and cared for wounded soldiers. Regional flooding and famine often conditioned the degree of evangelical success.

---

[12] Alongside several smaller North American Catholic missionary groups, the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll Fathers) and Scarboro Foreign Mission Society are particularly noteworthy. For further details, see Jean-Paul Wiest, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918–1955*, Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1988; Grant Maxwell, *Assignment Chekiang: 71 Canadians in China, 1902–1954*, Scarboro, Ont.: Scarboro Foreign Mission Society, 1982. For a complete list of missionary societies in China, see the relevant tables in the appendix of this *Handbook*.

[13] See "Instructions given by the Apostolic Delegate to Bishops having to deal with questions of indemnity" Peking. August 2, 1927. Located in National Archives of the United States. Record Group 59. 393.1123 Coveyou, Walter/22.

The myth of the Chinese missionary was at its zenith abroad. Hope reigned. Faithful desired to save pagan babies, pray for martyrs, promote the missionary vocation, dispel communism, and read mission literature of the French Holy Childhood Association or the United States Catholic Student Mission Crusade. Despite reorganisation, Chinese Catholicism possessed foreign, more than native status within the Chinese psyche. Attempts at inculturation had made limited progress.

Growth and Survival: 1935–1945

Despite *luan* Catholics increased to 3,262,678 in 1940. 138 regions had 2,091 Chinese and 3,064 foreign priests. Establishment of the Communist Yan'an base (1934) and the Xi'an Incident (1936) heightened Nationalist-Communist tension. The 1930s worldwide economic depression undercut financial support for Catholic missionaries in China. Christians and Catholics supported Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek who had declared himself a Methodist in 1932. Fear of Chinese Communists was exacerbated by *Divino Redemptoris*, Pius XI's 1937 encyclical against atheistic Communism. The Chinese Rites Controversy came to an end in 1939.

Zanin organised new dioceses and vicariates but the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) impeded progress. Missionaries were interned. Some were killed. In some locales Catholics tried to work with the Japanese. Invasion increased refugee work. National flags painted on mission compounds were supposed to offer protection, but Japanese cared little about neutrality. Destruction was common. Protests to the Japanese did little good. The December 8, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor threatened safety even more. In 1942 the *SS Gripsholm*, a refugee ship, symbolised how Catholic and Protestant missionaries instead of going separate ways, cooperated during disaster.

The news in 1943 that Xie Shoukang [Hsieh Shou-Kang] 謝壽康 presented his credentials to the Pope as the first Chinese minister plenipotentiary to the Vatican indicated maturation of Chinese Catholicism. However, the *China Handbook* [1946] shows Catholicism retained respectful though conditional acceptance under the Kuomintang. Catholicism and Protestantism were "Christian movement[s]," not one of the five accepted Chinese religions. The essay "Catholic Missions" praised the over 100,000 "mission helpers, catechists, teachers, nurses and doctors." But *luan* governed. So Catholic Church bishops were

"ordered…to cooperate with the Chinese Government in the national emergency" as they conducted refugee and medical relief, child welfare and educational work. Missionaries who made the "Supreme Sacrifices" before the Japanese, Communists, and robbers were extolled. Fr. Lebbe received special recognition.

In 1944 of 123 Catholic bishops only 25 were Chinese. Hence the missionaries' allegiance remained suspect. Of the 6,000 Catholic priests, over 500 Italian and German nationals were "enemy aliens" during the Pacific War, although the KMT (Guomindang) allowed "most" of them to preach. By 1945 KMT-CCP conversations advocated freedom of religion with limitations: "Religious beliefs and political ideologies should not be allowed to interfere with school and college administration."[14] Given the government limitations, the efforts of Bishop Paulus Yu-Pin 于斌 (1901–1978) are notable. A member of the All-China Inter-religious Association and China's Who's Who, he was President of the Chinese Catholic Cultural Association founded in 1941 to teach European and American Catholic culture about Chinese Catholicism. It published *Christian Life and Religion and Culture*.[15]

Overall the early 1940s left Chinese Catholicism in a crippled state. Catholic sympathies were with the Nationalists in Chongqing. Chinese Communists, noted Catholic press correspondent Father Cormac (John) Shanahan CP (1899–1987) during his 1944 visit to Yan'an, had little interest in Catholicism. Religion and politics blurred in the Chinese mind when Catholic priests served national armies as military chaplains. Still, the Chinese Catholic Church survived and grew. Priests, sisters, and Chinese Catholics offered heroic assistance to refugees. By 1945 *luan* left China and the Catholic Church emotionally and economically exhausted.

Witness: 1945–1949

By 1948, 3,374,470 Catholics practiced in 20 Archdioceses, 88 Dioceses and 36 Prefectures Apostolic with 3,015 Chinese and 2,676 foreign priests. In 1947, 5,112 out of 7,463 sisters in China were Chinese.[16]

---

[14] *China Handbook 1937–1945*, New York: Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. 570–572.
[15] Ibid., pp. 592, 705, 600–601.
[16] Sisters Statistic in *Worldmission*, p. 23.

The appointment of Thomas Tian 田耕莘 SVD (1890–1967) as archbishop and a small number of Chinese as bishops in 1946 represented development but left many Chinese Catholics who had hopes for strong indigenous leadership disillusioned. Naming Antonio Riberi 黎培理 (1897–1967) Apostolic Internuncio 公使 少年 in 1946 and the appointment of John Wu Jingxiong (John C. H. Wu) 吳經熊 (1899–1986) as Minister Plenipotentiary 全權公使 of the Republic of China to the Vatican fostered hesitant optimism on the eve of the KMT-CCP civil war (1946–1949).

Strong devotional piety of the Legion of Mary and Vatican ties unified Chinese Catholics but made the Communists suspicious. Freedom of religion was theoretical. Oppression of Catholics was widespread and imposed differently in each locale. The Catholic response to Communism was diverse. Foreign and native Catholics faced a difficult choice: evacuate with the Nationalists or stay with the Communists. The issue of *aiguo* 愛國 (love of country) was a question for all, as many foreign missionaries had become culturally Chinese.

The year 1949 brought suffering for foreigners and three million Chinese Catholics, as the Communists launched a campaign of expulsion, imprisonment, torture and death. Most Catholics decided to live under Communism, with a strong faith but mixed success. Sadly, these decisions were to cause a split within the Chinese Catholic Church.

Conclusion

The Chinese experience between 1900 to 1949 poses the question: what constitutes successful missionary work and reinforces mission as a dynamic process. China's perception of missionaries as imperialists has tempered over time. Educational and humanitarian contributions are acknowledged, though the Vatican remains suspect. China's *luan* from 1900 to 1949 was endured and became an inherent part of the Chinese Catholic Church as it grew, and survives today.

Historiography

Historiographical sources show that Latourette (1929) remains crucial to understand the early decades. Wei (1966) provides a valuable narrative and data on missionary efforts through the Cultural Revolution (1966). Crouch (1985) is indispensable for unearthing information to study American Catholic efforts in twentieth century China.

Heyndrickx (1994) has edited a diversified study of international Catholic-Chinese interaction. All complement particular missionary histories exemplified by Wiest (1988) and Whyte (1988).

Chinese sources are uneven. Fang Hao (1973) provides biographical information on Chinese Catholics. An hagiographic study of Cardinal Yu-Pin (1984) is worthwhile, though characterised by a strong anti-Communist sentiment. Chinese Catholics are also discussed in works by Gu Xuejia (1994) and Gu Weimin (1996). Streit's *Bibliotheca Missionum* and *Bibliografia Missionaria* remain invaluable reference works. Non-religious, international business, cultural or government archives, such as Record Group 59 in the National Archives of the United States, offer untapped sources to re-assess missionaries, Catholic culture and Chinese history.

An analytical approach is critical. Mission narrative, data, names, dates, converts, etc. are always of value to the faithful. However, all historians may benefit from the work of, for example, Prasenjit Duara (1995) and Paul Cohen (1997) who discuss Catholicism in China from 1900–1949 as part of diverse theoretical paradigms.

It can be suggested that up to the present, historiographical analysis of the period under study has been hampered, in part, because of an inability to be critical and move beyond the ideological marker of 1949. All parties—the Chinese Communists, the Nationalists, Catholic religious orders, organisations and individuals, the Holy See, and Chinese inside and outside Mainland China—have been correctly judicious, though at times unfortunately hesitant to open up historical sources and reveal the rich historiography of this era of *luan*.

Given past political realities, this is understandable to a degree. Yet, there is no doubt that a profound historical moment to understand twentieth century Catholic China and Chinese culture may be lost if old barriers prevent new opportunities for research. For that reason Catholic archival sources must be preserved so as to learn from each other.

Bibliography

Carbonneau, Robert E., "Journalist and Priest: The Participation of Father Cormac Shanahan, C. P. in the 1944 Press Party to Yan'an, China, His Experience with Communist Leaders and Ministry to Yan'an Catholics", in Noël Golvers and Sara Lievens (eds.), *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jeroom Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven, 2007, pp. 29–52.

China Handbook 1937–1945: A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments in China in Eight Years of War, compiled by the Chinese Ministry of Information and edited by Hollington Kong Tong, New York: Macmillan, 1947. First published in 1943; "revised and enlarged with 1946 supplement".
Cohen, Paul A. *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
Costantini, Celso, *Con i missionari in Cina. Memorie di fatti e di idee*, Roma: Unione Missionaria del Clero in Italia, 1946, 2 vols.
Crouch, Archie, et al., *Christianity in China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1985.
D'Elia, Pasquale M., *Catholic Native Episcopacy in China: Being an Outline of the Formation and Growth of the Chinese Catholic Clergy, 1300–1926*, Shanghai: T'usewei Printing Press, 1927.
Duara, Prasenjit *Rescuing History From the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
Fang Hao 方豪, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao shi renwuzhuan* 中國天主教史人物傳 (Biographies of personalities in Chinese Catholic history), Hongkong: C.T.S., 1973.
Grady, Gregory, "The Fortitude of Catholics in China", *Worldmission* 12 (February, 1951).
Gu Weimin 顧衛民, *Jidujiao yu jindai Zhongguo shehui* 基督教與近代中國社會 (Christianity and modern Chinese society), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1996.
Gu Xuejia 顧學稼, Lin Wei 林霽 and Wu Zonghua 伍宗華 (eds.), *Zhongguo jiaohui daxue shi luncong* 中國教會大學史論叢 (History of Christian universities in China: collected articles), Chengdu: Chengdu keji chubanshe, 1994.
Heyndrickx, Jeroom, *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K.U. Leuven, 1994.
Latourette, Kenneth Scott *A History of Christian Missions In China*, New York: Macmillan, 1929.
Li Shuangqing 李霜青 and Mai Jing 麥菁, *Yidai wanren Yu Pin shuji* 一代完人于斌樞機 (Cardinal Yu-Pin biography), Taibei: Yesheng wenhua shiye gongsi choubeichu, 1984.
Masson, Joseph, *Un millionnaire chinois au service des gueux. Joseph Lo Pa Hong, Shanghai 1875–1937*, Louvain: A.U.C.A.M., 1950.
Maxwell, Grant, *Assignment Chekiang: 71 Canadians in China, 1902–1954*, Scarboro, Ont.: Scarboro Foreign Mission Society, 1982.
Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe: Pour L'église chinoise. I. *La Visite apostolique des missions de Chine 1919–20*. Introduction et notes par Cl[aude] Soetens, (Cahiers de la Revue Théologique de Louvain, 5), Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de la Faculté de Théologie, 1982.
Soetens, Claude, *L'église catholique en Chine au XX^e siècle*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1997.
Sergio Ticozzi, "Celso Costantini's Contribution to the Localization and Inculturation of the Church in China", *Tripod* Vol. 28—No. 148 (Spring 2008).
Wei, Louis Tsing-Sing, *Le Saint-Siège et la Chine*, Paris: A. Allais, 1966.
Whyte, Bob, *Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity*, Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse Publishing, 1988.
Wiest, Jean-Paul, (editorial advisor), *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis: Digests of the Synodal Commission of the Catholic Church in China, 1928–1947*, Bethesda, Md.: CIS Academic Editions, 1988.
Wiest, Jean-Paul, *Maryknoll In China: A History, 1918–1955*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1988.

2.2. Catholic religious communities of women (foreign)

R. G. Tiedemann

In view of the segregation of the sexes in China, the conversion of women presented a serious challenge for the early Catholic missionaries. In order to overcome this serious obstacle, the foreign priests trained indigenous laywomen to propagate the faith among women. Some of these female catechists (*nü chuanjiao xiansheng* 女傳教先生) were deployed as 'baptisers' (*quanxi xiansheng* 權洗先生), especially of moribund children, or more generally in the apostolate among Chinese women. In this respect, the so-called 'institute of virgins' played a particularly important role. These unmarried Catholic females had consecrated their lives to the service of God and the mission. They were called *tongzhen* 童貞, *zhennü* 貞女, or simply *guniang* 古娘. Most of these 'Virgins', usually bound by a private vow of chastity, continued to live secluded lives in the family home. They taught other members of the family to perform their daily prayers, instructed women and children in the Catholic religion, looked after the local chapel and helped the sick and dying. During the first half of the nineteenth century, when the small number of European and Chinese priests were not able to provide adequate pastoral care, the Virgins were crucial to the survival of the faith in many Catholic communities. They remained an important auxiliary force in the China mission well into the twentieth century.[1] *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 2.4.1. Chinese Catholics in the early nineteenth century)*

However, their relatively isolated existences afforded the Virgins an unusual degree of autonomy within the larger Catholic enterprise. Consequently, when European missionaries began to arrive in China in greater numbers in the mid-nineteenth century, they set out to promote the cultivation of these unwed laywomen's religious lives and establish proper ecclesiastical control over them. Some vicars apostolic began, therefore, to promote the introduction of European women religious

[1] See R. G. Tiedemann, "Controlling the Virgins: Female Propagators of the Faith and the Catholic Hierarchy in China", *Women's History Review* 17,4 (September 2008), pp. 501–520. Note also Raymond Renson, "Virgins in Central Mongolia", in W. F. Vande Walle and Noël Golvers (eds.), *The History of the Relations Between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644–1911)*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003, pp. 343–367.

to provide spiritual guidance and assume, where possible, a degree of control of the Virgins' training. Consequently, the first foreign sisters arrived in 1848 from France for service in China, namely the Sisters of St. Paul of Chartres 沙爾德聖保綠女修會 who established their base in Hongkong. In the same year, after a long and arduous voyage, the first Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul 仁愛修女會 settled in Macao. However, the Portuguese authorities forced them to transfer to Ningbo in 1852. In July 1859 the first Filipina Dominican sisters were sent from the Beaterio de Santa Catalina in Manila to Fuzhou, Fujian, followed in 1881 by two Spanish Dominican Sisters. In 1887 a specific Dominican congregation of missionary sisters, the Religious Missionaries of Saint Dominic, was founded at Ocaña, Spain. It was incorporated into the Dominican Province of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Philippines in 1891 and until 1933 the sisters were known as *Religiosas Dominicas Terciarias de Filipinas*, with novitiates in Madrid and at the Beaterio de Santa Catalina in Manila. Hence they were also known as *Religiosas Terciarias Dominicas de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario*, and as *Religiosas del Beaterio de Manila*. They became an autonomous congregation in 1934.[2] The first Canossian Daughters of Charity 嘉諾撒仁愛女修會, led by Mother Lucia Cupis (d. 1869), arrived in Hongkong in 1860 and subsequently established themselves in the China missions of the Milan Missionary Society (which after the merger of 1926 became the Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions). The Helpers of the Holy Souls (*Auxiliatrices des Ames du Purgatoire*) 拯望會 arrived in Shanghai in 1867 and facilitated the transformation of a group of Jiangnan Virgins into the Association of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin.[3] In 1875 French Sisters of Providence commenced their apostolic work in Manchuria. The first Franciscan Missionaries of Mary 瑪利亞方濟各傳教修會 arrived in1886 and became the largest foreign community of women religious in China.[4]

Although these foreign congregations were indeed looking after the spiritual well-being of the indigenous Virgins, they also became

---

[2] For a general history, see Fidel Villarroel OP, Religiosas Misioneras de Santo Domingo. Un Siglo de Apostolado (1887–1987).

[3] See "Les Vierges Présentandines du Kiang-nan", *Relations de Chine* 6 (Jan-Apr 1919), p. 160. For an account of the Helpers' work in Shanghai, see Leung and Deneubourg, "Un cas de féminisme sino-européen à Shanghaï (1867–1952)".

[4] For an overview of the foreign female religious institutes in China, see Bradshaw, "Religious Women in China: An Understanding of Indigenization", pp. 28–45; Tiedemann, *Reference Guide*, Part II: Roman Catholic: Religious Communities of Women.

involved in other aspects of the indirect apostolate to ameliorate and transform the lives of ordinary women. The European sisters were particularly concerned with the fate of girls in Chinese society. With the crucial financial support of the Society of the Holy Childhood, they assumed the care of abandoned or orphaned babies. Initially the rescued infants, mostly girls, would be sent to a wet-nurse. These youngster would subsequently be placed a mission orphanage where they received instruction from the sisters to prepare them for adult life.

Health care and education were the other major areas of female missionary activity. Among the many new religious congregations, including several from North America, that came to China during the early decades of the twentieth century, including several from North America, were a number of specialist organisations. School Sisters of St. Francis and the Hospital Sisters of St. Francis (Springfield), to mention just a few.[5] The School Sisters were founded in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1874 by three Franciscan sisters who where refugees from the *Kulturkampf* in Germany. The congregation having received papal approbation in 1911, the first sisters to arrive in China opened a school for upper-class Chinese girls in Qingdao in 1931. In 1934 a part-time school for the poor was started, and in 1937 a primary school. The Japanese army closed these institutions and interned the American sisters in late 1941.

The Hospital Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis were founded at Telgte near Münster, Germany, in 1844. It was, however, sisters from their provincial house in Springfield, Illinois, who established a polyclinic at Ji'nan, Shandong, and subsequently dispensaries at Zhoucun 周村 and Zhangdian 張店 in the Vicariate Apostolic of Chowtsun. They also set up a dispensary at Xinxiang 新鄉 in the Prefecture Apostolic of Sinsiang, Henan.[6] It should, in fact, be noted that only a few Catholic missions had properly trained medical personnel, usually lay doctors on short contracts. In light of this, hospital sisters and other sisters with some medical experience were heavily involved in the running of mission hospitals.

---

[5] For the full list of foreign religious communities of women, see the table "Catholic Religious Communities of Foreign Women" in the Appendix of this *Handbook*.

[6] *The Community Bulletin* of the Hospital Sisters of St. Francis, 1931–1954, contains scattered references to the China work.

The great majority of the foreign women religious in China were sisters actively involved in the indirect apostolate.[7] However, a small number of nuns from contemplative institutes also established convents. As a matter of fact, the first contemplative nuns had reached Chinese soil long before any missionary sisters arrived. In 1633 Spanish Poor Clare nuns (Order of St. Clare 聖佳蘭隱修會) decided to establish a daughter house in Macao. It was an ill-fated project , for they were driven out by the Portuguese in 1644. The Macao monastery survived into the nineteenth century until the suppression of religious orders in Portugal and its dominions in 1835.[8] The first Carmel of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns was established at Tushanwan, Shanghai, in 1869. In 1920 a Carmel was founded at Chongqing (Sichuan). In 1933 Belgian Discalced Carmelite nuns arrived at Guangzhou (Guangdong). In 1940 four European, three Chinese, and three Annamite religious were at the Kunming Carmel. Nuns from the Manchester, New Hampshire, monastery of the Sisters Adorers of the Precious Blood, a cloistered contemplative religious order, founded a monastery at Xianxian 獻縣 (Hebei) in 1924. In 1932 the first Holy Spirit Adoration Sisters arrived in Qingdao.

Being engaged in the apostolate of prayer, the cloistered nuns did not go into the world. Yet it should be noted that the missionary sisters, too, were tied to their institutional work in the treaty ports and larger inland cities. There were a few exceptions to this pattern. Note, for example, the Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit 聖神婢女傳教會 who were based in the villages of Poli 坡里 and Wangzhuang, Yishui county 沂水王莊, two major but remote rural mission stations of the Society of the Divine Word in Shandong province.[9] Likewise, a group of Sisters of St. Paul of Chartres were in charge of an orphanage, a workshop, school and dispensaries at Xitian [Kisen] near Saiqi in Fujian 福建賽岐溪墳. They also visited the sick in their homes.[10] Still, even these foreign sisters were not actively involved in

[7] In Guangdong province, as a rare exception, some Maryknoll Sisters "were sent out two by two into the villages" in the direct apostolate. Angelyn Dries, "American Catholic 'Woman's Work for Woman' in the Twentieth Century", p. 140. This was the "Kaying Method", discussed in greater detail in Dana Lee Robert, *American Women in Mission*, pp. 375–379.

[8] See Teixeira, "Os Franciscanos em Macau".

[9] For further information on the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters, see the relevant sections in volumes 2–6 of Hartwich (ed.), *Steyler Missionare in China*.

[10] *Les Missions de Chine*, Seizième Année (1940–1941), p. 388.

the direct apostolate among China's rural masses. Some of the European and North American religious communities of women began, therefore, to recruit Chinese women into their congregations, for it was recognised that native sisters were better equipped to establish contacts with the local population and undertake evangelistic work. However, some observers regarded the reception of Chinese women into European congregations as unsatisfactory, since these hybrid communities were thought to impede the development of a genuine indigenous church. One Capuchin missionary put the incongruous situation in China rather graphically, referring amongst other things to Chinese sisters as religious "with crippled feet and European bonnets".[11] Another priest was critical of the fact that the foreign sisters were all wearing their various Western-style habits. "Chinese women, too, must wear the European sister habit if they want to join. By these habits they are completely removed from the [Chinese] people. Would they not work quite differently for the Mission and the people, if they were wearing Chinese dress?"[12] Concerning the usefulness of European sisters, he added somewhat sarcastically: "What are the house sisters to do here who can only cook and wash and sweep well? What are the sisters to do who come out in older years and have never in their life learned another language? Why these half-trained sisters who know a little about teaching, about medical care, about this and that?"[13]

These objections notwithstanding, the Catholic religious communities of foreign women continued to expand in China, new foreign congregations continued to enter the Chinese mission field right up to the end of the missionary era and the sisters continued to wear their elaborate and rather impractical habits. Although they were merely 'house sisters', that is, confined to their institutional settings (convent, dispensary, hospital, orphanage, school), their indirect apostolate nevertheless made an important contribution to the Christianisation efforts among China's female population. Their dedicated, indeed often sacrificial, service in hospitals under most challenging conditions is particularly noteworthy. At the same time, especially the major European and North American congregations continued to accept and Chinese

---

[11] Lorenz Bollig OFMCap, "Eine Lebens- und Gewissensfrage der Chinamission", *ZM* 16 (1926), p. 65.

[12] Georg Maria Stenz SVD, "Zur Missionsmethode und –lage in China", *ZM* 15 (1925), p. 201.

[13] Ibid., p 205 note 17.

women into their ranks. Still, the need to establish exclusively Chinese sisterhoods was also recognised and by 1950 there were more than seventy such diocesan religious institutes. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part II, 2.5.2. Religious communities of Chinese women)*

Bibliography

Bradshaw, Sue, "Religious Women in China: An Understanding of Indigenization", Catholic Historical Review 68 (1982), pp. 28–45.

Dries, Angelyn, "American Catholic 'Woman's Work for Woman' in the Twentieth Century", in Dana L. Robert (ed.), *Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2002, pp. 127–142.

Hartwich, Richard (ed.), *Steyler Missionare in China. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte*. 6 vols., St. Augustin; Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1983–1991.

Leung, Cécile, and Colette Deneubourg, "Un cas de féminisme sino-européen à Shanghaï (1867–1952)", in Noël Golvers and Sara Lievens (eds.), *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jeroom Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven, 2007, pp. 469–490.

Renson, Raymond, "Virgins in Central Mongolia", in W. F. Vande Walle and Noël Golvers (eds.), *The History of the Relations Between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644–1911)*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003, pp. 343–367.

Robert, Dana L., *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice*, Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1997.

Teixeira, Manuel, "Os Franciscanos em Macau", *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 38 (1978), pp. 309–375.

Tiedemann, R. G., "Controlling the Virgins: Female Propagators of the Faith and the Catholic Hierarchy in China", *Women's History Review* 17.4 (September 2008), pp. 501–520.

Tiedemann, R. G., "A Necessary Evil: The Contribution of Chinese 'Virgins' to the Growth of the Catholic Church in Late Qing China", in: Jessie G. Lutz (ed.), *Pioneer Chinese Christian Women, Gender, Christianity, and Social Mobility*, Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, forthcoming 2009.

Tiedemann, R. G., *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the 16th to the 20th Century*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2009.

"Les Vierges Présentandines du Kiang-nan", *Relations de Chine* 6 (Jan-Apr 1919).

Villarroel, Fidel, *Religiosas Misioneras de Santo Domingo. Un Siglo de Apostolado (1887–1987)*, Rome: Typografía Vaticana, 1993.

2.3. Protestant missionaries

R. G. Tiedemann

The eventful history of Protestant missions in Republican China is extraordinarily complex. After 1900 the missionary enterprise became far more diverse, as a bewildering variety of new Protestant organisations, large and small, were establishing themselves throughout the country—not to mention the many groups, separated by belief and nationality, operating on the fringes of what used to be called 'China Proper'.[1]

From mainline denominational missions towards a Chinese church

During the last decades of the nineteenth century the mainline denominational missionary enterprise had been able to established itself in most provinces of China. Expansion and intensification of existing missionary endeavours, with greater emphasis on medical, educational and social works. At the same time, new mainline missionary societies, especially missions supported by Lutheran churches in Scandinavia and ethnic Scandinavian churches in the United States, were entering the field around the turn of the twentieth century. These developments called for greater co-ordination of and greater unity within the Protestant movement in China. Early moves in this directions were made at the China Centenary Missionary Conference at Shanghai in 1907 and the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910. Several co-operative councils and agencies had already been set up, such as the China Medical Missionary Association (1886) and the China Christian Educational Association (1890)—and more would follow—to co-ordinate various activities of the major European and North American sending agencies. A sense of community was also created among the mainline denominational missionaries by the publication since 1867 of the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*. In addition to informing its readers in China about current events, situations, problems and movements, "its main functions", according to the *1936*

[1] For a more or less complete listing of Protestant missionary groups in China, see Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China*, Part IV: Protestant Missionary Societies.

Handbook, "are to be a medium for the exchange of ideas, methods, proposed experiments and policies between missionaries, Chinese and western Christians working in China and the Chinese and western churches".[2]

In this connection, the mergers within and among national denominational churches should also be noted. Thus, the unions of 1900 and 1929 ended the Disruption in Scottish Presbyterianism. Similarly, mergers in British Methodism in 1907 and 1932 created the Methodist Missionary Society. In 1917 several Norwegian Lutheran churches in the United States formed the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America that operated as the Lutheran United Mission in China. The United Church of Canada resulted principally from the merger of Canadian Methodists, Presbyterians and the Congregational Churches of Canada. In this way, the number of mainline denominational missionary societies was reduced.

In China plans for establishing local Chinese churches had already been developed in the nineteenth century, starting with the "Amoy Plan" in the 1860s.[3] This plan was subsequently adopted by American Presbyterians in their drive toward a united Chinese Presbyterian church. One of the key questions considered by them was the role of foreign missionaries in the local bodies. More concrete steps toward nation-wide Christian unity were taken by Presbyterian missionaries in China in 1906, on the eve of the Centenary Missionary Conference of 1907, with the establishment of the Synod of the Five Provinces as an autonomous Chinese church. This, in turn, led to the formation of the Council of Presbyterian Churches, with representatives from PCUSA, PCUS, RCA, the Church of Scotland, the United Free Church of Scotland, and the Presbyterian churches in Canada, Ireland and England, to act as a co-ordinating body for the new church that was to be established. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in China 中華基督教長老會總會 met in Shanghai in 1922 and decided on a name for the church. Having opted for 'The Church of Christ in China', the Presbyterians invited other church bodies in China to join this union.[4]

---

[2] *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China*, p. 141.

[3] Cheung, *Christianity in Modern China: The Making of the First Native Protestant Church*.

[4] See Brown, *Earthen Vessels and Transcendent Power*, pp. 211–212.

In the meantime, another ecumenical venture with significant Presbyterian involvement had been initiated. Following the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910, the China Continuation Committee of the National Missionary Conference was set up to promote co-ordination among Christian forces in China and to serve as a means of connection between the Christian forces of China, the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference and the mission boards in the West. The Committee brought its work to an end with the calling of a National Conference of delegates elected by all branches of the Protestant churches and missions in China in 1922. This conference, in turn, created the National Christian Council of China 中華全國基督教協進會 (NCC), a national Protestant co-ordinating and liaison body. The Rev. Asher Raymond Kepler 高伯蘭 (1879–1942) of the American Presbyterian (North) mission, a committed proponent of church union, was asked by the National Christian Council in 1922 to prepare the convocation of a general assembly to formally establish the interdenominational Church of Christ in China 中華基督教會. The First General Assembly of the Church of Christ in China (CCC) was held in Shanghai in October 1927. The following missions were connected with this church: the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; the Baptist Missionary Society; the Church of Scotland; the London Missionary Society; the Presbyterian Church of England; the Presbyterian Church of Ireland; the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand; the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (North); the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (South);[5] the Reformed Church in America; the Reformed Church in the U.S.; the United Brethren in Christ; the United Church of Canada; the South Fujian Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; the Presbyterian Church in Korea; as well as some independent Chinese churches. As a consequence of this union, the CCC became the largest Protestant church in China as well as the most powerful member of the NCC.

In northern China the North China Kung Li Hui 華北公理會 was established as a separate Congregational Church venture. A Council of about 25 delegates functioned as the agency of the Congregational churches (*gonglihui* 公理會), administering the Christian work (evangelistic, educational, medical, etc.) in which these churches and the

[5] Note however that five presbyteries in the North Jiangsu (PCUS) and Shandong (PCUSA) Presbyterian missions did not join the CCC until 1948 when they were received as the Kianghuai Synod 中華基督教江淮大會.

American Board were co-operating. Membership in the local Chinese church, regardless of nationality, was the requisite for eligibility to election to the Council. In North China the 'Mission' was responsible only for the missionaries personal affairs, in particular salaries, residences, health and education. The Kung Li Hui was involved in several other union enterprises in North China, including the North China Christian Rural Service Union which was organised in 1931.[6]

The creation of the Church of Christ in China was a partially successful move toward a genuine united national Protestant church.

> In effect the Church of Christ in China lived a double life. On the one hand it was a national church representing a variety of denominational traditions and carrying on programs in the name of the total church. On the other hand it was a group of regional churches in loose association with a central staff and not very close relations with each other.[7]

What is more, substantial segments of the mainline denominational missions did not join this venture. Indeed, some of them set up their own denominational Chinese churches.

The Anglican Communion in China

In accordance with the resolutions of their 1909 Conference in Shanghai, the churches of every branch of the Anglican Communion in China—American, British and Canadian—were amalgamated into one ostensibly independent church, the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (Holy Catholic Church of China) 中華聖公會 in 1912. This included the churches of the American Church Mission, i.e. the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (3 dioceses: Anqing; Hankou; Shanghai); the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (2 dioceses: North China; Shandong); the Church Missionary Society (5 dioceses: Zhejiang; Fujian; Guangxi; Sichuan; Victoria-Hongkong); the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (1 diocese: Henan); the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (South China district); and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society 中華聖公會 (女部) (Fujian mission; Guangxi-Hunan mission). In addition to the dioceses, the Missionary District of Shaanxi, "an area of abject poverty and hot-

[6] *1936 Handbook*, p. 28, 148.
[7] Merwin, *Adventure in Unity: The Church of Christ in China*, p. 69.

bed for political revolutionaries", was formed as an initiative among the Chinese clergy and was to be completely funded and pioneered by Chinese. However, as Michael Poon has observed, the foreign missionaries "failed to establish a church in China that was rooted in its cultural and social contexts". It was only at the Tenth General Synod in 1949 that the decision was taken to set up a National Office and a Central Theological College in Shanghai.[8]

Lutheran Church of China

Under an agreement reached at the Jigongshan 雞公山 (Henan) Conference of 1917, the Chinese churches of several Lutheran mission societies became part of the Lutheran Church of China 中華信義會 which was formally established in 1920.

The Lutheran Church of China maintained the Lutheran Board of Publication and the Lutheran Theological Seminary 信義神學院. At the National Council meeting in 1949, at the very end of the missionary era in China, four more societies joined the Lutheran Church of China. It should, however, be noted that the Basel and Rhenish societies had not only Lutheran but also Reformed missionaries.[9]

Faith Missions and Holiness Movements

One of the earliest and ultimately largest missionary societies with a mission strategy at variance with the operations of the 'classical' Protestant missions was the interdenominational China Inland Mission (CIM). It differed from the traditional mission societies in several significant ways. During the late Qing, the CIM adopted an 'extensive' rather than 'intensive' missionary strategy, promoting relatively superficial proclamation of the gospel by foreign as well as Chinese itinerating laymen and the deployment of single Western women in the interior of China. Perhaps most importantly, the CIM began as a 'faith mission', since the necessary funds were not overtly solicited.[10]

---

[8] Michael Nai Chiu Poon, 'Preface' to "CSCA Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui Source Documents" 中華聖公會歷史資料; URL: http://www.ttc.edu.sg/csca/skh/index.html

[9] For a study of Lutheran missions in China in the late 1940s, see Jonson, *Lutheran Missions in a Time of Revolution: The China Experience 1944–1951*.

[10] On the principle and growth of faith missions, see Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*.

Synods of the Lutheran Church of China

Year Accepted	Missionary Society	Synod
1917	Norwegian Lutheran Church of America (Lutheran United Mission, resulting from the merger in 1917 of United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America 豫南信義會 and Hauge's Synod Mission 鴻恩會)	Yu-E Synod 豫鄂區會 (Henan-Hubei)
1917	Augustana Synod Mission	Yu-Zhong Synod 豫中區會 (Central Henan)
1917	Finnish Missionary Society 湘西北信義會	Xiang-Xi Synod 湘西區會 (Western Hunan)
1917	Norwegian Missionary Society 挪信義會	Xiang-Zhong Synod 湘中區會 (Central Hunan)
1920	Church of Sweden Mission 瑞華信義會	Xiang-Bei Synod 湘北區會 (Northern Hunan)
1924	Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission 粵南信義會	Yue-Nan Lutheran Church 越南信義會 (Southern Guangdong)
1928	Berlin Missionary Society 巴陵信義會	Yue-Gan Synod 越贛區會 (Guangdong-Jiangxi)
1928	Lutheran Board of Missions (Lutheran Free Church Mission 信義公里會)	Yu-Dong Synod 豫東區會 (Eastern Henan)
1928	American Lutheran Mission (of Shandong) of the United Lutheran Church in America	Lu-Dong Synod 魯東區會 (Eastern Shandong)
1928	Danish Missionary Society 路德會(丹)	Dongbei Synod 東北區會 (Manchuria)
1946	Norwegian Lutheran China Mission Association 中華基督教潞德會	Yu-E-Shaan Synod豫鄂陝區會 (Henan-Hubei-Shaanxi)
1946	Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission 信義長老會	Shaan-Nan Synod 陝南區會 (Southern Shaanxi)
1949	Lutheran Brethren Mission 選道會	Yu-Xi Church 豫西區會 (Western Henan)
1949	Rhenish Missionary Society 禮賢會	Lixian Synod (Yue-Dong Synod 越東信義會Eastern Guang-dong)
1949	Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission 信義長老會	Shaan-Nan Synod 陝南區會 (Southern Shaanxi)
1949	Basel Mission 巴色會	Chongzhen Church 崇真會 (Yue-Xi Synod 越西信義會 Western Guangdong)
1949	Christian Mission to Buddhist 基督東亞道友會	Daoyou Synod 道友區會 (Hong Kong Synod 香港區會

(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part I, 2.2.2. Protestant missionaries in late nineteenth-century China) By the end of the nineteenth century several new organisations had been founded on the CIM's 'faith mission' principle. In this connection, the Swedish evangelist Fredrik Franson (1852–1908) became an important organiser of missions to China among the Scandinavian immigrants in the United States, in Scandinavia and the German-speaking countries.[11] Most of these new societies became associate missions of the CIM in China. Eventually there would be thirteen bodies working under CIM auspices: the Swedish Mission in China; the Holiness Mission (Sweden); the Swedish Alliance Mission; the Norwegian Mission in China; the Norwegian Mission Union; the China Alliance Mission of Barmen; the Liebenzell Mission; the German Women's Missionary Union; the Friedenshort Deaconess Mission; the Free Missionary Society, Finland; the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America; the Vandsburger Mission; and the Evangelical Congregational Church. Thus, by the early twentieth century the CIM and its associates formed the largest Protestant missionary organisation in the country, with foreign evangelists present in nearly every province and territory of the Manchu Qing Empire.[12]

Besides the China Inland Mission and its affiliates, the Holiness movements and premillennialist revivals spawned several other missionary organisations with work in China at the turn of the twentieth century. The 'Open Brethren' arm of the Plymouth Brethren, for example, commenced missionary work in China under the name 'Christian Missions in Many Lands' (CMML) in 1885. It was, however, Canadian-born Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843–1919) and his Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) that had a significant impact on and was affected by the emerging Pentecostal movement, both in North America and in the China mission field. After 1900 Protestant Christianity in China was becoming considerably more diverse than it had been before the turn of the century.

Among the Protestant denominations, including those of a postmillennialist persuasion, that began to send missionaries to China at this time, several connected with the National Camp Meeting Association

---

[11] On Franson and his contribution to the missionary enterprise in China, see Torjesen, *Fredrik Franson: A Model for Worldwide Evangelism*. For a history of the German faith missions to China, see Franz, *Mission ohne Grenzen*.

[12] For details, see Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China*.

for the Promotion of Holiness—from 1893 known as the National Holiness Association (NHA). The Free Methodist Church of North America commenced its China mission with the arrival of C. Floyd Appleton and George H. Scofield in 1904. The Hephzibah Faith Mission sent its first workers to China in 1905. The Canadian Holiness Movement Mission initiated its work in Hunan province shortly after 1900. The Church of God (Anderson, Indiana) sent brothers Charles E. Hunnex (1882–1969) and William Anthony Hunnex (1884–1951) and their wives to open stations in Zhenjiang (1910) and Shanghai (1909), respectively. The first official Church of the Nazarene mission in China opened in Zhaocheng (Shandong) in 1914. As a 'second blessing' Holiness church, it co-operated extensively with the National Holiness Association's China mission (started in western Shandong in 1910). Having been influenced by different strands of the Holiness movement in Britain, and in keeping with its dual role of evangelism and social work, the Salvation Army became involved in famine relief and medical work in China from 1916.

Fundamentalist reaction

The emphasis on social, educational and medical work, as well as the increasing appreciation of Chinese culture by the majority of missionaries associated with the Church of Christ in China provoked a response from conservative, fundamentalist elements within the mainline denominational missions. They became increasingly concerned about the high incidence of 'modernism' in the various co-operative ventures and feared that co-operation in union projects would lead to doctrinal compromises. The ensuing fundamentalist-modernist controversy within American Presbyterianism also affected the missions in China. Alarmed by the 'liberal' nature of the CCC, conservative Presbyterians, with the support of the North China Theological Seminary at Tengxian 滕縣, Shandong, organised a 'continuing' Presbyterian denomination. Being to some extent dissatisfied with the Bible Union of China (founded in 1920 to "maintain … the fundamental and saving truths revealed in the Bible, especially those now being assailed"), they were instrumental in forming the League of Christian Churches in 1929. The union included the five presbyteries from Jiangsu and Shandong as well as some congregations from the Canadian Presbyterian Mission and the Christian Reformed Mission, comprising the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Christ in China. In addition, the new organisation included the churches connected with the Baptist

China Direct Mission (Tai'an), the Mennonite General Conference Mission, the Bethel Mission Church, the churches connected with the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Anhui province, and the churches connected with the China Inland Mission Church Council of Henan.[13] In other words, "Even as the fundamentalists refused to join or else withdrew from the union institutions, they formed their own inter-denominational fellowships according to their own vision of Christian unity."[14]

There was considerable diversity within the fundamentalist camp. According to Kevin Yao, there were on the one hand such 'mild' fundamentalists as Jonathan Goforth 顧約拿單 (1859–1936), after 1925 a 'continuing' missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; Walter Stephen Moule 慕華德 (1865–1949), Anglican; Dixon Edward Hoste 何斯德 (1861–1946), Director of the China Inland Mission and one of the Cambridge Seven; Watson McMillan Hayes 赫士 (1857–1941), a member of the Northern Presbyterian mission in Shandong. On the other hand, a radical minority group included Hugh Watt White 白秀生 (1870–1940), Albert Baldwin Dodd 道雅伯 (1877–1972) as well as members of the Christian Fundamentals League for China, a new fundamentalist organisation set up in 1927 that was much more militant than the Bible Union.

As concerns the controversy in the United States, those PCUSA ministers who perceived serious doctrinal error in their denomination formed the Presbyterian Church of America in 1936, renamed the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in 1939. However in 1937 many of those members in the OPC who advocated the establishment of a fundamentalist and evangelical church left to form the Bible Presbyterian Church, taking with them the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions that had been organised in 1933 for "Bible-Believing" Presbyterians. Albert B. Dodd and his wife Mabel Beatrice (Mennie) Dodd (1876–), formerly members of the American Presbyterian (North) mission in Shandong, served with the Independent Board from 1935 to 1942 and from 1946 to 1948 in Shandong, and from 1955 to 1960 in Taiwan. Missionaries who had joined the Orthodox Presbyterian Church served in Harbin and Qingdao.

---

[13] See Yao, *The Fundamentalist Movement among Protestant Missionaries in China*, pp. 216–219, 281–283.

[14] Ibid., p. 222.

Unaffiliated missionaries

In a climate of heightened revivalist expectations, many new, more radical mission groups sought access to the vast China mission field. Some of these were unconnected with any denominational church, but established solely to send missionaries to countries targeted for evangelisation. Whereas some of the larger non-classical missions such as the CIM or CMA were organised as tightly controlled operations, many of the new groups in China showed an inherent distrust of any centralised decision-making body. This is particularly evident among the early Pentecostal missionaries. A degree of cohesion among at least some of these disparate Holiness and premillenarian movements was provided by the new Bible institutes and periodic conferences in their home countries.[15] At the same time, there was a significant increase in independent or 'faith' missionaries. These were individuals who were often not part of any organisation at all, but came to China entirely on their own, leading a precarious existence and sometimes leaving the field in disillusionment after a short time. Only a few of these new missions became substantial and permanent.

The proliferation of small new missionary enterprises, especially those independent from ecclesiastical support or control and thus with inadequate or no organisational structures, poses a significant research problem for scholars studying Protestant Christianity in China. With regard to the early the Pentecostal movement in China, the great variety of missionary fellowships and the paucity of documentary evidence make it difficult to accurately reconstruct their histories. While in some instances Pentecostal influences are evident, in other instances the spiritual affiliation of an individual or a small group is impossible to determine. Much remains obscure. Indeed, in a number of cases it has proved impossible to find any information—except for the listing of the mission's name in the Protestant directories.[16] This has hitherto hampered research into Chinese Pentecostalism which has thus far received insufficient scholarly attention.[17]

---

[15] See Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, pp. 21–22.

[16] See, for instance, the list of missionaries and missionary societies in *The China Mission Year Book, Being "The Christian Movement in China" 1915*.

[17] Some coverage has been provided by Daniel Bays, "The Protestant Missionary Establishment and the Pentecostal Movement"; Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, Chapter 5: "Opening Doors of Nations: China and East Asia".

In a time of extreme spiritual ferment among 'radical evangelicals' at the turn of the twentieth century, when many premillennialist Christians believed that they were living in 'the last days' and the evangelisation of the 'heathen' took on great urgency, the Pentecostal movement came into being. However, in these early days it was not perceived to be a radical departure from the prevailing revivalist currents. As Allan Anderson has so aptly put it,

> Pentecostalism was in a process of formation that was not seen as a distinct form of Christianity at least until a decade after the revival and missionary movements in which it was entwined.... [I]t is a movement or rather a series of movements that took several years and several different formative ideas and events to emerge. Pentecostalism then as now is a polynucleated and variegated phenomenon.[18]

Pentecostalism had been in the making since at least the late nineteenth century, developing out of the Wesleyan Holiness tradition and the Keswick 'Higher Life' movement as well as other revivals at which people experienced dreams, visions, prophecy, tongues and interpretations. However, it is generally agreed that it was the events at Azusa Street in 1906 which provided the real impetus to the further spread of Pentecostal revivals. Moreover, events in Los Angeles exercised a profound influence on the emerging Pentecostal missionary movements. It was above all revivalist reports in the Azusa Street periodical, *The Apostolic Faith*, which from 1906 onwards informed a world-wide readership of the events in Los Angeles and brought home to evangelical Christians the urgency of evangelising non-Christian peoples.

This heightened enthusiasm for world evangelisation brought a number of Pentecostal evangelists to China. Several types of missionaries can be identified. The first were those who ventured abroad without any preparation, totally trusting the Spirit to lead them in their ministries. Moreover, being committed to the 'faith' principle, many left their home countries without adequate financial resources or institutional support. Furthermore, relying on the efficacy of xenolalia, they expected to be able to preach in Chinese without having to first learn the language.[19] While many of the early arrivals had received little formal education, a small minority were graduates of Bible insti-

---

[18] Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 4.

[19] For a general discussion of xenolalic convictions, see Gary B. McGee, "Shortcut to Language Preparation? Radical Evangelicals, Missions, and the Gift of Tongues".

tutes. Then there were missionaries who had come to China with older 'faith' missionary societies. Having experienced Spirit baptism, several members of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the China Inland Mission and the South Chihli Mission joined the early Pentecostal movement. Finally, it is important to note that the emergence of a Pentecostal missionary enterprise was not confined to North America. Evangelists from Britain, Germany and Scandinavia were among the earliest Pentecostal workers in China.[20] Some travelled directly from Europe to the East, others had been recent immigrants in North America. Some went as individuals, others came in groups. While most were lay preachers from the poorer classes, a few had a college education and came from wealthier backgrounds. The important role of married and unmarried women in the Pentecostal ministry reflects that of the evangelical Protestant missions movement in general. Many of these Pentecostal pioneers without a specific denominational affiliation found that life could be rather precarious. They had to rely on uncertain support from individuals or particular fellowships back home. In some instances structures emerged in later years to provide stability and financial security. Exceptionally, the Assemblies of God developed into a major Pentecostal missionary organisation in the United States.

Protestantism divided

The efforts by liberal Protestant missionaries and Chinese leaders notwithstanding, at the end of the missionary era true church union remained as elusive as ever. Indeed, the Protestant endeavour was far more fragmented in 1949 than it had been in 1907. Although the Church of Christ in China represented a substantial proportion of the total communicants in its attempt to create an identity as an indigenous Chinese church, it could not overcome the significant divisions even among the mainline denominations, as the following table indicates. It is also clear that missionaries continued to play a significant role, not only in the Church of Christ in China, but also in the denominational Chinese church unions.

[20] Thomas Ball Barratt (1862–1940), the Norwegian revivalist, was instrumental in spreading the Pentecostal message to other parts of Europe, influencing Alexander Boddy in England, Lewi Pethrus in Sweden and Jonathan Paul in Germany.

Major Protestant Church and Mission Groups in China, 1934

Church & Mission Groups	Communicants	Missionaries
Church of Christ in China	123,043	1,151
China Inland Mission	85,345	1,356
Methodist Episcopal Church	41,272	234
Southern Baptist Churches	41,450	203
Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui	34,612	569
Lutheran Church of China	21,853	256
Methodist Church	21,203	124
Seventh Day Adventists	14,546	215
North China Kung Li Hui	14,258	85
Methodist Episcopal Church, South	12,991	89
American (Northern) Baptists	12,595	143
Basel Mission	7,501	53
	430,669	4,478

No other group had more than 5,000 communicant members.
Source: *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China*, p. vi.

In addition to the major groups listed in the above table, there were many smaller groups, some of which worked unobtrusively in China and did not leave any written record of their activities. This great variety of foreign ordained and lay workers on the mission field and the propensity of existing churches to split and the formation of new sectarian associations are characteristic of Protestant Christianity. For a more or less complete list of Protestant missionary groups in China, see the relevant table in the Appendix of this *Handbook*.

Some Protestant missionaries in republican China

In most years during the first half of the twentieth century there were between 4,000 and 5,000 Protestant missionaries in China. Given the size and diversity of this body of men and women, commenting on a few individuals is merely an attempt to highlight its great variety. Among the missionaries in the denominational societies, Frank Joseph Rawlinson 樂靈生 (1871–1937) was one of those whose erstwhile conservative views were transformed into decidedly liberal ones in Republican China. He was born in Langham, England, and grew up in a Plymouth Brethren family. In 1888 he emigrated to the United States. Having become a member of the Baptist church in Baltimore, he entered Bucknell University and Rochester Theological Seminary. Rawlinson came to China in 1902 as a Southern Baptist missionary. From 1914 until his death he was the editor-in-chief of the *Chinese*

Recorder. In this capacity he was able to promote the social gospel, interdenominational co-operation and intercultural understanding. In 1914–1916 he was a member of the executive committee of the China Continuation Committee. As chair of the subcommittee on the training and efficiency of missionaries, he recommended in 1915 the establishment of more training schools to help new missionaries adjust more easily to their Chinese environment and equip them with "such a knowledge of Chinese etiquette as will enable them to avoid offending the Chinese".[21] However, his growing respect for Chinese culture and religions, his transition from iconoclastic evangelism to social service and his shift toward interdenominational unity put him at odds with his rather conservative sending agency. Having been dismissed by the Southern Baptist Mission Board in 1921, Rawlinson was accepted by the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions and appointed missionary to the North China Kung Li Hui 華北公理會 (Congregational Church). This enabled him to further develop his ideas on Chinese religions and culture, consider his growing sympathies with Chinese nationalism and explore modernist interpretations of Christianity.[22] "His thinking during these years was shaped by the combined forces of Chinese nationalist movements, Christian liberalism, and, imperceptibly yet profoundly, a growing understanding of China's cultural heritage—forces that also shaped the thinking of other American missionaries of his time."[23] Tragically, Rawlinson was killed by Japanese bombs during the early days of the Anti-Japanese War.[24]

By the early twentieth century an increasing number of missionaries were involved in educational work. Wilhelmina (Minnie) Vautrin 華群 (1886–1941), one of the many missionary teachers, was born in Secor, Illinois, of immigrant parents. Upon graduation from the University of Illinois, she was sent to China by the Foreign Christian Missionary Society (Disciples of Christ) in 1912. After a year of language training, she started to teach in a small mission school for girls at Luzhou 廬州 (now Hefei 合肥), Anhui province. In 1919 Vautrin took

[21] F. J. Rawlinson, "On Training of Missionaries", *CR* (June 1915), p. 375.

[22] These ideas are most cogently expressed in F. J. Rawlinson, *Naturalization of Christianity in China*.

[23] Lian, *The Conversion of Missionaries*, Chapter 2: "The Road That Bent: Frank J. Rawlinson", p. 78.

[24] For a detailed biography, see John Lang Rawlinson, *Rawlinson, the Recorder and China's Revolution: A Topical Biography of Frank Joseph Rawlinson, 1871–1937*.

up a teaching and administrative post at Nanjing's Ginling College.[25] She played a crucial role during the rescue of thousands of Chinese during the Japanese occupation of Nanjing in late 1937, turning the Ginling campus into a sanctuary for women and girls. Her harrowing experiences of Japanese excesses eventually caused a nervous breakdown which necessitated Vautrin's return to the United States in 1940, where she took her own life a year later.

Most missionaries led rather unobtrusive lives in dedicated service to others. Maria Margarethe Wagner 萬美利 (1880–1971) spent over forty years on the Shandong mission field yet has remained virtually unknown. She was born into a Lutheran family in Bondorf, Württemberg, but emigrated to the United States in 1908. With little more than a rudimentary education, she nevertheless successfully completed the nurse training programme at the Deaconess School, Pennsylvania Hospital, in Philadelphia. Upon completion of her training, she was accepted by the American Presbyterian (North) Foreign Mission Board and sent to China in 1913. Following a year of language studies at Yantai (Chefoo), Wagner joined the nursing staff at the Presbyterian mission hospital in Yizhou 沂州 (now Linyi 臨沂), besides doing work among orphans. When the British insisted in 1919 that all Germans, including missionaries, be removed from China, her colleagues in the mission feared that she might be repatriated, for Miss Wagner had never applied for naturalisation in the United States.

A decade or so later she was transferred to the small Presbyterian station of Yixian 嶧縣 (now Yicheng 嶧城) in bandit-infested southern Shandong. Here the fact that she held German citizenship would come in useful during the Second World War. When her American colleagues were interned for six months at Yixian, Wagner and two German Catholic priests looked after them as best as they could under the circumstances. "She is the one to whom the [Chinese] people are turning and is a refuge for more than anyone can count. She gives herself to the work night and day."[26] Indeed, "*Fräulein*" (or *laogu* 老姑, as she was called by the country folk), travelled around a lot on an old

[25] Minnie Vautrin, *Terror in Minnie Vautrin's Nanjing*. Her Chinese name has been given as 魏特琳 in Chinese translations of English-language biographies. Her actual Chinese name was 華群; the *Directory of Protestant Mission in China* of 1927, gives her Chinese name under the Ginling College entry as 華美麗.

[26] Yixian station report 1941–1942, RG82–63–13, Shantung 1942, Archives of the Board of Foreign Missions , PCUSA, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. The German priests were Heinrich Pielke and Matthias Schneider of the SVD mission.

bicycle along difficult tracks yet seemed to have "friends in all quarters. Her orphanage appears to be thriving, with its weaving and goats and its official support from the new Chung Hua Chi Tu Chiao Hui."[27] In order to secure supplies for her overcrowded orphanage and rural clinic, she had to deal with Japanese soldiers, Communists and local guerrillas. Yet as an unidentified writer observed, "The guerrillas rather admired her and would pass the word along that she was coming [to buy grain for her orphanage]." The same writer concluded:

> I envied Fraulein even though I realized I could never become her disciple. Being Christian was simple, give whatever you had to the poor, forget yourself and serve others. Not only believe in it, do it. She had no worries, there was always some kind of food and clothing. She had no fears, she was doing the Lord's work and He would protect her.… No wonder the Chinese love Fraulein—they understand her Christianity.[28]

Maria Wagner stayed on in China after 1949 until she was expelled in 1955. She returned to Germany and died at Mössingen, Württemberg. She is still fondly remembered by the people in Shandong.

The degree of specialisation and professionalization of the mainline missionary enterprise is particularly evident in the career of John Lossing Buck 卜凱 (1890–1975) who was born in La Grangeville, New York on 27 November 1890. A Cornell University graduate, he went to China in 1915 as an agricultural missionary of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America (PCUSA) and was assigned to the small rural station at Suzhou 宿州 (Nanhsuchou in missionary records) in northern Anhui. In 1917 he married Pearl Comfort Sydenstricker 賽珍珠 (1892–1973), a Southern Presbyterian (PCUS) missionary (they divorced in 1935). He returned with his wife to Suzhou to work among the peasants in the desolate and impoverished countryside. "Outside the [town] walls and beyond the moat the countryside stretched as flat as any desert, earth and houses were all dust color, even the people, for the fine sandy soil was dusted into their hair and skin by the incessant winds."[29] In 1920 Buck became a professor of agricultural economics

---

[27] Arabella Sangster Gault, Ji'nan, 20 November 1942, RG82–63–14 Shantung 1942, Archives of the Board of Foreign Missions, PCUSA. The 'new' *Zhonghua Jidujiao hui* presumably refers to the Japanese-controlled church organisation.

[28] "The Most Memorable Character I met in Yihsien", typescript (rec'd 3.2.1943), H5: Wagner file, Archives of the Board of Foreign Missions, PCUSA.

[29] Pearl S. Buck, quoted in Stirling, *Pearl Buck*, p. 40. See also Randall E. Stross, *The Stubborn Earth*, Chapter 4: "Mission: Christianity and Agricultural Improvement, 1910s-1920s".

at the Agricultural College of the University of Nanking. Between 1929–1936 he directed a major compilation project of farming data in China.[30] Lossing Buck resigned from PCUSA in 1942 and left China in 1944, only to return for several months in 1946 as a member of the China-United States agricultural mission under the auspices of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. He died on 27 September 1975.

The Christian Mission to Buddhists 基督東亞道友會 in China was a rather unusual mainline denominational venture initiated by the Norwegian Lutheran missionary Karl Ludvig Reichelt's 艾香德 (1877–1952). His work was, however, quite marginal to the overall Protestant endeavour. Reichelt was born in Arendal, Norway. Having completed his missionary training, he left for China in 1903 as a member of the Norwegian Missionary Society (NMS). Until 1911 he worked for the NMS at Ningxiang 寧鄉, Hunan province. After a furlough and further studies in Germany, he became a New Testament teacher at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Shekou 灄口, Hubei province. In 1919 he started preparations for 'special work' among the Buddhists. In 1922 he and his Norwegian assistant Notto Normann Thelle 田蓮德 (1901–1990) established a "Brother Home" for religious seekers in Nanjing, a Christian community along Buddhist monastic lines. A year later new premises were acquired at Jingfengshan 景風山, Nanjing, and the mission functioned under the name 南京景風山基督教叢林道友會總院. However, in the chaos of the Northern Expedition', the Nanjing work was suspended and in 1930 transferred to Tao Fong Shan 道風山 in the New Territories of Hongkong, where it functions today as the Tao Fong Shan Christian Centre 道風山基督教叢林. It is a work that has not been without critics. Reichelt died in Hongkong and was buried in the Tao Fung Shan cemetery.[31]

Among the early Pentecostal missionaries were some who had gained prior experience in China in the service of other missions. William Wallace Simpson 席儒珍 and 新普送 (1869–1961) was born on 2 October 1869 in a log cabin at Taylors, White County, Tennessee. He worked on his father's farm until he was nineteen. After attendance of an academy of the Congregational Church for three years, Simpson subsequently studied at A. B. Simpson's New York Mission-

---

[30] Perhaps the most important of the several works to emanate from the project is John L. Buck (ed.), *Land Utilization in China*, Nanjing, 1937.

[31] See Håkan Eilert, *Boundlessness: Studies in Karl Ludvig Reichelt's Missionary Thinking*; Rolv Olsen, *"Prevailing Winds": An Analysis of the Liturgical Inculturation Efforts of Karl Ludvig Reichelt*.

ary Training College (later Nyack College) in 1891. A year later he was in the China-Tibetan border area as a missionary of the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA). He received the baptism in the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues while attending a missionary conference in Taozhou, Gansu province. This produced tensions between him and the other missionaries. He was forced to resign from the CMA during a visit to the United States in 1915. Following the death of his wife, Simpson returned to the Tibetan border as a missionary of the Assemblies of God and remained in China until 1949. He died in San Francisco on 3 November 1961. "During his lifetime, Simpson became one of the best-known missionaries of the Pentecostal movement. His legacy included the converts from his frontline evangelism, the Chinese clergy he trained, and his courageous example of endurance in the face of discouraging circumstances."[32]

Most Pentecostal missionaries came from humble backgrounds, but some were leading rather more privileged lives. Cecil Polhill-Turner 寶耀庭, later known as Cecil Henry Polhill (1860–1938), was born into the wealthy Polhill-Turner family of Howbury Hall near Bedford, England. He went to Eton and was admitted Pensioner at Jesus College, Cambridge. Having embarked on a military career, he resigned his commission in 1885 and went to China as one of the famous 'Cambridge Seven' in the service of the China Inland Mission. Having spent most of his time in western Sichuan on the border with Tibet, Polhill was invalided home in 1900. In 1903 he inherited the Howbury estates, having in the meantime adopted the surname Polhill only. While returning from a trip to China in behalf of the CIM, he stopped over in Los Angeles where he was baptised in the Spirit in early 1908. This experience led him, with the Anglican priest Alexander Alfred Boddy (1854–1930), to promote Pentecostalism in Britain and formed the Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great Britain and Ireland (PMU). Polhill was instrumental in the establishment of missionary training homes for men and women. He paid several visits to the PMU mission field in China.[33]

---

[32] Gary B. McGee, "William Wallace Simpson", in Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (eds.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1988, p. 787.

[33] P. D. Hocken, "Cecil H. Polhill (1860–1938)", in Burgess and McGee (eds.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, p. 718. See also Hocken, "Cecil H. Polhill: Pentecostal Layman".

The career of Bernt Berntsen 賁德新 (1863–1933)[34] is representative of the American immigrant missionary to China, a phenomenon not uncommon among American Holiness and Pentecostal missionaries. Born in Larvik, Norway, he emigrated to the United States in 1893 and worked for several years as a grocery storekeeper in Chicago. In 1904 he and his wife Magna Berg (c. 1867–1935) and their two small boys joined Horace William Houlding's (1861–1922) little-known undenominational missionary enterprise, the South Chihli Mission 南直隸福音會. Having read about the Azusa Street Revival in an early issue of *The Apostolic Faith* published by the Azusa Street Mission of Los Angeles, he travelled from Zhili province via Shanghai to Los Angeles in 1907 where on Sunday, 15 September 1907, he was baptised in the Spirit. Towards the end of that year Berntsen returned to Zhili province with eleven recruits for a new Pentecostal work based at Zhengding 正定, Zhili. In 1912 he began publication of a Chinese language newspaper, *Tongchuan fuyin zhenlibao* 通傳福音真理報 (Popular Gospel Truth).[35] During this early phase of the Pentecostal presence in China, Berntsen maintained contacts with the emerging Pentecostal movement in Norway, led by Thomas Ball Barratt (1862–1940) and Erik Andersen Nordquelle (1858–1938).[36] However, by 1916 he seems to have left the Pentecostal mission and moved to Beijing. There Berntsen became associated with the Church of God (Adventist), a ramification of the Millerite movement. This connection was first mentioned in Church of God sources in 1916, with Elder "Bernstein" supervising a "Church of God" in Beijing. This must be the Church of God Faith Mission listed in the *Peking Who's Who* of 1922.[37] As Lian Xi has correctly assumed, Berntsen had been in contact with the leaders of the True Jesus Church 真耶穌教會. It may very well be that these encounters had a bearing on the development of Pentecostal-Sabbatarian elements in the True Jesus Church.[38] No

[34] Until very recently Berntsen has remained an obscure figure. The fact that some sources have spelled his surname 'Bernsten' and 'Bernstein' has complicated the search for the real Bernt Berntsen. This sketch has been painstakingly pieced together from numerous scattered sources.

[35] For some details concerning Berntsen's Pentecostal missionary activities in China, see Robeck, *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival*, pp. 260–262.

[36] See the scattered references to Berntsen in David Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission*.

[37] See the *Peking Who's Who 1922*, p. 52, where his name is given as "D. Bernsten".

[38] Lian Xi, "A Messianic Deliverance for Post-Dynastic China", p. 434 note 10.

further references to Berntsen's missionary activities have been found in the accessible records until 1933 when his name appears on the list the "seventy to go forth two by two, all Church of God elders".[39] However, he died in China that year. No information concerning his particular pentecostal Church of God ministry has come to light.

Bibliography

Anderson, Allan, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, London: SCM Press, 2007.

Bays, Daniel H., "The Protestant Missionary Establishment and the Pentecostal Movement", in Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, and Grant A. Wacker (eds.), *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999, pp. 50–67.

Brown, G. Thompson, *Earthen Vessels and Transcendent Power: American Presbyterians in China, 1837–1952*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1997.

Buck, J[ohn] Lossing, "Agricultural Work of the American Presbyterian Mission at Nanhsuchow, Anhwei, China, 1919", *CR* 51 (June 1920), pp. 412–419.

Buck, John Lossing (ed.), *Land Utilization in China—Statistics—A Study of 16,786 Farms in 168 Localities and 38,256 Farm Families in Twenty-two Province in China, 1929–1933*, Nanjing: University of Nanking, 1937.

Buck, J[ohn] Lossing, "Missionaries Begin Agricultural Education in China", *Millard's Review* 6 (14 September 1918), pp. 78–79.

Bundy, David, *Visions of Apostolic Mission: Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission to 1935*, (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica Upsaliensia, 45), Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet; distributed by Uppsala University Library, 2009.

Cheung, David (Chen Yiqiang 陳貽強), *Christianity in Modern China: The Making of the First Native Protestant Church*, (Studies in Christian Mission, 28), Leiden: Brill, 2004.

The China Mission Year Book, Being "The Christian Movement in China" 1915, Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1915.

Eilert, Håkan, *Boundlessness: Studies in Karl Ludwig Reichelt's Missionary Thinking, with Special Regard to the Buddhist-Christian Encounter*, Copenhagen: Aros, 1974.

Fiedler, Klaus, *The Story of Faith Missions*, Oxford: Regnum Books, 1994.

Franz, Andreas, *Mission ohne Grenzen. Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen*, Giessen / Basel: Brunnen Verlag, 1993.

Harris, Harriet A., *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Hocken, Peter, "Cecil H. Polhill: Pentecostal Layman", *Pneuma* 10,2 (1988), pp. 116–140.

Hu, Hua-ling, *American Goddess at the Rape of Nanking: the Courage of Minnie Vautrin*, Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000. Another version can be accessed on the World Wide Web.

[39] See Richard C. Nickels, *History of the Seventh Day Church of God*, Chapters IX–X; online URL: http://www.giveshare.org/churchhistory/historysdcog/history9.html and…/history10.html. In 1923 the organisation's name was changed from Church of God (Adventist) to Church of God (Seventh Day).

Jonson, Jonas, *Lutheran Missions in a Time of Revolution: The China Experience 1944–1951*, (Studia Missionalia Upsalensia, 18), Uppsala: Svenska Institutet för Missionsforskning, 1972).

Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907–1932*, University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.

Lian Xi, "A Messianic Deliverance for Post-Dynastic China: The Launch of the True Jesus Church in the Early Twentieth Century", *Modern China* 34,4 (October 2008), pp. 407–441.

McGee, Gary B., "Shortcut to Language Preparation? Radical Evangelicals, Missions, and the Gift of Tongues", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (July 2001).

Merwin, Wallace, *Adventure in Unity: The Church of Christ in China*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1974.

1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China under Protestant Auspices, compiled by Charles Luther Boynton and Charles Dozier Boynton, Shanghai: Published for The National Christian Council of China by the Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 1936.

Olsen, Rolv, *"Prevailing Winds": An Analysis of the Liturgical Inculturation Efforts of Karl Ludvig Reichelt* (Studia Missionalia Svecana CIV), Lund: Centre for Theology and Religious Studies, Lund University, 2007.

Rawlinson, Frank Joseph, *Naturalization of Christianity in China: A Study of the Relation of Christian and Chinese Idealism and Life*, Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1927.

Rawlinson, John Lang, *Rawlinson, the Recorder and China's Revolution: A Topical Biography of Frank Joseph Rawlinson, 1871–1937*, 2 vols., Notre Dame: Cross Cultural Publications, 1989.

Robeck, Cecil M., Jr., *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement*, Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson, 2006.

Stirling, Nora, *Pearl Buck: A Woman in Conflict*, Piscataway, N.J.: New Century Publishers, 1983.

Stross, Randall E., *The Stubborn Earth: American Agriculturalists on Chinese Soil 1898–1937*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Tiedemann, R. G., *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the 16th to the 20th Century*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2009.

Torjesen, Edvard P., *Fredrik Franson: A Model for Worldwide Evangelism*, Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1983.

Vautrin, Minnie, *Terror in Minnie Vautrin's Nanjing: Diaries and Correspondence, 1937–8*, edited and with an introduction by Suping Lu, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008.

Yao, Kevin Xiyi, *The Fundamentalist Movement among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920–1937*, Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2003.

2.4. Russian Orthodox Church

Alexander Lomanov

Rebuilding the Mission and expansion, 1900–1917

The slow process of reforming the Russian Spiritual Mission and engaging more effectively in missionary activities had begun prior to the Boxer Uprising. Archimandrite Innokentij 英諾肯提乙 (Ivan Appolonovich Figurovskij 費古洛夫斯基, 1863–1931), the head of the 18th Mission, proposed to perform the daily services in the Mission's churches in Chinese, and to read sermons in the vernacular instead of the difficult classical language. He also suggested to establish a permanent Chinese translations committee. For the purposes of spreading Christianity among the Chinese, he proposed to open a new school somewhere outside Beijing and find students for it from among boys in the countryside. Orthodox education had previously been available only in Beijing, mostly to the children of local residents of Russian descent, and Innokentij looked upon their diligence with some contempt.

This slow transformation of the Russian Mission into a missionary enterprise was interrupted by the Boxers. In mid-May 1900 rebels burnt the Orthodox church in Dongdingan 東定安. The proximity of the insurgents prompted the Russian missionaries to evacuate the 'Northern Yard' (*Beiguan* 北館) and move to the diplomatic quarters. The missionary premises were protected by a dozen Chinese government guards. On 17 May the Mission was burned to cinders by the Boxers, including the valuable library collection. Mass killings of Orthodox Chinese occurred during the night from 10 to 11 June.

It was an unprecedented blow to the Chinese Orthodox community. Although the number of martyred Chinese clergy and common believers from the Western Christian denominations was much higher, in percentage terms it was disastrous. The slaughter of 222 Orthodox Chinese meant that half of the community of 450 was wiped out by the Boxers overnight. The retired Chinese priest Mitrofan Chang Yangji 常揚吉 and the candidates for the priesthood Pavel Wang Wenheng 王文恒 (several days before his murder the Holy Synod approved his candidacy) and Innokentij Fan Zhihai 范緻海 were killed. Among the Orthodox victims were Albazinians (Chinese of Russian descent), but no member of the Russian clergy was harmed by the Boxers. However,

the psychological shock was great, because in more than two centuries of its peaceful and perfectly legal existence in Beijing, the Russian Spiritual Mission had never suffered any persecution or assault from either the Qing authorities or hostile Chinese crowds.[1]

After the suppression of the Boxers the Mission temporarily settled in an imperial palace which was adjacent to the Yonghe Lama Temple 雍和宫 (it was located near the premises of the Orthodox Mission). In some sources the Russian "occupation" of Yonghegong saved it from intended plunder by German troops.[2] Three months later political tensions compelled the Russian missionaries and 75 Orthodox Christians to move with other foreigners to Tianjin.

The tragic events of 1900 put the future of the Mission in doubt. Russian Government officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not support the continuation of the Mission and quietly hoped to get rid of this source of trouble for Russian policy in the Far East.[3] The Ober-Procurator of the Holy Synod, Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev (1827–1907), sent a cable to Beijing, suggesting that the Mission move to Port Arthur 旅順 or to Siberia near the border with China. Innokentij was determined to save the Mission and, disobeying orders from Moscow, established a temporary base in Shanghai.

In June 1901 Innokentij was called to Saint Petersburg, the government intending to give him an official order to close down the Mission. But the Metropolitan of Saint Petersburg intervened on behalf of the Mission. It was saved and able to continue its work. The Mission's funds were doubled and the nominal rank of head of the Mission was raised from archimandrite to bishop. In a solemn Orthodox ceremony in Saint Petersburg in June 1902, Innokentij was consecrated bishop of Pereslavl' (*episkop Pereslavskij*).[4] He returned to Beijing with 34 cler-

---

[1] Kevin Baker, *A History of the Orthodox Church in China, Korea and Japan*, Chapter 8: "The Boxer Uprising 1899 to 1900". Dionisy Pozdnyaev, "Church of Blood of Martyrs: To the History of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China", in Angelo S. Lazzarotto *et al.*, *Yihetuan yundong yu Zhongguo Jidu zongjiao* 議和團運動與中國基督宗教 (The Boxer movement and Christianity in China), Taibei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2004; pp. 375–383.

[2] See *Kitaiskij Blagovestnik: 1685–1935: Jubilejnyj sbornik, posvjatchennyi 250–letiu so dnija osnovannija Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Kitae* (Jubilee issue commemorating the 250th anniversary of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China), 1935, p. 46.

[3] Pozdnyaev, *Pravoslavie v Kitae*, pp. 29–30.

[4] The old city of Pereslavl' (or Pereyaslavl') is located in the European part of Russia not far from Moscow. In 1721 Tsar Peter I decreed that the would-be head of the Mission should not be consecrated as Bishop of Irkutsk and Nerchinsk, because "these

ics and monks and took charge of the Orthodox Church in China, Mongolia and Tibet.

Later Innokentij wrote that "The year 1900 is of outstanding importance in the history of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking; that year the old Mission ceased to exist and the new was born—with a new direction and a new goal; the new Mission consciously put as its goal the propagation of the Christian faith in China and practically sought to fulfil its apostolic call".[5]

Innokentij travelled to southern China motivated by reports of the Orthodox priest in Hankou that many villagers of Fengkou (Hubei province) were willing to be baptised in the Orthodox faith and to have a religious school. In 1903 were build a missionary church of the Annunciation of the Theotokos 聖母報喜堂 (Blagoveshchenskaja Church) in Harbin and the Holy Theophany Church[6] 主顯堂 in Shanghai. In the same year seven nuns came from Russia to establish the Holy Protection Convent of Beiguan 北館聖母帡幪修道院 in Beijing. Later the nuns participated in educational work. With the indemnities from the Chinese government Innokentij refurbished the Siyefu palace (being next to the Mission, it was added to the *Beiguan*) as the bishop's residence. The funds were also used to build the following: the new Uspenskaya (Dormition) Church 聖母安息堂; the brothers' building for the male monastery; an impressive bell-tower in the Russian style over the southern gate of the Mission; the stone-built Church of John the Theologian in Dongdingan; the stone-built Serafim Sarovskij Church in the Andingmen cemetery; the meteorological station, etc. The Mission also acquired a recreational ground at the Beidaihe seaside resort.

The Mission launched its own periodical: "News of the Brotherhood of the Orthodox Church in China" (*Izvestiya Bratstva pravoslavnoj tserkvi v Kitae*) was stated in Harbin (1904). Later it moved to Beijing and since 1907 it adopted the title *Kitajskij blagovestnik* 中國福音報 (Chinese Good News). The Mission library was restored, but instead of the burned rare Manchu and Chinese texts, it contained mostly

---

cities are bordering on China, so the Jesuits could put their own interpretation and cause harm". *Kratkaya* (1906), p. 4. The proposed head of the 2nd Mission, Innokentij (Kul'chitskij), was ordained Bishop of Pereslavl', but he never entered Beijing—his non-admission to China was attributed to Jesuit intrigues. When Innokentij (Figorovskij) was consecrated, he received this title as a mark of respect for his predecessor.

[5] *Kitajskij blagovestnik*, (1914), No. 1–2, p. 11.

[6] Sometimes inaccurately translated as Transfiguration of Our Lord Church.

Russian periodicals. Innokentij revitalised the Mission's publishing activities. Old translations were reprinted, like the Apostles in Gurij's translation, many were published again with corrections. Gospels from Matthew, Mark and John, Acts and Epistles with Psalter and "most important parts from the Five Books of Moses" were published in a "new Chinese language"[7] By 1910 the translation of the Four Gospels, done by Innokentij himself, was completed. He supplied the text with extensive footnote commentaries and was obviously in favour of the colloquial form of language.

The first Chinese priest to be ordained in this new period was Sergij Chang Fu 常福 (sometimes called Chang Xiji 常錫吉 and Chang Xifu 常錫福), son of the killed Mitrofan Chang. In 1907 the Mission established its own seminary in Beijing to train Chinese catechists. By 1913 the Mission consisted of 35 Russians and 46 Chinese. Six to seven Russians and 30 Chinese were employed in missionary and educational work.

The third anniversary killing of Christians in Beijing in 1900 was marked by an impressive ceremony. On 22 April 1902 the Holy Synod ordered in its edict No. 2874 the local celebration of all holy martyrs on 11 June. Consequently, all the Chinese Orthodox martyrs were solemnly re-buried in the crypt under the altar of the newly-built Church of All Holy Martyrs 諸聖殉道堂 in the Mission compound. This church was built on the site of St. Nikolaj Church that had been destroyed by the Boxers.

Between 1903 and 1915 Russian missionaries travelled extensively across the country, opening many missionary stations. In this decade the Mission established its presence in the provinces of Zhili (Tianjin, Yongping with environs, Tongzhou and Dongdingan village, the Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross Monastery 舉揚十字聖架修道院 in the Western Hills (*Xishan*) near Beijing, Zhuozhou 涿州, Yageying village), Henan province (Weihui, Daokou, Zhangde, Kaifeng, Qixian, Ninglingxian 寧陵縣), Hubei province (Hankou, the small towns of Yuanjiakou and Fengkou, and the village of Xiantaozhen), Jiangxi province (property in the summer resort of Guling 牯嶺 and some converts in the nearby village of Xiaochikou 小池口), Jiangsu province (Shanghai and Haimen), Zhejiang province (Taizhou 台州, Hangzhou, Ningbo and Shipu 石浦).[8]

---

[7] *Kitajskij blagovestnik*, (1914), No. 1–2, p. 16.
[8] *Kitajskij blagovestnik* (1914), No. 3–4, pp. 1–20.

The Mission wanted to expand further in China, but lacked funds, experience and personnel. In report on work in 1907 Innokentij lamented: "[It looks] as if nobody understands that great significance of China to Orthodoxy, and that only the reinforced spread of Orthodoxy in the womb of China could in future save Russia from a new formidable Mongol invasion."[9] Number of "rice Christians" was very low because the missionary stations were usually supported by the local population. In the dramatic situation of the early 1900s there were hundreds of applicants for Orthodox baptism, but these people were lost because of the inability to immediately send qualified clergy. Thus, in summer 1907 there was news that 400 enquirers had lost interest in the Orthodox religion and received the Protestant faith instead.[10] The same applied to the educational enterprise. A missionary school was opened in Fengkou in 1907 but had to close in 1912.

In some respects things were not going very smoothly. Relations with the Russian diplomats in Peking were strained. They looked at the Mission with contempt and condescension. Attempts at expanding the missionary work led to conflicts with other missions, something that had never happened before. For example, in 1903 Protestants in Yuanjiakou sent local peasants to burn down the Orthodox chapel. Deacon Sergij Chang was compelled to abandon that missionary station.[11] In 1907 Russian Orthodox churches built along the Chinese Eastern Railway were removed from the Mission's jurisdiction and transferred to be administered by the Vladivostok diocese.

Nevertheless, it was the most productive missionary period in the long history of this Russian institution on Chinese soil. Statistics were never so promising. From 1900 to 1913 some 1,340 Chinese were baptised. In 1915 there were 423 students in Orthodox missionary schools in various parts of China. In 1916 the Mission reported more than 700 students and 706 baptisms in one year, with the total number of Orthodox Christians standing at 6,255. The Mission possessed 32 missionary stations, 19 churches, 5 metochions (2 in Russia: Petrograd and Moscow; 3 in northeast China: Harbin, Dal'nij [Dalian] and Manchurian Railway station) and 20 schools.

---

[9] *Kitajskij blagovestnik* (1908), No. 9–10, pp. 3–4.
[10] *Kitajskij blagovestnik* (1907), No. 5–6, p. 5.
[11] Pozdnyaev. *Pravoslavie v Kitae*, 35.

It was a period of expansion and accumulation of wealth. In 1913 a *metochion* (Missionary Yard) of the Beijing Mission was established in Moscow. It was headed by archimandrite Avraamij (Chasovnikov), who formerly served in Peking and was convinced that Russia would sooner or later be flooded by Chinese, hence it was necessary to start missionary work among the Chinese who settled in Moscow. He established the "Chinese brotherhood" in Moscow. It was a missionary society for spreading Orthodoxy in China. The Moscow *metochion* was a place of training for the Chinese seminarians from the Beijing Mission, but it was also an income generator for the Mission.

The Emigrant Mission, 1917–1949

Tragic events in Russia forced the Mission to return to its historical task of serving Russians in China. The "new Albazinians" fleeing the 1917 revolution were coming to China not in dozens, but in hundreds of thousands. Even the dead were coming under the Mission's protection. In April 1920 the bodies of several members of the Romanov family, who had been executed by the Bolsheviks in Alapaevsk on 18 July 1918, were brought to China. The bodies included those of Grand Duchess Elizaveta Fedorovna, Grand Duke Sergei Mikhailovich Romanov, along with other members of the family and related persons. They were first buried in the Russian cemetery at Andingmen. In 1938, at the time of the Japanese invasion, these coffins were taken for protection to the Mission quarters and symbolically buried in the Church of All Holy Martyrs near the Chinese victims of Yihetuan Uprising.

The October Revolution of 1917 had split the Russian Orthodox Church into the Moscow Church, consisting of the clergy remaining in the USSR, and the 'Church Abroad' of dioceses beyond the Soviet Union's borders and of Russian émigré communities abroad. In 1922 the Russian émigré bishops gathered at Sremski Karlovci (Yugoslavia) and established a Synod of Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (sometimes called the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad). The Beijing Mission transferred its allegiance to this Synod Abroad. In 1922 the Synod Abroad erected the new diocese of Beijing and China. Innokentij was at its head as archbishop. Vicariates were established in Shanghai, administered by vicar bishop Viktor 魏克托爾 (Leonid Viktorovich Svyatin 斯維亞金, 1893–1966), and in Tianjin under vicar bishop Iona (Pokrovskij). A separate diocese of Harbin led

by Metropolitan Mefodij (Mafrikij Lvovich Gerasimov, 1856–1931) was formed in Manchuria.

In 1919 the Beijing Mission stopped its missionary work among the Chinese and all missionary stations were closed. Its new top priorities were charity and care for the Russian refugees. In other words, it ceased to be a missionary Mission in a strict sense of the word. The Russian refugees (between 200,000 and 500,000, according to different estimates) in China were preoccupied with their own problems and spiritual wounds. They showed little interest in the propagation of the faith in the surrounding Chinese environment.

Initial attempts to help Russian refugees by leasing Mission property to them to get started in business were unsuccessful and led to financial losses and lawsuits, resulting in strained relations with the emigrants. The new Soviet diplomats were openly hostile—in 1924 Soviet embassy tried to take over the Mission property and discredit the institution in the eyes of Chinese authorities as protector within its walls of armed "White Guard" bandits. However, bishop Innokentij had strengthened his legal position in advance and proved to the Chinese authorities that all Mission property belonged to the Church, not the USSR.

In 1928 the temporary Orthodox Holy Synod in Moscow demanded to be recognised and accepted by expatriate clerics, adding a clause prohibiting the divine service for those without Soviet citizenship. None in Chinese church abided, but internal tensions were nevertheless high. Archbishop Innokentij administered the Mission as an independent leader. Consequently some clerics tried to escape from his power by appealing to the émigré bishops, seeking permissions to form their own independent parishes under the direct control of the Synod Abroad. In 1928 a split occurred in the Shanghai parish when laymen formed their own independent community. It failed to get accepted by the Moscow administration, and subsequently went under the direct jurisdiction of Paris-based Metropolitan Evlogij (Georgievskij).[12] Innokentij was elevated to the rank of Metropolitan by the Synod Abroad in 1928. He died in June 1931. The 19th Mission (1931–1933) was headed by archimandrite Simon 西蒙 (Sergej Andreevich Vinogradov 維諾格拉多夫, 1876–1933), former first vicar of Beijing diocese.

[12] Pozdnyaev, *Pravoslavie v Kitae*, pp. 52–54.

By that time tensions between the Russian and Chinese Orthodox clergy were severe enough to cause a bigger split. The oldest Chinese priest at that time, Sergij Chang Fu, contested the appointment of archimandrite Simon and demanded from the Guomindang government his own appointment as head of the Mission. His critics at the time understood it as an attempt by Sergij to grasp the property of the Mission. Sergij himself insisted that he wanted to build the church for the Chinese, accusing the Mission focusing too much on the affairs of the emigrants. This demand was reasonable and congruent with processes of "sinification" and "indigenisation" of Christian communities planted in China by the Western churches, but the timing was unfortunate. In a less complicated situation the Russian Mission would probably have welcomed Chinese priests taking charge of the Chinese Church. However, under the prevailing circumstances Chinese leadership over the vast and dominantly ethnic Russian refugee flock was not feasible. Although the Nanjing government formally appointed Sergij as the head of the Mission, fierce resistance of the Russian clergy stopped this Guomindang-supported "sinification from above" of the Orthodox Church.

Archbishop Simon then focused his attention upon institutional developments in Shanghai. The old Holy Theophany Church had been damaged and plundered during the political events of 1927 and was abandoned for a number of years. In January 1932 it was hit by Japanese artillery shells and burned. Later it was demolished by the Japanese. Simon put his efforts into constructing a new Cathedral dedicated to the Icon of the "Theotokos, Surety of Sinners" 我們的聖母—罪人的保人 in the French Concession in Shanghai.

Archbishop Simon died in February 1933. The Synod Abroad appointed bishop Viktor (Svyatin) to head the 20th Mission (1933–1956). Viktor had been consecrated bishop of Shanghai in November 1932. Born to a deacon of the Orthodox Church, Viktor served in the army during the First World War and participated in the resistance to the Bolshevik revolution. In 1919 he came to China with the defeated White Army. In 1921, at the age of 27, he entered monastic life at the Russian Mission in Beijing.

In the meantime, Protohiereus Sergij Chang Fu continued his battle for control of the Church by appealing directly to the pro-Soviet patriarchal administrator in Moscow, Metropolitan Sergij (Stragorodskij), who stood in opposition to the Synod Abroad at Sremski Karlovci. The Chinese cleric presented himself as the successor to Metropoli-

tan Innokentij, claiming to possess, with the approval of the Nanjing government, all legitimate rights to the Mission's property. The Metropolitan of Moscow responded to this appeal by accepting protohiereus Sergij into the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate and entrusting to him the care of the Orthodox parishes in China. Later protohiereus Sergij Chang signed his letters to Moscow as "Administrator of the Chinese diocese".[13] In the end only a small number of Chinese clerics from Tianjin followed Sergij Chang and Bishop Viktor managed to prove his legitimacy to the Nanjing government.

Bishop Viktor strengthened centralisation in the Spiritual Mission, which was proclaimed to be the centre of the Chinese diocese and inseparable from it. The Mission's work was streamlined and made more accountable to the superiors. Gradually its financial situation improved. There were plans to re-start missionary activities among the Chinese and to re-open missionary stations closed in 1919. In 1934 Hieromonk Ioann 伊望 (Mikhail Maksimovich, 1896–1966) was raised to the rank of bishop. He was consecrated by Metropolitan Antonij (Khrapovitskij) of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia in Belgrade. St. John the Wonderworker, as he is now known, was subsequently sent to Shanghai. During his administration greater emphasis was placed on the importance of monasticism and charity.

In an attempt to build bridges between Russians and Chinese, Fr. Ioann formed the "Chinese Orthodox Christian Brotherhood" in 1935. Led by Orthodox Chinese, it was expected to help form an independent Church. This institution worked on translations into Chinese and engaged in missionary activities among the Chinese. The brotherhood also facilitated understanding through languages instruction by providing Russian courses for the Chinese and Chinese for the Russians. Considerable work concerning the propagation of the faith was undertaken by protohiereus Nikolaj Li Xunyi 李遜一.[14]

---

[13] The Orthodox scholar Fr. Dionisij Pozdnyaev considers these actions by Sergij Chang an "attempted church schism" which violated all rules and ecclesiastical canons, because Sergij did not inform bishop Victor about this letter and was continuously untruthful to him as to whether he continued to recognise Victor as the head of the Mission. Pozdnyaev, *Pravoslavie v Kitae*, p. 72.

[14] The short catechism *Dongzhengjiao yaoli wenda* 東正教要理問答, prepared by Nikolaj Li and published in Shanghai in 1936, was recently reprinted in mainland China as a supplement to the works of Zhang Sui (1986), pp. 310–316 and Yue Feng (1999) pp. 296–302.

In 1935 Bishop Viktor organised solemn services to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the Spiritual Mission (taking as the Mission's starting date the year of arrival of the captured Russian priest Maksim in Beijing in 1685—instead of the date of the official foundation which was decreed by Peter the Great in 1700 or the arrival in Beijing of the first Mission in 1715. At the very least, it was a call for the psychological unification of the Russian community around the Mission.[15]

The Japanese invaders imposed strict control over the life of Russians and of the Church. They forced Viktor to cede administrative rights over churches in Manchuria to the Harbin diocese (which was isolated in Manchukuo 滿洲國). He was appointed by the Japanese against his will as the Chair of the Anti-Comintern Union of North China. During the occupation missionary activities among the Chinese were stopped. The principal missionary effort was put on combating Roman Uniate and Protestant proselytism among the Russian refugees in China. In 1937 Viktor was elevated to the rank of archbishop.

During the Second World War all links with the Synod Abroad at Karlovci were severed. This ignited further disputes over the issue of administrative subordination of the Chinese Church. After the war Viktor applied for China's inclusion under the administration of the Moscow Patriarchate. But several months later Metropolitan Anastasij of the Church Abroad succeeded in re-establishing the link with the Beijing diocese. This led to a split in Shanghai, when Ioann was appointed by the Church Abroad as an independent bishop of Shanghai diocese and relieved Viktor of administering this ex-vicariate. The Moscow Patriarchate, for its part, continued to regard Viktor as the head of the united diocese of Beijing and China.

In the meantime, the Shanghai parish had split into a pro-Moscow pro-Viktor group of about ten thousand (they had all regained Soviet citizenship) and a pro-Ioann group of about five thousand (these were still emigrants). Ioann himself accepted citizenship of the Republic of China. In February 1946 Viktor received a Soviet passport and during his travels to the rebellious Shanghai diocese he was protected by bodyguards from the Soviet consulate. In October he was arrested in Shanghai on charges of collaboration with the Japanese occupation authorities. To some degree this move was motivated by the Guomindang government's attempt to curb Viktor's pro-Moscow activism.

[15] Bogoljubov & Avgustin (eds.). *Pravoslavie na Dal'nem Vostoke*, pp. 74–84.

Five days later, under strong pressure from the Soviet side, Viktor was freed. In April 1947 all charges were dropped.[16]

In July 1950 Viktor reported to the Holy Synod in Moscow that the "period from 1918 to 1945 was a period of decline of mission work and the Mission's work had largely been limited to purely Russian ecclesiastical and social activities in China".[17] Events of this period led to serious tensions between Russian and Chinese clergy, and political rivalries emerged also within the Russian Mission. But the roots of this decline were to be located outside the Mission, which could not ignore the dramatic events in Russia and their tragic outcomes.

Bibliography

Aleksandrov, Boris G. (ed.), *Bei-guan': kratkaija istorija Rossijskoj dukhovnoj missii v Kitae*, Moskva: Al'ians-Arkheo, 2006. With contributions by archimandrite Avraamij (1864–1918), Ksenia B. Kepping (1937–2002) and Mikhail Viktorovich Kolobov (1868–1944).

Baker, Kevin, *A History of the Orthodox Church in China, Korea and Japan*, Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006.

Bogoljubov M.N., archimandrite Avgustin (Nikitin) (eds.). *Pravoslavie na Dal'nem Vostoke. 275–letie Rossijskoj Duhovnoj Missii v Kitae* (Orthodoxy in the Far East. 275th anniversary of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in China), Saint Petersburg: "Andreev i syinov'ya", 1993.

Kratkaja Istorija Russkoj Provoslavnoj Missii v Kitae, sostavlennaja po slučaju ispolnivšagosja v 1913 godu dvuchsotletnego jubileja eja suščestvovanija (A short history of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, compiled in 1913 on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of its existence), Beijing: Tipografija Uspenskogo monastyrja, 1916.

Pozdnyaev, Dionisij, *Pravoslavie v Kitae 1900–1997 gg.*, Moskva: Izd-vo Svjato-Vladimirskogo Bratstva, 1998.

Seide, Gernot, "Die Russisch-Ortodoxe Kirche in China und in der Mandschurei seit dem Jahre 1918", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 25 (1976), pp. 166–192.

Wiśniewski, Tomasz, "Die Russisch-Orthodoxe Kirche in China. Im Dienst der Politik, der Wissenschaft und des Evangeliums", *China heute* (1997), No. 3–4, pp. 111–119; No. 6, pp. 198–202; (1998), No. 1, pp. 21–25.

Yue Feng 樂峰, *Dongzhengjiao shi* 東正教史 (History of Orthodox Church), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1999; new ed. 2005.

Zhang Sui 張綏, *Dongzhengjiao he Dongzhengjiao zai Zhongguo* 東正教和東正教在中國 (The Orthodox Church and the Orthodox Church in China), Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe; Xinhua shudian Shanghai faxing suo faxing, 1986.

[16] Viktor's sister Ol'ga Kepping insists that "the reason for arrest was the Mission's property, on guard of which Viktor stood". Bogoljubov & Avgustin (eds.). *Pravoslavie na Dal'nem Vostoke*, p. 96.

[17] Cited in Pozdnyaev, *Pravoslavie v Kitae*, p. 122.

2.5. Chinese Catholics

John Witek

The Hierarchy in China

The establishment of a native Chinese hierarchy depended on the relations of the papacy and the Chinese government. The two Jesuits, Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), entered southern China in 1583 as individuals within the Portuguese *padroado* system based in Goa and claiming control over all missionary activities in Asia, except the Philippines. In the late seventeenth century Propaganda Fide with its creation of vicars apostolic challenged that arrangement so that in 1690 there were three Portuguese padroado dioceses in Peking, Nanking and Macao, alongside three vicariates apostolic of Fukien, Szechwan, and Shansi. Propaganda Fide further divided each of these two major sectors in 1838–1841 and assigned missionary orders to them.[1] The papacy indicated its desire in 1848 that all of the bishops and vicars apostolic were to meet in a synod in Hongkong, but this never occurred.

At the First Vatican Council (1869–1870) in Rome the prefect of the Propaganda Fide held sixteen meetings with the vicars apostolic from China, none of whom were Chinese. The suggestion of the French to write a letter in common to Napoleon III seeking his further protection of the Chinese Catholics met with opposition from the bishops of other nations.[2] In the course of the Sino-French War over Vietnam (1880–1885) Li Hongzhang approached the papacy about separating the affairs of the Church from the political control of the colonial powers. Pope Leo XIII agreed and appointed an apostolic nuncio, but France strongly objected even to the extent of possibly breaking its relations with the Holy See. During the course of the First World War China renewed its request and Benedict XV acceded. The French unsuccessfully opposed this move, for the pope, in 1919, issued his encyclical *Maximum Illud*, with its plan for reform of the missions. In

---

[1] J. Beckmann, "Die hierarchische Neuordnung in China. Ein geschichtlicher Rückblick," *NZM* 3 (1947), pp. 16–17.

[2] Louis Wei Tsing-sing, *Le Saint-Siege et la Chine* (Sotteville-lès-Rouen, 1971), pp. 107–108.

1922 his successor, Pius XI, sent Celso Costantini 剛恆毅 (1876–1958) as the first apostolic delegate. Not a member of the diplomatic corps, he was to supervise the entire Catholic Church in China. In 1924 three Chinese were named prefects apostolic and in Shanghai Costantini presided over the first plenary council of China. This was the backdrop for the pope to consecrate six Chinese as bishops in St. Peter's Basilica in 1926, a significant event since the first and only native bishop had been consecrated in 1685. In 1929 Costantini met the Chinese Foreign Minister who affirmed the policy of dealing with matters about the Catholic missions with the papal representative, not with the foreign powers.[3] When Costantini in poor health left China in 1933, of the 119 ecclesiastical territories nineteen were under the direction of Chinese appointees. The Anti-Japanese War of 1937–1945 stopped further efforts to create a native episcopacy. But in February 1946 Pius XII elevated Bishop Thomas Tian Gengxin 田耕莘 (1890–1967) as the first Chinese cardinal.[4] This was a prelude to the papal decree of April that same year in formally setting up the episcopal hierarchy in China with twenty archdioceses and seventy-nine dioceses replacing the vicariates apostolic of the past, though for the time being the prefectures apostolic were to be maintained. At that time Cardinal Tian became archbishop of Beijing and Paulus Yubin 于斌 (1901–1978) was named archbishop of Nanjing. An important change that year was the arrival of Antonio Riberi 黎培理 (1897–1968), the first papal internuncio to China, who presented his credentials to the government in Nanjing on 28 November 1946. Since the Vatican did not establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in 1949, the new Chinese government considered Riberi no longer an envoy, but a citizen of Monaco. Riberi was expelled from China on September 5, 1951, went to Hongkong and later to Taiwan.[5] The ecclesiastical archdioceses and dioceses as well as most members of the hierarchy on the continent remained in place.

---

[3] Ibid., pp. 136–139.

[4] Brandewie, *The Last Shall be First: The Life of Thomas Tien Keng-hsin, China's First Cardinal*.

[5] Ibid., p. 157.

Catholic Action

Initial steps of Catholic Action 公教進行 led by the Chinese laity began in 1912. The prime example is that of Lu Bohong (Joseph Lo Pa-hong) 陸伯鴻 (1875–1937) who founded an association of lay assistance to the missionaries in Shanghai. Its three goals were: 1) general propaganda about Christian ideas, 2) developing works of education and 3) establishing charitable institutions.[6] Lu submitted the statutes of the association to the bishop of Shanghai who gave his approval on February 3, 1913. At first some missionaries resented the interference of the laity and the bishop did not see any immediate results from the new association. Since after some time the meeting room became too small to hold the members, Lu built a European style centre. Here they met twice a month for discussions on promoting formation among Catholics; the first one held on the second Sunday of the month was a meeting of conversation among themselves; the second on the fourth Sunday of the month was a general meeting. Each member had to give a detailed report on his activities. This arrangement was a way for lay Catholics to become involved in the developments of the Church.

Beyond this stage was the effort of Celso Costantini, the Apostolic Delegate, who called for the establishment of the nation-wide Association of Catholic Action 公教進行會 in 1928. This was an outgrowth of the support for such movements from Pius X onwards, but reinforced by Benedict XV after World War I as a way of bolstering the presence of the Church in mission lands as an aid to the efforts of the clergy.[7] Part of the decrees of the First Chinese Council at Shanghai in 1924 set up three Synodal Commissions: one on schools and the publication of books; the second on a Chinese translation of the Bible and the third on a uniform text of catechism and prayers.[8] The first and third affected the further spread of Catholic Action. Schools included not only elementary and middle level institutions, but also those engaged in formally teaching catechists who memorised the text of the catechism and in presenting it to others also explained its contents. The

---

[6] Masson, *Un Millionnaire chinois au service des gueux. Joseph Lo Pa Hong*, pp. 54–56.

[7] Evariste Tchang, "L'Association de l'action catholique en Chine," *CCS* 2 (1929), p. 359.

[8] *Primum Concilium Sinense Anno 1924*, 3rd ed., pp. 35–41.

missionary was to answer those questions which the catechists realised were outside the scope their training.

Above all, the Council recommended that the laity be part of groups or institutions that promoted the salvation of souls everywhere in China. These did so by prayer and their zeal in propagating the faith, but simultaneously by their acts of mercy and charity towards their neighbours in visiting the sick, prisons, orphanages, etc. These activities were not new to the Chinese Christians whose relatives in the nineteenth century had done so; what was new was the co-ordination of efforts on a national scale.

The intent of Catholic Action in the field of education was to be a counterweight against anti-Christian views of socialism and communism. The Chinese Christians were to defend their rights not just for themselves, but for all their fellow citizens. They were encouraged to participate actively in their parish meetings so that they could more readily incorporate the habit of following the religious life of their vicariate, their parish and their country. Especially important were the schools so that a spirit would be engendered in all students from primary grades onwards who were expected to participate actively in the development of the nation. One of the bishops consecrated in Rome in 1926, Evaristus Zhang Zhiliang 張智良 (1887–1932), hoped that the Chinese Christian communities would support the Catholic movement as the churches of the great civilised states of North America.[9]

During the Japanese invasion of Shanghai in 1937 signs of Catholic action included, among others, the recruitment of doctors to help the wounded and the efforts of lay groups to assist the refugees. After World War II Catholic action took new and various forms. For example, with assistance from the Canadian Aid to China Committee and the War Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference of the United States, Shanghai had the first and only clinic on wheels for visiting the sick in the Catholic schools and others in need in outlying areas.[10] Another form was reflected in the organisation of the 350 Catholic students in the eleven universities in Peking. It first began in 1946 with 25 members, but within two years it had expanded considerably. Besides meetings of students on the individual campuses, a general meeting was held on 9 June 1947. This was an effort to bring

[9] Tchang, "L'Association," p. 363.
[10] *China Missionary* 1,4 (1948), p. 490.

together future Catholic intellectual, political and cultural leaders.[11] Catholic Action also was seen in the twenty Catholic delegates, five of them women, who were representatives of different groups at the 1948 Constitutional National Assembly.

To solidify further the efforts of Catholic action during the onset of the civil war in China, on 3 December 1947 the Apostolic Internuncio, Riberi, announced the reorganisation of the Synodal Commissions into the Catholic Central Bureau (and its ten departments), the Catholic Literature Commission and the Commission for Uniformity.[12] The second dealt with the translation of the Bible along with the publication of books and encyclopaedias. The third centred on developing Chinese terminology for oral and written usage at a time when the Chinese language was undergoing rapid changes. It was, however, the first commission with separate departments on Catholic Welfare, the Lay Apostolate, and Cultural Activities that most affected those Catholics involved in promoting Catholic action. Because of the rising tide of Communism, Riberi promoted the Legion of Mary as the primary method of Catholic Action.

Legion of Mary

This association of lay Catholics was founded in Dublin, Ireland in 1921 for the spiritual development of its members who sought ways of putting into practice the ideas of serving others. Within a few years it had spread to Scotland and England. During the next four decades the Legion had more than 60,000 active units operating in five continents.[13] Its origins in China can be traced to one missionary, who though living in Dublin before he went to China, had never heard of the organisation.

With seven laymen Father W. Aedan McGrath 莫克勤 (1906–2000) of the Columban Fathers established the first Legion of Mary 聖母軍 group in his parish in Qianjiang 潛江 in Hubei in January 1937.[14] Members were bound to work in pairs, including bringing Catholics

[11] Austin Wang, "Association of Catholic Students in Peiping Universities," *China Missionary* 1,4 (1948), pp. 13–17.
[12] "Letter H. Excl. the Apostolic Internuncio Announcing Reorganisation of the Synodal Commissions," *China Missionary* 1 (1948), pp. 8–10.
[13] Cecily Hallack, *The Legion of Mary*, pp. 1–37.
[14] McGrath "The Legion of Mary," *China Missionary* 1 (1948), pp. 416–417.

to Mass who had not been attending, visiting Catholic prisoners to arrange for their Confessions and Communions and other works assigned to them. Detailed reports were to be given to the weekly meetings as set down in the Legion Handbook.[15] A spiritual renewal began to take hold in the parish so that after six months McGrath announced that this impact was due to a small band of men in a *praesidium*. Encouraged by this success, he allowed four *praesidia* to be set up: for the boys, the girls, the younger women and the older women. Each had its own officers and met weekly according to the rules of the Legion Handbook. Both the spiritual formation of the members and the assignments of specific duties for the ensuing week were integral to the meeting. The members visited those who were absent from Mass and tried to understand their difficulties, e.g. a parent needing someone to take care of the household while she or he went to church. The members also alerted the priest about those persons or families who needed pastoral guidance.

Another important achievement was the members who visited the city prison, which Chinese officials did not allow McGrath to enter.[16] By personally discussing with the officials what the priest wanted to achieve, the members were allowed weekly visits when they could preach and distribute Catholic literature. Members came from all walks of life and never received any remuneration for their work. Even when the Japanese forced McGrath out of the mission, the members continued their apostolic work until conditions became impossible to conduct meetings without privacy to present reports.

As a nuncio in Africa, Riberi witnessed the Legion's positive results and had visited Dublin to get himself better acquainted with its methods. He called on McGrath to open *praesidia* throughout China. By 1948 McGrath set up praesidia as follows: two in the parish in Shanghai (one for European parishioners and another for the Chinese); one in Aurora University for Women, and another in Loretto High School. Others had been established in the cities of Hanyang, Kaifeng, and Ninghai, while still others were under formation in Hankou, Wuchang, Xinyang and Mongolia.[17] The continuing spread of a group that used

[15] *The Official Handbook of the Legion of Mary*, 4th American edition, Louisville, 1947, pp. 65–67.
[16] McGrath, "The Legion," pp. 418–419.
[17] Ibid., p. 425.

some military organisational terms and was promoted by an internuncio whom the new regime refused to recognise as a diplomat became a threat in its eyes and thus a target for extinction by early 1950.

Bibliography

Beckmann, J., "Die hierarchische Neuordnung in China," *NZM* 3 (1947), 9–24.

Brandewie, Ernest, *The Last Shall be First: The Life of Thomas Tien Keng-hsin, China's First Cardinal*, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2007.

d'Elia, Pasquale M., "L'Istituzione della Gerarchia Episcopale e dell'Internunziatura in Cina," *Studia Missionalia* 2 (1946), 1–31.

d'Elia, Pasquale M., "De Sinensis Expeditionis transitu in Ecclesiasticam Hierarchiam," *Periodica de re morali canonica et liturgica* 35 (1946) 256–270.

Donnelly, Daniel, "The Legion of Mary in Canton," *China Missionary Bulletin* 3 (1948), 49–50.

Fleckner, Johannes, Thomas Kardinal Tien, Sankt Augustin (Germany): Steyler Verlag, 1975.

"God's Own Encyclical on the Lay Apostolate: The Legion of Mary," *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis* 19 (1947), 101–112.

"Gravis Communicatio Actionis Catholicae," *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis* 3 (1930), 31–33.

Guyon, B., "La politique missionnaire de l'Eglise, La Chine et le Vatican," *La vie intellectuelle* 4 (1929), 176–197.

"Letter H. Excl. The Apostolic Internuncio Announcing Reorganisation of the Synodal Commissions," *China Missionary* 1,1 (1948), 8–10.

McGrath, W. Aedan, "The Legion of Mary," *China Missionary* 1 (1948), 416–425.

Masson, Joseph, *Un Millionnaire chinois au service des gueux. Joseph Lo Pa Hong*, Tournai and Paris, 1950.

The Official Handbook of the Legion of Mary, 4th American edition. Louisville, 1947.

Primum Concilium Sinense. Anno 1924 a die 14 Maii ad diem 12 Junii in Ecclesia S. Ignatii de Zi-Ka-Wei celebratum: Decreta et Normae. Vota, etc., 3rd edition, Taichung: Kuangchi Press, 1961.

Tchang, Evariste, "L'Association de l'Action catholique en Chine," *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis* 2 (1929), 359–363.

Wang, Austin, "Association of Catholic Students in Peiping Universities," *China Missionary* 1(1948), 13–17.

Wang, Joseph, "Legion de Marie à Ninghai (Ningpo)," *China Missionary* 1:4 (1948), 462–464.

Wei, Louis Tsing-sing, *Le Saint-Siege et la Chine de Pie XI à nos jours*, Sotteville-lès-Rouen, 1971.

Zhao Qingyuan 趙慶源, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao jiaoqu huafen ji qi shouzhang jie ti nian biao* 中國天主教教區劃分及其首長接替年表 (A List of Chinese Catholic Church districts and their leaders and successors), Tainan: Wen dao chubanshe, 1980.

2.5.1. *The Chinese clergy*

R. G. Tiedemann

As far as the recruitment and training of the Chinese clergy was concerned, the Holy See, the vicars apostolic and well as the missionaries all recognised in the nineteenth century that it had to be accelerated. However, the various groups could not agree on the speed of expansion, the type of training and whether the members of the native priesthood could be appointed to leadership positions. Moreover, Rome's insistence that Chinese candidates must attain a sound grasp of Latin had long been a major obstacle. Furthermore, the lack of financial resources, the "racial arrogance of the Europeans",[1] and other problems retarded the development of a Chinese clergy. Whereas during the first half of the nineteenth century there had been more Chinese priests than foreign missionaries, afterwards the latter consistently outnumbered indigenous vocations.

Progress of Foreign and Native Clergy

Year	Vicars and Prefects Apostolic	Foreign Priests	Chinese Priests
1848	16	84	135
1865	22	199	167
1870	24	211	?
1886	35	534	320
1900	41	886	470
1905	43	1,143	521
1910	47	1,391	638
1915	54	1,462	806
1920	54	1,364	963
1925	65	1,714	1,184
1926	69	1,797	1,217
1935	125*	2,562	1,747
1948	144**	3,091	2,661

Sources: 1848–1926: D'Elia, *Catholic Native Episcopacy*, p. 50; 1935: J.-B. Prud'homme, *Missions Catholiques en Chine. Champ d'Apostolat des Missionnaires*, 2nd ed. (January 1936) (Map).
1948: *Annuaire de l'Église catholique en China, 1950* (Shanghai, 1950).
* 22 of these mission territories were entrusted to Chinese clergy.
** Note that following the erection of the Chinese hierarchy in 1946, the country consisted of 20 archdioceses, 88 dioceses and 36 prefectures apostolic in 1948. Of the 98 bishops still residing in China in 1948, 22 were Chinese.

[1] Beckmann, "Einheimischer Klerus und Rassenfrage", *NZM* 11 (1955), p. 6.

Although most missionaries recognised the importance of native agency, their relations with and attitudes towards Chinese priests were often ambiguous and continued to be fraught with tensions. This became obvious when the vicars apostolic of China met on the occasion of the First Vatican Council in late 1869 and early 1870 to discuss matters of common interest, such as the uniformity of mission methods concerning rites, prayers, calendars and feasts. They also completed a questionnaire which had been distributed to them by Propaganda Fide. Questions 11 to 13 concerned the training, studies, qualification and treatment of native priests. The bishops felt that the time had not yet come for Chinese priests to assume positions of responsibility but that they remain under European supervision to prepare them for high office at some future date. Propaganda Fide was advised not to treat Chinese as "equals and brethren, but as pupils and sons".[2]

The China missionaries put forward other reasons as to why the formation of an indigenous clergy was proving so difficult. In 1882 Géraud Bray 白振鐸 (1825–1905), vicar apostolic of North Jiangxi, pointed out that boys of about twelve years of age had to first be taught morning and evening prayers and a little catechism, before they could embark on the study of the Chinese language for ten to fifteen years. The student also had to learn some Latin, "and this for him rather strange language is the opposite of his mother tongue. What difficulties to arrive at a reasonable understanding of the simplest lessons of the Breviary, and the philosophy and theology authors that are placed in his hands, after ten or twelve years at the seminary!" A significant number of students had to leave for lack of ability, improper behaviour, or illness. Bray asserted that of ten pupils who spent two or three years as aspirants, only one would enter the seminary. More would leave the seminary before they had finished their theological studies. Thus only a limited number could be trained.[3] Furthermore, in a poor mission country such as China, the cost of erecting seminaries and maintaining large numbers of seminarians proved exorbitantly high in many vicariates apostolic. After all, in a country that had such a high regard for education, it was essential that native priests receive thorough training in both Chinese and Western learning, which could take up

[2] Metzler, *Die Synoden in China*, p. 92.
[3] Quote in Crapez, "Les Lazaristes et le clergé chinois", pp. 57–58.

to twenty years.[4] Finally, there were, of course, also the delicate issues of the strong sense of family, the Chinese rites and celibacy. These formidable obstacles made it difficult to recruit suitable candidates.

The issue of training more Chinese priests and establishing additional seminaries was raised once again at the five regional synods which met for the first time in 1880.[5] It was recognised that the formation of an indigenous clergy had been an uneven process in China. Whereas some vicariates apostolic had made good progress, others had hardly started to train native priests. Still, overall the number of native agents had increased significantly at the end of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, few Chinese had risen to leadership positions in the Catholic missionary enterprise. In this connection, the prior of Our Lady of Consolation monastery at Yangjiaping 楊家坪, Huailai county, Zhili, stated that he had known Chinese priests "of proven virtue and venerable age who were placed under very young [European] priests…although these had just come over from Europe and still understood next to nothing of things Chinese. It requires a great deal of good will [of the Chinese priests] to accept such a position."[6]

Indeed, most synodal reports indicate that the Chinese clergy were not regarded very highly by their European confreres. Note for instance the cocktail of negative Chinese characteristics that emerged from the deliberations of the regional synods, as summarised from the synodal reports by Cardinal Gaetano Alimonda (1818–1891), Archbishop of Turin: "The Chinese priests are like the people amongst whom they were born. They are fickle, lazy, ambitious, vain, cunning, hypocrites, liars, ungrateful, extremely greedy for money, easily rebellious and with regard to chastity extremely weak." The cardinal summarised furthermore that those native priests who had been educated in Europe, especially at Naples and Rome, were the worst. They caused

[4] Huonder, *Der einheimische Klerus*, pp. 287–293; Beckmann, *Die katholische Missionsmethode in China*, pp. 53–67.

[5] The five regional synods were held as follows: (1) Beijing 18 April to 9 May 1880; (2) Shanxi 6 June to 4 July 1880; (3) Hankou 16 April to 6 May 1880; (4) Sichuan 20 September to 3 October 1880; and (5) Hongkong 4 to 11 April 1880. See Metzler, *Die Synoden in China*, pp. 100–101, with the names of participants.

[6] Huonder, *Der einheimische Klerus*, p. 307, quoting from *Réforme sociale* 3,3, p. 205. The Yangjiaping monastery was founded in 1883 by the Order of Cistercians of Strict Observance (or Trappists) and accepted Chinese priests and brothers from the start.

much scandal, sowed dissension and plotted together against the foreign missionaries. Moreover, the European missionaries claimed to detect "a deep loathing for everything foreign among the entire Chinese clergy".[7] Although there may have been some truth in it, this statement also reflects the sense of European cultural superiority. With entrenched views like that, it is not surprising that the foreign priests continued to insist on precedence over Chinese clergy, rejecting any notion of equality.[8]

Propaganda Fide responded to the resolutions of the 1880 regional synods with guidelines for future regional synods in its Instruction of 18 October 1883. According to Josef Metzler, this discreet approach was chosen so as not to embarrass China's bishops while at the same time outlining necessary improvements. Metzler concludes that Rome seems to have been more interested than the synods in promoting processes which would result in a Chinese Church free of European elements.[9] Moreover, Chinese priest should be treated in the same way as European priests. Most importantly, competent native priests should be appointed to take charge of ecclesiastical districts, enabling them to supervise younger Chinese priests.[10] Although these and subsequent regional synods elaborated policies that resulted in the growth of the Chinese clergy, the status of indigenous priests was not substantially altered. Thus it is clear that by the last decades of the nineteenth century a significant negative attitudinal shift had occurred in the missionary community with regard to native agency, with the emphasis on subordination rather than partnership.

Rome Takes Charge

One of the consequences of the fateful Boxer Uprising of 1900 was the sustained critical evaluation of the missionary enterprise. At the same

---

[7] Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide Ponente l'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Gaetano Alimonda. Ristretto con sommario e voto sulle deliberazione Sinodali dei Vicari Apostolici delle cinque regioni ecclesiastiche dell'imperio Cinesi. Dicembre 1881, Voto, p. 57ff.; quoted in Beckmann, *Die katholische Missionsmethode in China*, p. 72.

[8] See also Metzler, *Die Synoden in China*, pp. 107–108.

[9] Ibid., p. 117.

[10] Ibid., p. 118. For a comprehensive outline of the Chinese regional synods between 1880 and 1910, see ibid., chapters 8 and 9.

time, the growth of Chinese national consciousness became increasingly evident—and with it the realisation that an indigenous clergy is an essential precondition for the emergence of the Chinese Church. The debate concerning the establishment of the Church in mission territories was reopened in 1907 by the French secular priest Léon Joly (1847–1909) in his influential *Le christianisme et l'Extrême-Orient*.[11] The work exposed legitimate concerns and obvious abuses, accusing in particular the missionary religious orders of having neglected the formation of an indigenous clergy. For one thing, Joly alluded to many of the issues which Propaganda Fide had long recognised as obstacles to the creation of an indigenous Church, namely the unfortunate perceived and real collaboration between mission and politics, the inadequate advancement of the Chinese clergy, the failure to create viable independent Christian congregations, and the failure to consecrate Chinese bishops and the transfer of ecclesiastical control to them. Instead, the relatively small number of indigenous priests had been raised solely to obey Rome when in reality they remained under the control of foreign bishops and missionaries. In spite—or perhaps because—of its at times polemical nature and limited distribution, Joly's work created a certain awareness in Europe and, more importantly, had a profound influence on a small number of foreign missionaries in China. Indeed, the Belgian scholar Claude Soetens regards Joly's contribution as the starting point for reopening of the debate concerning the state of the Church in China.[12]

Whereas the Catholic pioneer missiologist Josef Schmidlin later conceded that Joly had presented his accusations "with a good deal of truth",[13] at the time the publication was severely criticised by several Jesuit writers for its exaggerations, one-sidedness and generalisations.[14] In addition to this polemical feud, and partly as a specific response to Joly's accusations, the Swiss Jesuit scholar Anton Huonder in 1909 published a more objective study of the issue of the indigenous clergy.[15] Having reviewed the development and state of the native clergy in mission countries, with a lengthy section on China, he concluded

[11] Léon Joly, *Le christianisme et l'Extrême-Orient*.
[12] Soetens, *L'église catholique en Chine au XX^e siècle*, p. 68.
[13] Schmidlin, *Katholische Missionslehre im Grundriß*, pp. 316–332.
[14] This polemical exchange has been examined by Maurice Cheza, "Le chanoine Joly (1847–1909) et la méthologie missionnaire".
[15] Huonder, *Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenländern*.

that the question of an indigenous clergy was one of the most important and most difficult problems of Catholic mission work, "whose ultimate goal is nothing but the creation of new, independent, viable churches with a native clergy and episcopacy."[16] While admitting that not enough indigenous priests had been trained, Huonder nevertheless ended his account on an apologetic note. Although the goal of an indigenous church, supported by the natives and growing from within, had not been achieved, the reasons for the slow recruitment of an indigenous clergy had, according to Huonder, a great deal to do with the high ideals of the Catholic priesthood. These were obstacles that could not easily be overcome, since most Christian congregations were still "young plantations in the midst of a jungle of pagan darkness and corruption of morals".[17] Huonder concluded that "the native priest, apart from many honourable exceptions, is not equal to the European in efficiency, intelligence, administrative ability, reliability and giving these mission churches too much independence too soon is not desirable in their own interest".[18]

This complacent Eurocentric missionary attitude was severely undermined during and in the aftermath of the First World War by the disruptive effect of the conflict in terms of finance and personnel and by the spiritual damage that was done to Christianity in general and the missionary enterprise in particular. As a Chinese newspaper put it, "Europe calls us barbarians, but it seems to us that, since European civilisation only knows how to create weapons of destruction, it would be better to remain barbarian." A Chinese official accused Europe, "the ruler of the world", of "incomprehensible barbarism".[19] Indeed, the war contributed significantly to the growth of Chinese national consciousness and aggravated the divisions between native clergy and foreign missionaries. At the same time, the war and its consequences had exposed the many problems that resulted from the failure to create a strong indigenous clergy and a self-supporting local Church in mission countries.

In the face of these adverse conditions, Pope Benedict XV (1914–1922) embarked on a comprehensive reorientation of mission work.

---

[16] Ibid., p. 311.
[17] Ibid., pp. 281–282.
[18] Both quotes in ibid., p. 310.
[19] Quoted in Miotk, *Das Missionsverständnis im historischen Wandel am Beispiel der Enzyklika 'Maximum Illud'*, p. 38, note 89.

Among other things, he endeavoured to change the prevailing situation on the mission fields, against which the Vatican had been struggling for several decades. In particular, the Pope was determined to weaken the close ties between foreign national and missionary interests, to liberate the missions from the burden of colonialism, and to focus once again on the supra-nationality of the Church and its mission. In this connection, he worked towards giving local Christian communities greater independence. These Roman initiatives gained momentum with the publication of the Pope's Apostolic Letter *Maximum illud* of 30 November 1919. The Pontiff was ably supported by the Dutch Cardinal Willem Marinus van Rossum (1854–1932) who had become Prefect of Propaganda Fide in 1918. The new Cardinal Prefect gave the missionary enterprise a new direction while embarking on the urgent task of reconstruction after the war.

Rome's vigorous proactive approach was to a considerable extent inspired by a small group of outspoken foreign missionaries and Chinese priests around the Lazarists Antoine Cotta and Vincent Lebbe. These individuals, all based in the vicariate apostolic of Maritime Zhili (later Vicariate Apostolic of Tianjin), deplored the foreign character of the Catholic Church and the inequality between Chinese priests and European missionaries. Both Cotta and Lebbe were profoundly influenced by Joly's writings.[20] As far as the group's views on the formation and treatment of the Chinese priesthood were concerned, these were set out in Cotta's lengthy memoir to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, Cardinal Domenico Serafini.[21] What exercised him most was the "absolute, perpetual contrast" between the Roman directives and the reality on the mission fields of China. Whereas the Holy See wanted the Christian communities to lead their own full and fruitful lives, they had in fact remained minors and "spiritual colonies".[22] While dependency is a necessary but transitory stage in mission countries, it had been the norm in China for centuries. On the basis of the various papal directives and Propaganda Fide's instructions, the foreign missionaries should have aimed to make themselves superfluous by creating a fully native clergy, including a Chinese episcopate. Yet as a

[20] See Maurice Cheza, "Le chanoine Joly inspirateur du Père Lebbe?".

[21] Cotta to Serafini, started at Xianshuigu 鹹水沽 near Tianjin on 29 December 1916 and finished on 6 February 1917. The complete text of a copy of this 'memoir' has been reprinted in *Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe*, Vol. I, pp. 25–70.

[22] Cotta's Memoir, p. 25.

result of the "general, systematic exclusion of the indigenous element" from running ecclesiastical affairs, the Church in China remained European. Cotta criticised the religious orders for regarding the territories assigned to them as their "fief" and refusing to share it with others. He concluded that the corporate spirit was perhaps stronger than racial prejudice, for the religious congregations were not willing to share their "possession" with rival foreign bodies—and certainly not with the Chinese secular clergy. But as Cotta argued, Chinese ecclesiastical leadership and the institution of a secular clergy to minister to the Christian communities were absolutely essential.[23]

In late 1918 Vincent Lebbe sent a long memorandum to Mgr. Gaston Vanneufville (1866–1936), the Roman correspondent of the Catholic newspaper *La Croix*.[24] Following on from Cotta's argumentation, Lebbe was particularly critical of the conversion methods employed by foreign missionaries, such as litigation and intervention in disputes.[25] His thoughts on the Chinese clergy were expressed in a letter to the vicar apostolic of Zhejiang, Paul-Marie Reynaud 趙保祿 (1854–1926). In it he argued that Chinese Christians have the same right to be patriotic as their fellow-Christians in Europe and America.[26] Yet against the tide of Chinese nationalism, the missions continued to produce an *auxiliary* Chinese clergy, always treated as third-rate or second-rate assistants. According to Lebbe, the European missionaries did not want to cede their 'fiefdoms' to native priests and thus refused to train them for more responsible positions. Since there were well qualified Chinese priests to take the place of foreign mission superiors, "this situation is…an injustice, a disobedience to Rome".[27]

The views expressed in the writings of Cotta and Lebbe are clearly reflected in *Maximum illud*.[28] Having been inspired by the situation

---

[23] Ibid., especially pp. 63–65.

[24] Claude Soetens, "Introduction", in *Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe*, Vol. I, p. ix, note 1.

[25] A draft of the memorandum has been published under the title "Mémoire sur la mission catholique en Chine", in: *Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe*, Vol. I, pp. 94–140.

[26] Lebbe to Reynaud, Ningbo, 18 September 1917, in Paul Goffart and Albert Sohier (eds.), *Lettres du Père Lebbe*, Tournai: Casterman, 1960, p. 141.

[27] Ibid., p. 149.

[28] For a detailed discussion of the genesis, content and consequences of the Apostolic Letter, see the recent study by Miotk, *Das Missionsverständnis im historischen Wandel*. For Lebbe's reaction to *Maximum illud*, see *Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe. Pour l'Église chinoise*. Vol. III: *L'Encyclique Maximum illud*. See also a number

in China, the pope made the formation of a native clergy a central issue of the Apostolic Letter. "The Native Priest, who is one with his countrymen by birth, temperament, outlook and aspirations, is especially qualified to induce them to embrace the Faith, for he knows, much better than others, what methods of persuasion are likely to be most successful. And so it frequently happens that he can enter, where the foreign-born Priest cannot set foot." Benedict XV added that the training of the native clergy should not be merely rudimentary, but as careful and complete as that given to the priests of "civilised races" (*sic*!).[29]

As far as China is concerned, the Apostolic Letter of Benedict XV coincided with the appointment of Jean-Baptiste-Marie Budes de Guébriant 光若翰 MEP (1860–1935) as Visitor Apostolic to all the missions of China on 22 July 1919. Probably influenced by the reports from Cotta and Lebbe, Cardinal van Rossum had sent a general questionnaire concerning the missionary situation in China to six of the most enthusiastic vicars apostolic in the China missions in July 1918. The Cardinal Prefect was particularly impressed by the responses from de Guébriant, at the time vicar apostolic of Canton [Guangzhou], and from Augustin Henninghaus 韓甯鎬 SVD (1862–1939), vicar apostolic of South Shandong. The newly appointed Visitor Apostolic arrived in China at the beginning of December 1919 and completed his visit on 12 March 1920. De Guébriant's subsequent report urged, *inter alia*, the establishment of central seminaries to hasten the formation of the native clergy and to raise their intellectual standard.[30]

Given the long history of opposition to the Holy See's reform proposals, it is not surprising that *Maximum illud* and de Guébriant's recommendations were not welcomed by many in the foreign missionary community in China. As one scholar has put it recently, the Apostolic Letter caused "great consternation and even indignation"[31] among certain bishops, chiefly but by no means only in French-controlled missions. The Apostolic Delegate Celso Costantini 剛恒毅 (1876–1958) later wrote in his memoirs that the "encyclical" was not published in

---

of contributions in Giovagnoli (ed.), *Roma e Pechino. La svolta extraeuropea di Benedetto XV*.

[29] Quotes in D'Elia, p. 68. The original Latin version is found in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 11 (Rome, 1919), pp. 440–455.

[30] For a brief account of the apostolic visit, see Soetens, *L'église catholique en Chine*, pp. 80–84.

[31] Miotk, p. 157. For reactions to the Apostolic Letter in France, see ibid., p. 156.

missionary journals in either France or China, except in Latin in *Sacerdos in Sinis*.[32] The same observation was made by Louis Morel 孟祿怡, later 馬崇道 CM (1884–), one of the priests who were banished from Tianjin after the Laoxikai Affair. He added that only *The Field Afar*, organ of the American Maryknoll Fathers, was "very courageous" and discussed *Maximum illud* in its editorials.[33] Morel asserted that "Several share the ideas of the encyclical but do not have the courage to profess them for fear of the all-powerful superiors. I believe that many of the educated Chinese priests are in this category."[34]

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Chinese secular priests in the vicariate apostolic of Southeast Zhili were shocked by the ill disguised feelings of the French Jesuits. When *Maximum illud* arrived in the mission in early 1920,

> some religious were not afraid to contradict it and dared assert that the Holy See had published this encyclical without careful consideration and without sufficient knowledge of the condition of China. And what seems perhaps most horrible, the superiors themselves have even tolerated the public reading during recreation of a newspaper (*Echo de Chine*) which asserts that the Sovereign Pontiff has rashly promulgated the encyclical *Maximum Illud*. What lack of filial spirit![35]

What offended the Chinese secular priests in particular was the fact they had not been given the opportunity to meet de Guébriant during his visit in January 1920. Moreover, they claimed that the Apostolic Visitor's invitation to write to him had not been communicated to them. Hence only a few Chinese priests had been in touch with him.[36] All this was seen as further evidence that the missionaries favoured their own country. According to the collective report, all the leading positions were held by Europeans, even though they did not know the language or understand Chinese customs.[37]

The above reactions reveal not only the tensions between Chinese clergy and European missionaries, but also differences between

---

[32] Ibid., referring to Costantini, *Con i missionari in Cina*, Vol. I, p. 26. The periodical *Sacerdos in Sinis* was published by French Lazarists in Beijing.

[33] Morel to Cotta, Fengxin 奉新 (Jiangxi), 8 January 1921, in: *Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe*, Vol. III, pp. 159–160.

[34] Ibid., 159.

[35] Letter of nineteen Chinese secular priests of Southeast Zhili to Benedict XV, ca. July 1920, in: *Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe*, Vol. I, p. 308.

[36] Ibid., pp. 307–308.

[37] Ibid., p. 310.

the mission headquarters in Europe and the foreign religious on the field. In view of the delicate situation in the Southeast Zhili vicariate, the substantial letter of Wlodimir Ledóchowski, General of the Society of Jesus, to the Religious Superior of the Jiangnan Mission, dated 15 August 1919, contrasts sharply with Jesuit attitudes in China. Ledóchowski's ideas are remarkably similar to those in Benedict XV's encyclical *Maximum Illud*.[38] The General encouraged the mission superior to develop a Chinese clergy, secular as well as religious, on a footing of strict equality, preparing them for promotion to responsible ecclesiastical offices. Ledóchowski argued that among the initiatives to be taken, "one of the most opportune would be to give more prominence to Chinese priests, to increase their relative number, their intellectual standing, their moral importance, their authority. Yielding in this way to the national sentiment [of the Chinese], we should thereby forestall the danger of a separatist movement."[39] Clearly, Ledóchowski's vision of the way forward, very much attuned to the views of the Holy See, was at variance with the old prejudices of the mission heads who were not implementing the Roman directives.

Against the background of continuing missionary opposition to the ideas of *Maximum illud*, Benedict XV's successor Pius XI (1922–1939) pursued the missionary reforms with particular vigour, supported by the indefatigable Cardinal Prefect van Rossum. The highest priority was given to the formation of the native clergy. An event that significantly shaped the future of the indigenous clergy and native leadership in China was the establishment of an Apostolic Delegation. Several earlier attempts having failed, the goal of direct relations between the Vatican and China was finally realised with the arrival of Mgr. Celso Costantini in November 1922. Costantini wasted no time in dealing with three crucial issues, namely (1) the reduction of tension between foreign and Chinese priests; (2) the phased transfer of mission territories to the Chinese clergy; and (3) the elimination of the French protectorate. In subsequent years Costantini was instrumental in preparing the way for a native Church in China. It is significant that the

[38] See Andreas Villanyi, "Ein Missionsrundschreiben des Jesuitengenerals Ledochowski", *ZM* 48 (1964), pp. 27–33.

[39] Ledóchowski, "A Letter Addressed to the Religious Superior of the Mission of Kiangnan", in *Selected Writings of Father Ledochowski*, p. 695.

apostolic delegate appointed Lebbe's friend, the secular priest Philippus Zhao Huaiyi 趙懷義, as his personal secretary.[40]

When Costantini learned that the Italian Franciscans were about to cede a small part of their vast vicariate of East Hubei to their American confreres, he asked Mgr. Graziano Gennaro 田瑞玉 (1863–1923) to give him the small mission territory of Puqi 蒲圻 in order to establish there the first Chinese mission. Although this area had few Christians and fewer material resources, "it was not without difficulty that Mgr. Costantini obtained this first concession" from the Italian bishop.[41] On 12 December 1923 the Prefecture Apostolic of Puqi was established, to be administered by Chinese secular clergy. The Franciscan Odoricus Cheng Hede 成和德 (1873–1928) was elected as the first prefect apostolic on 2 March 1924. Not long afterwards Costantini secured another territory for the Chinese clergy when the new Prefecture Apostolic of Lixian 蠡縣 in Zhili (since 1928 Hebei province) was detached from the Vicariate Apostolic of Baoding on 15 April 1924 and entrusted to Chinese Lazarists. Melchior Sun Dezhen 孫德禎 CM (1869–1951) was elected prefect apostolic on the same day.

In view of the fact that Rome considered these developments an important breakthrough, the negative reaction of the Chinese clergy proved particularly disappointing. Whereas the Vatican wanted the native priests to convert China, the Chinese complained that the two territories assigned to them were the least developed in terms of converts and material resources. Thus they felt disadvantaged, because the Europeans were retaining the core areas of Chinese Catholicism. In subsequent transfers Chinese wishes were taken into consideration, resulting in the assignment of well developed mission territories to the indigenous clergy.[42]

Further important initiatives were introduced in 1924. On 16 January Propaganda Fide annulled the 'privilege of precedence' of 'apostolic missionaries', which had automatically given foreign priests precedence in all matters over Chinese priests. In future only the date of ordination was to be relevant to precedence.[43] Later that year Costan-

---

[40] The establishment of the Apostolic Delegation in China is discussed in Soetens, *L'église catholique en Chine au XX^e siècle*, pp. 103–112.

[41] Wei, *Le Saint-Siège et la Chine*, p. 129.

[42] Josef Metzler, "Tätigkeit der Kongregation im Dienste der Glaubensverbreitung 1922–1972", pp. 467–468.

[43] Metzler, *Die Synoden in China*, p. 197.

tini called the first plenary council (or national synod) of China, bringing together all the vicars and prefects apostolic, including the recently appointed Chinese prefects apostolic Odoricus Cheng and Melchior Sun.[44] This national synod, which took place in Shanghai between 14 May and 12 June 1924, gave the Apostolic Delegate the opportunity to explain Rome's intentions to the assembled ordinaries.[45]

On 28 February 1926 Pope Pius XI issued a most remarkable encyclical, *Rerum Ecclesiae*. According to Pascuale D'Elia, *Rerum Ecclesiae* and *Maximum illud* "constitute what may be called the 'Magna Charta' of the formation of the Native Clergy and Indigenous Churches".[46] It placed Chinese priests on an equal footing with their European colleagues, enabling them to assume positions of leadership. Another significant step along the long road towards the establishment of an ecclesiastical hierarchy was taken on 28 October 1926 with the consecration of six Chinese bishops by the Pope in Rome, including the above-mentioned Odoricus Cheng and Melchior Sun. The other four were Philippus Zhao Huaiyi 趙懷義 (1880–1929), titular bishop of Vaga, vicar apostolic of Süanhwafu 宣化府代牧區 (Zhili); Aloysius Chen Guodi 陳國砥 (1875–1930), titular bishop of Cotenna, vicar apostolic of Fenyang 汾陽代牧區 (Shanxi); the Lazarist Josephus Hu Ruoshan 胡若山 (1881–1962), titular bishop of Theodosiopolis, vicar apostolic of Taizhou 台州代牧區 (Zhejiang); and the Jesuit Simon Zhu Kaimin 朱開敏 (1868–1960), titular bishop of Lesbi, vicar apostolic of Haimen 海門代牧區 (Jiangsu).[47] This was followed by the creation of additional vicariates and prefectures apostolic exclusively under the care of Chinese clergy. Foreign missionary resistance to the elevation of the Chinese clergy had at last been undermined, but by no means eliminated.

Note, for instance, the protests of European ordinaries when the first six Chinese bishops were consecrated in 1926. Indeed, the highly polemical exchange between advocates and opponents of an indigenous clergy and episcopate reached its height around the time of the election of these prelates. Although the principal antagonists in this

---

[44] For a complete list of Chinese priests attending the First Plenary Council, with biographical sketches, see Anthony Lam, "Archbishop Costantini and The First Plenary Council of Shanghai (1924)", *Tripod* 28, No. 148 (Spring 2008), pp. 29–47.

[45] For details, see Metzler, *Die Synoden in China*, pp. 181–222.

[46] D'Elia, *Catholic Native Episcopacy*, pp. 75–76.

[47] For a brief account of the nomination and consecration, see D'Elia, pp. 80–88.

often acrimonious debate were Vincent Lebbe and the French secular priest Henri Garnier, other individuals and groups also became involved. One major factor was the fear that French influence would be diminished in China as a result of the Roman reform programme. Indeed, it could be argued that the opposing camps roughly divided into a Lebbe (or Belgian) faction and a French faction.[48] In certain circles Vincent Lebbe has remained to this day the *bête noire* of the China missions.[49]

But the debate was by no means over in 1926. Even in the late 1930s apologetic arguments in favour of Western supremacy were put forward. Thus Vittorio Bartoccetti, professor at the Missiological Institute of the Collegium Urbanum in Rome, argued that since the Vatican had entrusted the missionary enterprise to the religious orders and congregations, they were entitled to place their own people in leading positions. Consequently the indigenous secular clergy necessarily had to assume an auxiliary role and accept a degree of subordination to the orders and institutes. Indeed, the unequal status of the native clergy, Bartocetti asserted, was quite naturally due to other circumstances, for example, the higher status of missionaries on account of their educational background and their support of their religious orders from a legal and financial perspective.[50] However, in the 1930s the Vatican continued with its policy of establishing new prefectures and vicariates apostolic and entrusting them to Chinese prefects and vicars apostolic. In particular, since relations between regular 會士 and secular clergy 會外神職班 were by no means cordial, the creation of new prefectures apostolic run by Chinese secular clergy was one way to reduce tensions.[51]

---

[48] See Josef Schmidlin, "Neueste Streitschriften zur chinesischen Missionsmethode", *ZM* 19 (1929), pp. 61–67; Schmidlin, *Das gegenwärtige Heidenapostolat im Fernen Osten*, especially p. 123; idem, "Der Sieg der eingeborenen Missionshierarchie", *ZM* 24 (1934), pp. 1–19.

[49] Note that Henri Garnier launched his last attack on Lebbe as late as 1961: *Le Père Lebbe: sa légende et les origines du schisme chinois*. For a list of such polemical writings since the early 1920s, see Soetens, *Inventaire des Archives Vincent Lebbe*, pp. 71–74.

[50] Vittorio Bartoccetti, "Come si forma il Clero indigeno nelle Missioni", *L'Osservatore Romano* No. 4 (1938), summarised in Bierbaum, "Kontroversen über den einheimischen Missionsklerus", pp. 226–227.

[51] By 1935 nineteen mission territories had been entrusted to Chinese secular clergy, two to Chinese Lazarists, and one to Chinese Franciscans.

In the end this relatively modest transfer of responsibility did not satisfy all Chinese priests. They had expected further concessions to be made to the native clergy by the creation of new mission territories. Indeed, even after a regular ecclesiastical hierarchy had finally been established in 1946, most foreign ordinaries remained in charge of the newly created archdioceses and dioceses. In view of the mounting frustrations and disappointments, many indigenous priests were increasingly attracted to the prevailing nationalistic currents and revolutionary movements.

Bibliography

Beckmann, Johannes, "Einheimischer Klerus und Rassenfrage", *NZM* 11 (1955), pp. 1–14.

Bierbaum, Max, "Kontroversen über den einheimischen Missionsklerus", *MR* 2,3 (1939), pp. 224–229.

Cheza, Maurice, "Le chanoine Joly inspirateur du Père Lebbe?, *Revue théoloquique de Louvain* 14 (1983), pp. 302–327.

Cheza, Maurice, "Le chanoine Joly (1847–1909) et la méthologie missionnaire", Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of Louvain, Faculty of Theology, 1963.

Costantini, Celso, *Con i missionari in Cina. Memorie di fatti e di idee*, Rome: Unione Missionaria del Clero in Italia, 1946–1947, 2 vols. French trans.: Costantini, Celso, *Réforme des missions au XX^e siècle*, trans. from the Italian by Jean Bruls, Tournai and Paris: Casterman, 1960.

Crapez, Henri, "Les Lazaristes et le clergé chinois, de 1697 à 1900", *RHM* 15,1 (March 1938). See also Crapez, Henri, "Notes d'histoire sur le clergé chinois et les Lazaristes de 1697–1900", *CCS* 10 (1937), pp. 666–683, 767–785.

D'Elia, Pascal M., *Catholic Native Episcopacy in China: Being an Outline of the Formation and Growth of the Chinese Catholic Clergy 1300–1926*, Shanghai: T'usewei Printing Press, 1927.

Garnier, Henri, *Le Père Lebbe: sa légende et les origines du schisme chinois*, Monte Carlo: Regain, 1961.

Giovagnoli, Agostino (ed.), *Roma e Pechino. La svolta extraeuropea di Benedetto XV*, Rome: Edizioni Studium, 1999.

Goffart, Paul, and Albert Sohier (eds.), *Lettres du Père Lebbe*, Tournai: Casterman, 1960.

Huonder, Anton, *Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenländern*, Freiburg i. Br.: Herdersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1909.

Joly, Léon, *Le christianisme et l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris: Lethielleux, 1907, 2 vols.

Lam, Anthony S. K. 林瑞琪, "Archbishop Costantini and The First Plenary Council of Shanghai (1924)", *Tripod* 28, No. 148 (Spring 2008), pp. 29–47.

Ledóchowski, Wlodimir, "A Letter Addressed to the Religious Superior of the Mission of Kiangnan", in *Selected Writings of Father Ledochowski*, Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1945. The English version of the Letter was originally published as *The Choice and Formation of a Native Clergy in the Foreign Missions. Letter addressed to the Superior of the Mission of Kiang-nan, China, from Rome, August 15th, 1919, by the Very Reverend Wlodimir Ledóchowski, General of the Society of Jesus*, New York: Kenedy and Sons, [1919?].

Metzler, Josef, *Die Synoden in China, Japan und Korea 1570–1931*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1980.
Metzler, Josef, "Tätigkeit der Kongregation im Dienste der Glaubensverbreitung 1922–1972", in *idem* (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum 1622–1972: 350 anni a servizio delle missioni*, Vol. 3, Part 2, Rome: Herder, 1976, pp. 464–577.
Miotk, Andrzej, *Das Missionsverständnis im historischen Wandel am Beispiel der Enzyklika 'Maximum Illud'*, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1999.
Recueil des Archives Vincent Lebbe. Pour l'Église chinoise. Vol. I: *La visite apostolique des missions de Chine, 1919–1920*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de la Faculté de Théologie, 1982; Vol. III: *L'Encyclique Maximum illud*. Introduction and Notes by Cl. Soetens., Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de la Faculté de Théologie, 1983.
Schmidlin, Josef, *Das gegenwärtige Heidenapostolat im Fernen Osten*, Münster in Westf.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1929.
Schmidlin, Josef, *Katholische Missionslehre im Grundriß*, 2nd ed., Münster, Westf.: Aschendorff, 1923.
Schmidlin, Josef, "Neueste Streitschriften zur chinesischen Missionsmethode", *ZM* 19 (1929), pp. 61–67.
Schmidlin, Josef, "Der Sieg der eingeborenen Missionshierarchie", *ZM* 24 (1934), pp. 1–19.
Soetens, *L'église catholique en Chine au XX^e siècle*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1997.
Soetens, Cl[aude]., *Inventaire des Archives Vincent Lebbe*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de la Faculté de Théologie, 1982.
Villanyi, Andreas, "Ein Missionsrundschreiben des Jesuitengenerals Ledochowski", *ZM* 48 (1964), pp. 27–33.
Wei Tsing-sing, Louis, *Le Saint-Siège et la Chine de Pie XI à nos jours*, Paris: Editions A. Allais, 1968.

2.5.2. *Catholic Religious Communities of Chinese Women*

R. G. Tiedemann

As has been noted in previous sections, in the past most Chinese Catholic Virgins, especially those living in the remoter rural parts of the country, were without solid religious formation, regular spiritual guidance and sacerdotal supervision as well as without sacraments. In other words, many were left to their own devices in an overwhelmingly 'pagan' environment, without the protection of convent walls. Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, when European priests began to arrive in greater numbers, the idea of establishing Chinese Catholic sisterhoods gained momentum for several reasons. The ambivalent attitudes of the newly arrived missionaries toward the 'institute of Virgins' is one significant factor. At the same time, the desire of some unmarried Chinese Catholic women, including certain Virgins, to lead a life of spiritual perfection in religious communities was also an important consideration. Finally, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards the Vatican began to encourage the foreign vicars apostolic to create local religious institutes as part of a move toward genuinely indigenous churches.

Présentandines, the first Chinese religious sisterhood

In the second half of the nineteenth century various measures were taken to 'regularise' the religious life of the virgins. One of the earliest and somewhat unusual proposals was put forward by the Jesuit priest Luigi Maria Sica 薛孔昭 (1814–1895) in 1855. Since so many girls had been rescued and raised in orphanages by fervent Virgins, he wanted to make some of them instruments of conversion. Sica thus proceeded to open an educational facility near Shanghai for selected young girls who had been abandoned or saved from infanticide. Initially about a dozen young rescued girls, aged around twelve years, were assembled at the principal Jesuit residence of Xujiahui 徐家匯 in the neighbourhood of Shanghai, where they were required to live a *vita communis* and observe a rule of discipline that had been drawn up by Sica with the approbation of Bishop Francesco Saverio Maresca 趙方濟 (1806–1855) and the Jesuit Visitor Pierre Fournier (1802–1855).[1] Four

[1] Joseph de la Servière SJ, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan*, Vol. 1, p. 334.

Virgins, whose task it was to instruct and form the girls, were to live with them under the same rule and discipline.[2] In this manner at least some of the unmarried Jiangnan laywomen were encouraged to organise themselves into an indigenous religious association. Indeed, these *Vierges Présentandines* (Virgins of the Presentation) who did not take vows, were the forerunners of what was to become the Association of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin 聖母獻堂會 (more commonly known as *Présentandines*), under the authority of the French mission superior.

This transformation into the Association was facilitated by the arrival of the Helpers of the Holy Souls (*Auxiliatrices des Ames du Purgatoire*) 拯望會 from France in 1867. The French sisters took charge of 32 *Vierges Présentandines* and 66 girl orphans or pupils at the *Shengmuyuan* 聖母院 which had been established for these Virgins. Although none of the girls spoke French or were able to understand the foreign sisters' customs, a novitiate of the Presentandines was nevertheless opened in September 1869 with 34 Virgins. On 8 September 1873 the first three Presentandines made their promise to serve the Mission in whatever work it asked them to do.[3] It should be noted, though, that the Presentandine novices were formed alongside those novices who were going to join the *Auxiliatrices*.[4] In this context, it can be argued that some young Chinese Catholic women, including Virgins, having come into contact and worked with the foreign sisters, became attracted to a life in a communal religious environment.

The growth of indigenous sisterhoods

In other parts of China, too, dedicated schools for female catechists were established in order to elevate the Virgins' religious life. In this connection, Louis-Simon Faurie 胡縛理 MEP (1824–1871), the vicar apostolic of Guizhou, reported to Propaganda Fide in 1865 that attempts had been made on several occasions to encourage the Virgins in his jurisdiction to lead communal lives and assemble them in a con-

---

[2] Sica, Jiangnan, 8 April 1855, *Annales de l'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance* 10 (1858), p. 218.

[3] Joseph de la Servière SJ, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan*, Vol. 2, p. 286. See also "Les Vierges Présentandines du Kiang-nan", *Relations de Chine* 6 (Jan–Apr 1919), p. 160.

[4] La Servière, Vol. 2, p. 285, 287.

vent. In this way they would soon be better educated, more pious and prepared to work more successfully in the apostolate. Although this project could not be realised at the time for a variety of reasons, at a later date the young women were required to enter a novitiate for two or three years before they were given the title of 'Virgin'.[5]

At about the same time, the Lazarist vicar apostolic of Beijing, Louis-Gabriel Delaplace 田嘉璧, *zi*: 類斯 (1820–1884), established a small religious association of unwed Chinese females under the patronage of St. Joseph. Delaplace had discussed the idea of creating Chinese sisterhoods at the Vatican Council (1869–1870) with other vicars apostolic, most of whom thought it impracticable. However, he persisted with the plan and the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul at the South Church (*Nantang* 南堂) of Beijing began to educate those young girls who had been chosen to form the new religious association of the Sisters of St. Joseph 若瑟女修會 or Josephines. In time Josephines were sent to all parishes of some importance in the vicariate. Their principal occupation was the religious education of girls and women catechumens whom the missionaries sent to them for instruction. Later the Josephines would also establish dispensaries. In subsequent years the Sisters of St. Joseph were established in all the Lazarist vicariates apostolic that resulted from the successive divisions of the old *padroado* Diocese of Beijing. The Vicariate Apostolic of Southwest Zhili was the first to establish its own Sisters of St. Joseph at Zhengding 正定 in 1887.[6] Here, too, Delaplace's model was adopted, except that the Zhengding Josephines remained for much longer under the tutelage of the French Daughters of Charity.[7]

There were in fact two ways in which Chinese women could enter religious communities. As has been indicated, European congregations accepted indigenous candidates into their institutes, offering them moral and material security as well as a proven Rule. The foundation of indigenous congregations, especially for women, with their own Rules was another possibility. The creation of Chinese sisterhoods would not only advance work amongst women, especially in the countryside where foreign sisters could not go, but also accelerate the process of establishing an indigenous Chinese Catholic Church. This is,

[5] Adrien Launay, *Histoire des missions de Chine. Mission du Kouy-Tcheou*, Vol. 2, pp. 529–530.
[6] Octave Ferreux, *Histoire de la Congrégation de la Mission en Chine*, p. 192.
[7] Ibid., p. 226.

of course, an idea that had been promoted by the Vatican since at least the mid-nineteenth century, both with regard to indigenisation and the communal life among those Virgins who were already living *quasi conventualiter*. By way of indirect criticism of the regional synods in China, Propaganda Fide's Instruction of 18 October 1883 urged the vicars apostolic to combine the Christian Virgins into religious communities, and that "it would be very useful if indigenous religious diocesan congregations were erected".[8]

The creation of religious institutes of 'diocesan' right also important because the aggregation of indigenous sisterhoods as tertiaries to European institutes was not uncommon, especially in Franciscan missions. Consequently, many native associations were still dependent on the superiors of foreign religious congregations. By the early twentieth century the Holy See was, therefore, favouring the creation of particular congregations for indigenous peoples. These were in any case regarded as more useful, since indigenous sisters were better adapted to the peculiar conditions of the locality, much more conversant with the language and local customs, and naturally much more intimate with the native women. Such 'diocesan' religious institutes would, moreover, be truly autonomous bodies placed directly under the jurisdiction of the vicar apostolic rather than the superior of the foreign religious congregation. In this way their members would no longer be treated as mere assistants by the European religious institutes.[9]

The Oblates of the Holy Family

During the last decades of the Qing and especially during the Republican period (1912–1949) a significant expansion of Chinese religious communities of women occurred.[10] For many of these Chinese sisterhoods the accessible historical information is, however, rather scanty. The record is, however, a little more comprehensive for one of the

---

[8] Metzler, *Die Synoden in China*, pp. 118. See also Max Bierbaum, "Die Gründung klösterlicher Genossenschaften für Eingeborene", *Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 1 (1938), p. 9 (Reference to "Instructio S.C. de Prop. Fide, Romae, 18 Octobris 1883, *Collectanea S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, Vol. 2, 1606, VII).

[9] Bierbaum, "Die Gründung klösterlicher Genossenschaften", pp. 11–12.

[10] See Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China*, Part III: "Roman Catholic: Chinese Religious Communities of Women (Associations of Diocesan Right)"; see also the table "Religious Communities of Chinese Women (Catholic)" in the Appendix of this *Handbook*.

diocesan congregations to be established at the very end of the Qing period. The Oblates of the Holy Family 聖家修女會 were founded as an indigenous female religious institute by Bishop Augustin Henninghaus 韓甯鎬 SVD (1862–1939) at Yanzhou 兗州, South Shandong, in 1910. Several things should be noted about this endeavour: 1.) the Vicariate Apostolic of South Shandong 山東南境代牧區 had been erected quite recently, in 1886; 2.) the missionaries who had taken charge of the territory were members of the Society of the Divine Word 聖言會 (SVD) which had been founded by the German priest St. Arnold Janssen 聖楊生 in the village of Steyl in the Netherlands only in 1875; 3.) being a new mission, South Shandong did not have a core of Old Christians 老教友 and thus lacked an established infrastructure of Catholic communities; 4.) in order to commence the apostolate amongst women, the SVD missionaries were, therefore, obliged to rely on help from outside by bringing in female catechists from the older missions during the early years;[11] 5.) South Shandong was essentially a rural mission in China's hinterland, without large cities and before the German leasehold territory of Qingdao became part of the mission's jurisdiction in 1898, without treaty ports.

As a result of the late commencement of missionary operations in South Shandong, the introduction of European sisters did not occur until after 1900. The first six Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit or Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters 聖神婢女傳教會 (SSpS), also recently founded by St. Arnold Janssen, arrived in 1905 and took charge of the orphanages at the two major mission stations, namely in the prefectural city of Yanzhou and in the small village of Poli, Yanggu *xian* 陽穀縣坡里, where they took on the responsibility (among other things) of training Virgin-catechists and establishing regular schools for female catechists.[12] With the presence of European sisters and against the background of a changing China, Bishop Henninghaus was now ready promote the formation of a native sisterhood. On 2 October 1910 ten Virgins from the catechist school at Yanzhou entered the novitiate, thereby starting the process that would eventually result in the first Chinese female religious congregation in Shandong, namely the Oblates of the Holy Family 聖家修女會.

[11] It would be noted, however, that other vicariates would not necessarily send their better female workers. See Tiedemann, "Controlling the Virgins".

[12] Ortrud Stegmaier SSpS, *Missionsdienst am eigenen Volk*, p. 18.

At this time, in 1910, the bishop requested from Propaganda Fide the authority to transform what was at this stage still a loosely organised association into a proper diocesan religious congregation.[13] This was, however, a protracted and by no means smooth process. In Europe and China a debate ensued concerning the desirability of a separate, autonomous Chinese sisterhood. While it was generally recognised that Chinese women were making a vital contribution to the missionary enterprise, some priests in South Shandong feared that the creation of a religious congregation would divert human resources away from the all-important direct apostolate in the villages into primarily institutional work (schools, hospitals, orphanages) at the mission stations. Theodor Vilsterman 德天恩 (1857–1916), the SVD provincial of South Shandong, argued that the indigenous women should be accepted into the congregation of the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters since it would take a long time before the Chinese sisters would be in a position to work independently.[14] In Europe some people were agitated by the possibility of competition between the Chinese and European sisterhoods, which would lead to divisions and tensions within the missionary enterprise. Moreover, it was feared that the existence of two separate congregations would incur additional costs resulting from the construction and maintenance of new houses. It was also pointed out that the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary in the German leasehold city of Qingdao had accepted Chinese women as members.[15] Some proposed, therefore, that indigenous sisters should join the European religious on a par and enjoy equal rights.[16]

Theresia Meßner, Superior General SSpS, on the other hand, was afraid that the Chinese women would enjoy certain advantages over their European sisters. As native Chinese speakers, they were cheaper and easier to deploy. Since the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters had trained the most suitable candidates, their best Chinese women would be lost to the independent congregation and the European religious would have to be satisfied with the rest. This would be most discouraging,

---

[13] According to the *motu proprio* "Dei Providentis" issued by Pius X on 16 July 1906, every Ordinary who wanted to found a male or female religious congregation in his diocese or vicariate apostolic had to obtain the written consent from the Holy See. *Acta Sanctae Sedis* 39 (1906), pp. 344–346.

[14] Vilsterman, letter dated 18 September 1911, cited in Stegmaier, p. 32. On Vilsterman, see Hullen, *Theodorus Vilsterman*.

[15] Stegmaier, p. 29.

[16] Stegmaier, pp. 27–29; Hartwich, III, p. 52.

for the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters had invested so heavily in training and educating the Chinese women. Moreover, it was feared that the European sisters would in time be pushed aside, because the new native society would eventually take over the formation of postulants and novices and would also want to take over the school for female catechists and Virgins. The Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters would perhaps only be left with the care for the orphans, the aged and the sick. Indeed, it would be difficult for the two congregations to work side by side, giving rise to tensions and jealousies. Moreover, the development of the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters would be impeded as a result of the competitive nature of the enterprise. Finally, it was asserted that the missionary priests would be split into factions favouring and discouraging the erection of an independent Chinese congregation. Superior General Blum, for his part, considered the aggregation of the Oblates to Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters in the form of a third order, as practiced by the Franciscans. He was particularly concerned that Chinese particularism would undermine the international character of the missionary enterprise and the universal Catholic Church.[17] There are grounds to believe that underlying these arguments was a degree of resistance to the Vatican's policy of encouraging the creation of a genuinely Chinese Catholic church.

These concerns notwithstanding, Henninghaus decided in favour of autonomous Chinese congregations, asserting that it was the prevalent pattern in other vicariates. Aggregation was not feasible, since the Chinese institute would then be governed by the European SVD generalate. Since their work was entirely in the Chinese mission, local knowledge was an essential ingredient of a successful apostolate. European sisters, on the other hand, were confined to the large mission stations where the large institutional facilities were located. Their particular way of life and the requirements of *clausura* made it virtually impossible for them to take an active part in the important work in the countryside.[18] At the same time, the Chinese Virgins were accustomed to working in rural areas but they could not be regarded as religious in the sense that they did not live in religious communities and took only some private vows. Since many of them were leading solitary

[17] Blum to Henninghaus, 6 July 1911, as summarised in Hartwich, III, pp. 55–57.

[18] The Shandong missionaries maintained that the Chinese situation was not fully understood in Europe. Because of the harsh conditions in the countryside, with bandits, revolutionaries and warlords, it was no place for European women.

existences in villages, they did not receive the formation, guidance and support which they needed to deepen their spiritual life. It was therefore desirable to have an intermediate religious institute between the European sisters and the Chinese Virgins. Its members were to go through a postulate and a novitiate to prepare them for a communal religious life that would enable them to fulfil that role in the countryside which the European sisters were undertaking at the large mission stations, in particular looking after female neophytes who had special needs. Unlike the European sisters (whose religious habits were by no means inconspicuous), the Chinese religious were to wear simple clothes like the Virgins, plus a veil during religious exercises.[19]

Responding to the charge of competition for candidates and the loss of the best ones to the Oblates, Henninghaus pointed out that the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters had come to help the SVD missionaries. They were a means to an end, namely the extension of the kingdom of Christ. Moreover, the various institutions did not belong to the European sisters but to the Mission and the Chinese candidates were trained at the Mission's expense. Thus the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters did not have an exclusive claim to the aspirants. In any case, the bishop argued, the foreign sisters and the Oblates were engaged in different operations. The latter were deployed in rural districts, whereas the former remained in the large mission compounds.[20] Another proponent of an autonomous Chinese sisterhood wrote from Shandong: "In contrast to the European sisters who, with all the excellence of their labours in the Lord's vineyard, still retain the bias of foreigners, the Sisters [Oblates] of the Holy Family are enjoying from the start the full trust of the Chinese and can therefore work more successfully."[21]

However, it would seem that the Chinese sisters were less keen to become a self-governing institute. On the contrary, according to a letter from novice mistress Sr. Odila Fasselt SSpS, dated 26 July 1914, the first six Oblates who had professed on 12 January 1914 insisted that the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters guarantee their continued direction of the Oblates for an indefinite period.[22] This reluctance to assume

---

[19] Henninghaus to Propaganda Fide, 11 February 1911, summarised in Stegmaier, p. 22.

[20] See Hartwich, III, pp. 59–60, 153.

[21] Hartwich, III, p. 277, quoting a passage from a missionary report in the *Steyler Missionsbote* 42 (1914/15), p. 32.

[22] Stegmaier, p. 35.

leadership runs counter to the growing nationalistic currents in China at this time. Perhaps, unlike in certain larger urban settings, this lack of assertiveness may have been due to the overwhelmingly rural background of the Chinese sisters. In any case—and generally speaking—the transition from the 'institute of Chinese Virgins' to a properly erected religious congregation could be painfully slow. Thus well into the 1930s the Oblates had no special religious habit, no official congregational name and like the Virgins in the service of the mission could be recognised only by their particular hairstyle. They, too, went in pairs into the Shandong countryside and were able to deal with the rural people more freely than would have been the case for European sisters. At the same time, their continued dependence on the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters and their uncertain status[23] notwithstanding, the Oblates of the Holy Family expanded quite rapidly.[24]

It is difficult to know whether the establishment of other female Chinese religious congregations was as protracted as in the South Shandong mission, because information on these 'diocesan' congregations is difficult to obtain. What seems to be certain, though, is that considerable variations existed amongst the various vicariates as to the nature of the organisation, the vows taken by the sisters and their deployment in the missions. In some areas they seem to have been used primarily in institutional work, in other vicariates their main contribution to the growth of the Church was in the direct apostolate. Nor is there any consensus in regard of the social background of the indigenous sisters. Sr. Sue Bradshaw has asserted with regard to the Presentandines: "Most of these Chinese women were from the lower classes and were trained to endure the hardships of working with women and children in the interior of China."[25] This may have been true of the early Presentandines who had been raised in Catholic orphanages, but would seem to be at variance with what is known about the Christian Virgins who generally came from more affluent Christian homes. Thus we learn from Joseph de la Servière that "nearly all the well-off families" had one or more Virgins.[26] In South Shandong, Virgins had to provide

[23] As late as 1933 Bishop Henninghaus was not sure whether the Oblates were a religious congregation (*congregatio religiosa*) or merely a pious union (*pia consociatio*). Ibid., 39.
[24] Stegmaier, pp. 35–37.
[25] Bradshaw, p. 34.
[26] J. de la Servière, II, p. 23.

a "dowry".[27] In the Vicariate Apostolic of Tsinanfu (North Shandong), the families of Virgins had to sign land over to these dedicated laywomen so they could achieve the economic independence that was vital to their being accepted by the mission.[28] In Inner Mongolia, the "Scheut missionaries did not encourage young women from the nursery halls [i.e., orphanages] to become Virgins. Missionaries often feared that they might become an extra financial burden or a source of disharmony."[29] It can, therefore, be assumed that—like most Virgins—a new member in one of the Chinese sisterhoods also had to provide a dowry so that its revenues could be used for her support. Since this was a well-established requirement in European religious congregations, it stands to reason that a good number, if not the majority, of Chinese sisters came from the better-off Christian families.

Concluding remarks

By 1949 virtually every vicariate apostolic (or rather diocese after 1946) had a female Chinese religious institute in its jurisdiction. So far some information has been found—albeit rather scanty in some cases—for more than seventy such sisterhoods. Yet in the published literature very little mention has been made of these organisations. Only the relatively brief entries in the multi-volume *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione* offer some very basic details for most of the known associations.[30] Especially for the older Chinese sisterhoods—or what Stegmaier calls "sister congregations of the old style"[31]—the published record is rather unsatisfactory, leaving a number of questions unanswered. As the table in the Appendix of this *Handbook* indicates, in some cases the actual Chinese name of these institutes does not seem to have been preserved, except perhaps in the localities where these sisters were

---

[27] Bornemann, *Der selige P. J. Freinademetz 1852–1908*, pp. 1094–1095.
[28] Vitalis Lange, *Das Apostolische Vikariat Tsinanfu*, pp. 99–100.
[29] Patrick Taveirne, *Han-Mongol Encounters and Missionary Endeavors*, p. 470.
[30] *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, diretto da Guerrino Pelliccia (1962–1968) et da Giancarlo Rocca (1969–2003). 10 vols. (Roma: Edizioni paoline, 1974–2003). Note also Joseph de Moidrey, *Congrégations et associations chinoises de sœurs*; Fernand Combaluzier, *Congrégations chinoises indigènes dans les vicariats lazaristes*. For a reasonably complete listing of the diocesan female religious congregations in China, see the specific entries in *Les Missions de Chine, Seizième Année (1940–1941)*, Shanghai: Procure des Lazaristes, 1942.
[31] Stegmaier, p. 10.

active. In other instances it has proved difficult to determine the precise date of foundation. In any case, among the seventy or so Chinese Catholic sisterhoods, there was a great deal of variation in their status, ranging from what appear to be mere loosely organised pious unions of Virgins to properly constituted diocesan religious institutes.[32] The transitional process from the one to the other awaits further investigation. Thus, in each individual case it needs to be established whether the pious association in question had a common uniform habit, a name or title, and fulfilled other requirements demanded by the Sacred Congregation of Religious in the twentieth century. While some of the Chinese religious institutes had obtained a formal decree of erection as diocesan institute (religious institute of diocesan right) from the Sacred Congregation, none of them had received a positive approbation (starting with the decree of commendation or *decretum laudis*, followed by the decree of pontifical approbation of the congregation as well as approbation of its constitution) to make them institutes of pontifical right during the missionary era in China.

Following the assumption of state power by the Chinese Communists, these religious communities were disbanded, either in the 1950s or during the Cultural Revolution. In a few instances a degree of continuity was maintained because small remnants of such religious institutes were able to reconstitute themselves and develop outside the People's Republic of China, mainly in Hongkong and Taiwan. Among the earliest surviving Chinese religious institutes are the Virgins of the Sacred Heart of Mary 聖母聖心貞女會 who were established by the Paris Foreign Mission Society as an association of Virgins in Manchuria in 1858. They only had the vow of chastity, without the vows of obedience and poverty, but lived communally and wore a religious habit. These sisters were, therefore, more developed than the old 'institute of Virgins'. When Manchuria was divided into the Vicariates of North and South Manchuria in 1898, those religious who remained in the Vicariate Apostolic of South Manchuria (later Moukden) and became the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Mary 聖母聖心修女會 and some sisters who managed to leave the mainland have developed the

[32] A diocesan institute is one governed by ordinaries (bishops, vicars apostolic, etc.). It has not yet obtained a decree of commendation (*decretum laudis*) from the Apostolic See. For details, see Joseph Creusen SJ, *Religious Men and Women in the Code*, 4th English ed., p. 10.

institute in Taiwan. Similarly, fugitive Franciscan Sisters of the Child Jesus 聖嬰會, founded by Belgian Franciscans in the Vicariate Apostolic of Ichang 宜昌代牧區 (Hubei) in 1905, became the Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Infant Jesus 耶穌聖嬰方濟修女會 (OSF) in Taiwan. Finally, the Oblates of the Holy Family, discussed in some detail on the preceding pages, are now operating as the Missionary Sisters Oblates of the Holy Family 聖家獻女傳教修會 (OHF) in Taiwan. The Sisters of the Precious Blood 耶穌寶血女修會 (SPB) were established in Hongkong rather than in mainland China, first as tertiaries of the Canossian Sisters (1860) and in 1922 as an autonomous institute. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part III, 2.1. The Missionaries)*

It is interesting to note that certain Catholic religious communities of women have re-emerged in the People's Republic. Especially in recent years some of the old Chinese sisterhoods have been reconstituted. For example, the Oblates of the Holy Family are present again in Yanggu *xian*, Shandong. At the same time, old women who were members of international religious institutes before 1949 seem to have been instrumental in the formation of Chinese diocesan religious communities with the same name as the foreign congregations. It will, no doubt, be difficult for foreigners/outsiders to approach these organisations directly.[33] It is, therefore, important to encourage these newly formed or reconstituted religious institutes to reconstruct their own past. Since the female Chinese diocesan religious congregations have hitherto received very little scholarly attention, a collection of historical accounts will enable scholars to assemble a comprehensive and thorough study, covering the Chinese missionary enterprise as a whole. Such an investigation should reveal more clearly the richness and variety of Chinese sisterhoods and determine more positively the contribution they made to the extension of the Catholic Church in China.

[33] On the re-establishment of religious congregations and the difficulties they face in China, see Jeroom Heyndrickx CICM, "Le rétablissement de congrégations religieuses dans la République populaire de Chine", *Courrier Verbiest* 13 (December 2001), pp. 18–21; Beatrice Leung, "Chinese Catholic Sisters in the Modernization Era: Problems and Contributions", *China Information* 18,1 (2004), pp. 67–106; Beatrice Leung and Patricia Wittberg, "Catholic Religious Orders of Women in China: Adaptation and Power", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 43,1 (March 2004), pp. 67–82.

Bibliography

Bierbaum, Max, "Die Gründung klösterlicher Genossenschaften für Eingeborene", *Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 1 (1938).

Bornemann, Fritz, *Der selige P. J. Freinademetz 1852–1908. Ein Steyler Missionar. Ein Lebensbild nach zeitgenössischen Quellen*, Bozen: Freinademetz-Haus, 1977.

Combaluzier, Fernand, *Congrégations chinoises indigènes dans les vicariats lazaristes*, Paris 1945.

Creusen, Joseph, *Religious Men and Women in the Code*, 4th English ed., Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1940.

Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione, diretto da Guerrino Pelliccia (1962–1968) et da Giancarlo Rocca (1969–2003). 10 vols., Roma: Edizioni paoline, 1974–2003.

Ferreux, Octave, *Histoire de la Congrégation de la Mission en Chine—(1699–1950)*, Paris, 1963. This is Vol. 127 of *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission (Lazaristes) et de la Compagnie des Filles de la Charité*.

Heyndrickx, Jeroom, "Le rétablissement de congrégations religieuses dans la République populaire de Chine", *Courrier Verbiest* 13 (December 2001), pp. 18–21.

Hullen, Antoon, *Theodorus Vilsterman. De eerste Nederlandse priester-missionaris in de Kongregatie van het Goddelijk Woord 1857–1916*, Deurne: Missiehuis St. Willibrord, 1996.

La Servière, Joseph de, *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan. Jésuites de la Province de France (Paris) (1840–1899)*, vol. 1: *Jusqu'à l'établissement d'un vicaire apostolique jésuite 1840–1856*; Vol. 2: *Mgr Borgniet (1856–1862) Mgr Languillat (1864–1878)*, Zikawei, Shanghai: preface dated 1914.

Lange, Vitalis, *Das Apostolische Vikariat Tsinanfu. Franziskanische Missionsarbeit in China*, Werl: Provinzial-Missionsverwaltung, 1929.

Launay, Adrien, *Histoire des missions de Chine. Mission du Kouy-Tcheou*, 2 vols., Vannes: Lafolye frères, 1907–1908.

Leung, Beatrice, "Chinese Catholic Sisters in the Modernization Era: Problems and Contributions", *China Information* 18.1 (2004), pp. 67–106.

Leung, Beatrice, and Patricia Wittberg, "Catholic Religious Orders of Women in China: Adaptation and Power", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 43.1 (March 2004), pp. 67–82.

Metzler, Josef, *Die Synoden in China, Japan und Korea 1570–1931*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1980.

Moidrey, Joseph de, *Congrégations et associations chinoises de sœurs*, Shanghai: Bureau Sinologique de Zi-Ka-Wè, 1930.

Stegmaier, Ortrud, *Missionsdienst am eigenen Volk. Die Herausbildung einheimischer Ordensfrauen durch Steyler Missionare und Missionsschwestern*, Steyl, 1978.

Taveirne, Patrick, *Han-Mongol Encounters and Missionary Endeavors: A History of Scheut in Ordos (Hetao) 1874–1911*, Leuven: Leuven University Press; Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K.U. Leuven, 2004.

Tiedemann, R. G., "Controlling the Virgins: Female Propagators of the Faith and the Catholic Hierarchy in China", *Women's History Review* 17,4 (September 2008), pp. 501–520.

Tiedemann, R. G., "The Formation of Chinese Diocesan Religious Congregations and Sisterhoods in the Late Qing: Some Preliminary Observations on an Elusive Phenomenon", in Rachel Lu Yan and Philip Vanhaelemeersch (eds.), *Silent Force: Native Converts in the Catholic China Mission*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, K. U. Leuven, 2009, pp. 37–58.

Tiedemann, R. G., *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2009.

2.6. Chinese Protestants

2.6.1. *Chinese Christians in Republican China*

Peter Chen-Main Wang 王成勉

The first two decades of the twentieth century are generally recognised as the "golden decades" in the church history of China because the old adversarial Chinese context had tremendously changed after the Boxer Uprising of 1900. Anti-Christian sentiment quickly declined as Chinese officials and gentry dared not to launch attacks on the churches. Moreover, Confucianism. the traditional Chinese ideology which previously felt threatened by Christianity, was put aside after China's defeat to modernised Japan in 1895 and the Allied Powers in 1901. These defeats made Christianity, together with Western science and technology, became quite popular among Chinese seeking a modern education for their children.

The Christian 'revival' in many parts of China was frequently mentioned in missionary publications in this period.[1] Jonathan Goforth 顧約拿單 (1859–1936), John Raleigh Mott 穆德傳 (1865–1955), G. Sherwood Eddy 艾廸 (1871–1963), F. N. D. Buchman[2] and Ding Limei 丁立美 (1871–1936), the "Moody of China," attracted thousands to their evangelical meetings.[3] Scholars point out that these popular evan-

---

[1] The *Chinese Recorder* has many reports on revivals in this period covering from Manchuria to South China. Latourette offered the statistic of this growth. Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, pp. 532–533.

[2] Frank Nathan Daniel Buchman (1878–1961) founded 'A First Century Christian Fellowship' in 1908. When Buchman brought his movement to English universities, it became known as the Oxford Group (and from 1938 'Moral Re-armament'). In 1918 during his travels in China, the controversial Buchman was asked to lead missionary conferences in the summer resorts of Guling 牯嶺 (Lushan 廬山) and Beidaihe 北戴河, which he saw as an opportunity to train native Chinese leaders. See Frank N. D. Buchman, *Where Personal Work Begins*.

[3] There are numerous reports on the revivals and evangelistic meetings. See e.g. A. Weir, "Effects of the 1908 Revival in Manchuria," *CR* 46 (February 1915); "Missionary News: A Modern Pentecost in South China", *CR* (September 1909); Rosalind Goforth, *Goforth of China*; "Missionary News: The Visit of Dr. John R. Mott, Chairman of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference, to China in 1913," *CR* (January 1912); "Missionary News: The Recent Evangelistic Meetings for Students, Officials, Gentry, and Business Men in China", *CR* (December 1915). Dai Weiliang (W. P. Taylor), "Mu Ai liangjun zai Zhongguo Dabudao hou chengji baogaoshu zhaiyao" (A Sunmary of the Report of the Great Evangelistic Meetings of John R. Mott and Sherwood Eddy) *Zhonghua Jidu jiaohui nianjian* 中華基督教會年鑑 1 (1914).

gelists conveyed two different messages. The new approach adopted by Eddy and Mott emphasised social salvation while the traditional line, adopted by Goforth and Ding, stressed individual salvation.[4] This difference, which already existed in late 19th century, did not become an issue until the 1920s when theological conflict occurred in China.[5]

The active participation of Chinese Christians in church service resulted from the rising tide of nationalism and the growth in knowledge and understanding of Christianity. Twentieth-century Chinese Christians, unlike their nineteenth century predecessors, became better educated in both secular knowledge and theological training. Many studied abroad at the turn of the century and a large number took part in the Revolution of 1911.[6] Afterwards, they enjoyed high social distinction and political power in early Republican China.[7] In fact, although a minority in society, Chinese Christians played a large role politically and socially throughout the Republican period.

This new generation of Chinese Christians strove for equal status both in society and the church. They enjoyed religious freedom as provided in the constitution and. defended their right whenever possible. For example, when a group of conservative Confucians urged the government to make Confucianism a state religion, many Christians expressed opposition in various publications.[8] In the church, they appealed to fellow Christians to assume their spiritual responsibility in the pursuit of a Christian church for Chinese.

Although most Chinese Christians worshipped in denominational churches, the Chinese independent church movement burgeoned in various forms at the turn of the century. Jonathan Chao identifies

---

[4] Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*; Lam Wing-Hung (Lin Ronghong) 林榮洪, "Qingmo Minchu: Fuxung budao yundong" (Late Qing and Early Republic: Reviving Evangelistic Movements), Parts I & II *Jinri Huaren jiaohui* (April 1996 and May 1996).

[5] For a general survey of the theology of American missionaries in China, see M. Searle Bates, "The Theology of American Missionaries in China, 1900–1950," in John K. Fairbank (ed.) *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*.

[6] Harold Z. Schiffrin depicts the Christian participation in his work *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution*. See, also Liang Shouhua 梁壽華, *Geming xianqu: Jidutu yu wan Qing Zhongguo geming de qiyuan*.

[7] In addition to Sun Yat-sen, a number of Christians served in the Beijing cabinet and there were more than sixty Christian Congressmen in 1912.

[8] Zha Shijie 查時傑, "Minguo Jidujiao hui shi" 民國基督教會史 (History of the Christian Church during the Republican era); Charles A. Keller, "Nationalism and Chinese Christians: The Religious Freedom Campaign and Movement for Independent Chinese Churches, 1911–1917", *Republican China* 17.2 (April 1992), pp. 30–51.

three major models of independent churches—the self-supporting church model of southern Fujian, the independent church model of east China and the Chinese Christian church model of north China. All focused on independence from foreign control, but in varying degrees, ranging from self-support within a denomination and in cooperation with missions to total separation from foreign missions.[9] Several major independent churches, such as the True Jesus Church, the Assembly Hall, and the Jesus Family all had their origins in this period.[10]

The idea of establishing a Chinese church also rang among foreign missionaries. The Centennial missionary convention of 1907, a gathering of 1170 people, with only six or seven Chinese Christians present, made significant steps toward establishing an indigenous church leadership in China. Not only were the Chinese church and Chinese ministry discussed at some length, but a Christian Federation of China creating an equal partnership between Chinese and foreign delegates was planned.[11]

However, this idea of Federation was soon replaced by the China Continuation Committee (hereafter CCC), an effort of John R. Mott. Mott, a major leader of the World Missionary Council, promoted the concept of co-operation at several conferences in China in early 1913. One conference resolved to establish the CCC as a coordination office for many evangelical services. CCC's activities from 1913–1922 were quite significant in developing Christianity in China. First, Chinese Christians participated widely and occupied no less than one-third in the national conference and the membership of the CCC. The role and status of the Chinese Christians was recognised and respected. Second, the CCC promoted co-operation and functioned as a bridge between field workers in China and their mission boards as well as between different Christian forces in China. Many sub-committees and special committees performed different services and, though not making

---

[9] Chao, Jonathan T'ien-en, "The Chinese Church Movement, 1917–1927: A Protestant Response to the Anti-Christian Movements in Modern China".

[10] For articles on this topic, see, Daniel H. Bays, "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937," in Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*, 307–316; Liu Jiezhen, "Zhongguo Jidujiao de duli jiaohui" (The Independent Churches in China); Shen Yifan and Cao Shengjie, "Zhongguo Jidujiao di zili yundong" (The Independence Movement of the Chinese Christianity), *Shehui kexue* 1982.3; Wang Jiwu, "Shilun Zhongguo Jidujiao bense yundong di qiyin" (On the Causes of the Rise of the indigenous Churches in China), *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* (1988.4).

[11] *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records* (NY: American Tract Society, 1907).

extraordinary decisions, did offer at least an opportunity for church workers to exchange experiences and ideas as well as discuss various mission and church matters. Third, in order to promote co-operation and to understand the context, a thorough survey was conducted in 1918 and 1919 resulting in publication of the huge volume *Christian Occupation of China*, the most complete reference work of the time.[12]

Several defects of the CCC should he discussed here. First, as revealed by the title of this organisation, the promotion of a united effort and the transfer of church power to the native people was based on the spirit of the Edinburgh conference, not a result of missionary and mission board consensus. Second, the newly founded Committee, according to its constitution, was to be solely consultative and advisory in nature. Therefore, it could function only with the goodwill of mission boards and missionaries.[13] Third, missionaries preferred to have co-operation instead of unification or federation because they could retain their own institutions, church power and property, and theological stance. Barriers between different denominations were not really resolved and later became worse when theological viewpoints became an issue.

The May Fourth Movement of 1919 occurred at the end of these golden decades. Although the core of this Movement—nationalism, science and democracy—was supposed to have a destructive impact on Christianity. most contemporary Christians held a positive attitude toward it. Modern studies point out that contemporary church people affirmed the nationalistic passion of the time. The spirit of the Christian self-reflection revealed in the statements of the National Christian Council of China (hereafter NCC) in 1922, and the creation of the China for Christ Movement, the Peking Apologetic Group, the Chinese Home Missionary Society were all influenced by the May Fourth Movement.[14]

---

[12] F. Rawlinson and others (eds.), *The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National Christian Conference*, pp. 47–77.

[13] Even the title of the NCC was troublesome, as CCC staff confessed that the "English name had no meaning to any but missionary circles, and the Chinese had none. This was unfortunate especially in a country where such great importance is given to the choice of names." Ibid., p. 80.

[14] For the NCC statement, see "Jidujiao quanguo dahui—jiaohui de xuanyan", in Shao Yuming 邵玉銘 (ed.), *Ershi shiji Zhongguo Jidujiao wenti* 二十世紀中國基督教問題, pp. 517–540. For studies on the churches in the May Fourth period, see Li Zhigang, "Wusi yundong yu Zhongguo Jidujiao fuxing zhi tantao"; Wu Cun, "Jidutu dui Wusi de renshi he huiying", Parts I–III, *Zhongguo yu jiaohui* 中國與教會 94

A thorough self-examination of the relationship between the Chinese Church and the missionaries, as well as the relationship between the churches and the State, occurred during the Anti-Christian Movements of the 1920s.[15] Out of Christian conviction and a desire to identify with their countrymen, Chinese Christian set out to indigenise the church.[16] Scholars differ as to why this indigenisation movement failed after the 1920s. Samuel Ling suggests that many leading Christians sought an indigenous Christian theology out of patriotism, and their failure resulted from internal contradictions between Christianity and the Confucian tradition.[17] Jonathan Chao argues, however, that most Chinese Christians were limited by their educational background and only a few Christian intellectuals and church leaders pushed this movement. Whatever the reasons, the anti-Christian pressures were removed and the missionaries returned to their field, restoring the old pattern of dependency.[18]

Although the formation of the NCC in 1922 represented another major step toward the development of Chinese churches, as many scholars point out, the internal issues and conflicts among Christian churches went unresolved.[19] The NCC, which functioned as a consultative body, could not deal with the divergent views over denominational standpoints and missionary interests. In fact, while giving credit to co-operation in Christian field work, some missions tried to retain independence and opposed an organic unity or an authoritative church.[20] Furthermore, being dragged into theological conflict

---

(March–April 1993), 95 (July-August 1993), 96 (September–October 1993); Lin Ronghong [Lam Wing-Hung] 林榮洪, "Wusi shiqi de zongjiao wenti," 五四時期的宗教問題 (Religious issues in the May Fourth period).

[15] On the anti-Christian movements of the 1920s, see Lam Wing-Hung 林榮洪, *Chinese Theology in Construction*; Liu Xinyong, "Diyici guonei geming zhanzheng shiqui de fei Jidujiao yundong"; Jessie G. Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*; Yang Tianhong 楊天宏, *Jidujiao yu jindai Zhongguo*; Yip Ka-che, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students*.

[16] Chao, "The Chinese Indigenous Church Movement"; Samuel D. Ling, "The Other May Fourth Movement".

[17] Ling, "The Other May Fourth Movement", pp. 198–199.

[18] Chao, "The Chinese Indigenous Church Movement," pp. 273–274.

[19] Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, pp. 796–798; Wallace C. Merwin, *Adventure in Unity*, pp. 28–29; Paul B. Callahan, "Christianity and Revolution as Seen in the National Christian Council of China," pp. 75–94.

[20] Milledge Theron Rankin, "A Critical Examination of the National Christian Council of China," chapter IX.

between the fundamentalists and modernists was unavoidable even though most Chinese Christians stated their disinterest in denominationalism.[21] Finally, the NCC was not able to generate enough funding from the Chinese side. The NCC received financial support from foreign missions in its first years and later relied mostly on the rent of the Missions Building, a gift from the Presbyterian Mission.[22]

Social issues, as shown in the programmes of the NCC and its Five Year Movement (1930–1934), gradually loomed large in the churches over the next several decades.[23] Rural life, labour conditions, illiteracy, professional education, and even the studies of national and international affairs, often appeared in Christian programmes while the issue of the indigenisation of Christianity silently died. As Ng Lee Ming has written, "With the pressure of foreign encroachment mounting each day, the Chinese people were by the 30's less concerned with the maintenance of their national identity in the cultural sense than with the maintenance of their country as a sovereign political entity."[24]

Concrete social programmes, in the eyes of contemporary Christian leaders, made more practical contributions to the society. Some Christians got involved in the New Life Movement and some YMCA programmes were borrowed and used by the Officers' Moral Endeavour Association and the Mass Education Movement.[25] Quite a few agricultural programmes were set up in Christian colleges and seminaries. The most ambitious effort was the Rockefeller Foundation's China Program which, with missionary support, promoted rural reconstruction.[26] However, all efforts became fruitless because of the 1937 Sino-Japanese War.

Devolution was a hidden issue in the mid-Republican period. The political situation of the 1920s did quicken the process of devolution, especially in the field of education. However, missionaries still held

---

[21] N.C.C. Annual Report, 1923–24, p. 1. See, however, Yao, *The Fundamentalist Movement among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920–1937*.

[22] See Callahan, "Christianity and Revolution," p. 94.

[23] Ibid., pp. 79–93.

[24] Ng Lee-ming, "The Promise and Limitations of Chinese Protestant Theologians, 1920–50", *Ching Feng* XXI.4 (1978), pp. 176–177.

[25] See Christopher Tang, "Christianity and the New Life Movement in China"; Charles W. Hayford, *To the People*; Shirley S. Garrett, *Social Reformers in Urban China*; Chün Hsing, *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution*.

[26] James C. Thomson, Jr., *While China Faced the West*.

reservations on the matter.[27] Although many missionary schools conformed to the educational regulations of the Nationalist Government, some missionaries dominated the administration through Western financial support or administrative devices.[28]

The Chinese Church from 1937 to 1950 has been understudied. The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War brought China and the churches to a new stage. The churches soon won a good reputation because of their various war relief programmes.[29] Because of the complex situation, the wartime churches must be examined in accordance with different times and areas. First, China was territorially divided into "occupied" and "unoccupied." The size of these two areas changed in accordance with Japanese military expansion toward the south and the west. In "occupied" China, missionary efforts before Pearl Harbor were distinguished because of their relative freedom in sheltering refugees, wounded soldiers, Chinese women and thousand of homeless people and also in their appeal to world support in criticizing Japan's invasion of China and its, soldiers' atrocities.[30] After Pearl Harbor, most missionaries were interned or repatriated to their home countries.[31]

Japanese authorities wanted to put all churches in "occupied China" under their control through the federation of all Christian organisations.[32] Although quite a few missionary sources point out that the churches in the "occupied territory" had little freedom, were tremendously short financially, could not hold evangelical meetings, and even had no theological seminaries for themselves, a recent case study suggests that the Chinese churches were actually moving toward inde-

---

[27] For example, Janet E. Heininger, based on her examination of the activities of 151 Congregational missionaries of the ABCFM who were in China from 1911 to 1952, found that the missionaries believed that they were "more suited than the Chinese to bear the burden of responsibility for mission work". Heininger, "The American Board Mission in China".

[28] The best example was Yenching University. See Philip West, "Christianity and Nationalism: The Career of Wu Lei-ch'uan at Yenching University".

[29] See Liu Jiezhen, "Kangri shiqi de Jidujiao", *Ching Feng* (Summer 1972); M. Searle Bates, "The Protestant Enterprise in China, 1937–1949", p. 14. For the NCC programmes, see *Biennial Report, 1937–1946, National Christian Council of China*, pp. 11–13.

[30] Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*, pp. 251–273.

[31] See P. Scott Corbett, *Quiet Passages*; and *Langdon Gilkey*, Shantung Compound.

[32] Meng Guoxiang, "Riben liyong zongjiao qinhua shuyao" (A summary of the Japanese invasion of China by religion), *Huiyin shizhuan xuebao* 1991; Archie R. Crouch, *Rising through the Dust*, pp. 54–56.

pendence.[33] However, Zha Shijie concludes that Christian churches endured great distress and suffering through an examination of various church records and Christian reminiscences.[34]

Many Christian schools and organisations joined the great migration to West China. In "unoccupied" China, co-operation in church services and in charity activities between church organisations were furthered.[35] Moreover, Christian schools and universities which moved to "unoccupied" China not only helped the development of education in the South and West China but developed courses to meet the local need.[36]

The civil war period which started right after World War II was such a short transition that few churches or Christian organisations were able adjust to the Communist victory. Although Chinese Christians took over more church affairs as only 3,000 former foreign missionaries returned and most were over fifty years old, the churches were not ready to launch any projects.[37] The NCC, for example, did not hold its biennial meeting, after a nine-year break, until at the end of 1946 and the "Three Year Forward Movement" of the NCC resolution remained only a blueprint. Along with economic collapse and political corruption, missionaries and Chinese Christians gradually lost their confidence in the Nationalist Government.[38] At the end of the civil war, the Chinese churches could not but accept the reality and could only rely on their faith while living under Communist rule.

Bibliography

Austin, Alvyn J., *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1883–1959*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.

Bates, M. Searle, "The Church in China in the Twentieth Century", in William J. Richardson (ed.), *China and Christian Responsibility: A Symposium*, New York: Friendship Press, 1958.

---

[33] Timothy Brook, "Toward Independence: Christianity in China under the Japanese Occupation, 1937–1945", in Bays, *Christianity in China*, pp. 317–337.

[34] Zha Shijie, "Kangzhan shiqi de Jidu jiaohui" (Christian churches during the War of Resistance), in *Minguo Jidujiao shi lunwen*, pp. 229–258.

[35] *N.C.C. Biennial Report, 1937–1946*, pp. 14–16.

[36] Bates, "The Protestant Enterprise", pp. 15–16; Ma Min, "Kangzhan daxue de xiqian" (Universities moving westward during the War of Resistance).

[37] Prudentius Dambroriena, "The Place of Protestant Missions in China", p. 53.

[38] Varg, Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats, pp. 276–306; Ma Kezhang, "Neizhan shiqi Jidutu dui gongchan zhuyi de renshi" (Christian understanding of Communism during the Civil War), *Zhongguo yu jiaohui* 8 (September–October 1995).

Bates, M. Searle, "The Protestant Enterprise in China, 1937–1949," in Wilber C. Harr (ed.), *Frontiers of the Christian World Mission since 1938: Essays in Honor of Kenneth Scott Latourette*, NY: Harper and Brothers, 1962, pp. 1–22.

Bates, M. Searle, "The Theology of American Missionaries in China, 1900–1950," in John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Bays, Daniel H., "Chinese Popular Religion and Christianity Before and After the 1949 Revolution: A Retrospective View" *Fides et Historia: Journal of the Conference on Faith and History* 23.1 (Winter–Spring 1991), pp. 69–77.

Bays, Daniel H., "Christian Revivalism in China, 1900–1937." in Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall Balmer, (eds.) *Modern Christian Revivals*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Bays, Daniel H. (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Bays, Daniel H., "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937," in Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Bays, Daniel H., "Indigenous protestant Churches in China, 1900–1937: A Pentecostal Case Study," in Steven Kaplan (ed.), *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity*, New York: New York University Press, 1995.

Brook, Timothy, "Toward Independence: Christianity in China Under the Japanese Occupation, 1937–1945," in Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996, pp. 317–337.

Buchman, Frank N. D., *Where Personal Work Begins. Extracts and Notes from Talks Given at the Lily Valley Conference near Kuling, China 1–13 August, 1918*, London: Grosvenor Books, 1984.

Callahan, Paul E., "Christianity and Revolution as Seen in the National Christian Council of China," *Papers on China* 5 (1951): 75–106.

Chao, Jonathan T'ien-en, "The Chinese Church Movement, 1917–1927: A Protestant Response to the Anti-Christian Movements in Modern China," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1986.

China Centenary Missionary Conference records. Report of the great Conference held at Shanghai, April 5th [read 25th] to May 8th, 1907. Printed in Shanghai under the direction of the Conference Committee, NY: American Tract Society, 1907.

The China Christian Year Bock. Shanghai, 1926–1931.

The China Mission Yearbook. Shanghai, 1910–1925. Chinese version: *Zhonghua Jidu jiaohui nianjian* 中華基督教會年鑒 (China Christian Church Year Book), Shanghai: 1914–1936.

The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal. Shanghai, 1874–1940.

Chung, Mary Keng Mun, *Chinese Women in Christian Ministry: An Intercultural Study*, New York: Peter Lang, 2005.

Corbett, P. Scott, *Quiet Passages: The Exchange of Civilians Between the United States and Japan During the Second World War*, Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1987.

Crouch, Archie R., *Rising through the Dust: The Story of the Christian Church in China*, NY: Friendship Press, 1948.

Dai Weiliang (W. E. Taylor), "Mu Ai liangjun zai Zhongguo Dabudao hou chengji baogaoshu zhaiyao" (A Summary of the Report of the Great Evangelistic Meetings of John R. Mott and Sherwood Eddy) *Zhonghua Jidu jiaohui nianjian* 中華基督教會年鑑 1 (1914).

Fairbank, John K. (ed.), *Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Fenn, William Purviance, *Christian Higher Education in Changing China, 1880–1950*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdman Publishing Company, 1976.

Garrett, Shirley S., *Social Reformers in Urban China*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.
Gilkey, Langdon, *Shantung Compound: The Story of Men and Women under Pressure*, New York: Harper & Row, 1966.
Goforth, Rosalind, *Goforth of China*, Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1938.
Gregg, Alice, *China and Educational Autonomy: The Changing Role of the Protestant Educational Mission in China, 1807–1937*, Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1946.
Hayford, Charles W., *To the People: James Yen and Village China*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
Heininger, Janet E., "The American Board in China: The Missionaries' Experiences and Attitudes, 1911–1952", Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1981.
Ho, Herbert Hoi-Lap, *Protestant Missionary Pub1ications in Modern China, 1912–1949: A Study of Their Programs, Operations and Trends*, Hong Kong: Chinese Church Research Centre, 1988.
Hsing, Chün. *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution: The American Social Gospel and the YMCA in China, 1919–1937*. Bethlehem, Pa: Lehigh University Press, 1996. Chinese version: Xing, Jun 邢軍, *Geming zhi huo de xili: Meiguo shehui fuyin yu Zhongguo Jidujiao Qingnianhui, 1919–1937*, 革命之火的洗禮: 美國社會福音與中國基督教青年會, 1919–1937, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006.
Hunter, Jane, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn of the Century China*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
International Review of Missions (London, 1912–1961).
"Jidujiao quanguo dahui—jiaohui de xuanyan", in Shao Yuming 邵玉銘 (ed.), *Ershi shiji Zhongguo Jidujiao wenti* 二十世紀中國基督教問題 (Issues of Chinese Christianity in the 20th Century), Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1980, pp. 517–540. Repr. New York: Meiguo zong jing xiao Hua qiang tushu gongsi, 1987.
Keller, Charles A., "The Christian Student Movement, YMCAs, and Transnationalism in Republican China", *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 13 (2004–2006), 55–80.
Keller, Charles A., "Nationalism and Chinese Christians: The Religious Freedom Campaign and Movement for Independent Chinese Churches, 1911–1917", *Republican China* Vol. XVII, No. *2* (April 1992).
Kessler, Lawrence D., *The Jiangyin Missionary Station: An American Missionary Community in China, 1895–1951*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1996.
Lam Wing-Hung 林榮洪, *Chinese Theology in Construction*, Pasadena, CA: Wm. Carey, 1983.
Latourette, Kenneth S., *A History of Christian Missions in China* (NY: Macmillan Company, 1929).
Li Zhigang, "Wusi yundong yu Zhongguo Jidujiao fuxing zhi tantao" 五四運動與中國基督教復興之探討, (The May Fourth Movement and the Revival of Chinese Christianity), *Zhongguo lishi xuehui shixue jikan* 中國歷史學會史學集刊 21 (1989).
Liang Shouhua 梁壽華, *Geming xianqu: Jidutu yu wan Qing Zhongguo geming de qiyuan* 革命先驅. 基督徒與晚清中國革命的起源 (Pioneers of the Chinese revolution: Christians and the origins of the late Qing revolution), Hongkong: Xuandao chubanshe, 2007.
Lin Ronghong [Lam Wing-Hung] 林榮洪, "Qingmo Minchu: fuxing budao yundong," 清末民初復興佈道運動 (Late Qing and early Republic: revival and evangelisation movements), Parts I & II, *Jinri Huaren jiaohui* 今日華人教會 (Chinese churches today), (April 1996 and May 1996).
Lin Ronghong [Lam Wing-Hung] 林榮洪, "Wusi shiqi de zongjiao wenti," 五四時期的宗教問題 (Religious issues in the May Fourth period), 今日華人教會 (Chinese churches today), (September–October 1996).

Ling, Samuel D., "The Other May Fourth Movement: The Chinese "Christian Renaissance", 1919–1937", Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1980.
Liu Jiezhen, "Kangri shiqi de Jidujiao," *Ching Feng* (Summer 1972).
Liu Jiezhen, "Zhongguo Jidujiao de duli jiaohui" (The Independent Churches in China), *Ching Feng* 46 (Autumn 1975).
Liu Kwang-Ching (ed.), *American Missionaries in China: Papers from Harvard Seminars*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.
Liu Xinyong, "Diyici guonei geming zhanzheng shiqui de fei Jidujiao yundong" 第一次國內革命戰爭時期的非基督教運動 (The Anti-Christian Movement during the First Revolutionary Civil War), *Shanghai qingyun she ziliao* 19 (1986).
Lutz, Jessie G., *China and Christian Colleges, 1850–1950*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.
Lutz, Jessie G., *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920–1928*, Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988.
Lutz, Jessie G. (ed.), *Christian Missions in China: Evangelists of What?*, Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1965.
Ma Kezheng, "Neizhan shiqi Jidutu dui gongchan zhuyi de renshi" 內戰時期基督徒對共產主義的認識 (Christian Understanding of Communism during the Civil War Period), *Zhongguo yu jiaohui* 8 (September–October 1955).
Ma Min 馬敏, *Kangzhan daxue de xiqian* 抗戰大學的西遷 (Universities moving westward during the War of Resistance), Taibei: Lianzhing chubanshe, 1996.
Meng Guoxiang 孟國祥, "Riben liyong zongjiao qin Hua shuyao" 日本利用宗教侵華述要 (A Summary of Japanese invasion of China by religion), *Huaiyin shifan xueyuan xuebao* 淮陰師範學院學報 (1991.02).
Merwin, Wallace C., *Adventure in Unity: The Church of Christ in China*, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1974.
"Missionary News: The Visit of Dr. John R. Mott, Chairman of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference, to China in 1913," *CR* (January 1912).
"Missionary News: The Recent Evangelistic Meetings for Students, Officials, Gentry, and Business Men in China, *CR* (December 1915).
Neils, Patricia (ed.) *United States Attitudes and Policies Toward China: The Impact of the Missionaries*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1990.
Ng Lee Ming, "The Promise and Limitation of Chinese Protestant Theologians, 1920–1950," *Ching Feng* N 4 (1978).
Rankin, Milledge Theron, "A Critical Examination of the National Christian Council of China", Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1928.
Rawlinson, Frank, et al. (ed.), *The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National Christian Conference*, Shanghai: The Oriental Press, 1922.
Reed, James, *The Missionary Mind and American East Asian Policy, 1911–1915*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983.
Reist, Katherine Kennedy, "A Church for China: A Problem in Self Identification, 1919–1937", Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1983.
Shaw Yu-ming, *An American Missionary in China: John Leighton Stuart*, Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1992.
Shaw Yu-ming, "The Problem of Evaluating American Missionary Work in China," in Tung-hsun Sun and Morris Wei-hsin Tien (eds.) *R.O.C. and USA, 1911–1981*, Taipei: American Studies Association of the Republic of China, 1982.
Shaw Yu-ming, "The Reaction of Chinese Intellectuals toward Religion and Christianity in Early Twentieth Century", in James D. Whitehead, et al., (eds.) *China and Christianity: Future Encounters*, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979.

Shen Yifan and Gao Shengjie, "Zhongguo Jidujiao de zili yundong" 中國基督教的自立運動 (The Independence Church Movement in China), *Shehui kexue* (1982.2).
Schiffrin, Harold Z., *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.
Sovik, Arne, "Church and State in China: A Survey History of the Relations between the Christian Churches and the Chinese Government, l911–1945", Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1952.
Stauffer, Milton Theobald, et al. (eds.), *The Christian occupation of China: a general survey of the numerical strength and geographical distribution of the Christian forces in China, made by the Special committee on survey and occupation, China continuation committee, 1918–1921*, Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922; reprinted San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1979. Chinese translation: Zhonghua xuxing weibanhui diaocha tewei hui bian 中華續行委辦會調查特委會編, *Zhonghua gui zhu: Zhongguo Jidujiao shiye tongji, 1901–1920* 中華歸主: 中國基督教事業統計, 1901–1920, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, Min guo 11 [1922]. Reprinted Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1987; republished as a two-volume set in 2007.
Tang, Christopher, "Christianity and the New Life Movement in China", Th.D. diss., San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1941.
Thomson, James C., Jr., *While China Faced the West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928–1937*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.
Treadgold, Donald W., *The West in Russia and China: Religious and Secular Thought in Modern Times*. Vol. 2, *China 1582–1949*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
Varg, Paul A., *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890–1952*, Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1958.
Wang Chengmian 王成勉, *Wenshe de shengshuai: erling niandai Jidujiao bensehua zhi ge an yanjiu* 文社的盛衰: 二十年代基督教本色化之個案研究 (The rise and fall of Wenshe: A case study of indigenisation of Christianity in China in the 1920s), Taibei: Yuzhouguang, 1993.
Wang Jiwu, "Shilun Zhongguo Jidujiao bense yundong di qiyin" (On the causes of the rise of indigenous churches in China), *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 (1988.4).
Weir, A., "Effects of the 1903 Revival in Manchuria," *CR* 46 (February 1915); "Missionary News: A Modern Pentecost in South China", *CR* (September 1909).
West, Philip, "Christianity and Nationalism: The Career of Wu Lei-ch'uan at Yenching University," in John K. Fairbank (ed.), *Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.
West, Philip, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916–1972*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.
Whitehead, James D., et al., *China and Christianity: Future Encounters*, Notre Dame, Ind.: The University of Notre Dame Press, 1979.
Wu Chao-Kwang, *The International Aspect of the Christian Movement in China*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1930.
Wu Cun, "Jidutu dui Wusi de renshi he huiying", Parts I–III, *Zhongguo yu jiaohui* 中國與教會 94 (March–April 1993), 95 (July–August 1993), 96 (September–October 1993).
Yang Tianhong 楊天宏, *Jidujiao yu jindai Zhongguo* 基督教與近代中國 (A study of the anti-Christian movement in China), Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1994. See also a more recent edition: Yang Tianhong, *Jidujiao yu Minguo zhi shi fen zi: 1922 nian—1927 nian Zhongguo fei Jidujiao yundong yanjiu* 基督教與民國知識分子: 1922 年-1927 年中國非基督教運動研究, Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2005.

Yao, Kevin Xiyi, *The Fundamentalist Movement among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920–1937*, Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2003.

Yip Ka-che, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922–1927*, Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1980.

Zha Shijie 查時傑, "Minguo Jidujiao hui shi" 民國基督教會史 (History of the Christian Church during the Republican era), Part I, in Zha Shijie, *Minguo Jidujiao shi lunwenji* 民國基督教史論文集 (Article collection on the history of the Christian Church during the Republican era), Taipei: Yuzhouguang, 1994.

2.6.2. *Leading Protestant Individuals*

Daniel H. Bays

The first half of the twentieth century provided an opportunity for Chinese Protestant Christians to play a much more important role in the Christian presence in China. After the debacle of the Boxer Uprising in 1900, the strong commitment to reform and change in both government and society seemingly put Christianity in the vanguard of national progress. Now the Chinese church became much more visible, although against the backdrop of a Protestant scene still dominated by foreign missions. There emerged what I call the "Sino-Foreign Protestant Establishment"—a more public collaboration of foreign missions and Chinese Christians as compared with the nineteenth century, and a more balanced one. It is instructive, for example, to note the change in composition of the two great nationwide conferences of 1907 and 1922. At the former, the China Centenary Missionary Conference, over 1,100 delegates attended, but only six or seven of them were Chinese—although the program had many topics concerning "the Chinese church."[1] At the latter fifteen years later, the National Christian (not missionary) Conference, a majority of delegates were Chinese (although the business of the conference was still directed mainly by foreign missionaries).[2]

This is indicative of the emergence of a new generation of well-educated Chinese Christian leaders, working in missions or churches or Christian institutions as pastors, theologians, teachers, or YMCA/YWCA leaders. Many others were teachers at government schools, professionals such as doctors or lawyers, bureaucrats in the Customs or Post Office administrations, or businessmen. All these constituted the core of maturing Chinese Protestant congregations.[3] Moreover, an important legal safeguard for Chinese Christians came in 1912 which undergirded this more prominent role for Chinese. Under the constitution and laws of the Republic of China, Chinese Christians were simply *guomin* 國民 (citizen) like everyone else, and were free to

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*.
[2] F. Rawlinson, H. Thoburn, and D. MacGillivray, eds., *The Chinese Church*.
[3] An excellent case study of this phenomenon in Fuzhou, Fujian Province in the first two decades of the twentieth century is Dunch, "Piety, Patriotism, Progress."

register churches and other religious properties under their own names, whereas under the Qing before 1912 they could not easily do so. One result was that it was now possible for Chinese Protestants to create fully autonomous or independent Christian churches or movements, with no foreign participation at all, and some did so.[4]

Accordingly, a survey of representative prominent Chinese Protestant individuals between 1900 and 1949 must include those from both the Sino-foreign sector and the independent sector. Despite the vicissitudes of political currents and national events which affected the fate of Protestant Christianity in the first half of the twentieth century, these individuals made a contribution that extended over several decades of this period.

Individuals in the Sino-Foreign Protestant Establishment

Ding Limei 丁立美 (1871–1936). One of the first Protestants to develop national stature was Ding Limei, who attracted much attention as a YMCA evangelist in the 1910s. Ding was a second generation Christian, an 1892 graduate of Calvin Mateer's Christian academy in Dengzhou, Shandong Province. As a pastor in his native Shandong after 1900, he worked with youth in Christian middle schools and colleges. In 1909 there occurred such a revival of Christian enthusiasm and dedication at the schools he visited that Ding drew wide attention. In 1910 the North China YMCA established a "Chinese Student Volunteer Movement for the Ministry," with Ding as its full-time travelling secretary. This was clearly modelled on the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, which originated in the 1880s in the United States and was likewise affiliated with the YMCA.

For the next several years Ding travelled all over China holding evangelistic revival meetings, especially in Christian middle schools. He had considerable influence on many students before 1920.

Yu Cidu 余慈度 (Dora Yu; 1873–1933). Yu was a female parallel to Ding Limei, though she worked more independently of established institutions. After receiving medical training in Suzhou and then doing Christian work in Korea for several years, she became modern China's first woman travelling revival speaker and evangelist, active as a

[4] See Tao and Liu, *Jidujiaohui yu jindai Shandong shehui*, chs. 3–4.

dynamic speaker in churches and evangelical circles from before 1910 through the 1920s. She had a profound impact on twentieth century Chinese church history in that Watchman Nee (Ni Tuosheng 倪柝聲) was converted at a Dora Yu revival meeting in Fuzhou in 1920.

Cheng Jingyi 誠靜怡 (1881–1939). Cheng was perhaps the foremost Chinese Protestant church statesman of the twentieth century; he played a key leadership role from about 1910 until well after 1930. He was deeply committed to shifting stress from foreign missions to the Chinese church, and did much for this cause, yet without alienating the missionary community. Cheng rose to national prominence before he was 30. A native of Beijing, where his father was a London Missionary Society preacher, he had just completed theological school in Tianjin when the Boxer uprising occurred in 1900. Cheng joined the Allied relief force as an interpreter, then in 1903 assisted in a new Bible translation into Chinese, which resulted in his spending five years in the United Kingdom. He then became pastor of a small Beijing church, and promoted its independence from mission control. At age 29 one of only three Chinese delegates to the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference, he eloquently declared the urgency of rapid indigenisation and an end to denominationalism in China.

Cheng served as secretary of the committee to organise the National Christian Conference of 1922, which he chaired. This meeting's stress on an equal Sino-foreign partnership, and its theme, "The Chinese Church," owed much to Cheng. From 1924 to 1934 he was secretary of the new ecumenical Sino-foreign National Christian Council, and he was a strong supporter of the union Church of Christ in China formed in 1927, of which he became secretary in 1934. In the mid-1930s his health failed, and his activities were curtailed.

Zhao Zichen 趙紫宸 (T. C. Chao; 1888–1979). Zhao is representative of leading Christians who were important in both church and Christian academic circles. In the first half of the twentieth century he and other Christian intellectuals and academics attempted to make Christianity relevant to the needs of Chinese culture and society. Zhao, from Zhejiang, had a solid classical education, then attended college at Soochow University, a missionary institution. Chao came to the U.S. in 1914, and received M.A. and B.D. degrees at Vanderbilt. He returned to Soochow University in 1917 as a professor, became dean in 1922, and in 1926 came to Yenching University in Beijing, where in 1928 he became dean of the School of Religion. He held this post until

the early 1950s, when he was attacked politically and removed. He was very active on the national Protestant scene from the 1920s on, including the National Christian Council and the YMCA. He also attended several International Missionary Council meetings as a delegate, and served as a vice president of the World Council of Churches from 1948 to 1951. From the mid-1950s on he lived in obscurity, and apparently lost his faith long before his death.

From 1917 until the 1930s Zhao, along with other important colleagues at Yenching affiliated with the Life Fellowship (Shengmingshe 生命社), tried to justify Christianity as relevant to the concerns of Chinese intellectuals.[5] These other colleagues included Liu Tingfang 劉廷芳 (Timothy T. T. Lew; 1891–1947), Xu Baoqian 徐寶謙 (P. C. Hsu; 1892–1944), Wu Leichuan 吳雷川 (1870–1944), and Hong Ye 洪業 (William Hung; 1893–1980), along with a few of the Western educators at Yenching such as John Leighton Stuart and Lucius Porter. All of these Chinese academics found a personal strength in Christian faith, but struggled with the challenge of making Christianity relevant to the national crises of the day. In attempting to do so they took a liberal or modernist theological stance, and tended to strip out the supernatural elements of doctrine. All of them to some degree became disillusioned with the institutional church.

Wu Yifang 吳貽芳 (1893–1985). Wu was an important Christian educator who became the first woman college president in China. The daughter of a Zhejiang Qing government official, Wu attended several schools, some of them Christian, in Hangzhou, Shanghai, and Suzhou. In 1916, at age 23, she joined the first class at Ginling College for Women in Nanjing, the first women's college in China. At Ginling she became a Christian, and joined the Methodist church. After graduation she taught for a time in Beijing, then gained her M.S. and Ph.D. in Biology from the University of Michigan between 1922 and 1928; while in the U.S. she was also very active in the Chinese Student Christian Association and the Chinese Student Alliance in North America. She returned to Ginling College as president in 1928, and held this post until 1952, when Ginling merged with other institutions in Nanjing. During her career, she helped develop Ginling into a highly respected school, served on many national and international religious and secular bodies, shepherded the migration of Ginling to

[5] See Philip West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations*, chs. 2–3.

Chengdu during the war with Japan and its return to Nanjing in the late 1940s, and worked to smooth the transition to the Communist regime after 1949. She served on many local and national bodies in the 1950s, always a respected voice for the interests of women and the legacy of Christian higher education.

Another important woman Christian educator was Zeng Baosun 曾寶蓀 (1893–1978), great-granddaughter of the anti-Taiping hero Zeng Guofan 曾國藩. Zeng Baosun, despite the anti-Christian traditions of her prominent Hunan family, converted while attending a Christian middle school. After higher education in England, Zeng returned to her native Hunan and founded the Yifang Girls' Collegiate School, a private Christian middle school entirely independent of foreign missionaries, in 1918. Zeng maintained her independence as an educator, but was active in ecumenical Protestant Sino-foreign organisations such as the National Christian Council. She was always an effective advocate of women's education and welfare, in China and after her move to Taiwan in 1950.

The YMCA and YWCA, especially the former, were integral parts of the Sino-Foreign Protestant Establishment. Leading Christian statesmen in government service as well as prominent Christian intellectuals and academics were members of or closely cooperated with the Ys. Both organisations moved much more quickly than did the churches and missions towards sharing of power with Chinese colleagues.

Yu Rizhang 余日章 (David Z. T. Yui; 1882–1936). A quintessential example of the importance of the YMCA under the Republic, Yu was long-time general secretary of the Y (1916–1932), chairman of the National Christian Council (1922–1932), and highly respected in government and educational circles as well as in the Christian community. Yu believed in "nation-building" through individual Christian character, and he saw the YMCA as an instrument of China's national development, as well as of individual betterment. Son of a Hubei pastor, Yu attended Christian schools before study in the U.S. (M.S. Harvard, 1911). His affiliation with the YMCA began in 1913. As general secretary, Yu presided over the YMCA's rapid growth until the mid-1920s, when the organisation was hit hard by nationalistic critics. He led the organisation through these stresses, and rebuilt it in the early 1930s. Meanwhile, Yu's skills carried him into arenas beyond the YMCA, including diplomacy; he was one of two private Chinese observers at the Washington Conference of 1921–22. And as first chairman of the new National Christian Council after 1922, for

many years his tact kept this Sino-foreign body functioning despite its internal tensions. Yu also helped to found, and was first chairman of, the Institute of Pacific Relations, an important scholarly forum until the 1950s; and he was prominent at the 1928 International Missionary Council meeting at Jerusalem. While in the U.S. in 1933 to influence public opinion against Japan's invasion, he suffered a cerebral haemorrhage, and was incapacitated until his death.

Wu Yaozong 吳耀宗 (Y. T. Wu; 1895–1979). Wu became an important YMCA figure in the 1930s and 1940s, as director of publications and founder in 1945 of the important magazine *Tianfeng* 天風. He was later the most prominent leader in the state-sanctioned Three-Self Patriotic Movement after 1949. Converted by a Sherwood Eddy campaign in the 1910s and later educated at Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University in New York, Wu's Christianity veered strongly towards radical social reform and eventually to social revolution and cooperation with the Communist Party. In this he was representative of a whole group of Chinese Christian intellectuals, many of them affiliated with the YMCA, who took this path after 1930.

The Chinese YWCA also had a number of important leaders who began to take over from the foreign secretaries in the 1920s. Ding Shujing 丁淑靜 (–1936) was the first Chinese National Secretary from 1926 until her untimely death, when she was succeeded by Cai Kui 蔡葵 (1902–). Deng Yuzhi 鄧裕志 (Cora Deng; 1900–1996), who became National Secretary in 1950, had worked closely with the Communist Party as head of the YWCA Labour Bureau in the 1930s. In the late 1940s and into the 1950s, much like Wu Yaozong from his base in the YMCA, Deng became a leading figure on the national scene as Chinese Protestantism adapted itself to the new Communist system. Ironically, whereas she had been rather a nominal Christian in terms of personal piety in the 1930s, after 1950 her Christian identity apparently became much more meaningful to her.[6]

Yan Yangchu 晏陽初 (James Yen; 1893–1990). Yan is one of the best representatives of a genre of Christian reformers and activists who worked outside church, YMCA, or formal government circles, although he co-operated with all of them. Working under YMCA auspices Yen developed a mass literacy programme for the tens of thou-

[6] Emily Honig, "Christianity, Feminism, and Communism: The Life and Times of Deng Yuzhi," in Daniel Bays, ed., *Christianity in China*, pp. 243–262.

sands of Chinese labourers in France at the end of World War I, then founded the Mass Education Movement in the 1920s and the Dingxian 定縣 (Hebei Province) Rural Reconstruction Experiment in the 1930s. These Christian-oriented projects, a reformist drop in the bucket of China's vast rural problems, were swamped by the chaos of war with Japan and the Communist revolution, but later survived as international organisations based in the Philippines after 1950.

Several Chinese Christians held prominent posts in government, or were leaders in the realm of secular higher education. Three of Republican China's most important diplomats, Gu Weijun 顧維鈞 (V. K. Wellington Koo; 1887–1985), Wang Zhengting 王正廷 (1882–1961), and Yan Huiqing 顏惠慶 (W. W. Yen; 1877–1950), were Protestant Christians. They served ably, all as ambassadors and in other top diplomatic posts and Wang and Yan as foreign ministers, under successive governments from the early Republic through the warlord period and the Nationalist (Guomindang) Government after 1927. At the same time they remained active in lay leadership roles in their respective church traditions (Yan in the Anglican church, where his father had been a pastor; Wang in the Chinese Independent Protestant Church).

Although both Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek were at least nominal Christians, in the top echelons of the Nationalist Government probably the most staunch Christian believer and supporter of Christian causes was Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙 (H. H. K'ung; 1881–1967). Kong was a scion of a wealthy commercial and banking family of Taigu, Shanxi Province. After converting to Christianity at an American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions school in Taigu, he attended another missionary school in north China and eventually went to Oberlin College in Ohio, graduating in 1906. Back in Taigu as a representative of the Oberlin-Shanxi Memorial Association, he founded the well regarded Mingxian 銘賢 School, and established a reputation as a promoter of modern education. After his marriage to Song Ailing 宋靄齡 in 1914, in future years his connections with brothers-in-law Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek brought him high posts in the Guomindang and the Nationalist Government, including minister of industry and commerce after 1928 and minister of finance after 1933. During these years he remained warmly supportive of the Mingxian School, of Yenching University in Beijing (whose board of managers he headed for many years) and of several foreign missionaries as well.

Zhang Boling 張伯苓 (1876–1951). Zhang was one of the foremost educators of twentieth century China. A native of Tianjin, he began promotion of modern education even before 1900. In 1904 he founded what in 1906 became the famous Nankai Middle School. As a result of many years of contact with the YMCA and foreign Christians, Zhang converted to Christianity in 1909, and became an active lay member of an independent Chinese congregation. In 1919 Zhang founded Nankai University, which became one of the top private universities in Republican China, and served as its president until 1948.

All of these individuals recounted above, despite their variety of careers—some in church or mission institutions, some in parachurch organisations and some in government or the private sector—had the major part of their Christian activities in the co-operative Sino-foreign sector of Protestantism.

Individuals in the Independent Sector of Chinese Protestant Christianity

The single most important feature distinguishing Protestantism in twentieth-century China from that of the nineteenth century was the rapid growth after 1900 of independent Christian movements entirely under Chinese control, that is, only marginally connected to or entirely separate from foreign missions.[7] Several important individuals founded new nationwide churches in these decades. Others were self-supporting evangelists, pastors, writers, teachers, or theologians. All left their mark on an increasingly mature Chinese Protestantism.

Yu Guozhen 俞國楨 (1852–1932). Yu represents the formation of church federations of self-supporting and self-governing congregations which had originally been missionary churches. A Shanghai Presbyterian pastor since 1894, he formed an all-Chinese organisation, The Chinese Christian Union (*Jidutuhui* 基督徒會 in 1903, made his own congregation fully independent in 1906, and in 1911 joined with other such independent congregations in the Shanghai area to form the Chinese Independent Protestant Church (*Zhongguo Yesujiao zilihui* 中國耶穌自立會). This federation had its own newspaper, developed its own bylaws and had an annual meeting, and eventually grew

[7] For a detailed study, see Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire.*

to have hundreds of member congregations with tens of thousands of adherents nationwide.

A comparable regional movement beginning in North China in 1912 resulted in a similar but smaller group of independent congregations in Shandong Province and the cities of Beijing and Tianjin.[8]

Wei Baoluo 魏保羅 (Paul Wei; orig. Wei Enbo 魏恩波; ? –1919). Paul Wei was instrumental in founding what became and remains today the largest and most dynamic Chinese Pentecostal church in the world, the True Jesus Church (*Zhen Yesu jiaohui* 真耶穌教會). A middling Beijing merchant of limited education, Wei was a member of a mission church. About 1916 he was impacted by the relatively new Pentecostal ideas of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, supernatural spiritual gifts such as prophecy, healing, and tongues, and early in 1917 he had a dramatic vision and personal encounter with God reminiscent of that of Hong Xiuquan, the Taiping founder, decades before. In this vision, after which he changed his name from Enbo to Baoluo (Paul), God commanded him to correct and reform the entire Christian movement in China. Within two years Wei helped bring into being an aggressively proselytising, millenarian, and often anti-foreign Pentecostal movement which survived his untimely death in 1919 and swept from the North through the rest of the country to become the largest independent Chinese church before 1949. In the early 1950s, the True Jesus Church was condemned as counterrevolutionary and its leaders in China were jailed, but by then its headquarters had moved to Taiwan.

Ni Tuosheng 倪柝聲 (Watchman Nee; 1903–1972). Nee was the inspiration for and first leader of a Protestant movement which has come to be called variously the Local Church (*Difang jiaohui* 地方教會), the Assembly Hall (*Juhuichu* 聚會處 or *Juhuisuo* 聚會所), or the Little Flock (*Xiaoqun* 小群). After the True Jesus Church, this was probably the second largest independent Protestant group in China before 1949; the Local Church remains today active in many areas of the world. Watchman Nee's name is familiar to many Christians of

[8] For the Shandong phenomenon, see Bays, "A Chinese Christian 'Public Sphere'?" Two of the most prominent individuals discussed in the previous section were centrally involved with this federation. Cheng Jingyi was pastor of one of the founding congregations in Beijing, and Zhang Boling was an active layman in a member congregation in Tianjin.

diverse theologies and denominations because his talks and writings have been translated and published outside of China since the 1930s; some are still readily available and widely read today.

Nee, originally Ni Shuzu 倪述祖, was from Fuzhou, where he attended Trinity College, an Anglican middle school. He was converted at a Dora Yu (Yu Cidu; see above) revival meeting in 1920. In the 1920s he was influenced by Brethren teachings, especially premillennialism, and by a strong focus on the Holy Spirit derived from the Holiness tradition. To these he added his own growing conviction of the evils of divisive denominationalism and of the need for all believers in a locality to be part of one local church. He was an eloquent speaker and an effective teacher; his followers tended to be drawn from the urban middle and professional classes. He was distant and somewhat distrustful towards foreign missions and foreign Christians; some thought him antiforeign. The Local Church was dispersed in the 1950s and Nee was jailed as a counterrevolutionary; he died in prison in 1972.

Jing Dianying 敬奠瀛 (1890–1957), founder of the Jesus Family (*Yesu jiating* 耶穌家庭). Jing, a native of Shandong Province, absorbed a great variety of religious influences before 1920, including education at a Methodist missionary-run secondary school, elements of Chinese popular religion including involvement in a sect of the White Lotus tradition, and exposure to Pentecostal ideas and practices from a nearby American Assemblies of God mission. The result was his creation of a unique Pentecostal rural commune in the late 1920s. Dozens of other Jesus Family communities were established in later years, especially in Shandong but also more widely in North and Central China, all in rural or semi-rural areas.

The believers in these communities lived and worked together, holding property in common, under the direction of the "family head" (*jiazhang* 家長). Jing maintained a loose leadership from his original commune. The movement was strongly millenarian, anticipating the imminent return of Christ, and highly Pentecostal, believing in the gifts of the Holy Spirit, including tongues, and often receiving divine revelations through messages obtained while in a trance. Some of these behaviours are characteristic of traditional Chinese popular religion. Despite hopes that the new government would tolerate them because of their communitarian nature and complete absence of foreign links,

the communities were all disbanded in 1953 and Jing was arrested and disappeared.[9]

In addition to the founders of the movements described above, all of which became institutionalised to some extent as regional or national Protestant churches or denominations, between the early 1920s and 1949 several individuals developed national stature as respected independent pastors, evangelists, writers, or teachers.

Some of these individuals were women. Most women leaders in Chinese Protestantism in the twentieth century made their contributions in the Sino-foreign sector, for example in missions-supported educational or social welfare work, or in the YWCA. Dora Yu, described in the previous section as an evangelist in the Sino-foreign sector, was also quite independent in many ways, especially in her financial self-support. Two other women, whose early careers were linked to each other, are other examples.

Shi Meiyu 石美玉 (Mary Stone; 1873–1954) and Kang Cheng 康成 (Ida Kahn; 1873–1930). Both Shi and Kang were natives of Jiujiang, Jiangxi province, and came under the training and sponsorship of an American Methodist educational missionary, Gertrude Howe. The two girls left China together in 1892 for medical training at the University of Michigan, and in 1896 were the first Chinese women to graduate from an American medical school. They were both sent back to Jiujiang as medical missionaries of the Methodist Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, and together they established a modern hospital in Jiujiang in 1901. In 1903 Kang Cheng went to Nanchang, the capital of Jiangxi, to establish an independent modern hospital supported by local Chinese, and Shi Meiyu remained in charge of the Jiujiang hospital.

Kang remained with the Nanchang hospital for the rest of her career, though she was also active in many national forums as well. Shi Meiyu remained in charge of the Jiujiang hospital until 1920, when she left the U.S. Methodist mission because of its drift away from strict evangelical religious doctrines. She and Jennie V. Hughes 胡遵理 (1874–1951), an American missionary friend who also left the mission, moved to Shanghai where they established a new independent

[9] For a comprehensive study, see Tao Feiya 陶飛亞, *Zhongguo de Jidujiao wutuobang: Yesu jiating (1921–1952)*.

and self-supporting enterprise, the Bethel Mission. Bethel included a hospital and nurse's training course, as well as a Bible school and evangelistic training institute. The Bethel Mission, which later moved to Hongkong where it still exists today, became well known in the late 1920s and early 1930s for sending all over the country "evangelistic bands," groups of ardent young men and women from its training institute to conduct Christian revival meetings.

Some of the participants in the "Bethel bands" went on to important individual careers in their own right. One was Ji Zhiwen 計志文 (Andrew Gih; 1901–1985), who remained with Bethel until 1947, when he founded the Evangelize China Fellowship. Ji travelled extensively around the world, and his organisation later established many churches and schools throughout Southeast Asia.

Song Shangjie 宋尙節 (John Sung; 1901–1944). Song was the most flamboyant of the veterans of the Bethel bands, and may have been the most influential, if also the most controversial, Chinese evangelist of the 1930s. Song was the son of a Methodist pastor in Fujian Province. He studied in the U.S. from 1919 to 1927, where he did theological studies at Union Seminary in New York after receiving a Ph.D. in Chemistry. He had an intensely negative reaction to the liberal theology at Union, and returned to China to become a fiery fundamentalist evangelist, first with Bethel and then after 1934 on his own. He openly denounced liberal theologians, foreign or Chinese, but wherever he went there were widespread conversions and church revival as a result of his emotion-packed meetings. He was incapacitated by poor health after 1940.

Several other individuals were prominent in the independent Protestant sector, though only a few can be mentioned. Wang Zai 王載 (1898–1975) was an older colleague of Watchman Nee in Fuzhou in the early 1920s, then became a popular travelling revival speaker within China and in overseas Chinese communities as well.

Wang Mingdao 王明道 (1900–1991; orig. name 王鐵子) was from the 1920s a popular independent pastor in Beijing; his church was called the Christian Tabernacle. Stern and rather dogmatic, often critical of missionaries and vociferously opposed to liberal theology, Wang was a powerful speaker and teacher. From the late 1920s he spent several months each year on the road conducting evangelistic meetings and developed a national reputation, which was enhanced by his long-time editorship of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*. A fearless man, Wang defied the Japanese authorities during the early 1940s and after

1949 confronted the Communist government, which resulted in over twenty years in prison and the status of a heroic martyr in evangelical Protestant circles worldwide.

Chen Chonggui 陳崇桂 (Marcus Cheng; 1884–1963) had a varied half-century career as a Protestant leader. Cheng worked for years as a teacher in the Swedish Covenant mission and seminary, then quit in the 1920s. He was chaplain to the "Christian general" Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥 for a time, and later edited an important independent Christian magazine (Budao 佈道 *The Evangelist*) and was a teacher in other seminaries, finally becoming president of Chongqing (Sichuan Province) Theological Seminary in the 1940s to mid-1950s. He supported the new Communist government after 1949, but became a major target of the Anti-Rightist Campaign in 1957.

Jia Yuming 賈玉銘 (1880–1964) also began his career as a teacher in various missionary seminaries, but established a national reputation through his publications on systematic theology and after the early 1930s he had his own Bible school, free of foreign ties. He moved his school to Shanghai in the late 1940s, where it closed in the 1950s.

Thus across the full spectrum of Chinese Protestantism from 1900 to 1949, from wholly missionary-run churches and institutions to fully independent endeavours conceived and directed by Chinese alone, and at all the overlapping points in between these two poles of the spectrum, thousands of Chinese Christians made their respective contributions to the growing maturity of the Christian movement in China.

Bibliography

(Note: several of the individuals discussed above have entries in one or more of the following: Anderson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary*; Boorman, ed., *Biographical Dictionary*; Zha, *Zhongguo Jidujiao renwu xiaozhuan*. Many also can be found in the monthly *Chinese Recorder* and in the more or less annual publications *The China Mission/Christian Year Book* and *Zhonghua Jidujiaohui nianjian*.)

Anderson, Gerald H., ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1998.

Bays, Daniel H., "A Chinese Christian 'Public Sphere': Socioeconomic Mobility and the Formation of Urban Middle Class Protestant Communities in the Early Twentieth Century," in Kenneth G. Lieberthal, Shuen-fu Lin, and Ernest P. Young, (eds.), *Constructing China: The Interaction of Culture and Economics*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1997, pp. 101–117.

Bays, Daniel H. (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Bays, Daniel H., "Indigenous Protestant Churches in China, 1900–1937: A Pentecostal Case Study," in Steven Kaplan (ed.), *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity*, New York: New York University Press, 1995, pp. 124–143.

Boorman, Howard L., ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 4 Vols., New York: Columbia University Press, 1967–1971.

China Centenary Missionary Conference Records, New York: American Tract Society, 1907.

China Mission Year Book, Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1910–1939. Beginning 1923, entitled *China Christian Year Book*.

Cliff, Norman Howard, *The Life and Theology of Watchman Nee, Including a Study of the Little Flock Movement Which He Founded*, Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International Dissertations Services, 1987.

Dunch, Ryan Fisk, "Piety, Patriotism, Progress: Chinese Protestants in Fuzhou Society and the Making of a Modern China, 1857–1927," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1996. Published as: Dunch, Ryan, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857–1927*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Egan, Susan Chan, *A Latterday Confucian: Reminiscences of William Hung (1893–1980)*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1987.

Gih, Andrew [Ji Zhiwen], *Twice Born—and Then?*, London: Marshall, Morgan, and Scott, 1954.

Hayford, Charles W., *To the People: James Yen and Village China*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.

Hunter, Jane, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984.

Kinnear, Angus, *The Story of Watchman Nee: Against the Tide*, Wheaton, Ill., Tyndale House, 1978.

Kwok Pui-lan, *Chinese Women and Christianity, 1860–1927*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992.

Lam Wing-hong [Lin Ronghong] 林榮洪, *Wang Mingdao yu Zhongguo jiaohui* 王明道與中國教會 (Wang Mingdao and the Chinese church), Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 1982.

Leung Yuen Sang 梁元生, Philip, "Christian Fundamentalism in Modern China: Calvin Chao and the 'Chinese for Christ' Movement" 基督教基要主義與近代中國: 趙君影及其中華歸主教會, *Jian Dao: A Journal of Bible & Theology* 建道學刊 17 (Hongkong: The Alliance Bible Seminary, 2002), pp. 1–20.

Lian, Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907–1932*, University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.

Lian, Xi, *Redeemed by Fire: The Shaping of Popular Chinese Christianity in the Twentieth Century*, New Haven: Yale University Press, forthcoming.

Lian, Xi, "The Search for Chinese Christianity in the Republican Period (1912–1949)", *Modern Asian Studies* 38,4 (2004), pp. 851–898.

Liu Yiling 劉翼凌, *Song Shangjie zhuan* 宋尚節傳 (Life of John Sung), Hong Kong: Christian Communications, 1962.

Lu, Luke Pei-yuan, "Watchman Nee's Doctrine of the Church with Special Reference to its Contribution to the Local Church Movement," Ph.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1992.

Lyall, Leslie T., *Flame for God: John Sung and Revival in the Far East*, London: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1954.

Lyall, Leslie T., *Three of China's Mighty Men*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1973.

Rawlinson, Frank, Helen Thoburn, and Donald MacGillivray (eds.), *The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National Christian Conference*, Shanghai: The Oriental Press, 1922.

Song Shangjie 宋尚節, *Wode jianzheng* 我的見證 (My testimony), Hong Kong: Bellman, 1962 [1936].

Tao Feiya 陶飛亞, *Zhongguo de Jidujiao wutuobang: Yesu jiating (1921–1952)* 中國的基督教烏托邦: 耶穌家庭 (1921–1952) (A Christian Utopia in China: The Jesus Family (1921–1952)), Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 2004.

Tao Feiya 陶飛亞 and Liu Tianlu 劉天路, *Jidujiaohui yu jindai Shandong shehui* 基督教會與近代山東社會 (Protestantism and modern Shandong society), Jinan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1994.

Wang Chengmian 王成勉 [Peter Chen-main Wang], *Wenshe de shengshuai: er ling niandai Jidujiao bensehua zhi ge'an yanjiu* 文社的盛衰: 二〇年代基督教本色化之個案研究 (The rise and fall of the Wenshe: a case study of indigenisation of Christianity in China in the 1920s), Taibei: Yuzhouguang, 1993.

Wang Mingdao 王明道, *Wushi nian lai* 五十年來 (These fifty years), Hong Kong: Bellman, 1982 [1950]. Partial translation, *A Stone Made Smooth*, transl. Arthur Reynolds, Southampton: Mayflower Christian Books, 1981; 2nd ed. 1984.

Wang Xipeng 汪錫鵬, *Ji Yesu jiating* 記耶穌家庭 (Remembering the Jesus family), Shanghai: National Christian Council, 1950.

West, Philip, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916–1952*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Xing, Jun [Hsing, Chün], *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution The American Social Gospel and the YMCA in China, 1919–1937*, Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press, 1996.

Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增 [Xing Fuzeng], *Fan di, ai guo, shuling ren: Ni Tuosheng yu Jidutu Juhuichu yanjiu* 反帝, 愛國, 屬靈人; 倪柝聲與基督徒聚會處研究 (Anti-imperialism, patriotism and the spiritual man: A study of Watchman Nee and the Christian Assembly), Xianggang: Jidujiao Zhongguo zongjiao chubanshe, 2005.

Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增 [Xing Fuzeng], "Wang Mingdao yu Huabei Zhonghua Jidujiao tuan: lunxianqu jiaohui renshi dikang yu hezuo de ge an yanjiu" 王明道與華北中華基督教團: 淪陷區教會人士抵抗與合作的個案研究 (Wang Mingdao and the North China Christian Union: Chinese resistance and collaboration with Japan in occupied areas), *Jian Dao: A Journal of Bible & Theology* 建道學刊 17 (Hongkong: The Alliance Bible Seminary, 2002), pp. 1–56.

Yuan Fanglai 袁訪賚, *Yu Rizhang zhuan* 余日章傳 (Biography of Yu Rizhang), Hongkong: Chinese Christian Literature Council, 1970.

Zeng Baosun 曾寶蓀, *Zeng Baosun huiyilu* 曾寶蓀會議錄 (Memoirs of Zeng Baosun), Hongkong: Chinese Christian Literature Council, 1970. English trans.: *Confucian Feminist: Memoirs of Zeng Baosun (1893–1978)*, trans. and adapted by Thomas L. Kennedy, Philadelphia, Pa.: American Philosophical Society, 2002.

Zha Shijie 查時傑 [James Shih-chieh Cha], *Minguo Jidujiao shi lunwenji* 民國基督教史論文集 (Essays on the history of Christianity during the Republic), Taibei: Yuzhouguang, 1993.

Zha Shijie 查時傑, *Zhongguo Jidujiao renwu xiaozhuan* 中國基督教人物小傳 (Concise biographies of Chinese Christians), Taibei: China Evangelical Seminary Press, 1983.

Zhonghua Jidujiaohui nianjian 中華基督教會年鑒 (Chinese Christian church yearbook), Vols. 1–13, Shanghai, 1914–1936.

2.7. Chinese and Christians: Interactions

Jessie G. Lutz

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, Christian missions in China greatly expanded their social service activities and institutions with the result that the number of urban Chinese coming into contact with some aspect of Christian work multiplied. In addition to evangelism, church building, and the establishment of Christian communities, Christians sponsored medical treatment and education, famine relief, publication of popular journals and newspapers, science lectures, public health drives and other mass campaigns, English language instruction, care of orphans, lepers, and other needy individuals, athletic meets, and social and economic surveys. Their educational work ranged all the way from nursery schools and literacy classes to primary and middle schools, and up through liberal arts colleges, graduate programs, seminaries, and medical schools.

Assessing the significance of such a multiplicity of interactions between Christians and Chinese is difficult and relatively few scholars have taken up the challenge. Chinese responses to contacts with Christian workers varied greatly. Some reacted negatively and even became leaders in the anti-Christian movements of the 1920s. For example, Ke Bonian (pseud. Li Chunfan), who wrote articles condemning the denationalising influence of parochial schools, offered concrete illustrations based on his experiences at a Christian college.[1] Many Chinese had their own agenda in making use of the services offered. Especially was this true of English language instruction, which was seen as an avenue to study abroad, treaty port employment, or perusal of English literature, political theory, and science. Jiang Zemin, president of the People's Republic of China during the 1990s, briefly attended a Christian middle school in Shanghai and subsequently studied economics at Harvard University. Zhou Shuren [Lu Hsun], eager for access to Western literature, studied English at a YMCA centre in Tokyo. Mission educators constantly lamented the numbers of parochial school students who left for positions in the treaty ports as soon as they had gained a smattering of English.

---

[1] Ke Bonian (Li Chunfan), "Jiaohui daxue yu guowen" (The Christian university and Chinese), *Juewu*, 17 May 1924; Ke, "Chuanjiao yu diguozhuyi" (Evangelism and imperialism) in *Fan dui Jidujiao yundong*.

Yet other Chinese found the teachings of Jesus appealing and even recommended them to fellow citizens, but felt no inclination to join the church. At one point, Communist party founder Chen Duxiu had suggested study of Christian precepts in the belief that they were a source of Western dynamism.[2] A minority converted to Christianity, some becoming members of denominational churches, some joining independent Chinese churches, and yet others working with non-denominational societies such as the YMCA or practicing their own private Christianity.

Any discussion of influence must be preceded by caveats and any deductions tentative. Even though hundreds of thousands and even millions of Chinese had some contact with Christian missions and their activities and even though a considerable proportion of these belonged to the educated elite, the vast majority of Chinese remained untouched by Christianity. Christians and their institutions and publications were among many other sources of information for Chinese reformers. When, for instance, the Qing dynasty proposed to establish a national educational system in the early twentieth century, it sent educational missions directly to Japan and the West and it opted for the Japanese model, itself based on the German program. At the same time, mission schools in China were easily accessible so that they were visited by Chinese educators seeking guidance, and their graduates and textbooks were pressed into service by the new national schools.[3] In the final analysis, Chinese objectives, not the goals and activities of Chinese and Western Christians were determinative. Scholarly consensus would seem to be that the Christian input was modest, though not insignificant.

Among those who have examined interactions between Christians and Chinese is Lewis S. Robinson who, in his work *Double-edged Sword*, discusses twentieth-century fiction writers who had contacts with Christianity and who depicted Christians in their novels and short stories.[4] Somewhat surprising is the number of authors who fall

---

[2] Chen, "Jidujiao yu Zhongguo ren" (Christianity and the Chinese people), *Xin qingnian*, 3,3 (1 February 1920), pp. 14–22.

[3] Ruth Hayhoe and Marianne Bastid (eds.), *China's Education and the Industrialized World*; Jessie Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, p. 98; Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*.

[4] See also, Robinson, "Images of Missionaries in Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction," Paper presented at the Conference on American Missionaries and Social Change in China.

in this category: Shu Qingchun (Lao She), Li Feigan (Pa Chin), Xu Dishan (Lo Huasheng), Yu Dafu, Guo Moruo, Xian Qian, Bing Xin (Hsieh Wan-ying), and Zhou Shuren being among the best known.[5] Also intriguing are the variety of their attitudes and the effect of China's continuing revolution on these attitudes.

Robinson suggests that the authors' childhood experiences with Christianity, whether positive or negative, influenced their portrayal of Christians and he offers Xu Dishan and Xiao Qian as examples. As a child, Xu was befriended and supported by Anglican missionaries; he converted to Christianity, attended Yenching University, and studied at Columbia and Oxford universities on scholarships. Xu's portrayal of Christian missionaries and Chinese Christians in his short stories is almost too laudatory to be believable. Only in his last and best novella, *Yu Guan* does Xu adopt a critical view and even here it is criticism by an insider. The heroine Yu Guan, furthermore, eventually realises the hypocrisy of her missionary career and achieves a true and humble faith. In contrast, the orphan Xiao Qian went to live with two cousins whom he depicts as "rice Christians" leading immoral lives. In parochial school he was beaten for poor performance in mathematics or improper behaviour during prayers. His hostility to Christianity found expression in vicious pictures of insensitive, arrogant foreign missionaries who were agents of Western imperialism and of hypocritical, self-serving Chinese Christians.

Actually, Robinson's analysis indicates that explanation of these authors' attitudes is considerably more complex than simply their childhood experience. Zhou Shuren, Yu Dafu, and Pa Chin, like other Chinese, distinguished between the admirable teachings of Jesus the and reprehensible actions of Christians. Furthermore, the rising tide of Chinese nationalism, anti-imperialism, and patriotism in combination with a desperate desire for national unity, sovereignty, and economic

---

[5] In addition to Robinson, see C. T. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*, pp. 71–77 (on Bing Xin), pp. 84–92 (on Xu Dishan), 166, 171–176 (on Lao She). Also, Ranbir Vohra, *Lao She and the Chinese Revolution*, pp. 12–13, 44, 57; Olga Lang, *Pa Chin and His Writings*, pp. 37, 207–210, 214. For translations of fiction depicting Christians, see Lao She, "Hei Bai Li" (Black and white Li) in Wang Chi-chen, ed., *Contemporary Chinese Stories*; Lao She, *The Two Mas*, trans. Kenny K. Huang and Davis Finkelstein; Xu Dishan, "Shangren Fu" (The Merchant's Wife) and "Yu Guan" in Joseph S. M. Lau, et al., eds., *Modern Chinese Stories and Novellas*; Xian Qian, "Tan" (Cactus Flower) and "Shen Shang" (Orion and Scorpios) in *Chestnuts and Other Stories*, trans. Bonnie McDougall; Xiao Qian, "Gui Yi" (Conversion) in Edgar Snow, ed., *Living China*; Guo Moruo, "Shuang Huang" (Double performance), in W. J. F. Jenner, ed., *Modern Chinese Stories*.

equality led to changes in the portrayal of Christians by Lao She, Pa Chin, Yu Dafu, and Guo Moruo.

In recent decades Chinese scholars on the mainland and on Taiwan have manifested a growing interest in the history of Christian missions in China, particularly parochial schools, and in their contribution to the modernisation of China. During the Educational Rights campaign of the 1920s and again during the 1950s and 1960s, Christian education had been denounced as cultural aggression and mission school students disparaged as denationalised "running dogs" of the Westerners. The majority of students in the Christian colleges, however, were not Christians even as early as 1925, and many of these students took an active part in nationalist movements such as the May 30th Movement and later the December 9th Movement of 1935. Reassessment of the role of Christian missions which had already begun on Taiwan, became possible on the mainland in the 1980s and volumes from several international conferences are now available.[6]

Conference participants, in addition to scholars from abroad, have included former graduates and teachers from the Christian colleges, practicing Christians, and younger scholars who viewed the Christian missions and parochial schools as actors in modern Chinese history. Representative of the first category are Zhang Kaiyuan of Huazhong Normal University, Zeng Rusheng of Hangzhou University, and Gao Shiliang of Fujian Normal University.[7] Though they acknowledge the Western atmosphere of the college campuses and the Western orientation of their curriculum, they express appreciation of a college community conducive to developing lasting friendships, of the teachers' personal interest in individual students, of the inculcation of the ideal of social service, and of the intellectual liberality as they remember it. Among those in the second category are Wu Ziming (Ng Tse-ming

[6] Zhang Kaiyuan and Arthur Waldron, eds., *Zhongguo wenhua yu jiaohui daxue* ("Christian universities and Chinese-Western cultures"); Lin Zhiping (ed.), *Zhongguo Jidujiao daxue lunwen ji* ("Papers of the influence and contribution of Christian colleges and universities"); Lin (ed.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo bensehua* (Christianity and Chinese indigenisation). Also indicative of the interest is the cataloguing of mainland materials on the Christian colleges; see Wu Ziming (Ng Tze-ming Peter) (ed.), *Zhongguo jiaohui daxue lishi wenxian taohui lunwenji* (Essays on historical records on Christian higher education in China); Ling Yuming (ed.), *Zhongguo jiaohui daxue wenxian mulu* (A catalogue of records on Christian higher education in China), vol. 2, *Zhongguo di er lishi dang'an guan guancang ziliao* (The materials held by the Second Historical Archives of China).

[7] See pp. 1–60 of Zhang and Waldron.

Peter) and colleagues at Chung Chi College of the Chinese University of Hong Kong and Xie Zhiwei (Daniel C. W. Tse), president of Hong Kong Baptist University, who are concerned about how to maintain a Christian presence in their institutions after Hong Kong retrocession. On Taiwan administrators like Lin Zhipeng of Zhengzhi and Zhongyuan universities ask similar questions amidst the secularisation of Taiwan society.[8]

Younger scholars include Shi Jinghuan of Beijing Normal University, Ma Min of Huazhong Normal University, and Zha Shijie (Cha James Shihchieh) of National Taiwan University. Ma Min, who is currently engaged in a study of Christian education in Hubei and Hunan, recognises the unequal status of Westerners and Chinese in the colleges, but asserts that the institutions served as important arenas for cultural interaction between East and West.[9] Both he and Shi Jinghuan have explored the role of the parochial institutions in the evolution of a modern Chinese educational system. As for the denationalisation of parochial students, Shi recommends a more complex analysis which includes the different patterns of student activism in the colleges, the ambiguities of Chinese Christian educators and students when their personal interest and beliefs seemed in conflict with their national responsibilities, and their continuing search for national identity.[10] Cha has examined the Yenching Christian Fellowship, especially its service work and contribution to social surveys in Beijing.[11]

Some historians assert that the Christian institutions with their emphasis on a humanistic education and their small enrolments training an intellectual elite were a luxury ill suited to the needs of a disunified, pre-industrialised China; others have found their liberal arts

---

[8] Lin Zhiping, ed., *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo xiandaihua* (Christianity and China's modernisation); Wu Ziming, "Sijiu nian qian Zhongguo jiaohui daxue wenxian yu xindai Zhongguo jiaoyu yanjiu" (Materials on Christian universities before '49 and present research on Chinese education), in *ibid*., pp. 735–749; Xie Zhiwei and Chen Zhan (Jack Chan Cham Kit), "Xianggang jinhui xueyuan" (Hong Kong Baptist College), in Lin Zhiping, ed., *Zhongguo Jidujiao daxue*, pp. 200–220.

[9] Ma Min, et al., ed., *Kuayue Zhong-Xi wenhua de juren* (A giant bridging the gap between Chinese and Western cultures). This point was made by John Fairbank much earlier; see Fairbank, "Introduction: The Many Faces of Protestant Missions in China and the US" in Fairbank, ed., *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, pp. 1–22.

[10] Shi Jinghuan, "Cultural Conflict and Fusion: Reflections on the Yenching Experience," Paper presented at The Yenching Experience and Chinese Higher Education Conference.

[11] Zha, "Yenjing daxue Jidujiao tuanqi chuta" (A preliminary study of the fellowships in Yenching University), in Lin, *Zhongguo Jidujiao daxue*, pp. 221–245.

model attractive. Several writers have pointed out the leadership roles of Christian college graduates despite their small numbers, though there have been few statistical surveys of the careers of graduates.[12] In such fields as medicine, dentistry, and nursing, agriculture, journalism, library science, anthropology and sociology, and even the sciences, they long held senior teaching and research positions, and they filled offices in Academia Sinica, the Medical Society, and other professional associations.[13] They were, as might be expected, also prominent in diplomacy and other fields where knowledge of Western languages was essential; even communist leaders like Zhou Enlai employed Yenching graduates as interpreters. Many also secured advanced degrees abroad so that parochial education was primarily a facilitator.[14] Quite a few of the first Chinese sent abroad to study during the 1980s were scholars formerly associated with Christian schools and rehabilitated after the Cultural Revolution. Among the explanations that have been offered for continued dependence on these individuals is their reputation for academic and personal integrity. In addition, writers have noted the contribution of individuals connected with China missions and Christian education to the growth of Chinese studies and scholarship in the West and to the British and American foreign service.

The YMCA and YWCA were among the fastest growing youth organisations in China during the first quarter of the twentieth century. In accord with Social Gospel theory, the Y strove to express the Christian spirit through social service and to Christianise Chinese society thereby. Y centres became hives of activity: English language

---

[12] Pioneering work on Yenching graduates has been done by Liu Haiyan, "Yenching Graduates in China" and Yan Siguang, "The Outstanding Yenching People: A Preliminary Inquiry into the Yenching Experience," papers presented at The Yenching Experience Conference.

[13] Karen Minden, "The Multiplication of Ourselves: Canadian Medical Missionaries in West China," in Hayhoe, *China's Education*, pp. 139–157; Minden, "The Developing Course of China's Outstanding Figures in the Area of Medicine," in Zhang and Waldron, *Zhongguo wenhua*, pp. 199–211; AnElissa Lucas, *Chinese Medical Modernization*; Mary Brown Bullock, *An American Transplant*; Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, pp. 494–510.

[14] This was also true of the Christian middle schools on which relatively little work has been done. See Heidi A. Ross, "Cradle of Female Talent: The McTyeire Home and School for Girls, 1892–1937," in Daniel H. Bays, ed., *Christianity and China*, pp. 209–227; Judith Liu and Donald P. Kelly, "'An Oasis in a Heathen Land'; St. Hilda's School for Girls, Wuchang, 1928–1936," in ibid., pp. 228–242; Ji Hong, "Beijing ditu Meiguo Jidujiao jiaohui zhongxue yanjiu, 1920–1941" (A study of the American Christian high schools in the Beijing area, 1920–1941), in Zhang and Waldron, *Zhongguo wenhua*, pp. 406–446.

classes, recreation and sports, meeting places for Chinese professional associations, literacy and adult education courses, Bible study, special interest groups such as debating societies, English conversation, choral and drama societies, and so forth.[15] Y leaders were experts in the publicity techniques of mass campaigns as they launched public drives to improve public health and sanitation, to inspire religious revivals, to spread scientific knowledge, or to enrol the poor in literacy classes.

Even if the great majority of participants in Y activities were not Christians and the small number of conversions was a source of constant concern among Y workers, all were urged to engage in social service. By helping the poor and needy, they gave expression to the Christian spirit and they fulfilled their duty as loyal patriotic citizens. Actual contact with factory workers and the urban poor could be a jolting experience for educated youth who had idealised the masses from afar. More than one social activist testified that it was the turning point in his/her life. Deng Yuzhi (Cora Deng) of the YWCA, Yen Yangchu (James Yen) of the Mass Education Movement, and Qu Qiubai of the Chinese Communist Party, for instance, determined to devote their careers to ameliorating the lot of the poor and oppressed.[16]

Yen and Deng were, of course, Christians, but they in turn launched programs that affected the lives of many Chinese. According to Charles Hayford and Jessie Lutz, the Y campaigns were one source in the development of mass campaign techniques by Yen for his Mass Education Movement and by communist leaders like Mao Zedong for their many mass movements.[17] Mao Zedong and Li Lisan also used the Mass Education Movement as a cover in organising and radicalising miners, railway workers, and youth. Though Hayford and Lutz acknowledge that many sources were available to Yen and the communist leaders and that they creatively adapted their methodology to their needs, the authors do offer evidence of direct contacts and of similarities in the use of group singing, popular drama and movies, cartoon-like posters, parades, identification and wooing of local village leaders, and so forth. Backed by military and political power the

---

[15] Jun Xing, *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution*; Eugene E. Barnett, *My Life in China*, p. 125.

[16] Lutz, "The YWCA-YMCA and China's Search for a Civil Society," in Lin, *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo xiandaihua*, p. 636.

[17] Charles W. Hayford, *To the People*, pp. 42–46; Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*, pp. 86–87. 102.

communist mass campaigns became far more effective than those of the Y or even of Yen.

Emily Honig has illustrated how Deng Yuzhi as head of the Labour Bureau of the YWCA organised Shanghai factory workers to participate in the Communist revolution.[18] For the YWCA's evening classes for women labourers, Deng designed a curriculum that instilled working class and feminist consciousness; texts expatiated on the evils of imperialism, the oppression of the proletariat by the capitalists, and duties of patriotic citizens. Deng sympathised with the communist social programme and the Communists in turn found the YWCA night schools a safe cover for recruiting labour activists and party members during the 1930s.

In both the YWCA and Christian girl's schools, women held administrative and teaching positions, though scholars have not always agreed as to their importance as role models.[19] The YWCA was a socially acceptable support group for women as they moved from the private sphere of home and family to the public sphere of business. politics, and community service. Thus, it served as a forum in which middle class women could learn leadership skills according to Alison Drucker.[20] Awaiting further study is the contribution of the multiple non-government organisations sponsored by churches, Christian schools, and the Y to the growth of civic culture in China.[21]

Language is another realm in which the work of Christians extended beyond evangelism. Because Christian missionaries, particularly Protestants, believed that their converts should have direct access to the Bible as the Holy Word of God, their ideal was a literate congregation nourished by Scriptural writings in simplified Chinese. For minorities or ethnic groups like the Hakka who lacked a written language, this required the construction of a written vocabulary either in romanised letters or in Chinese characters, or both. Only with the guidance of Chinese having a classical education could Western missionaries carry out this work and it should be possible to discover more about the contribution of these Chinese linguists. The missionaries' goal

[18] Honig, "Christianity, Feminism, and Communism: The Life and Times of Deng Yuzhi," in Bays, *Christianity and China*, pp. 243–262.

[19] Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*.

[20] Alison R. Drucker, "The Role of the YWCA in the Development of the Chinese Women's Movement, 1890–1927," *Social Science Review*, 13 (September 1979), pp. 423–440.

[21] Lutz, "The YWCA-YMCA."

might have been the translation of religious writings as aids in evangelism and Christian instruction, but the written dialect in more than one instance became a vehicle for literary works and histories of the minority peoples. They contributed to a sense of group pride and the growth of minority and ethnic consciousness. Though a number of scholars have provided some data, the subject merits further exploration.[22] While one would not wish to exaggerate the contribution of Christian translators to the *baihua* movement, it is true that Christians had long attempted to translate the Bible into simplified *wenli* and had composed religious pamphlets and magazines employing a limited vocabulary and unembellished style.[23] And Hu Shi noted that after he and Chen Duxiu recommended the use of *baihua*, the Bible in simplified *wenli* and popular magazines published by the Y and Christian presses enjoyed a surge of popularity; there were, of course, also Chinese novels and popular literature, and by the late nineteenth century even a few Chinese magazines in vernacular to serve as models.[24] Through the composition of scientific and medical texts and through committees set up to devise uniform scientific terminology, Christians also had a role in the modernisation of Chinese, though their work would quickly be taken over by Chinese scholars.[25]

Christian missions to China began many centuries ago with the Nestorians in the seventh century and the Roman Catholics in the thirteenth century, but their personnel were limited and government regulations were restrictive. The era of privilege, popularity, and strength for both Roman Catholic and Protestant evangelists from the West was relatively brief, reaching its apogee between 1890 and 1925. These decades coincided with a time when China was open to many contacts with Japan and the West so that sorting out the lines of influence

---

[22] Ralph R. Covell, *The Liberating Gospel in China*; Jessie G. and Rolland Ray Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity*; Li Zhigang (Lee Cheekong), *Jidujiao yu jindai Zhongguo wenhua lunwenji* (Essays on Christianity and the modernisation of Chinese civilisation), ch. 10; Norma Diamond, "Christianity and the Hua Miao: Writing and Power," in Bays, *Christianity and China*, pp. 138–157; Nicole Constable, *Christian Souls and Chinese Spirits*.

[23] Herbert Hoi-Lap Ho, *Protestant Missionary Publications in Modern China*; Li Zhigang *Jidujiao zaoqi zai Hua chuanjiao shi* ("History of the propagation of religion during Christianity's early period in China"). ch. 4.

[24] Hu Shih, *The Chinese Renaissance*, p. 54; Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement*, pp. 270–271.

[25] Peter Buck, *American Science and Modern China*; Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, "Western Impact on China through Translation," FEQ, 13 (May 1954), pp. 305-327.

becomes less important than understanding their interplay in Chinese history. Though numerous Chinese in coastal China and the treaty ports came into contact with representatives of Christian institutions and though this minority was disproportionately represented among China's reformers and professionals, Christian contributions were generally additive and cumulative, not exclusive. They did not necessarily displace traditional values and customs even if they provided a new context;[26] they competed with numerous options that reformers and revolutionaries could adopt and adapt. In the training of professionals and academics in fields such as medicine, agriculture, science, and the social sciences, the legacy would become apparent only as these individuals attained leadership positions and as the Chinese economy and scholarship in those fields matured enough to incorporate them. Even so, Christian missions were perhaps distinctive in setting forth the ideals of social service and of the responsibility of individual citizens. However short Christians fell in practice, they preached the equality of all in the sight of God and women did have their own spheres of activity. Interaction between Christians and many of China's potential elite were varied and multiple; equally varied and multiple were the ways in which Chinese made use of them.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Barnett, Eugene E., *My Life in China, 1910–1936*, ed. Jessie G. Lutz, E. Lansing, MI; Michigan State University, 1990.

Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀, "Jidujiao yu Zhongguo ren" 基督教與中國人 (Christianity and the Chinese people), *Xin qingnian* 新青年 (New youth), 3,3 (1 February 1920), pp. 14–22.

Hu Shih, *The Chinese Renaissance*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

Jenner, W. J. F., ed, *Modern Chinese Stories*, London: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Ke Bonian 柯柏年 (Li Chunfan 李春蕃), "Chuanjiao yu diguozhuyi" 傳教與帝國主義 (Evangelism and imperialism), in *Fan dui Jidujiao yundong* 反對基督教運動 (Anti-Christian movement), comp. by Zhongguo qingnian she and Fei Jidujiao tongmeng, Shanghai, 1924.

Ke Bonian 柯柏年, "Jiaohui daxue yu guowen" 教會大學與國文 (The Christian university and Chinese), *Juewu* (Awakening), 17 May 1924.

Lau, Joseph S. M., et al., eds., *Modern Chinese Stories and Novellas, 1919–1949*, NY: Columbia University Press, 1981.

Shu Qingchun (Lao She), *The Two Mas*, trans. by Kenny K. Huang and Davis Finkelstein, Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., 1984.

[26] Francis L. K. Hsu, *Under the Ancestors' Shadow*.

Snow, Edgar, ed., *Living China. Modern Chinese Short Stories*, NY: John Day, 1937.
Wang Chi-chen, ed., *Contemporary Chinese Stories*, NY: Columbia University Press, 1944.
Xiao Qian, *Chestnuts and Other Stories*, trans. Bonnie McDougall, Beijing: Panda Books, 1984.

Secondary Sources

Books

Bays, Daniel H., ed., *Christianity and China, The Eighteenth Century to the Present: Essays in Religious and Social Change*, Stanford: Standford University Press, 1996.
Borthwick, Sally, *Education and Social Change in China. The Beginnings of the Modern Era*, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1983.
Buck, Peter, *American Science and Modern China, 1876–1936*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
Bullock, Mary Brown, *An American Transplant. The Rockefeller Foundation and Peking Union Medical College*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1908.
Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in China*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960.
Constable, Nicole, *Christian Souls and Chinese Spirits. A Hakka Community in Hong Kong*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994.
Covell, Ralph R., *The Liberating Gospel in China. The Christian Faith among China's Minority Peoples*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1995.
Fairbank, John K., ed., *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.
Hayford, Charles W., *To the People. James Yen and Village China*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
Hayhoe, Ruth and Marianne Bastid, eds., *China's Education and the Industrialized World*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. S. Sharpe, 1987.
Ho, Herbert Hoi-lap, *Protestant Missionary Publications in Modern China, 1912–1949. A Study of their Programs, Operations, and Trends*, Hong Kong: Chinese Church Research Center, 1988.
Hsia, C. T., *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, 1917–1957*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.
Hsu, Francis L. K., *Under the Ancestors' Shadow. Kinship, Personality, and Social Mobility in Village China*, NY: Doubleday, 1967.
Hunter, Jane, *The Gospel of Gentility. American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
Lang, Olga, *Pa Chin and His Writings. Chinese Youth between Two Revolutions*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.
Li Zhigang (Lee Chee-kong) 李志剛, *Jidujiao yu jindai wenhua lunwenji* 基督教與近代文化論文集 (Essays on Christianity and the modernisation of Chinese civilisation), Taibei: Yuzhouguang, 1993.
Li Zhigang (Lee Chee-kong) 李志剛, *Jidujiao zaoqi zai Hua chuanjiao shi* 基督教早期在華傳教史 (History of the propagation of religion during Christianity's early period in China), Taibei: Commercial Press, 1985.
Lin Zhiping 林治平 (ed.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo xiandaihua* 基督教與中國現代化 (Christianity and China's modernisation), Taibei: Yuzhouguang, 1994.
Lin Zhiping 林治平 (ed.), *Zhongguo Jidujiao daxue lunwenji* 中國基督教大學論文集 (Papers on the influence and contribution of the Christian colleges), Taibei: Yuzhouguang, 1992.
Lin Zhiping 林治平 (ed.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo bensehua* 基督教與中國本色化 (Christianity and Chinese indigenisation), Taibei: Yuzhouguang, 1990.

Ling Yuming 酈玉明 (ed.), *Zhongghuo di er lishi dangan guanguan cang ziliao* 中國第二歷史檔案館館藏資料 (The materials held by the Second Historical Archives of China), vol. 2 of *Zhongguo jiaohui daxue wenxian mulu* 中國教會大學文獻目錄 (A catalogue of records on Christian higher education in China), Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue, 1996.
Lucas, AnElissa, *Chinese Medical Modernization: Comparative Policy Continuities, 1930s-1980s*, New York: Praeger, 1982.
Lutz, Jessie G., *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920–1928*, Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988.
Lutz, Jessie G., *The China Christian Colleges, 1850–1950*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.
Lutz, Jessie G., and Rolland Ray Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850–1900*, Armonk, N.Y., M. E. Sharpe, 1997.
Ma Min 馬敏 et al. (eds.), *Kuayue Zhong-Xi wenhua di juren* 跨越中西文化的巨人 (A giant bridging the gap between Chinese and Western cultures), Wuhan: Central China Normal University, 1995.
Robinson, Lewis S., *Double-edged Sword: Christianity and Twentieth Century Chinese Fiction*, Hong Kong: Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Center, 1986.
Vohra, Ranbir, *Lao She and the Chinese Revolution*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.
Xing Jun, *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution. The American Social Gospel and the YMCA in China, 1919–1937*, Bethelem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press, 1996.
Ye Renchang 葉仁昌, *Wusi yihou de fandui Jidujiao yundong* 五四以後的反對基督教運動 (The anti-Christian movement after May Fourth), Taibei: Juida wenhua gufen youxian gongsi, 1992.

Articles

Drucker, Alison R., "The Role of the YWCA in the Development of the Chinese Women's Movement, 1890–1927" *Social Science Review*, 13 (September 1979): pp. 423–440.
Liu Haiyan, "Yenching Graduates in China," Paper presented at The Yenching Experience and Christian Higher Education Conference, Claremont, CA, 22–26 May 1996.
Robinson, Lewis S., "Images of Missionaries in 20th Century Chinese Fiction: 'The Good, the Bad, and th Ugly'," Paper presented at Conference on American Missionaries and Social Change in China: Collision and Confluence, McMinnville, OR, July 1994.
Shi Jinghua, "Cultural Conflict and Fusion: Reflections on the Yenching Experience," Paper presented at The Yenching Experience and Christian Higher Education Conference, Claremont, CA, 22–26 May 1996.
Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, "Western Impact on China through Translation," *FEQ*, 13 (May 1954): pp. 305–327.
Wu Ziming (Ng, Tze-ming Peter) (ed.), *Zhongguo jiaohui daxue lishi wenxian taohui lunwenji* (Essays on historical records on Christian higher education in China), Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue, 1995.
Yan Siguang, "The Outstanding Yenching People: A Preliminary Inquiry into the Yenching Experience," Paper presented at The Yenching Experience and Christian Higher Education Conference, Claremont, California, 22–26 May 1996.
Zhang Kaiyuan 章開沅 and Lin Wei 林蔚 (Arthur Waldron) (eds.), *Zhong-Xi wenhua yu jiaohui daxue: shoujie Zhongguo jiaohui daxue shi xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 中西文化與教會大學: 首屆中國教會大學史學術研討會論文集 (Christian university and Chinese-Western cultures: Selected works of the First International Symposium on the History of pre-1949 Christian universities in China), Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991.

2.8. Opponents of Christianity

Jessie G. Lutz

Students, Nationalists, Revolutionaries

Anti-Christian sentiment and incidents in China have a history that reaches back several centuries, though peaks of activity occurred with the Boxer Uprising of 1900, the Anti-Christian Movements of the 1920s, and the campaign of the People's Republic of China against Christian missions and all Western ties during the 1950s. An anti-Christian tradition dating from the seventeenth century, according to Paul Cohen, reveals continuities in argumentation: Christianity is a foreign heterodoxy not needed by China; Christian doctrines include irrational legends and superstitions; Christian missions have external power links and they challenge Chinese social values and political authority as well as the ideology on which these are founded. By the late nineteenth century a corpus of literature detailing these criticisms circulated among scholar gentry and references to these writings appear in the anti-Christian movements of the twentieth century. Cohen disagrees with those writers who de-emphasise or deny historic anti-foreignism as a significant component of anti-Christianism.[1]

Scholars, nevertheless, generally differentiate between the anti-Christian outbursts of the twentieth century and those of earlier centuries. Liao Kuang-sheng contrasts the isolated local outbreaks before 1900 with the organised, large scale movements of the twentieth century.[2] Yang Tianhong in *Jidujiao yu xindai Zhongguo* distinguishes between anti-Christianism in defence of Confucian tradition and anti-Christianism as part of China's modernisation. Other writers such as Ka-

[1] Paul Cohen, *China and Christianity*; Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact to 1900", *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, part 1, *Late Ch'ing 1800–1911*, pp. 543–590; Liao Kuang-sheng, *Antiforeignism and Modernization in China, 1860–1980*. Cohen mentions the following writers as neglecting the importance of antiforeignism: Hu Sheng, *Imperialism and Chinese Politics*; Lü Shiqiang, *Zhongguo guansheng fanjiao de yuanyin (1860–1874)*; Wang Ermin, "Review of Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity*", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 28 (1965), pp. 184–185.

[2] Liao Kuang-sheng, *Antiforeignism and Modernization in China*.

che Yip and Jessie Lutz view the rise of modern Chinese nationalism as crucial in the evolution of anti-Christianism.[3]

These issues come to the fore in the first mass-based Anti-Christian movement, the Boxer Uprising of 1900.[4] While some scholars see the Boxers as essentially anti-foreign conservatives defending traditional Chinese culture, others find evidence of an emerging nationalism in the Boxers' reaction against imperialism and threats to Chinese sovereignty.[5] Often, the anti-foreign and political aspects of the movement draw greater attention than the religious and specifically anti-Christian elements. A reading of Boxer placards and proclamations, however, would indicate deep outrage over the missionaries' attack on folk beliefs and practices along with genuine fear of the effect on daily lives. Admittedly, it is difficult to deduce a coherent philosophy from available materials, but further study of the religious component is needed.

The Boxer movement has loomed larger in modern Chinese historiography under the People's Republic of China and on Taiwan than in Western scholarship.[6] The prevailing communist interpretation is still that mass movements are the motive force of history and that the Boxer movement was a mass uprising for national liberation. Even if the peasants lacked class consciousness and the leadership of a communist vanguard, they were heroic patriots fighting for national survival.[7] The Boxer crisis, the Taiping Rebellion, and the Revolution of 1911 are

---

[3] Yip, *Religion, Nationalism, and Chinese Students*; Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*.

[4] David D. Buck, ed., *Recent Studies of the Boxer Movement*. See also, *Yihetuan yundong shi taolun wenji* (Collected articles on the history of the Boxer Movement). Both collections of papers are drawn from a conference on the history of the Boxer Movement held in Jinan, Shandong, November 1980.

[5] See Chester Tan *The Boxer Catastrophe,* Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, "Late Ch'ing Foreign Relations, 1866–1905", *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 11, *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911*, part 2, pp. 115–130; and John K. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution 1800–1985*, 136–139 for the former interpretation. Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*; Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, pp. 231–235; and John Schrecker, *Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism* opt for the latter interpretation.

[6] Among the valuable collections of documents are *Jiaowu jiaoan dang* (Archives of missionary affairs and missionary cases), Series 5 ed. by Lü Shiqiang, 4 vols., 1977; Series 6 ed. by Lu Baogan, 3 vols., 1980; and *Shandong Yihetuan anjuan* (Archives on the Shandong Boxers).

[7] *The Yi Ho Tuan Movement of 1900*; Liao Yizhong, et al., *Yihetuan yundong shi* (A history of the Boxer movement); also Sun Zuomin, "Some Problems in the Appraisal of the Boxer Movement," in Buck, pp. 196–219.

the "high tides" of the "old democratic revolution". Recently, however, a few mainland historians have questioned whether the Boxer anti-foreignism brought more harm than good and whether the creative contributions of the bourgeoisie should receive greater attention.[8]

With research at the regional level and examination of contemporary documents held in the Beijing First Historical Archives and Shandong University archives, theories on the origins of the Boxers have altered. George Steiger first suggested in 1927 that the Boxers grew out of local militia and Dai Xuanzhi, on the basis of new evidence, revived this claim in 1963.[9] Few other scholars accept this thesis, most of them pointing to similarities with and possible connections with secret sects such as the Small Sword Society.[10] Recent studies by Esherick and R.G. Tiedemann[11] argue that the rise of the Boxers can best be understood by "detailed analysis of the contemporary environment—the structure and mentality of society in western Shandong, and the shape of provincial, national, and international politics on the eve of the 20th century".[12] On this basis, Esherick concludes that the Spirit Boxers 神拳 were a new creation of northwest Shandong peasants. He also concludes that the Spirit Boxers represented a cross section of local society: a few prominent families, a small proportion of property owning households, but, of course, a majority of poor peasants and agricultural labourers, as was true of the general population of the region.[13]

Less directly relevant to anti-Christianism are the controversies over the exact role of the Qing court and Chinese officials in relation to the Boxers.[14] Of importance to the history of Chinese Christianity,

---

[8] The Institute of Modern History in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences has been the centre of much of the debate over the nature of history and historical writing and *Lishi yanjiu* (Historical research) has been a major outlet. See for example, Li Shu, "Renmin qunzhong shi lishi de chuangzao?" (Are the masses the creators of history?), *Lishi yanjiu*, 1984, no. 5; a reply by Guo Ruixiang and a rejoinder by Li Shu, *ibid*., 1986, no. 3.

[9] George N. Steiger, *China and the Occident*; Dai Xuanzhi, *Yihetuan yanjiu* (A study of the Boxers).

[10] Tan, *The Boxer Catastrophe*; Lu Yao; "Lun Yihetuan de yuanliu ji qita" (Discussion of the origins of the Boxers and other matters); Sasaki Masaya, "Giwadan no kigen" (The origins of the Boxers).

[11] Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*; Tiedemann, "Christianity in a Violent Environment".

[12] Esherick, p. 316.

[13] Ibid., pp. 235–236.

[14] For detailed discussion, see Victor Purcell, *The Boxer Uprising*.

however, are the consequences of the movement. Mission memoirs and histories initially highlighted the murder of over two hundred missionaries and the burning of churches, schools, and residences. Chinese historians and later Western historians have portrayed the destructiveness of the International Expedition and the heavy burden imposed on the Chinese in the form of indemnities and additional infringements of Chinese sovereignty. Most, however, acknowledge that the Qing defeat instigated a turn toward reform and a determination to acquire Western knowledge, whether directly or through Japanese mediation. Christianity was often included in the Western learning to be studied. Largely absent from the picture have been the Chinese Christians, of whom thousands lost their lives and many more fled, losing home and property. A few ended up as labourers in the besieged legations. Whether the subsequent history of others can be recovered in church histories, family records, or local gazettes awaits research. Projects under the guidance of Margo Gewurtz of York University (Canada) and of Daniel Bays, R. G. Tiedemann, and Tao Feiya offer promise.[15]

Between the Boxer Uprising and the major anti-Christian movements of the 1920s, several student storms in parochial schools and exchanges between Christian educators and the Chinese government raised issues that would become central to the 1920 campaigns.[16] When the Qing dynasty began to institute a national educational system in the early twentieth century, mission educators were rebuffed following a request for recognition of their schools so that their graduates would be eligible for government overseas scholarships and civil service positions. The Chinese Board of Education refused on the grounds that it did not wish to encourage foreign interference in Chinese education or hinder the abolition of extraterritoriality. In 1905 U.S. immigration restrictions, anti-Chinese riots, and humiliating treatment of Chinese students and visitors by immigration officials aroused such resentment that Cantonese initiated a boycott of American goods. Identifying Canton Christian College (Lingnan University) with American racial policies and what would later be labelled cultural aggression, some students withdrew from the school while others refused to

[15] See, for example, Tao Feiya and Liu Tianlu, *Jidujiao hui yu jindai Shandong shehui* (Protestantism in modern Shandong).

[16] Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto in their brief survey of anti-Christian movements from 1922 to 1927 contrast these movements with the Boxer Uprising.

buy American textbooks or the American shoes that were part of the school uniform.[17]

Another student storm occurred at *Zhendan daxue* 震旦大學 (Aurora University), a Jesuit institution founded by Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯 (1840–1939) in 1903. At issue were Ma's progressive, student-oriented approach versus the Jesuit's authoritarian methodology, the relative emphasis on French, English, and Chinese studies, the division of authority between the Jesuit administrators and Ma, and the place of religion in the curriculum.[18] Ma, Chinese faculty members, and most of the students withdrew to found *Fudan daxue* 復旦大學 (New Aurora) in 1905, which would become a leader in student patriotic movements. Shao Lizi 邵力子 (1882–1967), one of those who transferred, was prominent in both the Anti-Christian Movement of 1922 and the Movement to Restore Educational Rights directed at the mission schools.

Historians have generally viewed the 1922 anti-Christian campaign as an outgrowth of the New Culture Movement.[19] New Youth condemned the religious requirements of the parochial schools as infringements on religious freedom while they criticised Christian doctrines as superstitious, outdated, and irrational. Zhao Qing, for example, finds the origins of the 1922 anti-Christian movement in the campaign against making Confucianism the state religion, which Christians sup-

---

[17] Jessie Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, pp. 118, 205–206.

[18] Ruth Hayhoe, "Towards the Forging of a Chinese University Ethos: Zhendan and Fudan, 1903–1919," *China Quarterly* No. 92 (June, 1982), pp. 323–341; Edward J. Malatesta, S.J., "Two Chinese Catholic Universities and a Major Chinese Catholic Thinker," in Heyndrickx, ed., *Historiography*, pp. 235–245. Malatesta's essay also provides data on source materials.

[19] Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth Century China* includes a valuable bibliographical essay on Chinese youth movements, pp. 381–390. Among overall studies of youth movements are one by a YMCA secretary, Kiang Wen-han, *The Chinese Student Movement*, two by mainland historians, Hao Yingde & Shao Pengwen, *Zhongguo xuesheng yundong jianshi, 1919–1949* (A basic history of the Chinese student movement, 1919–1949); and Wu Mu et al., *Zhongguo qingnian yundong shi* (A history of the Chinese youth movement); and one by a Taiwan historian, Bao Zunpeng, *Zhongguo qingnian yundong shi* (A history of the Chinese youth movement). Primary sources include works of writers who were contemporaries: Shu Xincheng, Zhang Guonei, Wang Tsi-chang, Yu Jiaju, and Yang Jiamin plus collections such as Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, *Wusi aiguo yundong* (The patriotic May 4th movement), 2 vols., and *Wusi yundong huiyilu* (Remembrances of the May 4th movement), 3 vols.; Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, *Wusa yundong shiliao* (Historical materials on the May 30th movement), 2 vols., and SASS, *Wusi yundong zai Shanghai shiliao xuanji* (Selected historical materials on the May 4th movement in Shanghai).

ported on the grounds of religious freedom.[20] Chow Tse-tsung in *The May Fourth Movement* and Yang Tianhong in his study of antiforeignism illustrate the change from criticisms based on religious freedom in 1915–1920 to criticisms based on agnosticism, rationalism, and iconoclasm in 1921–1922. As they note, anarchists in the *Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui* 少年中國學會 (Young China Association) took the lead in publicising the latter critique during 1921–1922.

Liu Xinyong, Ka-che Yip and Jessie Lutz emphasise, in addition, the importance of anti-imperialist nationalism as a component of the 1922 campaign.[21] They point out that Socialist Youth Corps members were the source of the March 9th manifesto launching the movement and that the manifesto's anti-capitalist phraseology echoed Lenin's theory of imperialism. Yip and Lutz also discuss the new student sub-culture as a milieu which spawned and facilitated national campaigns; this sub-culture becomes a major focus of Wasserstrom and Yeh Wenhsin in their studies of college youth.[22]

During the May Thirtieth Movement of 1925 anti-imperialist nationalism became the driving force, drowning liberalism and tolerance in its wake. The openness and amorphousness of the May Fourth and New Culture movements stand in sharp contrast with the politicised nationalism of May Thirtieth. Arthur Waldron, in particular, stresses the political aspect in his thesis that changes in the military balance of power and decline in the perceived authority of the Beijing government were essential to the broad support base and successful political challenge of May Thirtieth.[23]

Some studies of the May Thirtieth Movement pay little attention to the Educational Rights Movement and the revival of the Anti-Christian Federation in 1924.[24] Analyses by Yang Tianhong, Yip, Lutz, and Wasserstrom, however, demonstrate the growing radicalisation of students during 1924 and illustrate how the campaign against the

---

[20] Zhao, "Cong fan 'Kongjiao' yundong dao 'Fei zongjiao dao tongmeng' yundong" (From the "Anti-Confucianism" movement to the "Non-religious League" Movement).

[21] Liu Xinyong, "Diyici guonei geming zhanzheng shiqi de fei jidujiao yundong" (The anti-Christian movement during the first revolutionary civil war), *Shanghai qingyun shi ziliao*, 19 (1986), pp. 1–8; Yip, *Student Nationalism*; Lutz, *Chinese Politics*. See also, "Christianity and Chinese Nationalism: A Symposium," *Republican China*, 17 (April 1992).

[22] Wasserstrom, *Student Protests*; and Yeh Wenhsin, *The Alienated Academy*.

[23] Waldron, *From War to Nationalism*.

[24] Rigby, *The May 30 Movement*; Clifford, *Shanghai, 1925*; Bao Zunpeng, *Zhongguo qingnian yundong shi* (A history of the Chinese youth movement).

Christian institutions fed into the May Thirtieth Movement. The Chinese Communist Party, Guomindang, and Chauvinists (Young China Party), according to Lutz and Wasserstrom, saw the anti-Christian and educational rights themes as a means to broaden their appeal to young intellectuals. Thus, the political parties provided the 1924 campaign with publicity outlets, organisational skills, and leadership. In deliberately fostering the campaigns, they identified and provided political experience for future cadres while they developed techniques for enlisting multi-group organisations in their own cause. There was direct carry over of personnel, associations, tactics, and journals from the 1924 anti-Christian movement to May Thirtieth and the Northern Expedition of 1926–1927. As the National Revolutionary Army and political teams moved through the countryside and incorporated peasants, Roman Catholic missions also became targets, a subject that awaits exploration.[25]

Because the youth movements had been co-opted by the political parties, they suffered rapid decline once party leadership turned against student activism. In 1931 student ire was directed against Japanese imperialism, not Western aggression, and Guomindang power and tactics short circuited the development of a co-ordinated nationwide movement.[26] The movement of December 9, 1935 helped popularise the forging of a united front of the Chinese Communist Party and Guomindang to oppose Japan, but Christian college students were among the initiators of this movement.[27]

Not until the civil war of 1946–1949 did loss of governmental authority provide a context conducive to translating student collective anger into effective collective action with political consequences, according to Waldron. Though anti-American and anti-capitalist slogans were prominent in the campaigns, the students focused on the Guomindang as responsible for the financial chaos and prolongation of the

---

[25] Some information is available in Breslin, *China, American Catholicism, and the Missionary*.

[26] John Israel, *Student Nationalism*. Yeh, relying heavily on literary sources, perhaps exaggerates the apathy and withdrawal of students from national concerns during the 1930s.

[27] Israel, *Student Nationalism*; Jessie Lutz, "December 9, 1935," *JAS*, 21 (August 1967), pp. 627–648; Li Guocheng, "Zhongguo kang-Ri zhanzheng qian de xuesheng yundong (1931–1936)" (The Chinese student movement up to the war of resistance [1931–1936]); Chiang Nan-hsiang, et al., *The Roar of a Nation: Reminiscences of the December 9th Student Movement*.

civil war. Students at St. John's University, Shanghai Baptist College, Yenching University, Suzhou University and Fudan were prominent political activists.[28] Attacks on Chinese Christians and Western missionaries occurred, though primarily in regions held by the Chinese communists. In rural areas the assaults were often directed against the Catholic church as a major property holder and money lender or against priests as foreign agents, but there has been relatively little scholarly research on the subject.[29]

Anti-Christian campaigns after 1949 differed from earlier ones in that they were initiated and orchestrated by the Chinese communist party. Socialist revolutionaries, of course, accepted the thesis that the ruling classes deliberately used religion to distract and oppress the masses; they looked forward to the eventual triumph of atheism. Chinese critics of varying persuasion considered Christian missions the vanguard and tool of Western imperialism, but the Chinese communists had additional motivation for targeting Christian missions. The U.S. during the civil war of 1946–1949 was the major supporter of both Christian missions and the Guomindang and during the Korean War of 1950–1953, the U.S. led the fight against North Korea and its China ally. Except for occasional periods of toleration adopted for tactical purposes, communist policy had during the 1930s and 1940s consistently opposed both Christianity and Christian missions.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the communist party launched campaigns to end the dependency of the Chinese church on foreign finances and personnel as well as to demonstrate the attainment of complete sovereignty by China. Christian schools lost their identity was they were amalgamated into a national educational system; mission institutions such as hospitals, orphanages, and YMCA centres were nationalised. Financial aid from the West became unacceptable, and almost all foreign workers were ousted.

---

[28] Suzanne Pepper, "The Student Movement and the Chinese Civil War, 1945–1949"; Jessie Lutz, "The Chinese Student Movement of 1945–1949"; Wang Niankun, *Wo guo xuesheng yundong shihua* (An informal history of our country's youth movement); Shanghai branch of the Communist Youth League Youth Movement Research Group (ed.), *1945–1949 Shanghai xuesheng yundong shi* (A history of the Shanghai student movement, 1945–1949).

[29] Some information is provided in James T. Myers, "The Catholic Church in Mainland China", pp. 313–332. The Shanxi village depicted in William Hinton's portrayal of land reform, *Fanshen*, was a Catholic community and there still remains a closely knit Catholic congregation there. Memoirs, church registers, local records should provide further information.

The campaigns split the Chinese Christian community so that the assessment of individuals who supported the drive for a Christian church that was self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating remains a source of controversy. For example, the leader of the Protestant Three-Self Movement, Wu Yaozong, has been condemned as having betrayed his faith through subservience to the Communist government, but he has also been praised by others for his attempts to protect Chinese Christians and fashion a Chinese church committed to social and economic equality.[30] Revelation that Christianity not only survived the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution but is currently enjoying a degree of popularity has further encouraged re-evaluation of the leaders of the Three Self Movement and Catholic Patriotic Association. It has also spurred study of the roots of independent Chinese churches along with reassessments of Chinese Christian responses to the challenges of Chinese nationalism.[31]

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Chiang Nan-hsiang, et al., *The Roar of a Nation: Reminiscences of the December 9th Student Movement*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1963.

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, *Wusi aiguo yundong* 五四愛國運動 (The patriotic May 4th movement), 2 vols., Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, 1979.

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, *Wusi yundong huiyilu* 五四運動回憶錄 (Remembrances of the May 4th movement), 3 vols., Beijing Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, 1979.

Jiaowu jiaoan dang 教務教案檔 (Archives of missionary affairs and missionary cases), Taibei: Institute for Modern History, Academia Sinica, Series 5, ed. by Lü Shiqiang 呂實強, 4 vols, 1977; Series 6 ed. by Lu Baoqian 陸寶千, 3 vols., 1980.

---

[30] Gao Wangzhi summarises the various views in "Y. T. Wu: A Christian Leader under Communism". See also Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*; and Hunter & Chan, *Protestantism in Contemporary China*. A more recent addition to the controversy is Leung Ka-lun, *Wu Yaozong: Three Studies*, and a reply to Leung's criticisms in the church magazine *Tian Feng* 天風, September 1997.

[31] Jonathan Chao, "The Chinese Indigenous Church Movement, 1919–1927"; Lam Wing-hung, *Chinese Theology in Construction*; Lü Shiqiang, "Minchu ruogan jiaohui renshi dui Zhongguo jidujiao shehui shiming de kanfa" (The attitude of some Chinese Christians toward its social mission in early Republican China); Bays, "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937"; Wang Chengmian, *Wen she de shengzhong* (The Rise and fall of *Wen she*). During the last decade or so historians on the mainland and on Taiwan have sponsored several conferences on the history of Chinese Christianity and on the China Christian colleges.

Kiang Wen-han, *The Ideological Background of the Chinese Student Movement*, NY: King's Crown Press, 1948.
Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, *Wusa yundong shiliao* 五卅運動史料 (Historical materials on the May 30th movement), 2 vols., Shanghai: SASS, 1981, 1987.
Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, *Wusi yundong zai Shanghai shiliao xuanji* 五四運動在上海史料選輯 (Selected historical materials on the May 4th movement in Shanghai), Shanghai: SASS, 1960.
Shandong Yihetuan anjuan 山東義和團案卷 (Archives on the Shandong Boxers), ed. by the Modern History Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Jinan: Qilu, 1980.
Shu Xincheng 舒新城, *Shouhui jiaoyuquan yundong* 收回教育權運動 (The movement to restore educational rights), Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1927.
Wang Tsi-chang, *The Youth Movement in China*, NY: New Republic, 1927.
Yang Jiamin 楊家銘, *Minguo shiwunian Zhongguo xuesheng yundong gaikuang* 民國十五年中國學生運動概況 (A general view of the Chinese student movement in 1926), Shanghai: Guanghua, 1927.
Yu Jiaju 余家菊 and Chang Daozhi 常道直, *Xuexiao fengchao de yanjiu* 學校風潮的研究 (An investigation of school storms), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan faxing, 1925.
Zhang Qinshi 張欽士 (Neander C. S. Chang), *Guonei jin shinian lai zhi zongjiao sichao* 國內近十年來之宗教思潮 (The tide of religious thought in China during the last decade), Beijing: North China Union Language School, 1927.

Secondary Sources

Bao Zunpen 包遵彭, *Zhongguo qingnian yundong shi* 中國青年運動史 (A history of China's youth movement), Taibei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1954.
Bays, Daniel H. (ed.), *Christianity and China, the Eighteenth Century to the Present: Essays in Religious and Social Change*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
Breslin, Thomas A., *China, American Catholicism, and the Missionary*, University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980.
Buck, David D. (ed.), *Recent Studies of the Boxer Movement*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1987.
Chao Jonathan T'ien-en, "The Chinese Indigenous Church Movement, 1919–1927: A Protestant Response to the Anti-Christian Movements in Modern China," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1986.
Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960.
Clifford, Nicholas R., *Shanghai 1925: Urban Nationalism and the Defense of Foreign Privilege*, Ann Arbor, Mich.: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1979.
Cohen, Paul A. *China and Christianity. The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963.
Cohen, Paul A., "Christian Missions and their Impact to 1900," in John Fairbank (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing 1800–1911*, Part 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 543–590.
Dai Xuanzhi 戴玄之, *Yihetuan yanjiu* 義和團研究 (A study of the Boxers), Taibei: Wenhai, 1963.
Esherick, Joseph W., *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
Fairbank, John K., *The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800–1985*, NY: Harper and Row, 1986.

Hao Yingda 郝英達 and Shao Pengwen 邵鵬文, *Zhongguo xuesheng yundong jianshi, 1919–1949* 中國學生運動簡史, 1919–1949 年 (A basic history of the Chinese student movement, 1919–1949), Hebei: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1985.
Hayhoe, Ruth, "Towards the Forging of a Chinese University Ethos: Zhendan and Fudan, 1903–1919," *China Quarterly*, No. 92 (June 1982), pp. 323–341.
Heyndrickx, Jerome (ed.), *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church. Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 1994.
Hinton, William, *Fanshen. A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village*, New York: Vintage Books, 1966.
Hodous, Lewis, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China", *The Journal of Religion* 10,4 (Oct., 1930), pp. 487–494.
Hsu, Immanuel C. Y., "Late Ch'ing Foreign Relations, 1866–1905," in John Fairbank & Kwang-ching Liu (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 11, *Later Ch'ing, 1800–1911*, Part 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, pp. 70–141.
Hu Sheng, *Imperialism and Chinese Politics*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1955.
Hunter, Alan, and Chan Kim-kwong, *Protestantism in Contemporary China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
Israel, John, *Student Nationalism in China, 1927–1937*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Lam, Wing-hung, *Chinese Theology in Construction*, Pasadena, CA: Wm Carey, 1983.
Leung Ka-lun, *Wu Yaozong: Three Studies*, Hong Kong: Research Centre on Christianity and Chinese Culture, 1996.
Li Guocheng 栗國成, "Zhongguo kang-Ri zhanzheng qian de xuesheng yundong (1931–1936)" 中國抗日戰爭前的學生運動: 1931–1936 (The Chinese student movement up to the war of resistance [1931–1936]), Ph.D. diss., Zhongguo wenhua xueyuan, Taiwan, 1974.
Li Shu, "Renmin qunzhong shi lishi de chuangzao?" 人民群眾是歷史的創造? (Are the masses the creators of history?), *Lishi yanjiu* (Historical research), 1984, no. 5; 1986, no. 3.
Liao Kuang-sheng. *Antiforeignism and Modernization in China, 1860–1980. Linkage between Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1984.
Liao Yizhong 廖一中, et al., *Yihetuan yundong shi* 義和團運動史 (A history of the Boxer movement), Beijing: People's Press, 1981.
Lin Zhiping 林治平 (ed.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo bensehua* 基督教與中國本色化 (Christianity and Chinese indigenisation), Taibei: Yuzhouguang, 1990.
Ling, Samuel D. "The Other May Fourth Movement: The Chinese 'Christian Renaissance', 1919–1937," Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1981.
Liu Xinyong, "Diyici guonei geming zhanzheng shiqi de fei Jidujiao yundong" 第一次國內革命戰爭時期的非基督教運動 (The anti-Christian movement during the first revolutionary civil war), *Shanghai qingyun shi ziliao* 上海青運史資料 (Materials on Shanghai youth movement history, 19 (1986), pp. 1–8.
Lü Shiqiang 呂實強, *Zhongguo guanshen fanjiao de yuanyin (1860–1874)* 中國官紳反教的原因: 一八六〇—一八七四 (The causes of opposition to Christianity among China's officials and gentry, 1860–1874), Taibei: Institute for Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1966.
Lu Yao 路遙, "Lun Yihetuan de yuanliu ji qita" 論義和團的源流及其他 (Discussion of the origins of the Boxers and other matters), *Shandong daxue wenke lunwen jikan* 山東大學文科論文集刊 (Collection of essays in the humanities from Shandong University), 1980.1, pp. 36–61.
Lutz, Jessie G., *The China Christian Colleges, 1850–1950*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.

Lutz, Jessie G., *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920–1928*, Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988.
Lutz, Jessie G., "The Chinese Student Movement of 1945–1949," *JAS*, 31 (1971), pp. 89–110.
Lutz, Jessie G., "December 9, 1935: Student Nationalism and China Christian Colleges", *JAS*, 26 (1967), pp. 627–648.
Malatesta, Edward J., S.J., "Two Chinese Catholic Universities and a Major Chinese Catholic Thinker: Zhendan, Furen and Ma Xiangbo", in Jeroom Heyndrickx (ed.), *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 1994, pp. 235–246.
Myers, James T., "The Catholic Church in Mainland China", in Li Qifang 李齊芳 (ed.), *Zhongguo jindai zheng jiao guanzi guoji xueshu yantao hui lunwenji* 中國近代政教關係國際學術研討會論文集 (Proceedings of the first international symposium on church and state in China) Taibei: Danjiang daxue lishi xuexi, 1987, pp. 313–332.
Pepper, Suzanne, "The Student Movement and the Chinese Civil War, 1945–1949", *China Quarterly*, 48 (1971), pp. 698–735.
Purcell, Victor, *The Boxer Uprising: A Background Study*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
Republican China, 17 (April 1992), "Christianity and Chinese Nationalism in the Early Republican Period: A Symposium," ed. by Lawrence D. Kessler.
Rigby, Richard W., *The May 30 Movement. Events and Themes*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980.
Sasaki Masaya 佐々木正哉, "Giwadan no kigen" 義和團の起源 (The origins of the Boxers), *Kindai Chūgoku* 近代中國 (Modern China) 1977, pp. 144–180 (I); 1977, pp. 113–134 (VII); 1978, pp. 133–186 (V).
Schrecker, John, *Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism: Germany in Shantung*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.
Schwartz, Benjamin I., ed., *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement. A Symposium*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.
Shanghai Branch of the Communist Youth League Youth Movement Research Group (ed.), *1945–1949 Shanghai xuesheng yundong shi* 1945–1949上海學生運動史 (A history of the Shanghai student movement, 1945–1949), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1983.
Spence, Jonathan D., *The Search for Modern China*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1990.
Steiger, George N., *China and the Occident: The Origin and Development of the Boxer Movement*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927.
Tan, Chester C., *The Boxer Catastrophe*, New York: Octagon Books, 1983 (reprint).
Tao Feiya 陶飛亞 and Liu Tianlu 劉天路, *Jidujiao hui yu jindai Shandong shehui* 基督教會與近代山東社會 (Protestantism in modern Shandong), Jinan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1994.
The Yi Ho Tuan Movement of 1900, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1976.
Tiedemann, R. G., "Christianity in a Violent Environment. The North China Plain on the Eve of the Boxer Uprising," in Jeroom Heyndrickx (ed.), *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 1994, pp. 138–144.
Waldron, Arthur, *From War to Nationalism. China's Turning Point, 1924–1925*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
Wang Chengmian, *Wen she de shengzhong* (The rise and fall of *Wen she*, Taibei: Yuzhouguang, 1993.
Wang Ermin, "Review of Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 28 (1965), pp. 184–185.
Wang Niankun 王念昆, *Wo guo xuesheng yundong shihua* 我國學生運動史話 (An informal history of our country's student movement), Hankou: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1954.

Wasserstrom, Jeffrey N., *Student Protests in Twentieth Century China. The View from Shanghai*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Wickeri, Philip L., *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front*, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1988.

Wu Mu et al., *Zhongguo qingnian yundong shi* 中國青年運動史 (A history of the Chinese youth movement), Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1984.

Yamamoto, Tatsuro & Sumiko, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China, 1922–1927," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 12 (1953), pp. 133–147.

Yang Tianhong 楊天宏, *Jidujiao yu jindai Zhongguo* 基督教與近代中國 (Christianity and modern China), Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1994. See also a more recent edition: Yang, Tianhong 楊天宏, *Jidujiao yu Minguo zhi shi fen zi: 1922 nian—1927 nian Zhongguo fei Jidujiao yundong yanjiu* 基督教與民國知識分子: 1922 年–1927 年中國非基督教運動研究 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2005).

Yeh Wen-hsin, *The Alienated Academy. Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919–1937*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Yihetuan yundong shi taolun wenji 義和團運動史討論文集 (Collected articles on the history of the Boxer Movement), Jinan: Qilu sheshe, 1982.

Yip Ka-che, *Religion, Nationalism, and Chinese Students. The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922–1927*, Bellingham, Wash.: Western Washington University Press, 1980.

Zhao Qing, "Cong fan 'Kongjiao' yundong dao 'Fei zongjiao dao tongmeng' yundong" (From the "Anti-Confucianism Movement" to the "Non-Religious League" Movement), in Zhang Kaiyuan 章開沅 & Arthur Waldron 林蔚, (eds.), *Zhong-Xi wenhua yu jiaohui daxue : shou jie Zhongguo jiaohui daxue shi xue shuyan taohui lunwenji* 中西文化與教會大學: 首屆中國教會大學史學術研討會論文集 (Christian universities and Chinese-Western cultures: selected works of the First International Symposium on the History of pre-1949 Christian Universities in China), Hubei: Huazhong Normal University, 1991, pp. pp. 61–83.

3. Republican Scene

Chinese historical context

In the late nineteenth century Christian missions had been primary targets of traditional Chinese antiforeignism, yet in many respects the foreign missionaries had also laid the foundations for the subsequent development of a national consciousness and the early revolutionary stirrings. To a significant extent it was Protestant missionary involvement in modernising projects that provided the inspiration for the partial transformation of the Manchu Qing Empire into the Chinese nation.[1] In particular, their role in the development of a modern educational system brought new ideas. Western learning and notions such as individualism, democracy and international law were introduced to a growing, younger body of scholars. In this connection, the role of Chinese-language missionary journals and newspapers should not be underestimated. Although there is little evidence to show that a national consciousness was developing within the Boxer Movement itself, it is nevertheless appropriate to regard the tragic events of 1900 as a significant catalyst for the emergence of modern nationalism in Chinese society. The rise of nationalism, usually seen as a function of modernity, probably started with the 1898 reformers, but became a recognisable force only after 1900.

The Post-Boxer Decade

In the wake of the Boxer Uprising most local communities came to terms with the Christian religion, its practices and institutions. In any case, as a result of the punitive experience following the Boxer fiasco, the Chinese generally did want any further complications. Moreover, the Western powers were no longer so keen to intervene in religious matters in China, and the missionaries themselves began to realise that indiscriminate interference in local Chinese affairs was in the end counter-productive. Besides, after 1900 the nature of Chinese society

[1] Cyriac K. Pullapilly, "Note from the General Editor", in Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*.

itself began to change, certainly at elite level, when the Chinese ruling class embarked on a programme of political reform and economic modernisation, a process in which local elites were playing an increasingly assertive role. Now the Chinese governing class was more open to Western ideas. The secular utilitarian appeal of the missionary enterprise, in particular, gave foreign clergy and local Christians the opportunity to contribute to the development of China. At the same time, with the rise of Chinese national consciousness, the indigenous forces promoting change sought both to adopt certain elements of Western culture but also exert control over its penetration.

Foreign missionaries as well as leading Chinese Christians had a role to play in this development. In the course of the late nineteenth century, many missionaries had discovered that evangelisation alone would not bring the desired results. Other means had to be employed to attract the unconverted Chinese, such as setting up dispensaries, hospitals, orphanages, and above all schools. The early establishments, for the most part village schools, were also deemed necessary to raise literacy and enable converts and inquires to read the Bible, catechism or religious tracts. When the Confucian examination system was abolished in 1905, Western learning was promoted in a rather significant fashion in China, with government approval. Now the cultural penetration of China proceeded at a quicker pace and in a rather more comprehensive way. At this crucial stage, experienced Catholic and Protestant missionaries associated with well established mission schools were able to offer vital assistance to reform-minded Chinese officials. Although their participation in the running of government schools was short-lived, missionaries continued to develop their own attractive educational facilities.[2] Western medicine, too, now proved rather more acceptable to innovative Chinese elites.

Christians, Warlords and Chinese Nationalism in the early Republic

The 1911 Revolution overthrew the alien Manchu dynasty and the imperial system. Sun Yat-sen, the 'father of the Chinese revolution'—a product of mission schools—and his revolutionary movement, were

[2] On the development of Catholic educational facilities by the Society of the Divine Word in southern Shandong, see Rivinius, *Traditionalismus und Modernisierung in China 1904–1914*.

not opposed to Christian missions. As matter of fact, in some parts of China Chinese Protestant Christians had participated in reformist and revolutionary activities.[3] Moreover, it was during the turbulent 1911 Revolution that missionaries were asked to act as mediators between opposing factions. The veteran French Jesuit missionary Léopold Gain, with many years' experience in northern Jiangsu, noted that the Catholic priests, while remaining neutral during the various local struggles in 1911–1912, had been involved in mediation amongst the various contending factions.

> In Hubei, Shaanxi, at Nanjing, in Shandong, as in Xuzhou fu, and in Anhui, jointly or in turns, imperialists [i.e., monarchists], Tartars, republicans, [and] organised gangs of brigands have come to request the missionaries to act as go-betweens, intercede on their behalf, to be arbitrators. And the missionaries never refused, never shrank from any hardship, from any danger, to stop bloodshed, to avert ruin, to calm hatreds, in a word, to play the role of peace-makers.…[4]

Benign interventions by missionaries became particularly significant during the warlord era of the early Republic. Yet much of the recent literature has focused on the anti-missionary and anti-Christian movements of that period.[5] In order to resolve this apparent contradiction, it is necessary to pay particular attention to spatial variations. A closer examination of the sustained opposition of Chinese intellectuals and students to Christianity and missionary work shows that it was primarily an urban phenomenon in Central and South China. The academic bias has obscured the rather different realities in China's countryside, where most Chinese, including Christian converts, were living.

The wave of radical nationalism and revolutionary activism in the wake of the May Fourth Incident of 1919 found particular expression in the Anti-Christian Movement (1920–1922), the Anti-Christian Campaign (1922), the Recovery of Educational Sovereignty Movement (1924–1928) and the May Thirtieth Movement (1925). Indeed, education emerged as one of the central bones of contention: who would

---

[3] See, for example, Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857–1927*.

[4] Léopold Gain, "Dans la Chine nouvelle", dated Shanghai, October 1915, p. 508.

[5] See especially Yip Ka-che, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922–1927*; Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*; Ning J. Chang, "Tensions Within the Church: British Missionaries in Wuhan, 1913–28", pp. 421–444.

have control over what was being taught, the foreign missionaries or the Chinese? Thus, anti-Christian demonstrations were becoming more common and missionaries were accused of abusing Chinese sovereignty and cultural sensibilities. We should, of course, not forget that especially the missionaries of mainline denominations continued to enjoy a privileged status in China under the so-called 'unequal treaty' system. Indeed, some radical activists claimed that missionaries were not living according to Christian principles in that they separated themselves from Chinese society at large, living in spacious, comfortable homes, often in walled compounds, etc. This is of course true for many missionaries, especially those sent by mainline denominational churches. At the same time, it has been argued that their lifestyle helped prolong their lives and thus could contribute more to the well-being of the Chinese people.

Although some of the northern cities also experienced anti-Christian protests and disruptions, compared to the provinces in central and southern China, this agitation was relatively ineffective in the North. In any case, these protest movements were essentially urban affairs promoted by a comparatively small, radicalised elite. As far as overt revolutionary activities in northern China are concerned, they were of little significance until the approach of the Northern Expedition in 1927. At this time organisers trained at the Guangzhou Peasant Training Institute in Guangzhou were appearing in the North in advance of the revolutionary armies. Even then, as has been shown elsewhere, revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements did not really flourish in North China in the 1920s.[6] In the face of frequent natural calamities, widespread banditry and destructive warlord conflict, the people were above all concerned with survival in an increasingly uncertain world. This more than anything else blunted the radical anti-Christian campaigns. On the contrary, the often chaotic conditions afforded the missionaries ample opportunities to operate as healers, providers, protectors and mediators. That is to say, the foreign evangelists had adapted well to local conditions and their presence was generally appreciated by the populace at large.

[6] See R. G. Tiedemann, "Communist Revolution and Peasant Mobilisation in the Hinterland of North China: The Early Years", pp. 132–152.

Whereas foreign missionaries lived in relative safety in North China and elsewhere, for many Chinese people the 1920s were a time of great suffering. The frequent warlord confrontations brought destruction of life and property, irregular exactions and looting. The loss of central authority aggravated collective violence and fostered the growth of more severe predatory activities. Only the mission stations remained safe havens to which rich and poor, Christians and non-Christians, flocked in times of impending danger. As one of many examples, a Steyl missionary at Yanzhou (known as Ziyang at this time), south Shandong, observed at the time of the Zhili-Fengtian war in North China: "The better families, military and merchants had brought their valuables plus women and children to the Catholic mission long ago. It was a large migration; everyone believed to be safe with us."[7] Indeed, the various military factions tended to respect the integrity of mission stations. The contending parties evidently were eager not to offend the foreign powers. Thus, many thousands sought refuge in the mission compounds in times of armed conflict. It should also be noted that rural mission stations usually were well fortified and could withstand attacks by traditional bandits (*tufei*). The mission compounds not only protected the people but also offered sustenance and medical aid to the starving and sick. Wherever warlord armies came to blows, wounded soldiers of whatever faction were treated in mission hospitals. Thus, the radical, urban-based nationalism notwithstanding, on the whole the missionaries' standing in Chinese society did not diminish. On the contrary, their role as protectors and mediators was enhanced in these times of chaos, and the mission compound quite literally became a safe haven for Christians and non-Christians alike. The missionary enterprise continued to grow, and its members expanded their roles as protectors, relief workers, educators and modernisers.[8]

On the other hand, the growth of national consciousness also affected Chinese Christians. Some of them were demanding greater involvement in and control of church affairs. While some participation of Chinese in the running of the church had been conceded by the foreign missionaries in the 1920s, many felt that not enough had been done. Especially in the area of financial control, funds continued

[7] Rudolf Pötter, Yanzhou, 24 November 1925, in *Steyler Chronik* 1925, pp. 43–45.
[8] See R. G. Tiedemann, "'They also Served!' Missionary Interventions in North China, 1900–1945", pp. 155–194.

to be controlled to a large extent by foreigners. In certain situations this is understandable, particularly in connection with constructing and running institutional facilities. The money had often come from specific churches and individual donors in the United States, with specific conditions attached to the donations. At the same time, many Chinese Christian communities were said to be too poor to ensure self-support of their local congregations. In this connection, the emergence of nationalistically-minded Chinese churches which either had no ties with the foreigners or sought to lessen these ties is interesting to note. How was it possible for these groups to establish self-supporting churches? For that matter, how did the Holiness and Pentecostal 'faith' missions manage to build Christian communities without the protection of their governments or financial support from abroad?

As concerns foreign missionary activities, a significant realignment occurred during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Especially with regard to human and material resources, the United States began to play a dominant role in both the Catholic and Protestant missionary enterprises.[9] At the same time, German missions experienced considerable hardship on account of the forced repatriations in 1919, a weak German economy in the 1920s and a German government embargo on funds for evangelisation in the 1930s.

The Nanjing Decade

Concerning Chinese attitudes towards Christianity, two contradictory trends can be perceived in the turbulent 1920s. On the one hand, revolutionary and nationalistic elements, predominantly in China's urban centres, were opposed to Christianity not only because of its real and perceived links to foreign imperialism, but also—in the eyes of some radicals—because of its backward and superstitious nature. At the same time, a resurgence of more traditional Chinese attitudes vis-à-vis foreigners can be noted in the strident nationalism of the 1920s.[10] In some ways, there was a certain affinity between the xenophobia of the traditional nineteenth century scholar class and the nationalism of

---

[9] On the Americanisation of Catholic missions, see Angelyn Dries, *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History*.

[10] Paul A. Varg, "The Missionary Response to the Nationalist Revolution", pp. 312–313.

China's new elitist intelligentsia versed in the learning of the West. On the other hand, Christianity became at least for some of China's new elites a fashionable creed that offered potential social advancement, not infrequently by means of an education at a Christian university in China or in the United States. In this connection, we should not forget that many members of the erstwhile revolutionary Guomindang, including its leader Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石, were or became Christians. Upon the completion of the Northern Expedition and the assumption of state power in 1928, the Guomindang (or Nationalist) government embarked on an ambitious and ultimately incomplete reform programme. While attitudes toward the foreign missionary enterprise were ambivalent at times, foreign as well as Chinese Christians did become involved in some of these ventures, such as the New Life Movement and rural reconstruction.[11]

Although some provinces were beyond effective central government control or were only nominally part of it, in other parts of the country the early and mid-1930s were a time of political and social stability. During Han Fuqu's 韓復榘 (1890–1938) term in office as Chairman of the Shandong Provincial Government in the early 1930s, for example, banditry, residual warlordism as well as left-wing elements of the Guomindang were largely eliminated from the province. The missionaries, who for the first time in decades were able to carry on their evangelistic, educational and charitable work in relative tranquillity, appreciated Han's forceful and effective intervention. The American Presbyterian John J. Heeren 奚爾恩 (1875–1941) considered him in many respects "by far the best governor the province had had for many years".[12] A Catholic missionary proclaimed that Shandong was "probably one of the most peaceful and best administered provinces of China".[13]

However, in other parts of the country conditions were rather more unsettled. Thus, the rising influence of the Soviet Union in Xinjiang

[11] James C. Thomson Jr., *While China Faced West*, especially chapter 3: "Christians and the Rural Crisis". See also Liu Jiafeng, *Fuyin yu li: zai Hua nongye chuanjiao zhi yanjiu*.

[12] John J. Heeren, *On the Shantung Front*, p. 176.

[13] Ildefons Heiligenstein OFM, letter from Ji'nan, in *Antoniusbote* 43.11 (November 1936), p. 346.

created many difficulties for the missionaries there in the 1930s.[14] The emerging Chinese Communist movement presented an even greater threat to Christianity, most notably with the establishment of rural soviets in provincial border regions of central China after 1927. The southern part of Jiangxi province was particularly affected, especially after the Chinese Soviet Republic was established in November 1931, with Ruijin 瑞金 as its capital. The story of John Cornelius Stam 師達能 (1907–1934) and his wife Elizabeth Alden Scott 史文明 (1906–1934), murdered by Communist soldiers in north-eastern Jiangxi, is well known. However, conditions were by no means easier in parts of Hubei province were several Chinese Christians and foreign missionaries were killed, died in captivity or from the ordeal after their release. Thus, the Franciscan lay brother Luca Santini 向路嘉 (1878–1931) died while the convent of Chayuangou 茶園溝 (also called Mopanshan 磨盤山)[15] was in the hands of Communist revolutionaries. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part II, 4.5. Christianity and the Communist Revolution)*

After the Communists were defeated by Chinese government forces in Jiangxi and elsewhere in central China, missionaries and Chinese Christians were placed in danger along the route of the Communists' Long March (or rather, long marches) of 1934–1935. In this connection, the China Inland Missionary Rudolf Alfred Bosshardt's 薄巳 (1897–1993) ordeal during the 560 days in the hands of General Xiao Ke's 蕭克 (1907–2008) Sixth Army Group in Guizhou at the time of the Long March is one prominent example of the difficulties foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians were experiencing in some part of the country. In particular, the protracted negotiations concerning the exorbitant ransom demanded by the Communist captors betray a certain affinity with 'soldier banditry'. In any case, Bosshardt was rather more fortunate than other missionaries and some Chinese Christians who were simply executed by the revolutionaries.[16] After the Communist Long March established themselves at Yan'an in northern

[14] Missionary activities had been difficult even before the rise of Soviet influence in Xinjiang. See Gorissen, "The Most Unfruitful Mission in the World: CICM Fathers Frans and Jozef Hoogers in Xinjiang, 1895–1922".

[15] For a history of this Catholic community, see Kang Zhijie, *Shang Zhu de putaoyuan: E Xibei Mopanshan Tianzhujiao shequ yanjiu, 1634–2005*.

[16] For the Bosshardt story, see Jean Watson, *Bosshardt: A Biography*.

Shaanxi province in autumn of 1935, missionary activities became all but impossible in that part of China.

Missionaries and Christians during the War of Resistance

With the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War (1937–45) the foreign missionaries once again had the opportunity to meet the needs of the suffering Chinese people.[17] During the destructive Japanese assaults at the beginning of the war, they were able to resume their by now customary role in times of conflict, offering shelter, food and medical aid, as well as spiritual relief amidst indiscriminate bombing, raping and killing. The work of the International Committee of the Nanking Safety Zone is well known, especially the role played by missionaries such as Wilhelmina (Minnie) Vautrin in creating a neutral area inside Nanjing where foreigners and Chinese civilians would be safe from the cruel excesses of the advancing Japanese. Here the foreigners were prepared to risk their lives to rescue tens of thousands of Chinese refugees.[18] Another protective zone was established in Shanghai, on the initiative of the Jesuit priest Robert Jacquinot de Besange (1878–1946). In the so-called 'Jacquinot Safe Zone' "No distinction of any kind is made when sheltering refugees; the doors of the missions are opened to all who knock at them.… Straw on which to lie down to sleep, and rice and millet for hungry stomachs has so far never been lacking.…"[19] In addition to these prominent missionary interventions, similar action, albeit on a smaller scale, was also taken by missionaries in many less conspicuous locations in China's hinterland.

Elsewhere, mission stations lying in the path of the invading Japanese or in places subjected to aerial bombing became once more safe havens for thousands of Christian and non-Christian refugees. For the most part the Japanese military tended to respect those missionary

---

[17] For discussion of missionary accommodation to the wartime situation, see R. G. Tiedemann, "'They also Served!' Missionary Interventions in North China, 1900–1945".

[18] Amongst the many recent publications on the Nanjing Massacre, note for instance Hua-ling Hu, *American Goddess at the Rape of Nanking: The Courage of Minnie Vautrin*. See also Zhang Kaiyuan (ed.), *Eyewitnesses to Massacre*.

[19] For further information on the Shanghai protective area, see the Fides report in *Chinese Recorder* 69,7–8 (July–August 1938), p. 393. See also "La Zone Jacquinot" in *Relations de Chine* 13 (1937/38), pp. 336–342; Ristaino, *The Jacquinot Safe Zone: Wartime Refugees in Shanghai*.

installations identified by foreign flags. In spite of the great dangers, many missionaries decided that 'fair weather Christianity' was not for them. On the contrary, rather than deserting their flocks, it was an opportunity to show the reality of their faith and sincerity of their love for the people who were suffering all around them. After the initial assault of the Japanese invasion had passed, the rural districts behind enemy lines were once more plunged into chaos by various contending military forces, the resurgence of banditry and the recrudescence of semi-religious self-defence forces. In this conflict-ridden and difficult environment the missionaries once again had to use their skills and experience to provide relief to the best of their abilities. But the confusing state of affairs made effective intervention increasingly difficult. Especially in contested areas, the missionaries had to deal with unpredictable Nationalist and Communist guerrilla forces as well as sporadic Japanese incursions.

Following the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941, missionary work became generally more difficult. For one thing, the Japanese proceeded to intern enemy nationals, including missionaries. Since the majority of the Protestant missionaries in the occupied territories were either American or British, Protestant benevolent interventions had virtually ceased by early 1942. On the other hand, Austrian, French, German and Italian nationals, because they were regarded as allies of Japan, were not subject to the same severe restrictions that had increasingly hampered the work of British and American missionaries prior to their internment.[20] However, this placed the remaining Catholic missionaries in an awkward position, for the various Chinese guerrilla forces regarded especially the Germans with suspicion. Indeed, several priests were held captive and some were killed by irregulars. A number of rural mission stations were destroyed, forcing the priests to retreat to the Japanese-controlled urban centres. Thus it became increasingly difficult to maintain essential mission work in the country-side. In the meantime, Chinese Christians in the occupied areas had to make choices as to whether to work with the Japanese-sponsored puppet regimes.[21] Paradoxically, Japanese intervention

[20] Since the Vichy regime was recognised by Japan, French missionaries were able to operate in occupied China throughout the conflict, insofar as war-time conditions permitted.

[21] Ying Fuk-tsang 刑福增, "Wang Mingdao yu Huabei Zhonghua Jidujiao tuan".

forced Chinese Christians into independence from the Western missionary enterprise.[22]

In the end it was the growing strength of the Chinese Communists that determined the fate of the missionary enterprise. Until 1941, while the Second United Front with the Guomindang was still in effect and the Communist guerrillas were in the process of constructing their base areas in the remoter parts of North China, they did not greatly hamper the work of the Church. However, this began to change as the war progressed. The Communists' ultimate goal was, of course, national reintegration and the assumption of state power. To this end, their continuing grass-roots united front policy notwithstanding, they adopted a 'unity-and-struggle' approach in the relative security of their base areas, consisting of a three-pronged programme: (1) creation of new rural mass movements; (2) weakening the power of the traditional rural elite; and (3) elimination of Chinese regional competitors. The task was facilitated by the fact that the CCP had been able to establish a common Party organisation throughout northern China and could mobilise considerable coercive power in the form of the Eighth Route Army (assisted by usually well disciplined locally organised guerrilla units). Furthermore, the Party had developed an overall policy that was implemented with patience and flexibility.

Since Roman Catholic missionaries, in particular, had been able to insert themselves successfully in the countryside as conservative power holders and mediators in local affairs, with their own comprehensive ideology and mass organisations, they proved to be serious competitors of the expanding Communist movement. It is, therefore, not surprising that they, too, came to be exposed to the same processes designed to undermine the hitherto powerful position of traditional rural power holders. The treatment of the Belgian-born priest Vincent Lebbe offers a striking example of how the revolutionaries dealt with such competitors. After the Anti-Japanese War had started, he became a passionate promoter of Chinese patriotism.[23] In spite of—or perhaps because of—the fact that Lebbe had been totally committed to assisting the Chinese people in their desperate struggle against the foreign invader,

---

[22] Timothy Brook, "Toward Independence: Christianity in China Under the Japanese Occupation, 1937–1945", in Bays, *Christianity in China*", pp. 317–337.

[23] For further details, see Jacques Leclercq, *Vie du Père Lebbe. Le Tonnerre qui chante au loin*, Tournai: Casterman, 1961, especially Chapter 11. At the time of Lebbe's death, his stretcher bearers had saved the lives of some 20,000 soldiers. Ibid., p. 322.

the Communist felt it necessary to remove him from their area of operations. Several factors help explain this development. First of all, unlike many other missionaries who assumed a more neutral stance during the war, Lebbe was an activist collaborator in (Guomindang) China. Moreover, it became clear that the significant ideological differences between the Catholic Church and the Chinese Communist movement would never be resolved. Thus, the pragmatic co-existence during the early years of the war could not hide the fact that the Catholic Church and the Chinese Communists remained mortal enemies. This was becoming increasingly clear by the early 1940s with the more frequent confiscations of mission resources and the occupation of rural mission stations by the expanding Communist movement. By the end of the war virtually all foreign priests had abandoned the countryside for the safety of the Japanese-occupied towns and cities. The stage had been set for the catastrophic assault on the foreign missionary enterprise during the Civil War period. At the same time, the internment of many foreigners, the shortage of foreign funds, and the general hardships of war experienced by the remaining missionaries made it increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for them to play their traditional role of providers and protectors in occupied China. Here it should, however, be noted that China consisted of three distinct entities during the war years: Guomindang ('Free China') China, with its capital at Chongqing; Japanese-controlled (occupied) China, including Manchuria and the Guomindang 'puppet government' at Nanjing; and the Chinese Communist border regions, base areas and guerrilla zones, with Yan'an serving as the wartime capital. Foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians, therefore, experienced war-time conditions differentially, depending on where they were in time and space.

After the Pacific War, missionaries returned once more to China, confident that a new age had begun. Note, for instance, the troop carrier *Marine Lynx* made three voyages taking hundreds of American Protestant missionaries from San Francisco to China in late 1946 and early 1947. Yet the euphoria was short-lived. The radical forces of Chinese revolutionary nationalism had succeeded in establishing themselves as a powerful and ultimately dominant factor in the villages during the Anti-Japanese War and the Civil War of 1946–1949. In other words, in the 1940s, precisely at the moment when the missionary enterprise had achieved its greatest prestige and influence, it was confronted by new and rather more serious challenges. By 1949 it was becoming clear that the missionary era, with all its complexi-

ties, contradictions and variations, had ended rather abruptly.[24] For China's Christians a new era would begin.

Territorial settings and Catholic jurisdictions

The establishment of the Republic of China in 1912 was accompanied by a significant reorganisation of the administrative arrangements. The position of circuit intendant (daotai 道臺) was abolished, along with the Qing prefectures (*fu* 府), independent departments (*zhili zhou* 直隸州) and independent subprefectures (*zhili ting* 直隸廳). The administrative units of departments (*zhou* 州) and subprefectures (*ting* 廳) were changed into counties[25] (*xian* 縣). As a consequence, many towns and cities now became known by their 'county' name. Thus, the Shandong city formerly called Dengzhou 登州, for example, became Penglai 蓬萊 after 1912. However, such official name changes were not always adhered to in practice, especially in the case of large cities (for the late Qing arrangements, see *Handbook II, Part I, 3.5. Territorial settings and Catholic jurisdictions*).

In consequence of the further divisions of Catholic jurisdictions in China, the First *Plenary* Council of Shanghai in 1924 resolved the rename the vicariates and prefectures apostolic. Instead Chinese provinces or parts of provinces, it was decided to name them after the episcopal seats. To this end the defunct Qing administrative nomenclature was used instead of the then current place names. Since these jurisdiction were no longer identical with existing Chinese civil administrative entities, the traditional transcription of place names has been employed in this *Handbook* (for a list of the post-1924 prefectures 監牧區 and vicariates 代牧區, see *Handbook II, Appendix, Roman Catholic Jurisdictions 1924–1946*; for a list of jurisdictions after the erection of a Chinese hierarchy in 1946, see *Handbook II, Appendix, Heads of Catholics Jurisdictions—1949/50*).

The demise of the Manchu Qing Empire altered the political landscape at the upper administrative level as well. In opposition to irre-

---

[24] On the British dimension, see Ling, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945–1952*. On the end of the missionary era, see also the collection of articles edited by Lutz, *Christian Missions in China: Evangelists of What?*; Hood, *Neither Bang nor Whimper: The End of a Missionary Era in China*.

[25] Whereas it has been customary to translate *xian* as 'district' with respect to the Qing period, the term 'county' has been preferred for the period after 1912.

dentist claims of Chinese nationalist of whatever political persuasion, Outer Mongolia declared its independence in 1912 and Tibet had for all intents and purposes become an independent state by that time. In 1928 the Guomindang government created several new provinces as part of the transition from Manchu Empire to Chinese nation state. Some of these had had existed as 'special administrative regions' 特別行政區 since 1914: (1) Rehe [Jehol] 熱河 (capital: Chengde 承德); (2) Chahaer 察哈爾, formed from parts of Hebei and Inner Mongolia (capital: Zhangjiakou 張家口 [Kalgan]); (3) Suiyuan 綏遠 (capital: Guisui 歸綏; now called Hohhot); (4) Ningxia 寧夏 was detached from Gansu and Inner Mongolia (capital: Yinchuan 銀川). The province of Qinghai 青海 was formed in 1928 from the territory called Kokonor (Chinese: Qinghai) and a part of Gansu (capital: Xining 西寧). Although it had existed on paper as a special administrative district since 1907, Xikang 西康 was officially proclaimed as a province of China in 1939, formed mainly of the eastern part of Tibet and western Sichuan (capital: Kangding 康定). Also in 1928 the province of Zhili 直隸, now much reduced in size, was renamed Hebei 河北. Although the new provinces were intended to be administrative units of the Republic of China, for much of the time they were actually under the control of warlords.

Further changes occurred as a result of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria following the Mukden Incident 九一八事變 in 1931, leading to the 'puppet state' of Manchukuo 滿洲國 a year later. In 1933 the Japanese invaded the province of Rehe and subsequently annexed it to Manchukuo. In this connection it should be noted that some works relating to Christianity in China exclude Manchuria. The Japanese expansionist drive continued with the creation in 1936 of what would become the Mengjiang United Autonomous Government 蒙疆聯合自治政府 (capital: Kalgan [Zhangjiakou]) as a puppet state from the provinces of Chahaer and Suiyuan.

Bibliography

Chang, Ning J., "Tensions Within the Church: British Missionaries in Wuhan, 1913–28", *Modern Asian Studies* 33.2 (April 1999), pp. 421–444.

Dries, Angelyn, *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1998.

Dunch, Ryan, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857–1927*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Gain, Léopold, "Dans la Chine nouvelle", dated Shanghai, October 1915, in *Études* 146 (20 February 1916).
Gorissen, Bert, "The Most Unfruitful Mission in the World: CICM Fathers Frans and Jozef Hoogers in Xinjiang, 1895–1922", in W. F. Vande Walle and N. Golvers, eds., *The History of the Relations between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644–1911)*, Leuven University Press, 2003, pp. 325–342.
Heeren, John J., *On the Shantung Front: A History of the Presbyterian Church of America, 1861–1940, in Its Historical, Economic, and Political Setting*, New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1940.
Hood, George A., *Neither Bang nor Whimper: The End of a Missionary Era in China*, Singapore: The Presbyterian Church in Singapore, 1991.
Hu, Hua-ling, *American Goddess at the Rape of Nanking: The Courage of Minnie Vautrin*, Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000.
Kang Zhijie 康志傑, *Shang Zhu de putaoyuan: E Xibei Mopanshan Tianzhujiao shequ yanjiu, 1634–2005* 上主的葡萄園：鄂西北磨盤山天主教社區研究 (The Lord's Vineyard: A Study of the Mopanshan Catholic community in northwest Hubei), Xinzhuang, Taibei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2006.
Leclercq, Jacques, *Vie du Père Lebbe. Le Tonnerre qui chante au loin*, Tournai: Casterman, 1961.
Ling, Oi Ki, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945–1952*, Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999.
Liu Jiafeng 劉家峰, *Fuyin yu li: zai Hua nongye chuanjiao zhi yanjiu* 福音與犁：在華農業傳教之研究 (Gospel and plough: a study of agricultural evangelism in China), Taibei: Jidujiao yu zhouguang quanren guanhai jigou, 2006.
Lutz, Jessie G., *Christian Missions in China: Evangelists of What?*, Boston: Heath, 1965.
Lutz, Jessie G., *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions. The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920–28*, Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross-Cultural Publications, 1988.
Pullapilly, Cyriac K., "Note from the General Editor", in: Jessie G. Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions. The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920–28*, Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross-Cultural Publications, 1988, n.p.
Ristaino, Marcia R., *The Jacquinot Safe Zone: Wartime Refugees in Shanghai*, Stanford: Stanford Univesity Press, 2008.
Rivinius, Karl Josef, *Traditionalismus und Modernisierung in China 1904–1914*, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994.
Thomson Jr., James C., *While China faced West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928–1937*, Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969.
Tiedemann, R. G., "Communist Revolution and Peasant Mobilisation in the Hinterland of North China: The Early Years", in: Henry Bernstein and Tom Brass (eds.), *Agrarian Questions: Essays in Appreciation of T. J. Byres* (Special Issue of The Journal of Peasant Studies 24.1–2) (London: Frank Cass, 1996), pp. 132–152.
Tiedemann, R. G., "'They also Served!' Missionary Interventions in North China, 1900–1945", in: Tao Feiya 陶飛亞 and Philip Yuen-Sang Leung 梁元生 (eds.), *Dong-Ya Jidujiao zaiquanyi* 東亞基督教再詮譯 (Reinterpreting the East Asian Christianity), (Studies in Religion and Chinese Society, 9.) Hongkong: Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2004), pp. 155–194.
Varg, Paul A., "The Missionary Response to the Nationalist Revolution", in John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974.
Watson, Jean, *Bosshardt: A Biography*, Crowborough: OMF International and Monarch Publications, 1995.

Xu, Xiaoqun, "The Dilemma of Accommodation: Reconciling Christianity and Chinese Culture in the 1920s", *The Historian* 60.1 (published online 9 Oct 2007), pp. 21–38.

Ying Fuk-tsang 刑福增, "Wang Mingdao yu Huabei Zhonghua Jidujiao tuan: lunxianqu jiaohui renshi dikang yu hezuo de ge an yanjiu" 王明道與華北中華基督教教團：淪陷區教會人士抵抗與合作的個案研究 (Wang Mingdao and the North China Christian Union: Chinese Christians' Resistance and Collaboration with Japan in Occupied Areas), *Jiandao xuekan* 建道學刊 No. 17 (January 2002), pp. 1–56.

Yip Ka-che, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922–1927*, Bellingham, WA: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1980.

Zhang Kaiyuan (ed.), *Eyewitnesses to Massacre: American Missionaries Bear Witness to Japanese Atrocities in Nanjing*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

4. Themes

4.1. New Protestant Theological Issues, 1900–1949

Daniel H. Bays

The currents of change besetting the Protestant movement in China between 1900 and 1949 were produced by factors both internal and external, and both religious and non-religious.

Missions Structures, Ideology, and Theological Splits

The Protestant community in China, still led by foreign missionaries but with increasing numbers of Chinese Christians playing leading roles as well (*cross-reference: Handbook II, Part II, 2.6.2. Leading Protestant individuals*), was characterised by a large degree of unity and co-operation until the second decade of the twentieth century. Despite differences in nuances and even outright disagreements over issues such as the role of schools or social services versus evangelisation, the essential unity of the missionary "force" was clearly shown in the nation-wide Shanghai conferences of 1877, 1890, and 1907, which no mission body in China failed to attend. Common efforts at institution-building in the areas of education, medicine, publishing, and journalism also united the Protestant community before about 1920. A traditional evangelical theology inherited from the nineteenth century provided further common ground, as shown for example in the role of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM) co-ordinated by John R. Mott and so influential from the 1890s to the 1920s.[1] The National Christian Conference of 1922 was the last major Protestant forum at which almost all missions and even some new independent Chinese churches were represented.[2]

Meanwhile, change was afoot. From the 1890s on were increasingly visible the factors that would splinter the Protestant world by the 1920s. One major change was the large number of new missions after 1900. Unlike the old denominational missions, which were part of

[1] On the SVM in China see Clifton J. Phillips, "The Student Volunteer Movement".
[2] See James A. Patterson, "The Loss of a Protestant Missionary Consensus"; and William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World*, ch. 4.

large established church structures, many of the new ones were small, interdenominational, and often radically different from the established mission orthodoxy. Most were "faith missions", sending out unordained lay people, often the products of Bible schools like Moody Bible Institute in Chicago instead of colleges, who came to China without regular budgets to support them. Some of these were from relatively new, zealous sects at the fringe of the traditional evangelical consensus—Holiness people, Pentecostals, and Seventh Day Adventists, for example; and most were acute millenarians, expecting the imminent Second Coming of Christ.[3]

These social and structural changes, added to the long-smouldering and growing divisions between, on the one hand, Biblical modernists trained in higher criticism of Scripture who downplayed the supernatural aspects of the faith and, on the other, adherents of traditional evangelical revivalism, brought the post-World War I "fundamentalist-modernist" controversy to China. It split the entire Protestant community, missionaries and Chinese Christians alike, with the result that by the late 1920s, conservative groups like the China Inland Mission and several others refused to co-operate with the new ecumenical National Christian Council which was a product of the 1922 National Christian Conference. Chinese fundamentalists like Wang Mingdao 王明道 (1900–1991) and Song Shangjie 宋尙節 (John Sung; 1901–1944) denounced many of the old denominational mission leaders and the Chinese Christians who worked with them as having sold out the Gospel to modernism. The Bible Union of China, formed in the 1920s, became another bastion of conservative beliefs.[4] Those theological splits in the Protestant body have been long-lasting, and have also played a major role in divisions among Protestants since 1949 in the People's Republic.

---

[3] On faith missions see Dana Robert, "The Crisis of Missions"; for the arrival of some of these new groups on the China missions scene, see Bays, "Christian Revival in China", pp. 168–169.

[4] Some of the opening salvoes in the fundamentalist-modernist controversy were fired on the China mission field as early as 1920, especially among Presbyterians; in many ways the dynamics of the controversy in North America derived substantially from divergent views of policies and activities in foreign missions, particularly in China. For a concise summary of the controversy relating to China, see Brown, *Earthen Vessels and Transcendent Power*, pp. 207–211. For conservative attacks on the "liberal" views of John Leighton Stuart, see Shaw Yu-ming, *An American Missionary in China*, pp. 71–87. For a general account, see Yao, *The Fundamentalist Movement among Protestant Missionaries in China*.

Another growing line of theological fissure among Protestants was ecclesiastical. As early as 1910, Cheng Jingyi 誠靜怡 (1881–1939) had publicly decried Western-imposed denominationalism at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference.[5] One of the products of the ecumenical trends of the 1920s, that is of the National Christian Conference of 1922 and the National Christian Council (*Zhonghua Jidujiao xiejin hui* 中華基督教協進會, was a united church or union church structure. The Church of Christ in China (CCC; *Zhonghua Jidujiao hui* 中華基督教會), was formed in 1927. By the late 1940s it included about one quarter of all Protestants, almost entirely from the old mainline denominations such as most of the Presbyterians, Methodists, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and the London Missionary Society.[6] But many missions, conscious of their own independence and unique denominational traditions, or suspicious of the liberal theology of the CCC, as well as many fully independent Chinese such as the True Jesus Church and the Little Flock, remained aloof from it. Indeed, certain mainline denominations established their own China-wide church organisations. Thus, the Anglican/Episcopalian missions formed the *Zhonghua Shenggong hui* 中華聖公會, the Chinese national church of the Anglican Communion, in April 1912. The various Lutheran missions, for their part, organised the Lutheran Church of China 中華信義會 in 1917. The CCC did, however, represent a desire of many Chinese Christians to erase the lines of denominationalism, and in that sense was a precursor to the vigorous measures taken to abolish denominations in the 1950s under the Three-Self Patriotic Movement.

Social Change and Protestants

Socio-economic changes, especially in coastal and riverine cities which had been the sites of most Protestant mission institution-building after 1880, had a visible effect on the profile of Chinese Protestants in the early twentieth century. In particular, the mission educational system was turning out numbers of young people trained not just to serve mission institutions (for example, in preaching, schools, medicine, and

[5] For extensive quotation from this famous speech by Cheng, see Charles Boynton's obituary, "Dr. Cheng Ching-Yi."

[6] A straightforward basic descriptive history is Merwin, *Adventure in Unity*.

publishing or translation), but who had skills to achieve occupational and social mobility in the wider society. From 1900 to 1920, a significant number of Protestant school graduates, many of them still practising Christians, made their way forward as businessmen or professionals in port cities, as teachers in government schools, or as employees in government agencies such as the customs and the post office.

A concrete example of this trend is in the contribution to modern education and economic progress in Shandong made by the graduates of American Presbyterian Calvin Mateer's Christian college in Dengzhou from about 1890 to 1910. The young men who graduated and entered the private sector of business and the professions in cities such as Qingdao and Ji'nan provided the economic resources and lay leadership for increasingly self-confident and autonomous Protestant congregations after 1910. Several of these congregations achieved total independence from foreign missions.[7] Other congregations in Shanghai and environs followed the lead of Presbyterian Pastor Yu Guozhen 俞國楨 (1852–1932) in helping to form a federation of independent churches. In Fuzhou (Fujian province), as well, the first two decades of the twentieth century saw a remarkably high number of talented young Christians take leading roles in the reform societies and politics of the city and the province.[8] More broadly, Christians were among the members of the provincial assembly in several provinces in the early years of the Republic after 1912. Yet another example of this upward mobility lay in the career of Chen Chonggui 陳崇桂 (Marcus Ch'eng, 1884–1963), who rose from the poorest ranks of society through the mission educational system to make a career first as the leading Chinese figure in the Swedish Covenant Mission and later as an independent evangelist, Christian journalist, and seminary head.[9]

This socio-economic change in Christian congregations and especially the growth of Protestant Chinese leadership enabled the emergence of the "Sino-Foreign Protestant Establishment", with its partnership between foreign missions and talented Chinese in the churches, colleges and seminaries, and in Christian institutions such as the YMCA/YWCA. It also made possible the growth of entirely independent Chinese churches and congregations from the 1910s onwards, a wholly

[7] See Bays, "A Chinese Christian 'Public Sphere'?"
[8] Ryan F. Dunch, "Piety, Patriotism, Progress", especially chs. 3–4.
[9] For a basic biography, see Chen Renbing, "Chen Chonggui mushi xiaozhuan".

new phenomenon which created an entirely separate and diverse sector of Chinese Protestantism by 1950, one which probably included as many as a quarter of all Protestants.[10]

The expanding roles for women in the twentieth century also can be traced partly to the Protestant community creating change in the educational opportunities and social roles for women. Women's education, and their increasing autonomy in evangelistic activities in the church and in the YMCA, are dealt with in discussion of several prominent women in section 8.2.2. In addition, it seems that another group of graduates of Christian women's schools or colleges, while they did not enter "Christian" careers, were profoundly affected by the sense of community they found in these schools and were imbued with the determination both to become self-reliant, independent individuals and to take up careers of service to society and the nation. A large number of them never married, an apparent strategy for maintaining that independence.[11]

The Crises of Chinese Protestantism, 1925–1937

During the decade from the mid-1920s to the mid-1930s, the tone and dynamics of Chinese Protestantism changed considerably. The cumulative effect of a series of crises crippled the old foreign missions sector of the Sino-Foreign Protestant Establishment, whereas the new independent sector of entirely Chinese groups gained momentum.

The first crisis to hit was the advent of an aggressive modern mass nationalism which made its appearance in most urban areas as part of the May Fourth era, and grew rapidly in the early 1920s. This strongly anti-foreign movement targeted foreign missions and Christianity as part of the imperialist presence in China that must be demolished. Both of the powerful new political parties that dominated the politics and nationalist discourse of the 1920s, the Guomindang and the Communist Party, reviled foreign missions as cultural imperialism and denounced Christianity itself as both Western and superstitious. This

---

[10] See the discussion of the True Jesus Church, the Little Flock, and the Jesus Family in Part II, 2.6.2, and also in Bays, "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China".

[11] See the essays by Heidi A. Ross, "Cradle of Female Talent"; Judith Liu and Donald P. Kelly, "An Oasis in a Heathen Land"; and Emily Honig, "Christianity, Feminism, and Communism."

powerful force of popular nationalism, especially after it reached fever pitch with the May 30th Movement of 1925, resulted in a sharp anti-mission edge to the "Northern Expedition" of the Canton government in late 1926 and early 1927.[12] During the march north by joint Guomindang and Communist forces, foreign missions were harassed and a few foreigners were killed. The overwhelming majority of the more than 8,000 foreign missionaries, reminded of the Boxer Uprising of 1900, fled to the large port cities or left China, and about 2,000 of them never returned when most missionaries resumed their posts in 1928.

This blow to the prestige and influence of Protestant missions and Christianity itself was somewhat ameliorated by the conservative turn which the Guomindang took, its purge of the Communists, and its partial reconciliation with the foreign presence in China from the late 1920s on. And of course Chiang Kai-shek himself was baptised as a Christian. However, in the early 1930s foreign missions were hit by another sort of blow; their finances were devastated by the impact of the Great Depression on sources of funding. As revenue plummeted, many mission boards cut back, some drastically, on personnel sent to China and on support for institutions like schools and hospitals.[13]

To the blows of Chinese nationalism and shrinking resources was added a third with the appearance in the United States in 1932 of the Laymen's Inquiry of Foreign Missions report, *Re-Thinking Missions*. Its frank questioning of the traditional rationale of missions—the distinctiveness of Christianity—was highly controversial, as was its criticism of much past mission practice, including religious evangelism and a stress on conversion. The report had the effect for some liberal missionaries of confirming their disillusionment with traditional religious missionary activity and reducing or eliminating their activism.[14]

---

[12] There is a considerable literature on this. See in particular Jessie G. Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*, and Yip, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students*.

[13] There is a concise summary of the drastic reductions in mainline denominational mission personnel in the 1930s in Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries*, pp. 205–206. For an example of how this reduction hit the YMCA, see Grace Service, *Golden Inches*; her husband Robert was a long-time YMCA secretary in Sichuan province who had to retire early in the 1930s. While denominational missions suffered, some fundamentalist missions, for example the China Inland Mission, actually grew during these years; see Joel A. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, pp. 28–31, 81–84.

[14] William E. Hocking, *Re-Thinking Missions*; see the discussion by Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries*, ch. 6.

As the joint Sino-foreign Protestant endeavour slowed in the decade after 1925, the fully independent Chinese Christian groups mentioned previously accelerated in growth: the True Jesus Church, Watchman Nee's Little Flock, and others. This independent sector came into its own in the late 1920s and 1930s, though it was still a minority of the overall Protestant community.

Thus by the late 1930s theological, ecclesiastical, and Chinese-foreign tensions overlay the basic trend of devolution of missions to the Chinese church.

The Trauma of War and Civil War, 1937–1949

The problems of Christianity were aggravated by China's national political situation in the 1930s. The Guomindang government of Chiang Kai-shek had effective control over only part of the country, and civil war with the Communists resumed in these years. But most destabilising was Japanese aggression, which began in Manchuria in 1931 and culminated in all-out war and full-scale Japanese invasion in mid-1937. Now foreign missions and Chinese Christians, along with all Chinese, were swept up in the maelstrom of a devastating war.

From mid-1937 until early 1942 Japan could harass but not expel the thousands of foreign missionaries in China, most of whom stayed at their posts. But in early 1942, after formal war with Japan began, all the missionaries from Allied countries who could not escape were interned, most for the duration of the war. The role of the churches and Christianity during the eight years of war is understudied, and needs more systematic attention from scholars.[15] The key feature of these years is clear, however: the absence of foreign missions over large parts of the country from 1942 to 1946, and the resulting necessity for Chinese Christians to take an unprecedented degree of responsibility for all aspects of the Protestant movement.

An exhausted China welcomed the victorious end of the war with Japan in 1945. But in 1946, just as foreign missionaries were returning to China in significant numbers, civil war broke out once again between Nationalists and Communists. Despite the chaos of civil strife, the late 1940s were dynamic years for the Protestant movement. There was

[15] For pioneering work on this time period see Timothy Brook, "Toward Independence"; and Zha Shijie, "Kangzhan shiqi".

even hope on the part of some that national unification and peace after the Communist victory in the civil war in 1949 would facilitate the growth of Christianity. This was not to be, as Protestantism entered into a whole new era. But the Protestant movement, shaped by the forces outlined in this section, was far different than it had been a half-century earlier.

Bibliography

(Note: many of the sources listed for section *2.6.2. Chinese Christians: Leading Protestant individuals*, in Part II of this Handbook, while not listed below, are nevertheless directly relevant to the issues discussed here.)

Bays, Daniel H., "A Chinese Christian 'Public Sphere': Socioeconomic Mobility and the Formation of Urban Middle Class Protestant Communities in the Early Twentieth Century," in Kenneth G. Lieberthal, Shuen-fu Lin, and Ernest P. Young, (eds.), *Constructing China: The Interaction of Culture and Economics*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1997, pp. 101–117.

Bays, Daniel H., "Christian Revival in China, 1900–1937," in Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall Balmer (eds.), *Modern Christian Revivals*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993, pp. 161–179.

Bays, Daniel H. (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Bays, Daniel H., "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937," in Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*, pp. 307–316.

Boynton, Charles, "Dr. Cheng Ching-Yi," *CR* 70 (1939), pp. 689–698.

Brook, Timothy, "Toward Independence: Christianity in China Under the Japanese Occupation, 1937–1945," in Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*, pp. 317–337.

Brown, G. Thompson, *Earthen Vessels and Transcendent Power: American Presbyterians in China, 1837–1952*, Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1997.

Bundy, David, *Visions of Apostolic Mission: Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission to 1935*, (Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica Upsaliensia), Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensia, distributed by Uppsala University Library, 2009.

Carpenter, Joel A., *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Chen Renbing 陳仁炳, with Chen Meida 陳美大, "Chen Chonggui mushi xiaozhuan" 陳崇桂牧師小傳 (A short biography of Rev. Chen Chonggui), in China Christian Three-Self Committee (ed.), *Huainian Chen Chonggui mushi* 懷念陳崇桂牧師 (Commemorating Rev. Chen Chonggui), Shanghai: China Christian Three-Self Committee, 1991, pp. 68–102.

Dunch, Ryan Fisk, "Piety, Patriotism, Progress: Chinese Protestants in Fuzhou Society and the Making of a Modern China, 1857–1927," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1996. Published as: Dunch, Ryan, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857–1927*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Hocking, William Ernest, *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry After One Hundred Years*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932.

Honig, Emily, "Christianity, Feminism, and Communism: The Life and Times of Deng Yuzhi," in Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*, pp. 243–262.

Hutchison, William R., *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Kessler, Lawrence D., *The Jiangyin Mission Station: An American Missionary Community in China, 1895–1951*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907–1932*, University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.
Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire: The Shaping of Popular Chinese Christianity in the Twentieth Century*, Yale University Press, forthcoming.
Liu, Judith, and Kelly, Donald P., "'An Oasis in a Heathen Land': St. Hilda's School for Girls, Wuchang, 1928–1936," in Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*, pp. 228–242.
Lutz, Jessie Gregory, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920–28*, Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988.
Merwin, Wallace C., *Adventure in Unity: The Church of Christ in China*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1974.
Olsen, Rolv, *"Prevailing Winds": An Analysis of the Liturgical Inculturation Efforts of Karl Ludvig Reichelt*, (Studia Missionalia Svecana CIV), Lund: Centre for Theology and Religious Studies, Lund University, 2007.
Patterson, James Alan, "The Loss of a Protestant Missionary Consensus: Foreign Missions and the Fundamentalist-Modernist Conflict," in Joel A. Carpenter and Wilbert Shenk (eds.), *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880–1980*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1990, pp. 73–91.
Phillips, Clifton J., "The Student Volunteer Movement and its Role in American China Missions, 1886–1920," in John King Fairbank (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974, pp. 91–109.
Rabe, Valentin H., *The Home Base of American China Missions, 1880–1920*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Council on East Asian Studies, 1978.
Robert, Dana L. "'The Crisis of Missions': Premillennial Mission Theory and the Origins of Independent Evangelical Missions," in Joel A. Carpenter and Wilbert Shenk (eds.), *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880–1980*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1990.
Ross, Heidi A., "'Cradle of Female Talent': The McTyeire Home and School for Girls, 1892–1937," in Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*, pp. 209–227.
Service, Grace (ed. by John S. Service), *Golden Inches: The China Memoir of Grace Service*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
Shaw, Yu-ming, *An American Missionary in China: John Leighton Stuart and Chinese-American Relations*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Council on East Asian Studies, 1992.
Yao, Kevin Xiyi, *The Fundamentalist Movement among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920–1937*, Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2003.
Yip, Ka-che, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922–1927*, Bellingham, Wash.: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1980.
Zha Shijie 查時傑, "Kangzhan shiqi de Jidu jiaohui (1937–1945)" 抗戰時期的基督教 (The Christian churches during the war of resistance, 1937–1945), in Zha Shijie, *Minguo Jidujiao shi lunwenji* 民國基督教史論文集 (Essays on the history of Christianity during the Republic), Taibei: Yuzhouguang, 1993, pp. 229–258.

4.2. Educational Apostolate

R. G. Tiedemann

The early Protestant missionaries recognised the importance of education to the creation of stable Christian communities in China. To this end they established elementary schools for boys and girls. In time the mission schools came to be promoted as an indirect conversion method. By the twentieth century the educational system had been expanded to include a substantial number of secondary schools. It is, however, only in recent years that academic interest has been focused on the secondary (middle) school sector of the Protestant and Catholic missionary enterprises. The following bibliography provides an introduction to recent research.[1]

Bibliography

Bao Jingjing 鮑靜靜, "Minguo shiqi Guangdong de jiaohui zhongxue yu li zhongxue bijiao yanjiu: yi Peizheng zhongxue he Guangya zhongxue wei zhongxin de kaocha" 民國時期廣東的教會中學與立中學比較研究: 以培正中學和廣雅中學爲中心的考察 (Comparative studies of Christian and public secondary schools in the Guangdong region during the Republican era: cases of Peizheng and Guangya Middle Schools), in Yin (ed.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo jindai zhongdeng jiaoyu*.

Bays, Daniel H., "The Early History of Protestant Schools in Wuhan (1860–1900), in Wang (ed.), *Setting the Roots Right*, pp. 239–268.

Chi, Madeleine, "The Educational Work of the Society of the Sacred Heart in the Context of the Church's Mission in Shanghai, 1926–1952", in Jeroom Heyndricks CICM (ed.), *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Louvain Chinese Studies, I.), Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K.U. Leuven, 1994, pp. 285–293.

Hu Weiqing 胡衛清, "Wan Qing Jidujiao zhong deng xuejiao kecheng yanjiu" 晚清基督教中等學校課程研究 (The study of Christian secondary school curriculum in the late Qing dynasty), in Yin (ed.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo jindai zhongdeng jiaoyu*.

Li Li, *Mission in Suzhou: Sophie Lanneau and Wei Ling Girl's Academy, 1907–1950*, New Orleans, La.: University Press of the South, 1999.

Liu Jiafeng 劉家峰, "Zhongguo Jidujiao zhongxue de nongye jiaoyu yu xiangcun jianshe" 中國基督教中學的農業教育與鄉村建設 (Education in agriculture

[1] For a list of Protestant middle schools, arranged by province and location, see the *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China under Protestant Auspices*, Shanghai: Published for The National Christian Council of China by the Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 1936, pp. 166–184. Catholic and Protestant schools for foreign children, including Protestant schools primarily for missionary children, are listed on pp. 184–186.

in Christian middle schools and rural development), in Yin (ed.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo jindai zhongdeng jiaoyu*.
Liu, Judith, and Donald P. Kelly, "'An Oasis in a Heathen Land': St. Hilda's School for Girls, Wuchang, 1928–1936", in Bays (ed.) *Christianity in China*, pp. 228–242.
Lutz, Jessie G., "Middle Schools—the Roots of Christian Education in China and Taiwan", in Wang (ed.), *Setting the Roots Right*, pp. 1–18.
Malek, Roman SVD, "Christian Education and the Transfer of Ideas on a Local Level—Catholic Schoolbooks and Instructional Material from Shandong (1882–1950)", in Wang (ed.), *Setting the Roots Right*, pp. 79–155.
Raibaud, Martine, "Les premières écoles catholiques modernes en China: un point de rencontre entre les cultures chinoise et occidentale", *Actes du VIIe Colloque International de Sinologie de Chantilly, 8–10 septembre 1992*. Echanges culturels et religieux entre la Chine et l'occident, San Francisco: Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, 1995, pp. 267–275.
Rawski, Evelyn S., "Elementary Education in the Mission Enterprise", in Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank (eds.), *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Writings*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, pp. 135–151.
Rivinius, Karl Josef, *Traditionalismus und Modernisierung: Das Engagement von Bischof Augustin Henninghaus auf dem Gebiet des Bildungs- und Erziehungswesens in China (1904–1914)*, (Veröffentlichungen des Missionspriesterseminars St. Augustin bei Bonn, Nr. 44), Sankt Augustin; Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994.
Ross, Heidi A., "'Cradle of Female Talent'": The McTyeire Home and School for Girls, 1892–19372, in Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*, pp. 209–227.
Tiedemann, R. G., "The Development of Catholic Education in North China with Particular Reference to Shandong Province (1901–1914)", in Wang (ed.), *Setting the Roots Right*, pp. 157–190.
Wang Chen-main 王成勉, "Guojia, jiaoyu yu zongjiao—Yu Rizhang jiaoyu sixiang zhi yanjiu" 國家、教育與宗教——余日章教育思想之研究, in Wang (ed.), *Setting the Roots Right*, pp. 191–216.
Wang Chen-main 王成勉 (ed.), *Setting the Roots Right: Christian Education in China and Taiwan* 將根紮好: 基督宗教在華教育的檢討, Taibei: Liming wenhua, 2007.
Wiest, Jean-Paul, "Catholic elementary and secondary schools and China's drive toward a modern educational system (1850–1950)", in Yin (ed.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo jindai zhongdeng jiaoyu*.
Wiest, Jean-Paul, "From Past Contributions to Present Opportunities: The Catholic Church and Education in Chinese Mainland during the Last 150 Years", in Stephen Uhalley, Jr., and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001), pp. 251–270.
Yin Wenjuan 尹文涓, "Lishi, xingbie, shehui: Beijing shi Jidujiao nüzi zhongxue chukao: yi Beiman nüzhong wei zhongxin" 歷史, 性別, 社會: 北京市基督教女子中學初考: 以貝滿女中爲中心 (History, gender, and society: The Bridgman Academy for Girls and Christian middle school education for girls in Beijing), in Yin (ed.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo jindai zhongdeng jiaoyu*.
Yin Wenjuan 尹文涓 (ed.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo jindai zhongdeng jiaoyu* 基督教與中國近代中等教育 (Christianity and modern China's middle school education), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2007.
Zhang Xianqing 張先清, "Fuyin yu banbian tian: Yude nüzhong yu jindai Minnan diqu funü jiaoyu de fazhan" 福音與半邊天: 毓德女中與近代閩南地區婦女教育的發展 (Gospel and 'half the sky': The Loktek Girls' School and the development of education of women in southern Fujian), in Yin (ed.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo jindai zhongdeng jiaoyu*.
Zhu Feng 朱峰 and Wang Aiju 王愛菊, "Jindai Fujian jiaohui zhong deng xiaoyu yanjiu" 近代福建教會中等教育研究 (1905–1951) (Christian secondary education in modern Fujian), in Yin (ed.), *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo jindai zhongdeng jiaoyu*.

Archives (Schools for Missionary Children)

With the expansion of Protestant missionary operations it became necessary to establish schools for missionary children. Archival material has been preserved for some of these schools.

Yale University Divinity School Library

a.) Record Group No. 132: Archives of the Shanghai American School; the Phoebe White Wentworth Collection of Shanghai American School History and Memorabilia, 1911–1997. The Shanghai American School (SAS) was founded in 1912 for the purpose of educating the children of American missionaries, businessmen, and professionals. URL: http://hdl.handle.net/10079/fa/divinity.132

b.) Record Group No. 164: Archives of the American School Kikungshan and American School Kikungshan Association, 1900–2003. The American School Kikungshan (Henan province) was a school for missionary children established by the Lutheran missions in China. URL: http://hdl.handle.net/10079/fa/divinity.164

School of Oriental and African Studies

China Inland Mission, Chefoo School and Chefoo Schools Association Papers.

The Chefoo School was established by the China Inland Mission at Chefoo (Yantai), Shandong province, in 1880. Its aim was to provide an education for the children of missionaries and the business and diplomatic communities. URL: http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cats/4/904.htm

References to resources of some of the other schools for mission children (e.g. the Kuling American School for Missionary Children; North China American School / Tungchow Chihli School for Missionary Children) can be found in Crouch, *Christianity in China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources*.

4.2.1. *Christianity and Cultural Transmission*

Ruth Hayhoe and Yongling Lu 鲁永令

In China's transition from Empire to republic, higher education played a crucially important role. The establishment of modern universities represented a fundamental break with both the institutional patterns and the content and organisation of scholarly knowledge that characterised classical institutions. Christian missionaries played an important role in this process, first in the development of a new vocabulary for modern knowledge, and secondly in the establishment of new institutions. The late nineteenth century had seen a number of missionaries who moved from direct Christian evangelisation to extensive work in the translation of a wide range of Western literature into Chinese, in some cases consciously following in the footsteps of earlier Jesuit work in this area. The best known such figures are Timothy Richard, with the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge, John Fryer, at the Shanghai Polytechnic Reading Room (*Gezhi shuyuan* 格致書院), and W. A. P. Martin, who taught at the Tongwenguan for many years.[1] Their pioneering work in adapting classical terminology to modern use was later taken up by scholars such as Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854–1921) and Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯 (1840–1939), who attempted to build a modern Chinese vocabulary on the basis of classical terminology in the face of a rising tide of neologisms from Japan introduced by the large number of Chinese students and scholars who studied in Japan between 1900 and 1911. We have argued elsewhere that the alienation of modern academic terminology from its classical scholarly roots has made the modern Chinese higher education system peculiarly vulnerable to political manipulation from above,[2] something particularly noticeable in the 1950s, when Soviet introduced texts and terminology fitted neatly into the academic frameworks supplied by an earlier era and consolidated a narrow set of modern subject specialisations. If anything, the early translation work of Christian missionaries, and of Christian scholars such as Ma Xiangbo, kept alive some linguistic connections to classical terminology

[1] Covell, *W.A.P. Martin: Pioneer of Progress in China*.
[2] Lu and Hayhoe, "Chinese Higher Learning: The Transition Process from Classical Knowledge Patterns to Modern Disciplines, 1860–1910".

and so could be seen as providing a foundation of cultural authenticity for the modern academic project.

If we move from the development of modern academic terminology to that of modern universities, Christian influence was an important, though probably not a defining factor. One of the least known, yet perhaps most influential early models was Shanxi University, founded by Timothy Richard in 1901, with the use of British Boxer Indemnity funding. In 1910, Richard resigned his chancellorship of the university, and gave over all control to provincial authorities.[3] The institution became part of the emerging national system of higher education after the revolution of 1911. The influence of this model on the higher educational legislation of 1902 and 1903 has yet to be researched. It is really the only significant British model in modern Chinese higher education, with exception of the University of Hong Kong, which had minimal influence on higher education development in the Mainland.

The two most important Christian missionary influences in terms of the institutional development of higher education were American and French. A great deal of research has been done on the 16 Protestant missionary colleges, most of which exemplified an American liberal arts college model, though there were also significant Canadian and British contributions through collaboration among the various mission societies. By contrast the French influence was mainly through Jesuit activity in higher education, and *L'Université Aurore* 震旦大學 in Shanghai and the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes Industrielles et Commerciales* 天津工商學院 in Tianjin exemplified the excellence of professional education in areas such as law and medicine in Shanghai, and something of the spirit of the French *grande école* in Tianjin. The only other Catholic institution, *Furen* 輔仁大學, was run initially by American Benedictines, later by members of the German Society of the Divine Word, and was closer to American than European patterns in its curriculum and ethos.[4]

Christian higher education played an important role in modern higher education development in China, but it was clearly subservient to that of the public institutions established by Chinese intellectuals and political figures. It is fascinating to note the difference in the models chosen from the Chinese side, and those promoted by the mission-

[3] Timothy Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China*, pp. 299–310.
[4] Hayhoe, "A Chinese Catholic Philosophy of Higher Education".

aries. Protestant missionaries favoured the model of the liberal arts college and put a strong emphasis on moral as well as intellectual formation. One of the striking expressions of the importance they placed on indigenisation can be seen in the architecture of many of the Christian colleges—Jinling in Nanjing, Yanjing in Beijing, St. Johns in Shanghai—which remains to this day some of the best exemplars of traditional Chinese style in university buildings.[5] By contrast, Chinese intellectuals and political leaders, with the help of Boxer Indemnity funding, developed Qinghua University on the model of the American university rather than the college, with a strong graduate school, and considerable emphasis on research as well as teaching. French Jesuits developed a model that would protect their students from the secular and socialist currents of French society at the time, while such Chinese intellectuals as Li Shizeng and Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940) attempted to emulate these very currents in the creation of the Université Franco-Chinoise 中法大學 in the 1920s.[6]

The Christian colleges exemplified distinctive Western institutional models within the modernising Chinese higher education system, yet they also adapted gradually to the system, and to their differing geographical contexts. The nationalisation movement of the mid to late twenties led to most of them coming under the control of governing boards dominated by Chinese members, and accepting the rule that there should be no direct proselytisation in their formal teaching programmes. In terms of geographical differences, their very character as liberal arts colleges, concerned with moral as well as intellectual formation and linked to local development concerns, ensured strong local connections. This was particularly the case for the Protestant colleges, less so for the Catholic institutions.

We can thus see interesting differences in the kind of cultural ethos developed by St. John's University, in Shanghai, Yanjing University in Beijing and West China Union University in Chengdu. The Shanghai context supported a kind of socialisation into the commercially dominated bourgeois culture of the city at the time[7] and fitted well with the kinds of class associations of American episcopalianism at the time. By

[5] Fenn, *Christian Higher Education in Changing China 1880–1950*, pp. 163–164.
[6] Hayhoe, "Catholics and Socialists: The Paradox of French Educational Interaction with China".
[7] Yeh, *The Alienated Academy*, pp. 49–88.

contrast, Yanjing University in Beijing may have represented a tougher academic climate, and probably had the strongest reputation for scholarship of all the colleges.[8] West China Union University, for its part, had a kind of pioneering spirit, reflecting the outlook of the American and Canadian Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries who had consciously chosen the challenge of the hinterland.[9] The Christian institutions thus took on the character of their location, and in some of their features may have been closer to other local institutions, than to their peer institutions in other parts of the country. Almost all remained in their original locations during the Sino-Japanese war, however, a point that differentiated them from most other public and private universities.

The Christian institutions were not to survive the reorganisation of colleges and departments that took place in 1952, under the influence of Soviet advisors to the new Chinese government. However, the contribution of Chinese Christians and Christian missionaries to the formation of a modern Chinese intellectual discourse, and to modern higher education institution building, persists to the present time. It can be seen in the contribution of individuals who graduated from and/or taught in the Christian institutions, including figures such as Tao Xingzhi 陶行知 (1891–1946), Lin Yutang 林語堂 (1895–1976), Wu Yifang 吳貽芳 (1893–1985) and many others who played an important role both before and after 1949. It can also be seen in the way in which former Christian institutions were integrated within the Communist higher education system after 1952, with many of their campuses being used by prominent national or provincial institutions, and most of their faculty continuing to teach within the new system.

It is particularly fascinating to note how many become the basis for new normal universities, responsible for a highly sensitive task within the People's republic—the training of teachers at all levels. Nanjing Normal University is located on the beautiful campus of the former Ginling Women's college, Central China Normal University on the former Huazhong University, Zhejiang Normal University (now once again called Hangzhou University) on the former campus of Hangzhou University, and Beijing Normal University on the former campus of Furen University. Beijing University, still the premier academic institution of the country, moved to the Yanjing campus in 1952, and

[8] West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916–1952*.
[9] Minden, *Bamboo Stone: The Evolution of a Chinese Medical Elite*.

the East China Institute of Political Science and Law took over the St. John's University campus in 1952.

The system was drastically changed, to follow a Soviet model with a relatively small number of comprehensive and normal universities, with broad curricula, and a majority of highly specialised universities in engineering, and other professional areas. What is interesting to note is the substantive contribution of the Christian institutions to the mainstream of the new system. While rigorous specialisation, and a series of thought reform campaigns, limited the influence they could have at the time, they were woven into the new tapestry and form an integral part of the heritage of diversity that has been revived and drawn upon by Chinese intellectuals in the reform period since the early eighties.

There is a rich literature on Christian higher education, which has gone through several phases. On the Western side, there are original accounts by figures such as Timothy Richard, W. A. P. Martin, F. L. H. Pott, Leighton Stuart etc. Then there are the formal histories of the Protestant colleges written largely by missionaries associated with the Protestant colleges and published by the United Board for Christian Higher Education in the 1950s. Finally, there is a rich critical literature developed by Sinologists since the sixties and seventies, including Jessie G. Lutz (1971), Philip West (1976), Wen-hsin Yeh (1990), Karen Minden (1994), Dong Wang (2007), etc.

On the Chinese side, it was almost mandatory to condemn all aspects of the Christian higher education contribution as the cultural arm of imperialist aggression up until the early eighties. However, with the more reflective and diverse historical research that has emerged since 1978, a much more contoured and discriminating picture has been drawn, in writings by scholars such as Shi Jinghuan (1991), Zhang Kaiyuan (1991) and Zhu Weizheng (1994). The latter two volumes were based on conferences, jointly organised by Chinese and Western scholars, which focused on Christianity and Chinese culture. A particularly valuable resource for understanding changing Chinese views of Christianity and cultural development is the extensive bibliography recently compiled, which lists all major publications in Chinese on the subject since 1949.[10]

[10] Zhu (ed.), *Jidujiao yu jindai wenhua* (Christianity and Modern Culture), pp. 429–489.

As Chinese scholars have had the opportunity to reflect critically on their experience of the Soviet model of higher education, whose contours continue to shape the present system, they have come to realise that this too was a kind of experience of cultural imperialism, an encounter in which there was remarkable coordination among the forces of educational, cultural and political conformity to Soviet patterns. In the first backlash against the Soviet model, during the expansion and localisation that came in the wake of the Great Leap Forward in 1958, numerous new local institutions were established and there was considerable support for broader and more locally relevant curricula than the narrow and highly specialist teaching plans. While these new institutions were born in times very different from those of the earlier Christian colleges, it is fascinating to note that the kinds of expertise and spirit of service built up under Christian auspices still had their outlets at this time. An example is the establishment of the Qinghai Medical College, the first such institution in the remote and poor province of Qinghai, by twenty teachers from Sichuan Medical College in Chengdu. This college was located on the campus of the Christian West China Union University, and its core faculty had been graduates of the university's medical faculty, which had been largely established and run by Canadian missionaries.

Although only one thread, Christianity clearly became interwoven into the texture of China's modern intellectual culture, and still continues to exert some influence, through historical and philosophical research, and through newly emerging relations of collaboration with Christian institutions elsewhere.

Christian Colleges, Seminaries and Universities, 1930s

Name	Location	Founded	Co-operating Missions
Protestant Universities			
Cheloo University (Shantung Christian University) 齊魯大學	Ji'nan, Shandong	1904	BMS, PN, MMS, SPG, UCC, WFMS, WUCC
Central China College (Hua Chung) 華中大學	Wuchang, Hubei	1929	a union of five distinct units supported by PEC, MMS, LMS, RCUS, YM
Lingnan University (Canton Christian College) 嶺南大學	Guangzhou, Guangdong	1886	non-denominational
University of Nanjing 金陵大學	Nanjing, Jiangsu	1910	MEC, PN, UCMS, ABFMS

(*cont.*)

Name	Location	Founded	Co-operating Missions
St. John's University 聖約翰大學	Shanghai	1879	PEC
University of Shanghai (Shanghai Baptist College) 滬江大學, incl. the downtown School of Commerce	Shanghai	1906	ABFMS, SBC
Soochow University 東吳大學	Suzhou, Jiangsu	1900	MECS
West China Union University 華西協合大學	Chengdu, Sichuan	1910	ABFMS, FSC, UCC, MEC, CMS, WFMS, WUCC, WABFMS
Yenching University 燕京大學	Beijing	1918	MEC, ABCFM, PN, LMS
Protestant Colleges of Arts and Science			
Fukien Christian University 福建協和大學 (co-educational since 1932)	Fuzhou, Fujian	1915	ABCFM, MEC, RCA, CMS
Ginling College 金陵女子文理學院 (for women)	Nanjing	1915	WABFMS, LMS, PS, WFMS, MECS, RCUS, UCMS, PEC
Hangchow Christian College 之江大學	Hangzhou	1910	PN, PS, CCC
Hwa Nan College 華南女子文理學院 (for women)	Fuzhou	1909	WFMS
Protestant Colleges of Theology and Bible Schools*			
Cheloo School of Theology	Ji'nan	1885	ABCFM, BMS, MEC, PN, UCC
Lutheran Theological Seminary	Shekou, Hubei	1913	ALM, Aug, FMS, LUM, NMS
Nanking Theological Seminary	Nanjing	1911	MEC, MECS, PN, PS, UCMS
Shanghai Theological Seminary	Shanghai		
Canton Union Theological College	Guangzhou	1914	CCC (Guangdong Synod), CMS, LMS, MMS, PCNZ, PN, UB, UCC
Yenching School of Religion	Beijing	1916	LMS, MEC, PN, ABCFM
Peiping Theological Seminary	Beijing	1923	MEC

(*cont.*)

Name	Location	Founded	Co-operating Missions
North China Theological Seminary	Tengxian, Shandong	1919	PN, PS (fundamentalist faction)
West China University College of Religion	Chengdu	1910	ABFMS, AFO, CMS, FSC, MEC, UCC
Bible Teachers Training School (for women)	Nanjing	1912	MEC, MECS, PN, PS, UCMS
Bible Seminary for Women	Shanghai	1930	independent
Catholic Universities			
Aurora University (*Zhendan daxue* 震旦大學)	Shanghai	1903	SJ
Fu Jen Catholic University (*Furen daxue* 輔仁大學)	Beijing	1925	First OSB; from 1933 SVD
Hautes Etudes Industrielles et Commerciales 天津工商學院 (renamed Tsinku University 津沽大學 in 1948)	Tianjin	1923	SJ

* The Protestant theological and Bible schools listed in this table required senior middle school preparation or above. Not shown here are the more numerous theological and Bible schools requiring only junior middle school preparation or less. For a list of these schools, see the *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China under Protestant Auspices* (Shanghai: Published for The National Christian Council of China by the Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 1936), pp. 164–166.

Bibliography

Anderson, Mary Raleigh, *Protestant Mission Schools for Girls in South China*, Mobile, Ala.: Heiter Sterke Printing Co., 1943.

Bays, Daniel H., and Ellen Widmer (eds.), *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900–1950*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Bennett, Adrian Arthur, *Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and His magazines, 1860–1883*, Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press, 1983.

Bieler, Stacey, *"Patriots" or "Traitors"? A History of American-Educated Chinese Students*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2004; pbk ed.: 2009.

Chiang, Yung-chen, *Social Engineering and the Social Sciences in China, 1919–1949*. Cambridge modern China series. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Coe, John L., *Huachung University*, New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1962.

Corbett, Charles Hodge, *Shantung Christian University*, New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1955.

Covell, Ralph R., *W. A. P. Martin: Pioneer of Progress in China*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978.

Dunch, Ryan, "Mission Schools and Modernity: The Anglo-Chinese College, Fuzhou", in: Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, and Yongling Lu (eds.), *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-Century China*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001, pp. 109–136.

Dunch, Ryan, "Science, Religion, and the Classics in Christian Higher Education to 1920", in Bays and Widmer (eds.), *China's Christian Colleges*, pp. 57–82.

Edwards, Dwight W., *Yenching University*, New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1959.

Fenn, William Purviance, *Christian Higher Education in Changing China 1880–1950*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976.

Graham, Gael, *Gender, Culture, and Christianity: American Protestant Mission Schools in China, 1880–1930*, New York: P. Lang, 1995.

Gu Changsheng 顾长声, *Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo* 传教士与近代中国 (Missionaries and the Modern China), Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1981.

Hayhoe, Ruth and Lu Yongling (eds.), *Ma Xiangbo and the Mind of Modern China*, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1996.

Hayhoe, Ruth, "Catholics and Socialists: The Paradox of French Educational Interaction with China," in R. Hayhoe and M. Bastid (eds.), *China's Education and the Industrialized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer*, Toronto: OISE Press, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1987, pp. 97–119.

Hayhoe, Ruth, "A Chinese Catholic Philosophy of Higher Education," in *Tripod*, No. 48, 1988, pp. 49–60.

Hunter, Jane, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn of the Century China*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1984.

La Fargue, Thomas E., *China's First Hundred: Educational Mission Students in the United States, 1872 1881*, Pullman, Wash.: Washington State University Press, 1987.

Lamberton, Mary, *St. John's University*, New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1955.

Lei Libo 雷立柏 [Leopold Leeb], *Lun Jidu zhi da yu xiao: 1900–1950 nian Hua ren zhi shi fen zi yan zhong de Jidu jiao* 论基督之大與小: 1900–1950 年华人知识分子眼中的基督教 De quantitate Christi: Christianity in the eyes of Chinese intellectuals 1900 to 1950, Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2000.

Leung, Philip Yuen Sang, and Peter Tze Ming Ng (eds.), *Christian Responses to Asian Challenges: A Globalization View on Christian Higher Education in East Asia*. Anthology series on the study of religion and Chinese society, 11. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2007.

Li, Chucai 李楚材, *Diguozhuyi qinhua jiaoyushi ziliao: jiaohui jiaoyu* 帝國主義侵華教育史資料: 教會教育 (Compilation of historical materials on the imperialist invasion of Chinese education missionary education), Beijing: Jiao yu kexue chubanshe, 1987.

Li Younin 李又寧 and Zhang Yufa 譚玉法, ed., *Zhongguo funüshi lunwenji* 中國婦女史論文集 (A collection of papers on the history of women in China), Taibei: the Commercial Publishing Co., 1981.

Li Younin 李又寧 and Zhang Yufa 譚玉法, *Jindai Zhongguo nüquan yundong shiliao* 近代中國女權運動史料, 1842–1911 (Historical materials on the feminist movement in modern China), Taibei: Zhuanji chubanshe, 1975.

Liu Jiafeng 劉家峰 and Liu Tianlu 劉天路, *Kang Ri zhanzheng shiqi de Jidujiao daxue* 抗日戰爭時期的基督教大學 (Christian universities during the Anti-Japanese War), Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003.

Liu, Kwang Ching, ed., *American Missionaries in China: Papers from Harvard Seminars*, Cambridge, Mass.: published by East Asian Research Centre, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1966.

Lu, Yanzhen 盧燕貞, *Zhongguo jindai nüzi jiaoyu shi* 中國近代女子教育史 (History of education for woman in modern China), Taibei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1989.

Lu Yongling and Ruth Hayhoe, "Chinese Higher Learning: The Transition Process from Classical Knowledge Patterns to Modern Disciplines, 1860–1910," in Christophe Charle, Jürgen Schriewer, Peter Wagner (eds.), *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities*, Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag, 2004, pp. 269–306.

Lutz, Jessie Gregory, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850–1950*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971. Chinese translation: 杰西・格・蘆茨著, *Zhongguo jiaohui daxue shi, 1850–1950* 中國教會大學史, 1850–1950, trans. Zeng Jusheng 曾鉅生, Hangzhou: Zhejiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988.

Lutz, Jessie Gregory, "The Sinification of Historiography of the China Christian Colleges", in Wang (ed.), *Contextualization of Christianity in China*, pp. 119–149.

Martin, W. A. P., *A Cycle of Cathay*, New York: F. H. Revell Co., 1900.

Martin, W. A. P., *The Chinese: Their Education, Philosophy and Letters*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881.

Martin, W. A. P., *The Awakening of China*, New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907.

Minden, Karen, *Bamboo Stone: The Evolution of a Chinese Medical Elite*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

Nance, W. B., *Soochow University*, New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1965.

Ng Tze-ming, Peter 吳梓明, *Jidu zongjiao yu Zhongguo daxue jiaoyu* 基督宗教與中國大學教育 (Christianity and university education in China), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2003.

Ng Tze-ming, Peter 吳梓明, *Zhongguo jiaohui daxue lishi wenxian yantao hui lunwenji*, 中國教會大學歷史文獻研討會論文集 (International Symposium on Historical Archives of pre-1949 Christian Higher Education in China), Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1995.

Ng Tze-ming, Peter, Philip Yuen Sang Leung, Edward Yi Hua Xu and Jing Huan Shi, *Changing Paradigms of Christian Higher Education in China*, Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002.

Pott, F. L. Hawks, *A Short History of Shanghai, Being an Account of the Growth and Development of the International Settlement*, Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh Ltd., 1928.

Fenn, William Purviance, *Christian Higher Education in Changing China, 1880–1950*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976.

Fenn, William Purviance, *Ever New Horizons: The Story of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1922–1975*, North Newton, Kan: Mennonite Press, 1980.

Richard, Timothy, *Forty-Five Years in China*, New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company Publishers, 1916.

Robert, Dana, "The Methodist Struggle over Higher Education in Fuzhou, China, 1877–1883", *Methodist History* 34,3 (1996), pp. 173–189.

Scott, Roderick, *Fukien Christian University: A Historical Sketch*, New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1954.

Shi Jinghuan 史靜寰, *Di Kaowen he Situ Leideng zai Hua de jiaoyu huodong* 狄考文與司徒雷登: 西方新教傳教士在華教育活動 (The education activities of Calvin Wilson Mateer and John Leighton Stuart), Taibei: Wenjing chubanshe, 1991.

Shi Jinghuan, "Xifang chuanjiaoshi yu Zhongguo jindai de jiaoyu gaige" (Western Missionaries and Education Reform in Modern China), in Zhu Weizheng, ed., *Jidujiao yu jindai wenhua*, Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1994.

Tao Feiya 陶飛亞 and Peter Ng Tze-ming 吳梓明, *Jidujiao daxue yu guoxue yanjiu* 基督教大學與國學研究 (Christian universities and the study of Chinese education), Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998.

Thurston, Lawrence and Ruth M. Chester, *Ginling College*, New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1955.

Twenty five years in Tsinan: Shantung Christian University, published by Board of Governors, North American Section, Shantung Christian University, 1945.

Van Putten, J. Dyke, *Christian Higher Education in China: Contributions of the Colleges of Arts and Sciences to Chinese Life*, Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Libraries, private edition, 1937.

Wallace, L. Ethel, *Hwa Nan College: The Women's College of South China*, New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1956.

Walmsley, Lewis C., *West China Union University*, New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1974.

Wang, Dong, *Managing God's Higher Learning: U.S.-China Cultural Encounter and Canton Christian College (Lingnan University), 1888–1952*, Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2007.

Wang, Peter Chen-main, (ed.), *Contextualization of Christianity in China: An Evaluation in Modern Perspective* (Collectanea Serica), Sankt Augustin, Germany: Monumenta Serica, 2007.

West, Philip, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916–1952*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Wiest, Jean-Paul, "The Rise and Fall of the First Aurora, 1842–1905", in: Noël Golvers and Sara Lievens (eds.), *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jeroom Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven, 2007, pp. 705–735.

Xu, Edward Yihua, "Liberal Arts Education in English and Campus Culture at St. John's University", in Bays and Widmer (eds.), *China's Christian Colleges*, pp. 107–124.

Yeh, Wen-hsin, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919–1937*, Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1990.

Zhang Kaiyuan 章開沅 and Lin Wei 林蔚 (Arthur Waldron) (eds.), *Zhong-Xi wenhua yu jiaohui daxue: shoujie Zhongguo jiaohui daxue shi xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 中西文化與教會大學: 首屆中國教會大學史學術研討會論文集 (Christian university and Chinese-Western cultures: Selected works of the First International Symposium on the History of pre-1949 Christian universities in China), Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991.
Topics: Harvard-Yenching University relationship; May Fourth movement; May 30th Movement 五洲運動; Aurora University 震旦大學; Lingnan University 嶺南大學; Central China (Huazhong) Normal University 華中師範大學; Nanjing University 南京大學; Jinling University 金陵大學; Cheloo University 齊魯大學; Peking Union Medical College 北京協和醫學院 .

Zhu Feng 朱峰, *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo nüzi gaodeng jiaoyu: Jinling nüda yu Huanan nüda bijiao yanjiu* 基督教與中國女子高等教育: 金陵女大與華南女大比較研究 (Christianity and women's higher education in China: A comparison of Ginling College and Hwa Nan Women's College), Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002.

Zhu Weizheng 朱維錚, (ed.), *Jidujiao yu jindai wenhua* 基督教與近代文化 (Christianity and Modern Culture), Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1994.

4.3. The Ministry of Healing

R. G. Tiedemann

Towards the end of the nineteenth century it was becoming clear that significant progress had been made in the advancement of 'scientific medicine' and the expansion of the medical missionary enterprise in China. As early as 1883 the secretary of the London Missionary Society was able to say: "No branch of missionary work has proved more successful and profitable [to the propagation of Christianity] in China than medical missions."[1] Other missionary societies also began to pay more attention to medical missions. The Baptist Missionary Society, for instance, had sent medical workers as missionaries to China before 1900. However, amid much debate as to whether preaching the gospel or practising medicine was more important, professional medical work came to be seen in a more favourable light, and not as a competitor to traditional evangelistic work. Consequently, the Medical Missionary Auxiliary was formed in 1901. Its purpose was to create and maintain the interest of Baptist churches in medical mission, raise funds to support hospitals and recruit fully-qualified medical missionaries. In the early years of the auxiliary, doctors were sent to China and mission hospitals were opened. In 1925 the Medical Missionary Auxiliary became part of BMS.

Thus, after 1900 some of the major missionary societies began to support the professionalisation of medicine and rising medical standards. The growing demands for better facilities and working conditions led to the establishment of new and more modern mission hospitals in China.[2] Also, Western medicine now proved rather more acceptable to Chinese reform-minded, innovative elites. At the same time, the entry of the Rockefeller Foundation into the medical mission field in China brought about a significant change in attitudes within the larger missionary community, as the extra funding it could provide and its prestige as an institution meant that the clerical missionaries and home boards of the mission societies had to pay more attention

[1] Ralph W. Thompson, *London Missionary Society Deputation to China, March 30 to June 16, 1883*, London: Alexander & Shepheard, 1885, p. 5, cited in Grundmann, "Contextualizing the Gospel by 'Imitating Christ'", p. 74.

[2] For the long list of Protestant mission hospitals in the 1930s, see *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China under Protestant Auspices*, pp. 188–193.

to improving their medical standards. Initially, hospitals in the larger cities of China gained most from this change, but by the 1920s some hospitals in the rural interior were also benefiting, as John R. Stanley's study of the professionalisation of the American Presbyterian medical mission at Weixian (now Weifang), Shandong, has shown.[3] The Rockefeller Foundation, through its China Medical Board, also took over the Peking Union Medical College (PUMC) and accepted the first class of premedical students in September 1917.[4] In addition to PUMC, which operated as an elite institution independently of mission control, several missionary medical colleges were opened, staffed by professional doctors and teachers to train Chinese medical personnel.[5]

However, the significant progress in institution building and better provision of medical care notwithstanding, the medical missionary enterprise met with several challenges during the early decades of the twentieth century. For one thing, within the 'classical' missionary societies the differences over preaching-centred evangelism and medical mission work had not been fully resolved. To some extent the intra-missionary conflict was related to the allocation of scarce resources. Whereas the medical missionaries required ever more funding to keep up with new developments in medical science, the far more numerous clerical missionaries demanded that greater resources be made available to promote what for them was the real task at hand, namely the religious conversion of the Chinese. By the 1920s more serious fissures began to appear within the classical or 'mainline' missionary movement, as conservative elements began to do battle with the 'modernists' and their 'social gospel' approach to mission. Whereas the conservatives were critical of mission work as institution building, the more numerous liberal wing began to accept the idea that the provision of 'good works' was an end in itself. That is to say, they regarded medical work as a Christian duty that went beyond evangelism and conversion alone.[6]

At the same time, the rapid proliferation of Protestant 'faith missions' (i.e. those missions that were not overtly soliciting material

[3] Stanley, "Professionalising the Rural Medical Mission in Weixian, 1890–1925".

[4] Ferguson, *China Medical Board and Peking Union Medical College*; Bowers, *Western Medicine in a Chinese Palace*; Bullock, *An American Transplant: The Rockefeller Foundation*.

[5] Chen, *Seeds from the West: St. John's Medical School, Shanghai, 1880–1952*.

[6] On the rise of the conservative movement amongst the China missionaries, see Yao, *The Fundamentalist Movement among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920–1937*.

Protestant Colleges of Medicine and Medical Schools

Name	Location	Founded	Co-operating Missions
Mukden Medical College 奉天醫科大學 (Shenching Medical School 盛京醫科大學); between 1939–45 called Christie Memorial Medical College	Shenyang	1892	CSFM, PCI, DMS
Pennsylvania Medical School, Medical Department of St. John's University 聖約翰大學醫學部	Shanghai	1896	PEC, and the University of Pennsylvania Christian Association
Hackett Medical College (for women) 夏葛醫科學院. (1936 merged into Lingnan University 嶺南大學)	Guang-zhou	1899	PN, and the women's group of CPM (from 1925)
Peking (Peiping) Union Medical College 北京(北平)協和醫學院	Beijing	1906	China Medical Board (since 1914), independent of mission control
Shantung Christian University (Cheeloo) School of Medicine 齊魯大學醫學院	Ji'nan	1909	AFCFM, BMS, LMS, MMS, PN, SPG, WFMS
College of Medicine and Dentistry, West China Union University 華西協和大學醫學院	Chengdu	1914	ABFMS, CMS, FSC, MEC, UCC, WABFMS, WFMS, WUCC
Hsiang-Ya Medical College 湘雅醫學院	Changsha	1916	Yale Mission
Woman's Christian Medical College 上海女子醫學院	Shanghai	1924	WUM, WFMS, MECS, WABFMS

resources) after 1900 merits some attention. These new missionary groups, for the most part with Holiness or Pentecostal characteristics and premillennialist convictions, took a rather different approach to working among the Chinese people than the 'classical' (or 'mainline') denominational missionary societies. Some of these new conservative evangelical or fundamentalist denominations and associations shunned 'scientific medicine', relying instead on the power of prayer and the belief in 'faith' or 'divine healing'. The Christian and Missionary Alliance, for example, founded by Canadian-born Albert Benjamin Simpson 宣信 (1843–1919), promoted and practiced divine healing from the beginning of its presence in China in the late 1880s. Many of the

Pentecostals—most of them lay people—who made their way to China from 1907 onwards also believed that bodily afflictions could be healed through the power of the Holy Spirit.[7] Collectively, these groups came to represent a substantial proportion of the Christian movement by the time the missionary era ended in China. The Pentecostal presence in all its diversity in China has yet to receive satisfactory scholarly attention. Given the strong Holiness and Pentecostal influences in major sections of the Chinese church today, as well as the emphasis its believers place on healing and the miraculous, it would be interesting to find out how the missionary faith-healers adapted to and were received by different segments of Chinese society. How did Pentecostal missionaries react to local beliefs in spirit possession and to what extent did they interact with indigenous religious healers?

Another aspect of the Christian ministry of healing that has been largely ignored by scholars concerns Catholic participation in medical missions in China.[8] In the nineteenth century Catholic priests, like many Protestant ministers, had acquired some rudimentary medical skills prior to leaving for the mission field. It helped them deal with minor ailments as well as facilitate the surreptitious baptism of, mainly, dying infants. By the beginning of the twentieth century most major Catholic mission stations had hospitals, and dispensaries were found in many of the smaller places. However, these were for the most part run by foreign religious sisters who had been arriving in China since the middle of the previous century. After 1900 many more religious communities of women came to China from Europe and North America. Some of the sisters represented religious institutes that specialised in hospital care, such as the Hospital Sisters of St. Francis (Springfield, Illinois) (1925) and the Franciscan Sisters of Luxemburg (1927). At this time some hospital brothers, namely the Brothers of Mercy of Trier (1933), began work in the mission hospitals at Lanzhou (Gansu) and Shanghai. Occasionally properly qualified secular doctors spent few years in one or other of the Catholic mission hospitals. Some of

[7] Of course, not all faith missions rejected scientific medicine. The largest of these missions, the China Inland Mission (CIM), while not generally involved in institution-building in China, had a number of fully trained medical doctors in its ranks.

[8] On Catholic translations of Chinese and Western medical texts and missionary medical practice in China before 1800, see Standaert, *Handbook I*, pp. 786–802.

them had received training and support from the Medical Mission Institute (*Missionsärztliches Institut*) which had been founded by the Conference of Major Religious Superiors in Würzburg, Germany, in 1922. However, in the end its contribution to the modernisation of China was rather limited. It was not until after the Second World War that a small group of religious medical specialists (three priests and two brothers), namely Italian Ministers of the Sick (Order of St. Camillus or Camillians), arrived to minister to the physical needs of the people in the Zhaotong area of Yunnan. As this brief outline indicates, the Catholic approach was in many ways quite different from the Protestant one. The many Catholic women (and not so many men) who came to China to staff the hospitals and dispensaries dedicated their lives to ministering to the needs of the sick in self-sacrificing ways rather than to introducing innovative medical techniques or building impressive institutions.[9]

In this connection, one category of Protestant women missionaries also deserve to be mentioned. Whereas the lives of some of the Western and Chinese female medical doctors have received some scholarly attention in recent years,[10] the same cannot be said of the nurses, including some of the Lutheran and Methodist deaconesses who came to China in increasing numbers during the missionary era. With the exception of an article by Chen Kaiyi,[11] it is only very recently that a comprehensive study of missionary nurses has been published. It focuses on the United Church of Canada mission in northern Henan, begun in 1888 as the work of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission.[12]

---

[9] Note, however, that Aurora University in Shanghai opened a medical school in 1914. On CICM health care in Inner Mongolia, see Dries Vanysacker, "The Contribution of Scheut (CICM) to Health Care in North China (1865–1953)".

[10] Tucker, "Opportunities for Women: The Development of Professional Women's Medicine at Canton, China, 1879–1901; Zaccarini, *The Sino-American Friendship as Tradition and Challenge*; Shemo, "'An Army of Women': The Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu, 1872–1937"; Wang, "Stranger Bodies: Women, Gender, and Missionary Medicine in China, 1870s–1930s".

[11] Chen, "Missionaries and the Early Development of Nursing in China".

[12] Grypma, *Healing Henan, Canadian Nurses at the North China Mission 1888–1947*. On the development of nursing by Americans missionaries, see Zhen Cheng 甄橙, "Meiguo chuanjiaoshi yu Zhongguo zaoqi de Xi yihu lixue (1880–1930) nian".

The Price of Accommodation

As practitioners of Western medicine, especially 'miraculous surgery',[13] many Protestant medical missionaries considered themselves agents of progress bringing science and rationality to China. With the support or encouragement of the Rockefeller Foundation, some of them were able to build modern facilities and achieve a higher level of hospital efficiency in terms of medical performance as well as hygiene during the early decades of the twentieth century. Dr. Heimburger of the American Presbyterian hospital at Weixian (Shandong), for instance, was able to enforce the following strict admissions policy:

> A patient entering will go to the steward or stewardess and receive his admission ticket, he will then be disrobed, his clothing taken to the fumigating closet and after disinfection stored until the patients discharge. The patient after a bath will be given hospital clothing and sent to his room in as clean a state as soap and water will make him. So in this way we will eliminate a lot of dirt and vermin from our wards. And we also hope to keep the dirt usually carried in by visitors shoes in the down stairs rooms by making them first go there, remove their shoes or put on cover-alls, and get a visiting card before going to the wards.[14]

Yet as Bridie Andrew-Minehan has observed, most hospitals abandoned the rule that patients have to be bathed on admission, because the Chinese considered this a danger to their health.[15] She goes on to say that many medical missionaries endeavoured to respect and adapt to the Chinese context when establishing hospitals. Especially in inland locations, Western medical practice was often shaped by Chinese cultural expectations, customs and habits. However, family members of Chinese patients looking after their needs in the traditional way, for example, hampered ordinary hospital routines and reduced efficiency. Whether such cultural accommodation was universally practiced is difficult to say. Although Michelle Renshaw's study of American mission hospitals in China, *Accommodating the Chinese: The American Hospital in China*,[16] considers some of these issues, more comparative

[13] See Li, "Miraculous Surgery in a Heathen Land".
[14] Leroy F. Heimburger to Arthur Brown, 7 June 1918, Weixian. Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, RG82/15/2/36; cited in Stanley, "Professionalising the Rural Medical Mission".
[15] Andrews-Minehan, "What Missionary Physicians Learned in China".
[16] Renshaw, *Accommodating the Chinese*.

studies need to be made to see whether the missions of other nationalities (or particular denominations) adopted similar approaches.

In spite of the availability of funding from the Rockefeller Foundation for medical work, in the longer run mission hospitals, especially at the many inland stations, did not have the resources to keep up with the costly innovations in medical science. For one thing, they could not meet the exacting standards set by the Rockefeller Foundation's China Medical Board. Moreover, economic insufficiencies also placed restrictions on medical work itself. As a result of the extremely limited funds, whole areas of Western-style medicine were beyond their reach. In some remoter inland clinics only the most basic drugs could be procured and surgery was proved impossible or counter-productive without sterile and well-equipped operating theatres. As far as Chinese nursing personnel in mission hospitals was concerned, at least during the early stages, "there were many difficulties to contend with in getting the girls to fall into line with the discipline and rigorous life of training". Chinese nurses were held in low esteem and their work was looked upon "as menial in the extreme" by the Chinese public.[17] The limitations of missionary medical care became particularly apparent during cholera, typhoid or bubonic plague epidemics. In general, personnel shortages and insufficient material resources, as well as the concessions made to Chinese cultural traditions tended reduce the medical missionaries' chances to be in the forefront of medical science. Certainly by the 1930s many mission hospitals found it difficult to fill the growing demand for Western medicine *and* match the higher standards set in some Chinese government hospitals or by competing, more sophisticated and better funded non-missionary Western doctors.[18]

Yet medical missionaries had to carry a heavy burden. They became jacks of all trades, combining general practice with surgery, eye, ear and dental work. In addition, they had to administer the hospitals and raise funds. The turbulent warlord era increased the missionaries' problems as well as their workload which they had to meet with fewer resources. It is, therefore, not surprising to learn that some broke down under the strain. Between 1913 and 1919, for example, five doc-

[17] Talk by Dr. Ethel Rowley, published as "Nursing in Mission Stations", p. 127.

[18] In southern China some mission hospitals benefited from the financial support of overseas Chinese.

tors of the Baptist Missionary Society in China—mostly young men—died at their posts as a result of overwork and illness.[19] Mortality rates were probably even higher among the Catholic sisters who sacrificed their lives in the service to the sick in often appalling conditions, especially during major epidemics.

Another area of medical care that tested the missionary's commitment to his vocation was leprosy. Missionaries went out of their way to help such stigmatised people, encouraging them to come for treatment and live in 'leper' colonies. Christian leprosaria and organised leprosy clinics were found in most Chinese provinces. Some of these were operated or supported by The Mission to Lepers (International) and/or the Chinese Mission to Lepers.[20] This aspect of the medical missionary enterprise in China has not yet received the scholarly attention it deserves. Similarly, the operation of opium refuges was not as glamorous as 'miraculous surgery'. The running of an insane asylum, too, was more a matter of dedication than of prestige.[21]

Conclusion

Whereas in the nineteenth century missionary doctors had been the principal purveyors of 'scientific medicine', after 1900 many found it increasingly difficult to keep up with the latest developments in medical science. While there was now a growing demand for Western medicine in China, inadequate material resources and the contextualisation of medical skills prevented the doctors—especially those at the many 'ordinary' mission stations—from effectively competing with the growing non-missionary medical sector. There was, in any case, a distinct shift from evangelism to service within the 'classical' missionary societies during the last two or three decades of the missionary era. In view of the unsettled conditions in China, especially during the Anti-Japanese War (1937–1945), the missionaries became preoccupied with providing medical assistance to the many in need. By living their Christian faith in a hostile environment, the medical missionaries

[19] Walls, "'The Heavy Artillery of the Missionary Army'", pp. 291–292.

[20] For locations of Protestant (and some Catholic) leprosaria, clinics and leper colonies, with brief details, see the *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement*, pp. 193–197.

[21] Szto, "The Accommodation of Insanity in Canton, China: 1857–1935".

continued to offer altruistic service. Yet their personal sacrifices did not bring many new converts to Christianity.

The Christian ministry of healing in China was a multifaceted undertaking in which increasing numbers of foreign male and female medical doctors and nurses from several countries in Europe and North America were involved. At the same time, Chinese doctors and nurses were trained in mission hospitals and medical schools. Yet while Western academics have for some time shown considerable interest in Chinese medicine, the medical missionary enterprise has until recently received relatively little academic attention.

Bibliography

Andrews-Minehan, Bridie J., "What Missionary Physicians Learned in China", paper presented at the conference Medicine and Culture: Chinese-Western Medical Exchange (1644–ca. 1950), Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco, 9 March 2007.

Bowers, John Z., *Western Medicine in a Chinese Palace: Peking Union Medical College, 1917–1951*, Philadelphia: The Joseph Macy, Jr., Foundation, 1972.

Bullock, Mary Brown, *An American Transplant: The Rockefeller Foundation and Peking Union Medical College*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

Chen, Kaiyi, "Missionaries and the Early Development of Nursing in China", *Nursing History Review* 4 (1996), pp. 129–149.

Chen, Kaiyi, *Seeds from the West: St. John's Medical School, Shanghai, 1880–1952*, Chicago: Imprint Publications, 2001.

Cheung, Yuet-wah, *Missionary Medicine in China: A Study of Two Canadian Protestant Missions in China Before 1937*, Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1988.

Choa, G. H., *"Heal the Sick" Was Their Motto: The Protestant Medical Missionaries in China*, Shatin, N.T., Hongkong: Chinese University Press, 1990.

Eckart, Wolfgang Uwe, *Deutsche Ärzte in China 1897–1914: Medizin als Kulturmission im Zweiten Deutschen Kaiserreich*, Stuttgart; New York: G. Fischer, 1989.

Elman, Benjamin A., *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550–1900*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Ferguson, Mary E., *China Medical Board and Peking Union Medical College*, New York: China Medical Board of New York, 1970.

Grundmann, Christoffer H., "Contextualizing the Gospel by 'Imitating Christ': The Emergence of Medical Missions in Nineteenth Century China", in: Peter Chen-main Wang 王成勉 (ed.), *Contextualization of Christianity in China: An Evaluation in Modern Perspective* (Collectanea Serica), Sankt Augustin, Germany: Monumenta Serica, 2007, pp. 73–95.

Grypma, Sonya, Healing Henan, Canadian Nurses at the North China Mission 1888–1947, Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2008.

Leung, Angela Ki Che, *Leprosy in China: A History*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Li Shang-Jen 李尚仁, "Miraculous Surgery in a Heathen Land: Protestant Medical Missions to Nineteenth-Century China", paper presented at the Conference on Religion, Popular Culture and Social Changes in Asia, Friday, 1 June 2006, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. An earlier English-language

version (2003) was posted without the author's name; see www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~linfs/rh/active/miraculous.PDF (last accessed 2 April 2008).
Minden, Karen, *Bamboo Stone: The Evolution of a Chinese Medical Elite*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China under Protestant Auspices, Shanghai: Published for The National Christian Council of China by the Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 1936.
Renshaw, Michelle, *Accommodating the Chinese: The American Hospital in China, 1880–1920*, New York: Routledge, 2005.
Rowley, Ethel, published as "Nursing in Mission Stations", *The American Journal of Nursing* 8,2 (November 1907), pp. 127–130.
Shemo, Connie, "'An army of women: The Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu, 1872–1937", Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, 2002.
Stanley, John R., "Professionalising the Rural Medical Mission in Weixian, 1890–1925", in David Hardiman (ed.), *Healing Bodies, Saving Souls: Medical Missions in Asia and Africa*, Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, pp. 115–136.
Szto, Peter Paul, "The Accommodation of Insanity in Canton, China: 1857–1935", Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2002.
Tucker, Sara W., "Opportunities for Women: The Development of Professional Women's Medicine at Canton, China, 1879–1901," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 13 (Fall 1990), pp. 357–368.
Vanysacker, Dries, "The Contribution of Scheut (CICM) to Health Care in North China (1865–1953)", *Bulletin de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome* 64 (1994), pp. 11–55.
Walls, Andrew F., "'The Heavy Artillery of the Missionary Army': The Domestic Importance of the Nineteenth-Century Medical Missionary", in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *The Church and Healing: Papers Read at the Twentieth Summer Meeting and the Twenty-First Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Oxford: Published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by Basil Blackwell, 1982.
Wang, Hsiu-yun, "Stranger Bodies: Women, Gender, and Missionary Medicine in China, 1870s–1930s", Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003.
Yao, Kevin Xiyi, *The Fundamentalist Movement among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920–1937*, Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2003.
Zaccarini, M. Cristina, *The Sino-American Friendship as Tradition and Challenge: Dr. Ailie Gale in China, 1908–1950*, Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2001.
Zhen Cheng 甄橙, "Meiguo chuanjiaoshi yu Zhongguo zaoqi de Xi yihu lixue (1880–1930) nian" 美國傳教士與中國早期的西醫護理學 (1880–1930年), (American missionaries and the founding of nursing in China, 1880–1930), *Ziran kexue shi yanjiu* 自然科學史研究 (Studies in the History of Natural Sciences), (2006.4).

4.4. Swedish Protestant Missions in China: A Bibliographic Essay

Fredrik Fällman

The Pioneers

The history of Swedish missions in and Swedish church contacts with China is more than 150 years old. It began when Theodor Hamberg 韓山文 (1819–1854) started work with the Basel Mission 巴色會 in 1847, with the support of the Swedish Missionary Society (*Svenska missionssällskapet*) 瑞典布道會. He worked in Hongkong and adjacent parts of Guangdong in collaboration with the German pioneer missionary Karl Gützlaff and the Chinese Union. In the early 1850s he came into close contact with Hong Ren'gan 洪仁玕, cousin of Taiping leader Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全, and baptised him in Hongkong in September 1853. As a result of this encounter, Hamberg was able to write an early history of the Taiping Rebellion, entitled *The Chinese Rebel Chief, Hung-Siu-tsuen; and the Origin of the Insurrection in China*. The book is mostly based on Hong Ren'gan's account and describes not only the Hong family and Hong Xiuquan's road to power but the publisher also added a short chapter on the life of Theodor Hamberg. It must be considered an important early work in Swedish sinology.[1]

Having initially worked with Gützlaff, Hamberg suspended all contact with him and the Chinese Union in 1851. He published the reasons for this break in his *Report Regarding the Chinese Union at Hongkong*. The slim work consists of three pages written by Hamberg and eight appendices of confessional statements written by Chinese

[1] Gu Changsheng 顧長聲, *Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo* 傳教士與近代中國 (1981), p. 81; Gu Weimin 顧衛民, *Jidujiao yu jindai Zhongguo shehui* 基督教與近代中國社會, pp. 165–166; Hamberg, *The Chinese Rebel Chief, Hung-Siu-tsuen; and the Origin of the Insurrection in China*, London: Walton and Maberly, 1855; subsequently published as "The Visions of Hung-siu-Tshuen, and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection", *The Chinese and Japanese Repository* 1 (July 1863), pp. 22–29; (August 1863), pp. 53–63; (September 1863), pp. 99–111; (October 1863), pp. 150–163. In 1935 a Chinese translation of the work was published as *Taiping Tianguo qiyi ji* 太平天國起義記, trans. Jian Youwen 簡又文, Beijing: Yanjing daxue tushuguan, 1935.

members concerning the situation in the Chinese Union, financial reports and other evidence of Gützlaff's exaggerations.[2]

In 1849 two missionaries were sent to China by the Lund Missionary Society (*Lunds missionssällskap*) 隆德布道會, namely Carl Josef Fast 法士 and Anders Elgqvist 士吉士. They were the first Swedish missionaries to be sent directly to China by a Swedish missionary society. After a brief stay with Hamberg in Hongkong, they soon moved to Fuzhou, Fujian province. Fast was killed during a boat trip in the Min River 閩江 in 1850. Elgqvist worked for about a year among the Hakka before returning to Sweden in 1852, thus ending the China mission of the Lund Missionary Society.[3]

Mission societies

The next Swede to go to China after Fast and Elgqvist was Erik Folke 苻 (1862–1939) in 1887. Inspired by James Hudson Taylor, Folke went as an independent missionary and subsequently started his own mission society, the Swedish Mission in China (*Svenska Missionen i Kina*) 瑞華會, working as an associate mission of the China Inland Mission. Folke adopted many of the CIM work methods and made an agreement with the CIM concerning the training of new missionaries from Sweden. He insisted, however, that the society should be "wholly Swedish". In addition to his missionary tasks, Folke undertook sinological work, translating both the *Zhuang Zi* 莊子 (1924) and *Lao Zi* 老子 into Swedish. He also published a book on early Chinese thought, *Tänkare i det gamla Kina* (Thinkers in Old China).[4]

---

[2] Theodore Hamberg, *Report Regarding the Chinese Union at Hongkong*, Hongkong: Hongkong Register Office, 1851, pp. 1–2. A comprehensive biography of Hamberg and his work in China is found in Herman Schlyter, *Theodor Hamberg: den förste svenska kinamissionären*.

[3] Torbjörn Lodén, "Towards a History of Swedish China Studies", p. 9; Oscar Rinell, "Kina", in Nils Ekberg (ed.), *Missionen i bild*, Stockholm: Svenska Journalen, 1948, p. 120; Herman Schlyter, "Carl Joseph Fast", in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, vol. 15, Stockholm, 1956; Herman Schlyter, "Kinamissionären Anders Elgqvist", in *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* (1960).

[4] Martin Lindén (ed.), *Sändebud till Sinims land: Svenska Missionens i Kina 60–års berättelse*, pp. 21–52; Erik Folke, *Tänkare i det gamla Kina*, Stockholm, 1922; Zhuangzi, *Den äkta urkunden av Chuangtse* (The original record of Zhuangzi), trans. Erik Folke, Stockholm, 1924; Laozi, *Laotse och Tao Te Ching* (Laozi and the Daodejing), trans. Erik Folke, Stockholm, 1927.

The Swedish Mission in China was based in southern Shanxi and adjacent parts of Shaanxi and Henan, with the main work in and around Xi'an, Luoyang and Yuncheng 運城 (Shanxi). The most comprehensive account of this missionary enterprise, encompassing the entire Swedish Mission in China history except for the last few years of the 1940s, is found in *Sändebud till Sinims land: Svenska Missionens i Kina 60-års berättelse* (Messengers to the land of Sinim: the Swedish Mission in China 60th anniversary report). Further details as well as personal experiences can be found in the mission's periodical, *Missionstidningen Sinims land* (Mission magazine Land of Sinim), containing many letters from the mission field.[5]

In 1890 two Swedish churches sent their first missionaries to China: the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden (*Svenska Missionsförbundet*) 瑞典行道會 and the Swedish Holiness Union (*Helgelseförbundet*) 瑞典聖潔會. The Covenant Church worked in Hubei province from 1890 to 1951, with Wuhan as the main station and covering an area along the Yangzi River from Yichang 宜昌 in the west to Huangzhou 黃州 and Xishui 浠水 in the east, and from Macheng 麻城 in the north to Jianli in the south of the province. In 1892 the Covenant Church sent its first missionaries to Xinjiang to work mainly among Uyghurs and other Islamic peoples, but also among the Chinese, mainly in the Chinese part of Kashgar 喀什, i.e. Hancheng 漢城. Mission work was carried out in Kashgar, Yarkand 莎車, Yangihissar 英吉沙 and Khotan 和田. It continued until 1938 when the missionaries were forced to leave the area because of ethnic and political unrest. *Mission och revolution i Centralasien* (Mission and revolution in Central Asia) by John Hultvall is the only modern work that deals with this unique missionary enterprise.[6]

The Hubei work of the Covenant mission was extensive, with churches, schools and hospitals. From the early 1900s onwards its missionaries began to publish books with their observations and memo-

[5] Lindén (ed.), *Sändebud till Sinims land: Svenska Missionens i Kina 60-års berättelse*. *Missionstidningen Sinims land* still exists but has merged with other periodicals and is now published under the name of *Evangeliska Östasienmissionen* (Evangelical East Asia Mission) in Stockholm.

[6] Fredrik Jonsson, *60 år för Gud i Kina: Svenska Missionsförbundet i Hubei 1890–1951* (with a short summary in English); John Hultvall, *Mission och revolution i Centralasien. Svenska Missionsförbundets mission i Östturkestan 1892–1938*; John Hultvall, *Mission and Change in Eastern Turkestan*.

ries concerning their work. One such publication is From the early 1900s onwards its missionaries began to publish books with their observations and memories concerning their work. One such early publication, for example, is *Mörka skuggors land eller något om Kina och dess folklif* (Land of dark shadows or something about China and the life of its people). Subsequently, several Covenant missionaries acquired academic degrees in Sinology. Paul Peter Waldenström 王敦昌 (1838–1917), the founder of the Covenant Church, visited China in 1907 and published his impressions as *Till Kina: reseskildringar* (To China: a travel book). His *Biblisk troslära* (Biblical doctrine) was translated by Chen Chonggui and published as *Shendao gangyao* 神道綱要 in Hankou in 1917.[7]

The Covenant mission also encouraged Chinese talent. One person of particular interest is Chen Chonggui 陳崇桂 (1883–1963), also known as Marcus Ch'eng 陳馬可, who was among the mission's early students in Wuhan. He became a pastor, writer and church leader in China from the late 1920s until his death. He published his first book, *Eko från Kina*, in Swedish. In 1991 the Chinese Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement honoured the memory of Chen Chonggui by publishing a commemorative work entitled *Huainian Chen Chonggui mushi* 懷念陳崇桂牧師.[8]

Important comprehensive works about the Covenant church in China are *Vid Yangtse-flodens stränder. Från Svenska missionsförbundets arbete i Central-Kina åren 1890–1940* (By the banks of the Yangzi River. From the work of the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden in Central China during the years 1890–1940); *Kyrkorna vid Yangtsefloden / The Churches along the Yangtse River* (bilingual); and a later academic thesis, *60 år för Gud i Kina: Svenska Missionsförbundet i Hubei 1890–1951* (60 years for God in China: the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden in Hubei 1890–1951). The Covenant weekly

[7] Peter Waldenström, *Till Kina: reseskildringar*, Stockholm: Normans, 1907. For further details, see Jonsson, *60 år för Gud i Kina*.

[8] Marcus Cheng [Chen Chonggui 陳崇桂], *Eko från Kina: självbiografi och missionstal*; for the English version, see Marcus Ch'eng, *Echos from China, the Story of My Life and Lectures*. Zhongguo Jidujiao sanzi aiguo yundong weiyuanhui 中國基督教三自愛國運動委員會 (ed.), *Huainian Chen Chonggui mushi* 懷念陳崇桂牧師 (Commemorating Rev. Chen Chonggui), Shanghai, 1991. For a recent evaluation of Chen's life, see Bays, "Foreign Missions and Indigenous Protestant Leaders in China, 1920–1955: Identity and Loyalty in an Age of Powerful Nationalism".

Missionsförbundet (Covenant Church)[9] is also a good source of information.

Not much was published in Chinese by the Covenant Church, but what material does exist has a certain importance. *Xingdaohui yishi* 行道會儀式 (Covenant Church rites) (1919) and *Shengli qidao wen* 聖禮祈禱文 [Sacred rites and prayers] (1936) mirror the development of an increasingly independent Chinese Covenant Church . The monthly *Xingdaosheng* 行道聲 (Covenant voice), which started in 1930, is also of interest.[10]

The Swedish Holiness Union was an associate mission of the China Inland Mission (CIM). During the early years the Swedes worked under the CIM, but in 1896 they were assigned their own mission field in northern Shanxi and the work continued until 1951. It was centred around Datong 大同 and Xiping 西坪 and spread into the surrounding areas. In late June 1900 all the missionaries on the field were gathered in Xiping for a conference when they were attacked by a band that had come under the influence of the Boxer movement 義和團運動. All ten of them were killed. Several other mission societies badly affected as well. In total, 56 Swedes perished, including fifteen children. *De svenska martyrerna i Kina år 1900* (The Swedish martyrs in China in 1900) describes these events and offers short biographies of the killed missionaries.[11]

Bibliography

Bays, Daniel H., "Foreign Missions and Indigenous Protestant Leaders in China, 1920–1955: Identity and Loyalty in an Age of Powerful Nationalism", in Brian Stanley (ed.), *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2003, pp. 144–164.

Bundy, David, *Visions of Apostolic Mission: Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission to 1935*, (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica Upsaliensia, 45), Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet; distributed by Uppsala University Library, 2009.

[9] *Missionsförbundet* changed its name to *Svensk vechotidning* (Swedish weekly) in 1939 and in 1992 to *Sändaren: en kristen veckotidning*, organ för Svenska baptistsamfundet och Svenska missionsförbundet.

[10] Only a small amount of Chinese material has been preserved in the Covenant archives and in the Swedish National Archives; both are located in Stockholm.

[11] Sven Kårbrant (ed.), *Ett sekel i Herrens tjänst – en jubileumsbok om Helgelseförbundet 1887–1987*; [Jacobson, Emil, and Otto Öberg], *De Svenska Martyrerna i Kina år 1900. Jämta undkomna missionärers räddning och flykt*, af E. J. och O. E. Ö., p. 13.

Cheng, Marcus [Chen Chonggui 陳崇桂], *Eko från Kina: självbiografi och missionstal,* Stockholm: Svenska missionsförbundet, 1921. English version: *Echos from China, the Story of My Life and Lectures*, Chicago: Covenant Book Concern, 1921.

Gu Changsheng 顧長聲, *Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo* 傳教士與近代中國 (Missionaries and modern China), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1981.

Gu Weimin 顧衛民, *Jidujiao yu jindai Zhongguo shehui* 基督教與近代中國社會 (Christianity and modern Chinese society), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1996.

Hamberg, Theodore, *The Chinese Rebel Chief, Hung-Siu-tsuen; and the Origin of the Insurrection in China*, London: Walton and Maberly, 1855; subsequently published as "The Visions of Hung-siu-Tshuen, and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection", *The Chinese and Japanese Repository* 1 (July 1863), pp. 22–29; (August 1863), pp. 53–63; (September 1863), pp. 99–111; (October 1863), pp. 150–163. In 1935 a Chinese translation of the work was published as *Taiping Tianguo qiyi ji* 太平天國起義記, trans. Jian Youwen 簡又文, Beijing: Yanjing daxue tushuguan, 1935.

Hamberg, Theodore, *Report Regarding the Chinese Union at Hongkong*, Hongkong: Hongkong Register Office, 1851.

Hultvall, John, *Mission och revolution i Centralasien. Svenska Missionsförbundets mission i Östturkestan 1892–1938*. (Studia Missionalia Uppsaliensia, 35), Falköping: Gummesons Tryckeri AB, 1981. Partial English translation: John Hultvall, *Mission and Change in Eastern Turkestan*, Renfrewshire, Scotland: Heart of Asia Ministries, 1987.

[Jacobson, Emil, and Otto Öberg], *De Svenska Martyrerna i Kina år 1900. Jämta undkomna missionärers räddning och flykt*, af E. J. och O. E. Ö. Köping: J. A. Lindblads förlag, 1901.

Jonsson, Fredrik, *60 år för Gud i Kina: Svenska Missionsförbundet i Hubei 1890–1951* (with a short summary in English), Stockholm Chinese Studies Occasional Papers, 2, Stockholm: Centre for Pacific Asia Studies 1997.

Kårbrant, Sven (ed.), *Ett sekel i Herrens tjänst—en jubileumsbok om Helgelseförbundet 1887–1987*, Kumla: Helgelseförbundet, 1987.

Lindén, Martin (ed.), *Sändebud till Sinims land: Svenska Missionens i Kina 60-års berättelse*, Stockholm: Svenska missionens i Kina förlag, 1947.

Lodén, Torbjörn, "Towards a History of Swedish China Studies", in Joakim Enwall (ed.), *Outstretched Leaves on His Bamboo Staff: Studies in Honour of Göran Malmqvist on his 70th Birthday*, Stockholm: The Association of Oriental Studies, 1994.

Palmær, Georg, *Vid Yangtseflodens stränder. Från Svenska missionsförbundets arbete i Centralkina åren 1890–1940* (By the banks of the Yangzi River. From the work of the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden in Central China during the years 1890–1940) Stockholm, Svenska missionsförbundets förlag [1940].

Schlyter, Herman, *Theodor Hamberg: den förste svenska kinamissionären* (Theodor Hamberg: the first Swedish missionary to China), with a short summary in English, Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1952.

Sköld, Eva, *Mörka skuggors land eller något om Kina och dess folkliv*, Stockholm, 1907; 2nd ed. Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundets Expedition, 1912.

Stenström, Gösta, *Kyrkorna vid Yangtsefloden / The Churches along the Yangtse River*, Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundet, 1990.

Waldenström, Peter, *Till Kina: reseskildringar*, Stockholm: Normans, 1907.

Zhongguo Jidujiao sanzi aiguo yundong weiyuanhui 中國基督教三自愛國運動委員會 (ed.), *Huainian Chen Chonggui mushi* 懷念陳崇桂牧師 (Commemorating Rev. Chen Chonggui), Shanghai, 1991.

4.5. Christianity and the Communist Revolution

Tao Feiya 陶飛亞

To a certain extent, Christianity and Communism are both doctrines to reform society, but they advocate different approaches and rely on different social forces. Owing to this, they are in competition with one another when working in the same society. A tension arose between Christianity and the Chinese Communists soon after the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was born in July 1921. The anti-Christian movement of the 1920s was one facet of the anti-imperialism movement and the early Communists apparently took the initiative in founding the Anti-Christian Federation. The CCP followed Marxism's theory that religion, as an illusion reflected in man's mind, was the external force that governs the daily life of people and in a class society the social suffering was the major source for religion. The ruling classes throughout history had made use of religion as the 'opiate' to benumb the will for struggle of the people. Christianity, owing to its foreign identity and association with the might of imperialism, came under particular attack.[1]

Christianity was mentioned formally for the first time in a draft party programme of the Third CCP Congress in June 1923 and was listed as one of the imperialist influences whose development should be confined.[2] However, the Communist Party was still in its embryonic stage and did not have control of any part of the country. Thus, the only thing they could do was to generate much of the early anti-Christian propaganda. Their denunciations generally employed nationalist and anti-imperialist themes rather than issues of religious freedom or scientism. The Chinese Communists had not yet publicly taken a definite stand with regard to Christian missions, and in the ideological discussions criticism of religion received far less attention than was the case in Eastern Europe at the time.

---

[1] Yun Daiying 惲代英, *Yun Daiying wenji* 惲代英文集 (Collected works of Yun Daiying), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984, vol. 1, pp. 371–373.

[2] Central Party Archives 中央檔案館 (ed.), *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji* 中共中央文件選集 (Selection of documents of the CCP's Central Committee), vol. 1, Beijing: Central Party School Press, 1982, p. 112.

Mutual hostility

At the beginning of the Agrarian Revolutionary War (1927–1936), the CCP's provisional central bureau worked out a party programme on land reform in November 1927 which stipulated that all church and temple land should be controlled by peasant associations.[3] The relevant articles were also included in the resolutions concerning the land question of the CCP's sixth congress (1928) and the Chinese Soviet Land Law (1930).[4] Since the revolutionary base areas were virtually all in rural backwater areas, the Party, in its attempt to mobilise the masses to participate in the anti-imperialism movement, singled out the missionaries and their enterprises as targets as the most conspicuous symbols of foreign aggression. On the other hand, in the Outline of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic (1931) the Party proclaimed that its government would guarantee the rights of the labouring people to believe in religions but opposed any kind of religious propaganda. At the same time, the "imperialists' churches would be allowed to survive if they abided by the Chinese Soviet's law".[5] It seems that the policy was somewhat paradoxical and indicates that the Party had not yet developed its own clear way of dealing with Christianity. Consequently, under such circumstances, some churches and mission schools were destroyed, missionaries were expelled and Chinese church workers were regarded as backward elements. As a result, most missions stopped work in those places where the Chinese Communist movement was in control.[6]

On the other hand, the general view held by missionaries and church leaders in China was that Christianity and Communism were incompatible. Such views were partly based on some knowledge of Marxist criticism of religion, partly on the knowledge of the churches' difficult position particularly in the Soviet Union, and partly on their own experiences of Chinese Communism, especially during the early 1930s. Some of them regarded the Communist Party as the enemy of the Church. Thus, the February 1932 issue of *Suggestion for Prayers*, a

[3] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 401.
[4] Ibid., vol. 4, p. 207.
[5] Ibid., vol. 7, p. 462.
[6] *Zhonghua Jidujiaohui nianjian* 中華基督教會年鑒 (China Christian Year Book), vol. 12 (1934), Shanghai: National Christian Council of China, 1934, p. 2.

publication approved by the Vatican, called in its main topic, "Exterminate the Communists in China", for "all believers to pray for the extermination of the Communists" (*Sacred Heart*, no. 2, 1932, p. 38). In contrast, the Christian enterprise enjoyed good relations with the Guomindang 國民黨. Three of the 'Four Big Families' (Chiang 蔣, Soong 宋, Kong 孔) dominating Chinese politics in the 1930s had close relations with Christianity. Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石, 1888–1975) converted and joined a Christian church in Shanghai in 1930. By becoming a Christian, Chiang strengthened his ties with the American establishment, the principal foreign supporters of Christianity in China. Some Chinese Christian leaders were invited as advisers to head up the Nationalists' 'Rural Reconstruction' programme and the 'New Life Movement'. The Communists, therefore, naturally assumed that "Christians often supported reactionaries".[7]

From hostility to moderation

As the Japanese threat to China's sovereignty and territorial integrity increased, the CCP's perceptions of imperialist countries changed temporarily. The Party now considered Japan to be the arch enemy of China while softening its attitude towards the Western countries. Christianity as the religion from the West now became one of the elements in the national 'Anti-Japanese United Front'. In an interview with Edgar Snow (1905–1972), Mao Zedong (毛澤東, 1893–1976) promised that the Party's 'New Policy' would allow foreign missionaries to preach, own land, establish schools and run other enterprises under the Chinese Soviet government.[8] After the Xi'an incident (1936), the Central Committee of the CCP instructed local party organisations "to guarantee religious freedom and not infringe upon the rights of churches and pastors if they are committed to practising their religious duty".[9]

---

[7] See Stanton Lautenschlager, *With Chinese Communists*, p. 17. Canadian-born Lautenschlager 羅天樂 (1888–1950) was a member of the American Presbyterian mission.

[8] Mao Zedong, *Mao Zedong wenji* (Collected works of Mao Zedong), Beijing: People's Press, 1994, p. 394.

[9] Central Party Archives (ed.), *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji*, vol. 11, Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1986, p. 135.

These sporadic internal instructions were published as regulations after the Anti-Japanese War broke out on 7 July 1937. The *Administrative Programme of the ShaanGanNing Border Region* (陝甘寧邊區施政綱領) of February 1939 declared that the Border Region government would protect the foreign Christians and their activities in this area. This article was confirmed in a new administrative programme prepared by Mao Zedong personally on 1 May 1941.[10] At the same time, authorities in other border regions controlled by the CCP proclaimed similar programmes to deal with Christians there. Thus, before the outbreak of the Pacific War (8 December 1941), the Communist Party adopted a new policy concerning Christianity and hoped to present a new image internationally and win the support of both foreign and Chinese Christians.

The war also brought the missionaries into more immediate contact with the Communists, through the latter's guerrilla activities, and the fear and hatred which the missionaries had developed before 1937 gradually disappeared as the Communists abandoned their attacks on Christianity. The feeling of affinity with the Communists increased and even led some of the foreign evangelists to form a tacit alliance with the revolutionaries against the Japanese. Still, a few missionaries continued to talk of the evils of "red Bolshevism".[11]

Allies against the common enemy

Soon after the Pacific War broke out, the CCP devoted itself to building up an international united front with Great Britain and the United States and paid much more attention to the missionaries and Christianity than ever before. Firstly, the Party adjusted its land policy, foregoing confiscation of land belonging to the churches. Secondly, the Communist base area governments took effective measures to protect Christians, missionaries, and church property.[12] In contrast to previous Communist pronouncements, a lengthy editorial in the most important Party newspaper considered the missionary enterprise in a

[10] Ibid., p. 644.

[11] See Fox Butterfield, "A Missionary View of the Chinese Communists (1936–1939)", pp. 252–254.

[12] *JinChaJi ribao* 晉察冀日報 (Shanxi, Chahar and Hebei border region daily), 5 April 1942.

favourable light, particularly with regard to missionary activities since the war began. Moreover, the Party even predicted that Christianity would play an important role in building the future new democratic society.[13]

The CCP's overtures won the goodwill of many missionaries and Chinese Christians who had direct contact with the Communist leaders. Indeed, they were inclined to hold a rather positive and optimistic opinion regarding the relationship between Christianity and Communism. An American missionary who visited Yan'an (延安) and met the top Communist leaders was convinced that "the Chinese communists want Christians to be their friends and not their enemies. For the Church this new attitude makes Yan'an and Chinese communist territory an open door."[14] In practice, during the war, the Catholic and Protestant churches developed as usual in the ShaanGanNing border region and other Communist-controlled areas.[15]

But, owing to the war conditions, Christianity was forced to survive under a different regime in China. The Communist policy was in effect only in a small part of the country. In the occupied territories, missionaries were interned in concentration camps or repatriated by the Japanese—except for French, German and Italian missionaries. Consequently, very few were able to respond to the Party's new message and experience life in the Communist base areas, many of which were behind enemy lines. However, the change of policy demonstrated that the Party had adopted a more mature and pragmatic way to deal with Christianity. In *On Coalition Government* (論聯合政府), presented to the Seventh People's Congress in April 1945, Mao further elaborated the policy on religious freedom, listing the freedom of religious belief as one of the people's basic rights. Mao explained: "The most important freedoms of the people are freedom of speech, publication, assembly, association, thought, belief and person. In China they have been fully realized only in the liberated areas." He added: "According to the principle of freedom of religious belief, various religions should be permitted in the liberated areas of China, whether Protestant or Catholic Christianity, Islam, Buddhism or other religions. As long as the

[13] *Jiefang ribao* 解放日報 (Liberation daily), Yan'an, 2 February 1942.
[14] Lautenschlager, p. 19.
[15] *Xinhua ribao* 新華日報 (New China daily), published in North China, 15 February 1942; 25 December 1944.

believers obey the law, the people's government will protect them. Freedom of belief applies to both believers and non-believers, and no one is allowed to use force or discriminate against them."[16] Mao's pronouncement laid the foundation of the future policy on Christianity.

Confrontation and Accommodation

After the Anti-Japanese War, there was only a brief interlude of peace. Initially, the CCP continued to follow its wartime policy concerning Christianity. On 3 May 1946, the Party's Central Committee directed the leaders in various 'liberated areas' to permit "foreigners to preach and conduct cultural enterprises if they obey the law".[17] As the 'liberated areas' expanded, the policy concerning Christianity became more concrete. The Shandong provincial government, for example, issued a directive on 22 July 1946 that, if churches registered as mass organisations, their legitimate rights would be guaranteed. It warned, moreover, that the tendency of despising Chinese Christians should be corrected and local cadres should study and implement the Party's policy on religion.[18]

However, soon afterwards the Chinese Civil War broke out and the domestic and international situation changed profoundly. As the principal supporter of Christianity in China, the United States' China policy, which supported the Nationalists, had no doubt exerted a negative influence on the CCP's policy towards Christianity. The Communists attacked the Nationalists for allowing Americans to operate "religious and cultural enterprises in China".[19] On 30 August 1949, Mao Zedong strongly denounced American imperialism using Christianity as the tool of "spiritual aggression".[20] Yet in practice the Party did not return to its early "leftist" religious policy but cautiously protected the churches, mission schools and normal religious activities. Only when

[16] *Mao Zedong xuanji* 毛澤東選集 (Mao Zedong's selected works), vol. 4, Beijing: People's Press, 1982, p. 1093.
[17] Central Party Archives (ed.), *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji*, vol. 13 (1987), p. 397.
[18] Shandong Provincial Archive and Shandong Academy of Social Sciences (eds.), *Shandong geming lishi dang'an ziliao xuanbian*, vol. 17, Ji'nan: Shandong People's Press, 1987, pp. 114–116.
[19] *Jiefang ribao*, Yan'an, 26 November 1946.
[20] *Mao Zedong xuanji*, vol. 4, p. 1506.

some Catholic missionaries and Chinese Christian were involved in the Nationalists' military activities were severe measures taken against them.[21] Meanwhile, in the 'liberated areas' church land was subjected to land reform, some priests became targets of struggle sessions and religious activities were sometimes suspended. Clearly, Christian organisations and institutions would have to adapt to the new system during this period of great transition.

In fact, a spirit of fear and anti-Communism swept throughout Catholic and Protestant Christianity on the eve of 'liberation'. It was not only the Catholics, following the Vatican's directions, adopting a hostile attitude towards the Communist revolution, the Protestants did so as well. John Leighton Stuart 司徒雷登 (1876–1962), who had been a missionary prior to his appointment as American ambassador to China, actively followed the U.S. policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek against the Chinese Communists. In July 1947 he encouraged the leaders of the National Christian Council of China to go to Nanjing to tell Chiang that they trusted him and were willing to support him.[22] A good many Chinese Christians, who had little knowledge of the revolution and misunderstood the Communists' victory, thought that "the last days were coming".

Nevertheless, many young Christians, particularly from the mission schools and colleges, were sympathetic towards the Communist cause and had left the church and participated at different stages in the revolution since the founding of the Party.[23] Some even became cadres. Moe importantly, a few Christian leaders were in accord with the trends of the Communist revolution. Wu Yaozong (吳耀宗, 1893–1979), chairman of the publication department of the national YMCA, through his communication with Zhou Enlai (周恩來, 1899–1976), gradually came to see that only the CCP could save China.[24] In 1948 he published an article in the Christian periodical *Tianfeng* (天風), entitled "The Present-Day Tragedy of Christianity", in which he pointed clearly to the way in which Christianity had become a tool for American imperialist cultural aggression. Together with other Chris-

---

[21] *Renmin ribao*, 28 July 1948.

[22] Luo Zhufeng (ed.), *Religion und Socialism in China*, trans. Donald E. MacInnis and Zheng Xi'an, p. 44.

[23] See Eugene E. Barnett, *My life in China, 1910–1936*, p. 189.

[24] Shen Derong 沈德溶, *Wu Yaozong xiaozhuan* 吳耀宗小傳 (A short biography of Wu Yaozong), p. 34.

tians such as Chen Yisheng (陳已生), Shen Tilan (沈體蘭), Ding Guangxun (K. H. Ting 丁光訓), and others, he helped organise the "China Christian Democratic Research Institute", which promoted democracy, opposed the Civil War and expressed progressive ideas. In this way, Wu and his colleagues, representing a part of China's Christians, joined the united front led by the CCP against the Nationalist regime.[25] But this was not the Christian mainstream in China and Wu was fiercely criticised by his colleagues.[26] Many differences remained among Chinese Christians as how to evaluate Christianity's past in China and how to reform it. However, Wu's action demonstrated that a group of Chinese Christians were willing to accommodate to the new situation. It is, therefore, not surprising that it was Wu who led Chinese Christians along the tortuous road under the new regime.

Bibliography

Barnett, Eugene E., *My life in China, 1910–1936*, edited by Jessie G. Lutz, East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University, 1990.

Butterfield, Fox, "A Missionary View of the Chinese Communists (1936–1939)", in Kwang-Ching Liu (ed.), *American Missionaries in China: Papers from Harvard Seminars*, Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1970.

Carbonneau, Robert E., "Journalist and Priest: The Participation of Father Cormac Shanahan, C.P. in the 1944 Press Party to Yan'an, China, His Experiences with Communist Leaders and Ministry to Yan'an Catholics", in Noël Golvers and Sara Lievens (eds.), *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jeroom Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K.U. Leuven*, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, K.U. Leuven, 2007, pp. 29–52.

Central Party Archives 中央檔案館 (ed.), *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji* 中共中央文件選集 (Selection of documents of the CCP's Central Committee), vol. 1, Beijing: Central Party School Press, 1982–.

Gao Wangzhi, "Y. T. Wu: A Christian Leader Under Communism", in: Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996, pp. 338–352.

Lautenschlager, Stanton, *With Chinese Communists* (World Issues, no. 4), London: Edinburgh House Press, 1941.

Luo Zhufeng (ed.), *Religion und Socialism in China*, trans. Donald E. MacInnis and Zheng Xi'an; with an introduction by Donald E. MacInnis and a foreword by K. H. Ting, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1991.

Mao Zedong xuanji 毛澤東選集 (Mao Zedong's selected works), vol. 4, Beijing: People's Press, 1982.

[25] Shen Derong, pp. 42–48.

[26] Gao Wangzhi, "Y. T. Wu: A Christian Leader Under Communism", p. 343.

Schütte, Johannes, *Die katholische Chinamission im Spiegel der rotchinesischen Presse. Versuch einer missionarischen Deutung*, Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957.

Shandong Provincial Archive and Shandong Academy of Social Sciences (eds.), *Shandong geming lishi dang'an ziliao xuanbian* 山東革命歷史檔案資料選編 (Selections of source material from Shandong's revolutionary history), 24 vols., Ji'nan: Shandong People's Press, 1981–1986.

Shen Derong 沈德溶, *Wu Yaozong xiaozhuan* 吳耀宗小傳 (A short biography of Wu Yaozong), Shanghai: Zhongguo Jidujiao sanzi aiguo yundong weiyuanhui, 1989.

Yun Daiying 惲代英, *Yun Daiying wenji* 惲代英文集 (Collected works of Yun Daiying), 2 vols., Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984.

4.6. Christian Communities and China's Ethnic Minorities

Ralph R. Covell

The People's Republic of China (PRC) as defined by its first constitution in 1954, is a "unitary multinational state in which all of the nationalities are equal." After many years, during which ethnographers, sociologists, and historians sorted out the evidence presented by more than four hundred groups that wished to be considered a nationality, fifty-six were identified. The principal nationality, now numbering over one billion people, was the Han people, those traditionally considered Chinese, those descended from the time of the Han dynasty at the time of Christ. The other fifty-five nationalities, ranging in number from fifteen million to several hundred and with a total population of about one hundred million, live within the geographical boundaries of China, are loyal to its government, and are considered citizens of the country. With the exception of the Hui 回 and Manchu 滿族 peoples, they have their own unique language, culture, history, and land. They are inhabitants of *Zhongguo* 中國, China as a political state, but they are not of the "family of Han." Sub-groups, with mutually unintelligible dialects, of the fifty-five minority nationalities may well number over 500.[1] Although scholarly works defining other than the 55 minority nationalities are very few, questions are being raised with respect to the term *minzu* 民族 ("ethnic" or "nationality"). What is the relationship between majority and minority identities? What are the boundaries among various minority groups that seem to differ in traditions, social structures, and language but yet may be classified as belonging to one group, as, for example, the Yi 彝 in Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan? It should, in any case, be noted that much recent scholarship in ethnic identity emphasises that ethnic categories are not static, objective category, but rather fluid, subjective ones.[2]

---

[1] The author's personal knowledge of the Gao Shan in Taiwan (classified by most of China's scholars as one language and one culture) and its divisions into ten mutually unintelligible languages (not 'dialects') may be extrapolated into at least 500 groups. Paul Hattaway, a missionary working with Asian Minorities Outreach in Thailand, has published a comprehensive lexicon, including both extensive pictures and basic data, on several hundred minority groups. See Paul Hattaway, *Operation China: Introducing all the Peoples of China*.

[2] See Vermander, "Between Han and Tibetans: The Yis of Liangshan", pp. 1–10. See also Gladney, "Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities".

The minority nationalities of China may be classified by their language groups, those with populations outside of China, their religions, and their response to the Christian message. With the exception of Tajik, nearly all languages of northeast, north central, and north-western China are Altaic. The many groups in south and southwest are divided into four subgroups: Tai, Tibeto-Burman, Miao-Yao, and Mon-Khmer. Ten nationalities in northern China have significant populations in Russia, Korea, and among the independent republics once constituting the USSR. At least ten groups in southwest China have populations in Laos, Thailand, and Myanmar, some with many Christian adherents.

In general, all minority groups in northern China, with the exception of the Mongols, are Muslims. The Mongols and Tibetans adhere to Lamaism, a form of Buddhism. Nearly every group in southwest China and Taiwan has been dominated by a belief in spirits, a traditional folk religion. One exception is the Dai 傣族, who historically have been committed to Hinayana Buddhism. Even for groups that are Islamic or Buddhist, the principal reality is the spirit world. With the Koreans and also with many groups in southwest China and Taiwan, the Christian faith has gained a strong hold. Some, such as the Lisu 傈僳族 in Yunnan and most groups of the Gao Shan 高山族 in Taiwan, consider Christianity to be their major faith.

Missionaries have sought for more than twelve hundred years to bring the Christian faith to the minority peoples of China. Beginning with the Nestorians during the Tang dynasty (618–907) and continuing at least until the advent of the PRC, Christian workers have tried to penetrate Mongolia, Tibet and areas in what is now Xinjiang in northwest China. Only within the modern era of Christian missions to China, in the late nineteenth century, was missionary work commenced among the many minority groups in southwest China. Dutch missionaries established churches among the minorities in Taiwan early in the seventeenth century, but no effective efforts were made to establish churches among them until about 1870.

At the present time several minority groups (Dai, Manchu 滿族, Dong 侗族, Mulao 仫佬族, Nu 怒族, Zang 藏族, Drung 獨龍族, and Maonan 毛南族) in China have Christian communities, numbering no more than one thousand adherents, and with no strong, vibrant churches. Fourteen nationalities (Zhuang 壯族, Tujia 土家族, Yao 瑤族, Bouyei 布依族, Jing 京族, Yi 彝族, Bai 白族, Miao 苗族, Lahu

拉祜族, Va 佤族, Hani 哈尼族, Korean 朝鮮族, Jingpo 景頗族, and Lisu) have Christian populations numbering from ten thousand to four hundred thousand. Their churches are well established and their members continue to evangelise among their own peoples. With the exception of the Koreans, these groups are located in Yunnan, Guangxi, Guizhou and Guangdong provinces in the south and southwest portions of China.[3]

The lack of Christian communities among the minority groups committed to Islam or Buddhism does not mean that no efforts were made to evangelise them. Undocumented efforts by Roman Catholics to reach into Tibet go back to the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368 A.D.), but the most credible evidence comes from early in the 17th century during the latter years of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). From this time until the coming of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Catholic missionaries have sought to evangelise Tibet, whether from India, the northwest corner of Yunnan, or through western Sichuan.[4]

One set of Catholic statistics for 1949 gave twelve hundred Catholics in Tibet and three thousand Tibetan Catholics in China.[5] In 1996 the first Tibetan priest was ordained to pastor small community of 900 Catholics in south-eastern Tibet very close to the border of northwestern Yunnan.[6] The Protestant effort to evangelise Tibet did not commence until late in the nineteenth century. The results have been minimal with possibly a few converts meeting in house churches in Lhasa. Several Tibetan Christians attend worship services in a Chinese church in the city of Kangding 康定, Sichuan, near the ethnic Tibetan

---

[3] The overview of the present status of the Christian communities comes from Covell, *The Liberating Gospel in China* and Chao, *The China Mission Handbook*, pp. 137–195. The linguistic analysis comes from Ramsey *The Languages of China,* For general information the reader may see Ma Yin (ed.), *China's Minority Nationalities*. Also of general value are Blunden and Blunden *Cultural Atlas of China*, and Dreyer, *China's Forty Millions*.

[4] A detailed chronicle of these efforts may be found in Covell, *The Liberating Gospel*, pp. 33–55. The best book on the early efforts until the early 18th century is by Wu Kunming 伍昆明, *Zaoqi chuanjiao shi* 早期傳教士進藏活動史. Other sources for this Catholic effort come from Launay, *Histoire de la Mission du Tibet* and various issues of *Annales de la Société Missions-Etrangères de Paris*.

[5] Hambye, "Tibet," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14, pp. 151–152 Statistics at the beginning of the PRC rule gave a total of 1,881 believers along the Yunnan-China border. See Liu Dingyin 劉鼎寅, "Tianzhujiao Kangding jiaoqu", *Yunnan Zongjiao Yanjiu* 雲南宗教研究 1995, Vol. 1, p. 57.

[6] *China Church Quarterly*, Newsletter No. 29, Winter 1997, p. 3.

border.[7] A small number of Protestant Christians are to be found in the Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Area 迪慶藏族自治州 (bordering on Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture 怒江傈僳族自治州) in far western Yunnan.[8]

Long before the Roman Catholics and Protestants gave a Christian witness to the Mongols and other tribal groups north of China in the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively, Nestorian Christianity came to China and Mongolia. During its first 200 years its efforts concentrated largely on the Han in China proper. After they were dispersed by severe persecution in the late Tang dynasty (618–906 AD), the Nestorians worked among Mongol-Turkic groups in Mongolia who would later be unified under Genghis Khan. As a result Christian communities developed among the Kerait, Ongkut, and Naiman peoples. The extent to which Christianity penetrated among the Uyghur 維吾爾族 people, who ruled in Mongolia from 745–840, is debated, but during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Christian population of what now is Xinjiang province grew to such numbers that the city of Kashgar 喀什 became the site of a Nestorian metropolitan with twelve bishops associated with him. Today, while isolated Mongol and Uyghur Christians may be found in China as a result of Catholic and Protestant missionary work, there are no ongoing Christian communities made up of these peoples. By contrast, in the People's Republic of Mongolia, once a part of China and where now a greater degree of religious freedom exists, there are quite a few Christian churches with as many as 5000 converts.[9]

While the minority peoples with well-established religions, such as Islam and Buddhism, have resisted the Christian faith, those groups adhering to ancient folk traditions have been more responsive. The nature of their religion has not been the single issue producing their receptivity; rather issues of history, social structure, relationships to the dominant majority, and the way in which the Christian faith reach reached have also been determining factors. Four of these ethnic

---

[7] Personal letter to author from George Kraft, former missionary to Tibet with the China Inland Mission, Spring 1997.

[8] Personal letter to author from Claudia Oblau of Amity Foundation. These Tibetans live in an area populated largely by the Lisu. They worship in a Lisu-language church where the Lisu Bible is used.

[9] For an overview of past Christian activities among these people in China see Covell, *The Liberating Gospel in China*, pp. 105–134, Also see Stewart, *Nestorian Missionary Enterprise*; Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*.

Christian communities—Sediq 賽德克族 in Taiwan, and Miao, Lisu, and Korean on the mainland of China—will be analysed as representative of these communities in general. Each of these four are unique in their experiences and yet have many features in common.

The Sediq (often called Taroko 太魯閣族) are one of ten groups of original inhabitants included among the Gaoshan, high mountain peoples. Their total population is about 350,000, of which at least 50% would profess themselves to be Christian. The Sediq, numbering about 25,000, were the first to believe. The faith first came to them in the late 1930s and reached its height as the Japanese persecuted Christians at the end of World War II. Both Protestant, largely Presbyterian, and Catholic churches may be found in all 46 of their villages, which are located along the Pacific ocean, in the valley between Hualian 花蓮 and Yuli 玉里 as well as in the high mountains near Puli 埔里. Protestant believers alone number nearly 9000. They have formed a presbytery which is an integral part of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan.

Most of the Bible has been translated into the Sediq language, and literacy primers have been developed for use in released-time classes in primary schools. While many church members are farmers, some are doctors, dentists, teachers, and business men. Both church leaders and people have developed a new political consciousness in Taiwan's emerging multipolitical society and are beginning to insist on justice to rectify what they perceive as past inequities.[10]

Many different Miao peoples are to be found in Guizhou and Yunnan Provinces. The largest ethnic Christian community is among the Flowery Miao 花苗 and the Great Flowery Miao 大花苗 in Guizhou. The Christian movement among the Flowery Miao began with James R. Adam of the China Inland Mission in 1903 just north of Anshun 安順. Thousands became Christians, with Adam himself baptizing 6,500. Those inquiring about the faith from farther north he referred to Samuel Pollard 柏格理 (1864–1915), a Methodist missionary working at Zhaotong 昭通 in north-eastern Yunnan and in the mission station, Shimenkan right across the border in north-western Guizhou. He also baptised thousands and the movement spread farther west into the Wuding 武定 area of Yunnan. Even though many other

[10] For a detailed account of the Sediq see Covell, *The Liberating Gospel*, pp. 243–262 and Covell, *Pentecost of the Hills*.

groups would eventually establish churches among the Miao there has always been a sense of unity among the churches.[11]

Since the coming of the PRC in 1949 the Miao churches have faced the same difficulties as Chinese Han churches. Yet they have persevered and have grown to an estimated number of three hundred thousand in Guizhou and possibly as many as fifty thousand in Wuding and Luquan 祿勸 counties in Yunnan.[12] The New Testament was early made available in the language of the Flowery Miao using the unique Pollard script, and by the late 1930s the New Testament was also published for the Black Miao 黑苗 and River Miao 川苗. Miao worship services are simple, filled with music and with several preachers. Believers come from great distances and are not bothered that the service may last for several hours.[13]

Local government officials in the Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture claim that one half of the total Lisu population of 500,000 is Christian and that it would be proper to call them a "Christian people."[14] Catholic missionaries came into Yunnan in the early 1800s. By the early 1900s they had established several churches in north-western Yunnan with more than 1000 adherents among the Nu, the Lisu, and the Tibetans. Their work has not prospered over the years as well as the Protestant effort among the Lisu and Miao.[15]

The pioneer missionary among the Lisu was James Fraser who commenced in his ministry 1909. Fraser faced fierce opposition in his evangelism—demon worship, ancestral rites, the planting and use of opium, and addiction to whiskey. In his preaching and teaching Fraser saw clearly that the best way for the Lisu to accept the Christian faith

---

[11] Many sources may be found for the beginning of the Christian movement among the Flowery (Hua) Miao. For an overview see Covell, *The Liberating Gospel*, pp. 83–104. For detailed analysis see Broomhall, *Some A Hundredfold*; Pollard, *The Story of the Miao*; Kendall, *Eyes of the Earth*; Zhang Tan 張坦, "Zhai men" qian de Shimenkan: Jidujiao wenhua yu Chuan Dian Qian bian Miaozu shehui "窄門" 前的石門坎: 基督教文化與川滇黔邊苗族社會; Liu Dingyin 劉鼎寅, "Jidujiao Xundao gonghui zai Zhaotong diqu de zaoqi chuanbo" 基督教循道公會在昭通地區的早期傳播, *Yunnan zongjiao yanjiu* 雲南宗教研究 vol. 2 (1988). For a critical analysis of this movement see Cheung, "Millenarianism, Christian Movement, and Ethnic Change among the Miao", pp. 217–247.

[12] Covell, *Liberating Gospel*, p. 92.

[13] For a more thorough description of present Miao worship see Wong, "God's Presence Among the Miao," in *Bridge*, No. 24, July–August 1987, pp. 3–11.

[14] Ming, "The Lisu Christians," *Bridge* 43 (September–October 1990), pp. 18–19.

[15] *Lisu zu jianshi* 傈僳族簡史 (A short history of the Lisu), pp. 65–66.

was by families and clans. This followed the pattern of the Miao conversions near Anshun and Zhaotong. By 1916 hundreds of families, often encompassing entire villages, began to follow the Christian way. Within a short period of time the same response was seen by other mission agencies working among the Lisu. For such a movement to have stability it was necessary for the missionaries, now aided by many churches to open Bible schools, to translate Scripture, and to develop programs in the churches to nurture new Christians. Fraser also aided the churches in agriculture as a means to become indigenous, a strong principle with him. At present, lay preachers, in the absence of trained pastors, shepherd hundreds of churches.[16]

The Korean Christian Church is one of the strongest minority Christian churches in China. Korea was not accessible to Protestant mission work until 1884, but missionaries contacted Koreans living in China in the early 1870s, translated the Gospel of Luke and evangelised along the China-Korean border. By 1891 when the Presbyterian church in Korea had been established, it began mission work among the Koreans in China.

Catholic Christianity was begun in Korea much earlier in 1785 through contacts with Catholic missionaries in Beijing. By 1894 the Catholic church, now well-established in Korea, was sending both Western missionaries and Koreans into China to establish Korean churches. Today most of China's Koreans live in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture 延邊朝鮮族自治州 in Jilin 吉林 Province. About 1,250,000 Koreans live in this province among the Han majority. An additional one million Koreans are scattered in Heilongjiang 黑龍江 and Liaoning 遼寧 Provinces and in large Chinese societies. Both the Protestant and Catholic Christian communities are vital, witnessing churches similar to those found in South Korea. Both, like Han churches in China, are divided in their loyalties between the more open churches and the independent autonomous churches.[17] These relations are exacerbated by South Korean evangelists travelling into

[16] The best sources for the Protestant Lisu church are Taylor, *Behind the Ranges*; Covell, *The Liberating Gospel*, pp. 135–152; various issues of the English or American editions of *China's Millions*; T'ien Ju-k'ang, *Peaks of Faith*; the several books by Isobel Kuhn 楊宓貴靈 (1901–1957), a long-time OMF missionary among the Lisu.

[17] Material on the Korean churches in China is taken from Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea*; Annual Reports of the several mission agencies working in Korea, particularly the Presbyterian and Methodist; Kang, "Korean Minority"; Williams and Bonwick, (eds.), *The Korea Missions Year Book*; *The Catholic Church in Korea*.

the area and, according to PRC allegations, stirring up discontent with the Chinese government.[18]

What are the common features that characterise these representative ethnic Christian communities, either in their history or in their ongoing life in China? Each movement can be characterised as a "people movement." This is not to mean that they were mass movements, characterised by large meetings or even by a large number converting to Christ at any one time. Donald McGavran has defined a people movement as "the joint decision of a number of individuals—whether five or five hundred—all from the same people which enables them to become Christians without social dislocation, while remaining in full contact with their non-Christian relatives, thus enabling other groups of that people across the years, after suitable instruction, to come to similar decisions and form Christian churches made up exclusively of members of that people."[19] The key phrase is "without social dislocation." From the beginning there was a sufficient community to give a corporate identity as an emerging people of God.[20]

In each case there was at least one dynamic leader. With the Sediq in Taiwan it was one of their own people, Ji Wang (Jiwang – Iwal 姬望・依娃爾; 1872–1946), the "mother of faith". Conversant in Taiwanese, Japanese, and her own language, Ji Wang was co-opted by the Japanese authorities in the late 1890s and early 1900s to be a peacemaker between the Japanese and her own head-hunting people. She became a Christian in 1924 and, after a short time in a Presbyterian Bible school in Danshui 淡水 and until her death in 1946, she was an ardent evangelist among her own people. Despite being a woman in a male-dominated society, she was highly respected by her people. Her former relationship with the Japanese also meant that she had more freedom to spread the faith than would have been possible for any other leader. During Ji Wang's lifetime other local leaders gave sup-

---

[18] This is found in *Xuanchuan banyue kan* 宣傳半月刊 (Propaganda Biweekly), October 1990 and reported in *China Insight: An OMF Publication*, April 1991, p. 2.

[19] McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*; pp. 297–298. See also an earlier book by McGavran, *Bridges of God*. James Fraser explained how he followed the people-movement approach, even though he used different terminology. See Fraser, "Mass Movements", *China's Millions* (American edition), November, 1937, p. 205. He further developed this in a 7 February 1916 letter to a prayer circle in Great Britain. See Taylor, *Behind the Ranges*, p. 131.

[20] This sense of continued social coherence was facilitated as former festivals were transformed into Christian festivals. This approach was utilised among the Sediq, the Miao, and the Lisu.

port to ground the people in their faith. Also aided by missionaries in specialised tasks, this movement to Christ was indigenous.[21]

The initial visit of John Ross to the China-Korea border, resulting ultimately in the translation of the Gospel of Luke into Korean, and subsequent evangelistic efforts by him and his missionary colleagues were critical into forming a core of believers which could be the foundation for growth and more accessions. The sense of connection which these churches had with concerned churches—largely Presbyterian in the early years—and their many dynamic missionary and Korean leaders was critical in the further development of the people movement among these Korean minorities in northeast China.

James Adam and Samuel Pollard, although ultimately supported by many local Miao Christian leaders, were the catalysts for the people movement among the Miao. Despite representing different mission agencies and often utilizing different strategies, they were alike in many ways. Both were people-persons, aggressive in evangelism, committed to training well those who believed, ardent believers in creating indigenous churches, and totally identified with the people whom they were serving. Equally important, both of these men, particularly Pollard, were champions of these oppressed people. Adam negotiated often with Han and Yi landlords over the Miao to relieve problems of girl snatching and the need of contributing wine for special festivals.

Samuel Pollard stands out as a person who fought against injustice wherever it was found. The editor of the *West China Missionary News* wrote, "It was to him these long suffering, sinning and sinned against thousands made their first appeal in hope of a deliverer."[22] The problems may have been with wizards, landlords, rapacious Miao chieftains, or local government officials. His efforts were not to gain special advantages for Miao converts, as some have incorrectly claimed, to set them above their companions, but to obtain equitable treatment. To the Miao Pollard represented the justice of God in an unjust society.

James Fraser differed from Pollard in that he usually did not deal directly with officials and landlords, but he was a strong and compassionate leader of the Lisu work. He once commented, "Imagine what it is to have between five and six hundred families…looking to you as

[21] Carol Lee Hamrin, "Ji Wang", online *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity*, URL: http://www.bdcconline.net/en/stories/j/ji-wang.php.

[22] *West China Missionary News*, November 1915, p. 1.

father, mother, teacher, shepherd, adviser, etc. It is a big responsibility."[23] Negatively, he protected the people from their fear of oppressive demon possession. Positively, Fraser studied agriculture, convinced that he could help the people economically if he better understood soil, climate, seeds, and growing conditions. Fraser believed that the Lisu church must be self-supporting, and he refused any type of outside monetary help. A man of prayer, Fraser was convinced that spiritual warfare was the key to having a strong church.

Critical to establishing a strong church among China's ethnic minorities has been the translation of the Christian Scriptures into the vernacular languages. The Gospel of Luke preceded evangelism among the Koreans. With the Sediq initial evangelism was done in Japanese in the 1930–46 period, and only in 1954 was the Gospel of Mark in Sediq published. By this time some of the leaders had a rudimentary understanding of Mandarin Chinese.

Adam, Pollard, and Fraser prepared simple Christian literature even as they were learning the Miao and Lisu languages and could use these in doing their work. Only much later was the New Testament and Old Testament portions available. The Sediq, Miao, and Lisu did not have a written language. Missionaries had first to learn the language, reduce it to an appropriate writing system, teach the people to read, and then translate Scripture.

Because of government opposition the Sediq in Taiwan had first to use an adapted version of the Chinese phonetic script, and only much later revise this to a romanised system. For his translation work among the Miao, Pollard developed a unique, normalised script, borrowed, he asserted, from a syllabic used by a missionary among a group of North American Indians. The Pollard script continues to be used today, not only for the Miao churches he founded, but by some other tribal groups, such as the Black Yi in Yunnan. Although now adaptable for use by typewriters and computers, this script will probably be changed in current translation projects coordinated by the United Bible Societies in Yunnan.

Nothing is more important for the corporate identity of a people than to have a written language. Otherwise, as minorities in a dominant society they see themselves as little different from the wild ani-

[23] Taylor, *Behind the Ranges*.

mals roaming near their mountain homes.[24] Norma Diamonds, Professor at the University of Michigan has argued that most Chinese scholars engaged in minority studies see the minorities as in an earlier stage of human history. Hence, to have a script of their own, as a "civilised people," helps them to refute this evolutionary view.[25]

As Chinese scholars investigate and analyse the Christian movement among China's minority peoples, their prime concerns are reasons for belief and the impact of their religious faith upon their community life. They attribute the wide spread of Christianity among Yunnan's minorities to political, social, religious, and cultural features. Two major political components are the nearness of some groups to the border with Myanmar in far western Yunnan. Here they came under the influence of British imperialism which brought both military power and the Gospel.[26] T'ien Ju-k'ang, a scholar from mainland China, has emphasised that the internal political and religious structures of the most responsive groups—scattered and dispersed high in the mountains—was so decentralised that they could not resist either on the government or temple level the intrusion of an outside religion.[27]

However, as minority peoples accepted the Christian faith, they found that the church provided for them a new organisational form. This gave them a corporate identity as a people that they had not had previously. It also gave them a social platform when, either with or without outside help from missionaries, to stand up against oppressive action from landlords and Chinese government officials who had no respect for them.[28]

Another major reason given for faith among minority peoples is that economically they were feudalistic societies with many oppressive elements. Christianity brought freedom from excessive taxation by landlords—Chinese or other tribal groups—and also freed people from wasteful spending on demonolatry, marriage ceremonies, and from

---

[24] The author has heard Sediq Christians talk and pray in this fashion.

[25] Diamond, "Christianity and the Hua Miao: Writing and Power".

[26] Qin Heping 秦和平, "Dianxi bufen shaoshu minzu diqu Jidujiao lishi wenti cutan", pp. 31–32.

[27] T'ien, *Peaks of Faith*, pp. 38–45; the same emphasis is made by Han Junxue 韓軍學, "Shilun Jidujiao zai Yunnan shaoshu minzu wenhua jinchen zhong de diwei he zuoyong", p. 21.

[28] Han, p. 23. The author points out that this sense of emerging political freedom was often a rallying cry to bring more converts into the churches.

drinking, tobacco, and opium. Consequently the peoples' standard of living increased dramatically, and this, in turn, resulted in better habits of cleanliness, community, health, and society stability.[29]

Many economic difficulties faced by the responsive minority peoples in Yunnan derived directly from the traditional religions to which they adhered which demanded sacrifices to appease demons and departed ancestors. Sickness, spells, curses, poor harvests, and failures in hunting could often be relieved only by the sacrifice of hundreds of animals. Many different religious ceremonies, overseen by priests and shamans, brought both economic and psychological pressure upon the people.[30] The economic needs of the people were also met by creative missionary methods, such as Pollard organising a savings club to which each participant made a contribution. Several hundred Miao Christian found this one of the best ways to beat the landlord system.[31]

Robert Montgomery feels that the most significant factors to explain sociologically the spread of religions are issues of domination and subordination. Many scholars have pointed out that minorities in a dominant and dominating society are faced with establishing a corporate identity. A subordinate group, oppressed over the centuries by a dominant group, can find great help and new strength, through accepting the religion of a non-threatening group.[32]

Anthony Wallace paints a broader picture of the crisis into which any society may fall. The crisis my come from dominant-subordinate dynamics, from war or strife between equal groups, or may be stimu-

---

[29] For these several emphases see T'ien, *Peaks of Faith*, pp. 47–52; Han, p. 21; Qin, pp. 35–38.

[30] The influence of traditional religions was sometimes mixed with folk Buddhism and Islam. These are described in Yan Sijiu 顏思久 (ed.), *Yunnan zongjiao gaikuang* 雲南宗教概況 (General situation of Yunnan's religions). One chapter is devoted specifically to religious influence among the Yunnan's minorities.

[31] Kendall, *Eyes of The Earth*, p. 335.

[32] T'ien, *Peaks of Faith* is particularly helpful in giving details of the oppression faced in China by the Miao and Lisu over a long period of time; pp 5–11. He also makes a convincing case that harsh Chinese government policies in the post-liberating years only strengthened Lisu and Miao Christians in their faith; pp. 67–132. In Taiwan the Japanese treated Sediq people very cruelly, deprived them of such identity as they had, and pushed them to find new identity in the "American god." Accounts told personally to the author. For Montgomery's "sociology of missions" approach see "Some Research Directions for the Sociology of Missions," an unpublished paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Religious Research Association, Pittsburgh, Pa., 8–10, November 1991. Also helpful is Montgomery, *The Diffusion of Religions*.

lated by internal social and economic problems. Any of these crises can provoke disequilibrium within society, leading to a decline and collapse. Then, new leaders, new ideas, new goals, and new values—which may be associated with a new religion—can lead to revitalisation and a new future.[33]

As contrasted with hagiographic accounts written to promote the work of Christian missions, Chinese scholars give little credence to transcendent influence or spiritual power. T'ien Ju-k'ang praises "self-denying missionaries" who by precept and example modelled the Christian faith.[34] Qin Heping grants that the use of slide projectors, schools, and medicine was useful, but wonders if these could not have been better adapted to the local environment. On the other hand, he objects when missionaries adapted too extensively to the culture.[35]

The content of the Gospel which the people accepted often fit very well with elements within the culture or the past and current experience of the people. When the flowery Miao became Christians, they interpreted Jesus in his kingly power and thus "followed the traditional pattern of millennial movements in Miao history".[36] This doctrine obviously fit well with Christian teaching on the last judgment. It would be hard to prove that the eschatological content was filled more with ancient Miao expectations than with Biblical teaching.

What was the transcendent truth that most met the need of Miao, the very name that was used by the Chinese as a curse? One Miao Christian stated it well, "I did not use to understand the meaning of the suffering endured by Jesus on the cross. But now we (Miao) have suffered all forms of cruelty that have punished us. This has caused us to know something of the Lord's teaching…"[37] Did the content of the

---

[33] Wallace, *Religion: An Anthropological View*, pp. 30–37.

[34] T'ien, *Peaks of Faith*, pp. 28–31. He says nothing of the content of their preaching and wonders how often they were really understood.

[35] Qin, pp. 39–42. He sees '*minzuhua*' 民族化 as a worthy goal, but finds difficulty with the way in which local terms have been used in Bible translation. T'ien in *Peaks of Faith* deals briefly with the difficulties of contextualisation and raises questions about the reality of conversion among many minority believers, pp. 34–38. With longer experience of actually living among these people many of his questions would disappear.

[36] Cheung, "Millenarianism," p. 232. The author quotes a 1911 missionary letter in which an early convert refers to Jesus as *Klang Meng*, the name for the Miao king. Cheung's claim that Miao often referred to missionaries as "God" is much less reliable evidence.

[37] Zhang Tan, '*Zhai men' qian*, p. 52, quoting from "The Miao People's Saviour," a small booklet published in Hankou in 1939. Much more than any Chinese book on

Gospel count in producing responsiveness or in causing differences in degree of response? Zhang Tan 張坦 in his thorough research of the Miao notes that the later differences between the Methodist and CIM churches was that the former seemed to be more concerned with "indirect preaching" and "educational preaching", while the latter emphasised evangelism.[38]

The original motivation which brought many minorities to faith may have been secular rather than overtly religious. But with them, even as with Christians historically, post-baptismal instruction was crucial. As they were taught Christian truth, they saw clearly that God was in control over all those factors that had influenced them. In the absence of trained, ordained pastors, the Miao and Lisu have to depend largely on lay people to lead them. Despite this, they continue to grow and have developed into stable, responsible, and committed Christian communities.[39] At least three critical problems confront them. Will it be possible to train a sufficient number of pastors to help the people in their faith development? Will the government tend to assimilate the minority peoples or continue to encourage them in using their own cultures and languages? How will churches deal with pressures of modernisation, even in isolated mountain communities.[40] China's new ideology is materialism, and its impact upon the spiritual life of ethnic churches could be devastating. This is not only a pressing issue for the Sediq in Taiwan and the Koreans in northeast China, long accustomed to being sinicised, but it will be equally challenging for the Christian faith in Guizhou and Yunnan.

Bibliography

Annales de la Société Missions-Etrangères de Paris

Blunden, Caroline and Mark Elvin, *Cultural Atlas of China*, New York: Facts on File, 1983.

Broomhall, Marshall, *Some a Hundredfold: The Life and Work of James R. Adam Among the Tribes of South-West China*, London: Morgan and Scott, n.d.

Chao, Jonathan, (ed.), *The China Mission Handbook: A Portrait of China and Its Church*, Hong Kong: Chinese Church Research Centre, 1989.

---

the minorities, Zhang's work gives a thorough analysis of both theological and non-theological reasons for faith among the Miao.

[38] Zhang Tan, '*Zhai men' qian*, p. 265.

[39] For the current conditions of some of these minority churches see chapter summaries in Covell, *The Liberating Gospel*…and T'ien, *Peaks of Faith*, p. 43.

[40] Young, *China*, pp. 237–266.

Cheung, Siu-woo, "Millenarianism, Christian Movement, and Ethnic Change among the Miao in Southwest China", in Stevan Harrell (ed.), *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995, pp. 217–247.
China Church Quarterly US Catholic China Bureau, Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J., Newsletter No. 29, Winter 1997.
China Insight An OMF Publication, April 1991.
Covell, Ralph R., "Christianity and China's Minority Nationalities", in Stephen Uhalley, Jr., and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk and London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.
Covell, Ralph R., *The Liberating Gospel in China: The Christian Faith Among China's Minority Peoples*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1995.
Covell, Ralph R., *Pentecost of The Hills in Taiwan: The Christian Faith Among the Original Inhabitants*, Pasadena, California: Hope Publishing Company, 1997.
Dawson, Christopher, *The Mongol Mission*, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955.
Diamond, Norma, "Christianity and the Hua Miao: Writing and Power", in Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*, pp. 138–157.
Dreyer, June Teufel, *China's Forty Millions*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.
Fraser, J. O., "Mass Movements Among the Aborigines," *China's Millions*, (American edition), November 1937.
Gladney, Dru, "Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 53, February 1994.
Han Junxue 韓軍學, *Jidujiao yu Yunnan shaoshu minzu* 基督教與雲南少數民族 (Christianity and ethnic minorities in Yunnan), Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 2000.
Han Junxue 韓軍學, "Shilun Jidujiao zai Yunnan shaoshu minzu wenhua jinchen zhong de diwei he zuoyong" (Explaining the standing and usefulness in cultural development of minority churches in Yunnan), *Yunnan zongjiao yanjiu* 雲南宗教研究, Volume 1, 1991.
Hambye, E. R., "Tibet", *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1967. Volume 14, pp. 151–2.
Hattaway, Paul, *Operation China: Introducing all the Peoples of China*, Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library; Carlisle, U.K.: Piquant, 2000. Chinese version: 揚天民 (Paul Hattaway); 主編黃穎穎], *Zhongguo de shaoshu minzu* 中國的少數民族, edited by Huang Yingying 黃穎穎, Skudai, Johor, Malaysia: 協傳培訓中心, 2004.
Kang, Wi Jo, "Korean Minority Church-State Relations in the People's Republic of China", *International Bulleting of Missionary Research* 14,2 (April 1990), pp. 77–82.
Kendall, R. Elliott (ed.), *Eyes of The Earth: The Diary of Samuel Pollard*, London: Cargate, 1954.
Kraft, George, Personal letter to author, Spring 1997.
Launay, Adrien, *Histoire de la Mission du Tibet*, Paris: Desclee, De Brouwer, 1930.
Lisu zu jianshi 傈僳族簡史 (A short history of the Lisu), Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, 1983.
Liu Dingyin 劉鼎寅, "Tianzhujiao Kangding jiaoqu Yunnan duoqu gaishu" 天主教康定教區, Kunming: Renmin Chubanshe, 1995, Volume 1.
Liu Dingyin 劉鼎寅, "Jidujiao Xundao gonghui zai Zhaotong diqu de zaoqi chuanbo" 基督教循道公會在昭通地區的早期傳播, *Yunnan zongjiao yanjiu* 雲南宗教研究 2 (1988).
Ma Yin (ed.), *China's Minority Nationalities*, Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1989.
McGavran, Donald A., *Understanding Church Growth*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1970.
McGavran, Donald A., *Bridges of God: A Study in the Strategy of Missions*, New York: Friendship Press, 1955.

Ming, "The Lisu Christians" in *Bridge: Church Life in China Today*, Hong Kong: Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, Volume 43, September–October, 1990.
Montgomery, Robert, *The Diffusion of Religions A Sociological Perspective*, New York: University Press of America, 1996.
Montgomery, Robert, "Some Research Directions for the Sociology of Missions", an unpublished paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Religious Research Association, Pittsburgh, PA., November 1991.
Oblau, Claudia, Amity News Service, Item 96.1.10
Paik, George, *The History of Christian Missions in Korea*, Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1927.
Pollard, Samuel, *The Story of the Miao*, London: Henry Hooks, 1919.
Qin Heping 秦和平, "Dianxi bufen shaoshu minzu diqu Jidujiao lishi wenti cutan" 滇西部分少數民族地區基督教歷史問題醋壇 (An initial investigation into questions about the history of the Christian Church in the minority areas of western Yunnan", *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 3 (1987).
Ramsey, Robert S., *The Languages of China*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987.
Stewart, John, *Nestorian Missionary Enterprise*: *A Story of a Church on Fire*, Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1928.
Taylor, Mrs. Howard, *Behind The Ranges Fraser of Lisuland Southwest China*, London: Lutterworth Press, 1944.
T'ien, Ju-k'ang, *Peaks of Faith Protestant Missionaries in Revolutionary China*, New York: E.J. Brill, 1993.
The Catholic Church in China, Hong Kong: Imprimerie de la Société des Missions-Etrangères, 1924.
Vermander, Benoît, "Between Han and Tibetans: The Yis of Liangshan", *China News Analysis* (15 February 1997).
West China Missionary News, November 1915.
Williams, F. E. C., and Bonwick, Gerald (eds.), *The Korea Missions Year Book*, Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1928.
Wong, Tak Hing, "God's Presence Among the Miao," *Bridge: Church Life in China Today*, Hong Kong: Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, No. 24 (July–August 1987).
Wu Kunming 伍昆明, *Zaoqi chuanjiaoshi jin Zang huodong shi* 早期傳教士進藏活動史 (A History of the Work of Early Missionaries in Tibet), Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 1994.
Yan Sijiu 顏思久 (ed.), *Yunnan zongjiao gaikuang* 雲南宗教概況 (General situation of Yunnan's religions), Kunming: Yunnan University Press, 1991.
Young, Graham (ed.), *China Dilemmas of Modernisation*, London: Croom Helm, 1985.
Zhang Tan 張坦, *"Zhai men" qian de Shimenkan: Jidujiao wenhua yu Chuan Dian Qian bian Miaozu shehui* "窄門" 前的石門坎: 基督教文化與川滇黔邊苗族社會 (The stone threshold in front of the "narrow door": Christian culture and Miao people's society of the border regions of Sichuan, Yunnan and Guizhou provinces), Kunming: Yunnan Educational Publishing House, 1992.

4.7. Christian art and architecture

Françoise Aubin

When the missionaries were able to embark on the evangelisation of inland China, from the mid-nineteenth century, the Jesuit experience of the great age [of the China mission] was closed to them. For the Catholics, as for the Protestants, the setback of their predecessors had a whiff of heresy; and the works that had been the delight of the Enlightenment, were not authorised in the European seminaries of the nineteenth century. The missionaries arrived thus in terra incognita and they had to acquire by themselves their knowledge of the cultural environment. The evolution of their conception of the visual apostolate, by architecture, decoration, imagery, which had a significant place in their methods of propagation, reflects directly the ups and downs of the inculturation of the Christian message in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Religious architecture

The controversy surrounding the architectural style proposed to the church builders in China is not yet closed in our days; and the arguments have been advanced with equal force in favour of one or other solution: an European style or an indigenous style? In the second half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, Christian China was endowed in important cities with neo-gothic edifices (such as for example the cathedral at Canton, or St. Ignatius Church at Xujiahui 徐家匯, Shanghai), in keeping with the taste of the Romantic period for medieval gothic, considered to be the only truly religious style and appropriate to uplift the soul (for the Italians the Renaissance style played the same psychological role). The name that remains attached to the neo-Gothic architecture, and the subordinated neo-Romanesque, in North China (such as at Beijing, the decoration of the cathedral church of St. Saviour 救世主堂—rebuilt in 1887 and more commonly called the Beitang 北堂 or North Church—and the memorial chapel at 'Shala' or Zhalan 柵欄) and even in Central China (notably the Romanesque basilica built in 1917 at the pilgrimage site of 'Zosè' or Sheshan 佘山 in the outskirts of Shanghai), is that of the Belgian priest Alfons De Moerloose 和羹梅 [柏] CICM (1858–1932).

An architecture graduate of the St. Lucas Institute of Gent and an enthusiast of Flemish art, he built his first Gothic church in Gansu in 1891, and from 1909—released from his congregational vows—he devoted himself until 1928 entirely to the apostolate through architecture, interior decoration, and furniture for places of worship.[1] He was praised for his harmonious juxtaposition of local architectural material, wood and bricks, in a medieval inspiration, the purity and sobriety of his decorations of alternating white marble and granite, his ability to teach Chinese artisans European sculpture in stone and wood.

But in the 1920s he moved against the stream of aesthetics of the times. At the moment when the nationalism of Young China manifested itself, the Catholic Church proclaimed, through the voice of the Delegate Apostolic Celso Costantini 剛恆毅 (1873–1958). Costantini, who was in China from 1922 to1933, was a trained artist himself. Soon after his arrival, he began to encourage the development of a distinctively Chinese Christian art.[2] He was convinced that the Western style of art was not suited to China and would reinforce the impression that Christianity was a Western, not an universal religion. As one of the proposal of the first plenary council (or national synod), convened by Costantini at Shanghai in 1924, stated: "In constructing and decorating the sacred buildings and residences of the missionaries, styles of foreign art should not be employed, but, as far as possible and according to the opportunity, forms of the native art of the Chinese people should be used. (n. 453)"[3]

In order to implement the decision to Sinicise Catholic church design, Costantini chose in 1925 the Dutch Benedictine architect, Dom Adelbert Gresnigt 葛斯尼, as his close collaborator. The supporters of an indigenous religious art argued that to impose the ways appropriate for the European Middle Ages would in China be in bad taste, an anachronism, offensive to the Chinese cultural tradition and a serious pedagogical mistake. The worship could, they said, adapt very well to

---

[1] See Van Hecken, "Alphonse Frédéric De Moerloose", (1968).

[2] First document: a letter from Mgr Costantini to two superiors of mission, namely Edward J. Galvin 高爾文 SSC of Hanyang and James E. Walsh 華理柱 MM of Kongmoon 江門, 23 April 1923, published as "Universalité de l'art chrétien", in *Bulletin des MEP* (1924), pp. 20–25. See also Costantini 1926 and 1940/1949; "Quelques idées…"; Gresnigt, 1928/1932; "Art chrétien chinois", 1932. Note that in some accounts Gresnigt's Chinese names is given as 格里森 and 葛利斯.

[3] Quoted in Sergio Ticozzi, "Celso Costantini's Contribution to the Localization and Inculturation of the Church in China", *Tripod* 28, no. 148 (Spring 2008), p. 19.

the space of a large, open rectangular hall, its largest side facing south; and if the investment in large tree trunks was too great for a parish in need, it would be possible to use reinforced concrete and afterwards paint it to create the effect of supporting columns and roof frame.

In retrospect, the controversy took on the aspect of a dialogue of the deaf, between the conservationists, partisans of Gothic, for whom the local architecture—a huge roof planted on posts—looked 'heavy', "repetitious", "an infantile conception" or even "non-existent", and the modernists, well informed lovers of Chinese art.[4] Each party claimed to rally to its cause the general opinion of Chinese Christians. Thus, Fr. De Moerloose, who from the very beginning of his career thought that "the Chinese, even Christians stick to their architecture with incurable chauvinism",[5] believed in the 1920s that the 'Old Christians' (i.e., the descendants of families converted long ago) preferred the more religious European style; that—the evolution of China tending towards Westernisation—the partisans of the 'pagoda' style were in last analysis recruited only from among the Europeans. To which the modernists replied that a new convert was always more proud of a church in traditional style than in European style, and that, if he were of a contrary opinion, that is because his taste had been detestably corrupted by the missionaries themselves.

Under the direction of Dom Gresnigt several large edifices were erected, inspired by the Chinese style, such as the dormitory of Furen University in Beijing, the regional seminaries at Kaifeng and Hongkong, the church of the Chinese religious congregation of the Disciples of the Lord 主徒會 at Xuanhua 宣化 (some 30 km south of Kalgan 張家口).[6]

In 1941 a precise and illustrated manual, *Comment bâtirons-nous églises, chapelles, écoles en Chine* [How we build churches, chapels, schools in China] popularised the technical knowledge required for adapting the Chinese style to religious architecture, replacing an earlier manual, *Le Missionnaire-constructeur* (1926) that had been decidedly hostile toward this indigenous style.

---

[4] For bibliographic information on the controversy, see Joseph Dehergne, "L'Eglise de Chine au tournant (1924–1949)", *BUA* 10, No. 29 (June 1949), pp. 417–555, No. 30 (October 1949), pp. 655–778.

[5] Letter dated 25 January 1891, in *Missions en Chine et au Congo* (Missions de Scheut), No. 34 (November 1891), p. 534.

[6] For illustrations, see Gresnigt, 1928 or 1932.

It is customary to trace the beginnings of a proper Chinese Christian art to the first intervention by Mgr Costantini in 1926.[7] That is true, to be sure, as a theoretical and systematic expression, but not at all in practice. For in the interior of China the missionaries had been building for a long time their chapels, their residences, their schools, 'without style' they said, that is to say on the model of local dwellings, but more solid. Since 1883, small delightful buildings in Chinese style were reported from Gansu, for example. In North China, the design of small churches was usually in the shape of the letter 'L', called *renzitang* 人字堂 by the Christians, or, according to the missionaries, "pants church", after the manner of winter trousers which stand upright by themselves when filled with wool and padding. Thus, a church consists of two identical buildings, each with its own entrance, communion rails, confessional, stations of the cross, the one building for men, the other for women, but joined at right angles. On the inside the junction of the two naves is indicated by one high altar and by a little bell-tower on the outside. When a church or chapel has only one nave, the male attendees stay in the front and, separated by a communion rail, the female attendees stay in the back. The faithful attend service by kneeling on the floor or, during the sermon, seated cross-legged on cushions they have brought along.

Protestants, too, had to face up to the dilemma of the architectural style and resolved it in practice like the Catholics, but with less polemical tension. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries they applied the Neo-Gothic (English style) in the coastal cities and adopted the Chinese cottage style in the interior of the country. Then, in the 1920s, the Anglo-Saxon admirers of Chinese art promoted the Sinicisation of edifices, whereas the cultured Chinese converts tended to prefer the medieval European style. In 1926 Mgr Costantini gave as an example to the Catholics[8] the (successful) result of the new buildings of Yenching University on the outskirts of Beijing.[9]

---

[7] See for example A. Chan, "Missionary Art", *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* IX (1967), p. 910.

[8] Costantini (1926), p. 227.

[9] See West, *Yenching University*, (1976), p. 38.

Decoration, iconography, sacred music

The interior decoration of places of religious worship and meeting places as well as religious furniture and objects of worship were more easily and quickly sinicised than the architecture. The movement, which actually concerned only Catholics and Anglicans, met with two difficulties. One was aesthetic: how can an altar overloaded with Chinese-style carvings be integrated into a Gothic church? The second is of a theological kind. Symbolic propitiation, basically puns and rebuses, had to be ruthlessly eliminated from works of art, as remnants of 'pagan superstitions' to be condemned. Among the Catholics one could rely on the vigilance of the 'Old Christians', the guardians of orthodoxy.

In iconography the reverse was the obstacle. First of all, avoid carelessness in representations that risk shocking Chinese modesty: no unclothed prophets, no St. John covered simply by sheepskin, and above all, essential interdiction, no women with bare feet; no unintentional introduction of elements with a pejorative connotation, such as the hare, often a symbol of homosexuality; nor the error of historical appreciations. Thus, the painting "Our Lady of China" 中華聖母, completed by the Jesuit lay brother Simon Liu 劉 (1843–1912) in 1909 for the pilgrimage centre of Donglü 東閭 (vicariate apostolic of Baoding, 175 km south of Beijing) caused a lot of ink to flow in the years following the fall of the Qing, because the Virgin Mary had been represented in the attitude and the costume of the Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧太后 (1835–1908), as painted by an American artist, Miss Katharine Augusta Carl 卡爾 (1858–1938).

The evangelical missionaries—the majority of the Protestant force in the interior of China—who took biblical posters in support of their preaching itinerations at street corners and along the roads, quickly found the images produced in England to be inappropriate, so that they had to be made locally, for example to illustrate 'The Pilgrim's Progress'. Some particularly original and attractive devices directed at Chinese-speaking Muslims during the republican era had bands in vivid colours with Arabic and Chinese calligraphy, the stylised Christian symbols not offending Islamic sensibilities.[10]

[10] Aubin, "Apostolat protestante", (1991), pp. 38–39.

Catholic evangelisation relying on the catechism, attention was focused on the catechism in images,[11] as was done in nineteenth-century Europe. Until Msgr. Costantini started the sinicisation movement, the only catechism in images in China consisted of 70 black-and-white images taken from a French catechism at La Bonne Presse of Paris (a publication of the Lazarist vicariate of Baoding).[12] The first sinicised illustrated catechism in colour is the work of the Belgian Leo Van Dijk 葛葉德 CICM (1878–1951) who was in China from 1930 until 1946. His *Wenda xiangjie* 問答像解, in 40 plates, published in Beijing in 1927 and accompanied by a commentary in Chinese (Tianjin, 1927, 80 pp.), was the result of painstaking work (between 1924 and 1926; the author remarked that he often worked ten hour per day), to make available to children and illiterates scenes which they could comprehend.[13] Its success spread rapidly across all of China. However, as was pointed out, with praise at the time, but with reproach in our days, that is was not Chinese art but 'sinified' European art.

Still, a beginning had been made and the way was free to pursue the total sinicisation of Catholic pictorial art. For example, Bernard Francis Meyer MM (1891–1975), prefect apostolic of Wuzhou, created his own catechism illustrated with engravings for the Maryknoll missions by first following Van Dijk's model (1937) and afterward sinicising it (1939).[14] It was above all the artist Edmond ('Mon') Van Genechten 方希聖 CICM (1903–1974), confrere of De Moerloose and Van Dijk, who produced with great talent all kinds of Chinese art, popular art and sophisticated art, and with varying support, fresco painting in the Dunhuang style, scenes from the gospels as timeless landscapes in the Tang style in paintings on silk or colour wash, realistic portraits in pen and ink, woodcuts or drypoint on zinc. In 1938 Archbishop Costantini (at that time Secretary of Propaganda Fide) appointed him professor at the Art School of the Catholic Furen University in Beijing to give theological guidance to the inspiration of painters who as recent converts or future converts were devoting themselves there to Christian art. The most celebrated are Luke Chen Yuandu 陳緣督 (1903–1967),

---

[11] Bibliography in Dehergne, (1949), pp. 536–538, 728–730.

[12] See Wiest, *Maryknoll in China*, p. 297.

[13] Review in *BCP* no. 167 (July 1927), pp. 328–377. It was followed by an illustrated Life of the Saviour, *Jiuzhu xingshi tujie* 救主行實圖解 (published in one Chinese *ben* 本 in 1935, with 40 drawings in a naïve style) and some liturgical pictures.

[14] Wiest, *Maryknoll in China*, pp. 299–305.

Georges Wang Suda 王肅達 (1911–), Johannes Evangelista Lu Hongnian 陸鴻年 (1914–1989).[15] Presently the most prominent Christian painter is He Qi 何琦, a Protestant.

By the 1930s Chinese embroidery was also occasionally adopted, to decorate a chasuble, but one had doubts about the Chinese taste for the "bright and colourful". Among the common people of converts, an inculturation of the correct message manifested itself, in contrast, by abandoning all traditional decoration, for the benefit of Christian symbolism, for example in the ornamentation of coffins; and the *duilian* 對聯, the vertical written couplet placed along either side of a doorway, had to be biblical.

Hymnology went through the same evolution as pictorial art, but it was easier to translate words into a good Chinese written style (before 1920) or the vernacular, and adapt it to the Chinese music scale. The Protestants, for whom hymns form an essential part of worship and prayer, very quickly created a comprehensive repertoire.[16] Moreover, by the end of the Qing at least one hymn, composed by a Chinese pastor—the famous 'Pastor Hsi' (Xi Shengmo 席勝魔; 1835–1896)—was very popular with Protestant congregations. Today one can still discover elements of an independent Protestant repertoire from the 1920s which were orally transmitted.[17]

With the Catholics the situation is complicated by the use of two repertoires.[18] Gregorian plainchant is required of seminarians and priests, whereas the communities of believers have their own psalmodies and several choirs which the new missionaries considered horribly discordant and monotonous. The 'Old Catholics' preserved at least until the end of the *ancien regime* Chinese-style melodies that had been introduced by the Jesuits of old. The custom of noisily celebrating feasts and important events with firecrackers and cymbals after the restart of the missionary movement in the middle of the nineteenth century is also due to them.

---

[15] See Bornemann, *Ars Sacra Pekinensis*.

[16] See detailed surveys (with Chinese characters) of hymn books published in China between 1818 and 1909 in *China Mission Year Book* (1912), by William Munn, pp. 244–253; Donald MacGillivray, pp. 253–259.

[17] *CHIME Journal* 6 (1993), pp. 128–129, based on a survey undertaken in Gansu province.

[18] For a bibliography of religious music, see Dehergne (1949), p. 730; see also Costantini, (1949), pp. 193–202.

If the missionaries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had forgotten the work of the predecessors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Old Christians ensure a continuity, much more emphatically than one can imagine, in emphasising a communal identity. A look back at the artistic sinicisation before 1950 also helps one to comprehend how little time there was to develop it. It has begun again since the 1980s and it is curious to observe that the architectural model followed in all places is from now on freely inspired, and with much imagination, by the European style. The 'pagoda' style, as it was called by those hostile to it, is not at all in fashion, nor is it with the Muslims who are now adopting a Pakistan-Arab style.[19]

Bibliography

"Art chrétien chinois", *CCS* 5,5 (1932), pp. 403–523.

Aubin, Françoise, "L'apostolat protestant en milieu musulman chinois", *Actes du colloque international de sinologie* IV, 1991, pp. 12–74.

Bierchane, Joseph, "Urbanisme et églises chinoises", *Eglises d'Asie*, supplement no. 5 (November 2008), pp. 66–73.

Bornemann, Fritz, *Ars Sacra Pekinensis. Die chinesisch-christliche Malerei an der Katholischen Universität (Fu Jen) in Peking*, Mödling bei Wien: Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel, 1950.

Chan, A., "Missionary Art", *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* IX (1967), p. 910.

Charter, Vernon, and Jean DeBernardi, "Towards a Chinese Christian Hymnody: Processes of Musical and Cultural Synthesis", *Asian Music* 29,2 (Spring/Summer 1998), pp. 83–113.

Chen, John Shujie, *The Rise and Fall of Fu Ren University, Beijing: Catholic Higher Education in China*, New York: Routledge Falmer, 2004.

Cody, Jeffrey W., *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's 'Adaptive Architecture', 1914–1935*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.

Cody, Jeffrey W., "Striking a Harmonious Chord: Foreign Missionaries and Chinese-style Buildings, 1911–1949", *Architronic* 5,3 (December 1996). Electronic. URL: http://corbu2.caed.kent.edu/architronic/v5n3/v5n3.03ref.html

Comment bâtirons-nous églises, chapelles, écoles en Chine?, special issue, *CCS* 19,2 (1941).

Costantini, Celso, "Sur la nécessité d'un art chrétien indigène en pays de mission", in Semaine de missiologie de Louvain, *Autour du probléme de l'adaptation: compte rendu de la quatriéme Semaine de missiologie de Louvain (1926)*. Museum Lessianum, no.6. Louvain: Editions du Museum Lessianum, 1926, pp. 227–231. (Costantini's name has been misspelled 'Constantini'.)

Costantini, Celso, *L'Arte cristiana nelle missioni*, Vatican City, 1940. French trans.: *L'art chrétien dans les missions. Manuel d'art pour les missionnaires*, Paris, Bruges, Amsterdam: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949.

[19] Note the new Chinese periodical *Yage—yishu shijie. The Journal of Christian Art and Architecture*.

Costantini, Celso 剛恒毅, and Sun Maoxue 孫茂學, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao mei shu* 中國天主教美術 (Catholic art in China), Taizhong: Guangqi chubanshe, 1968.
Dehergne, Joseph, "L'église de Chine au tournant (1924–1949)", *BUA* 10,29 (June 1949), pp. 417–555; 10,30 (October 1949), pp. 655–778.
Faber, Tobias, *Johannes Prip-Møller: A Danish Architect in China*, Hongkong: Christian Missions to Buddhists, 1994.
Gresnigt, Adelbert, "Chinese Architecture", *BCP* 4 (May 1928), pp. 33–45. Trans. into French as "Architecture chinoise", *CCS* 5,5 (1932), pp. 418–437.
Gu Weimin 顧衛民, *Jidu zongjiao yishu zai Hua fazhan shi: (Tang Yuan Ming Qing shi qi)* 基督宗教藝術在華發展史: (唐元明清時期) (A history of Christian arts in China: Tang, Yuan, Ming, Qing periods), Xianggang: Daofengshan jidujiao conglin, 2003; Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2005; Xianggang: Daofengshan jidujiao conglin, 2006.
Johnston, Tess, and Deke Erh, *God and Country: Western Religious Architecture in Old China*, Hongkong: Old China Hand Press, 1996.
Laufer, Berthold, *Christian Art in China*, Beijing: Licoph Service, 1939. Extract from *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, 13. Jahrgang, Erste Abteilung, Ostasiatische Studien, 1910.
Prip-Møller, Johannes, "Christian Architecture in New-Christian Communities", *CR* 70 (1939), pp. 357–365.
"Quelques idées sur un art chrétien chinois", *BCP* 11, no. 128 (1924), pp. 127–130, no. 129, pp. 177–183, no. 130, pp. 218–221.
Swerts, Lorry, and Koen De Ridder, *Mon Van Genechten (1903–1974): Flemish Missionary and Chinese Painter: Inculturation of Chinese Christian Art*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002. First published in Dutch: Swerts, Lorry, *Mon Van Genechten: Vlaming & Chinees kunstenaar*, Geel [Belgium]: L. Swerts, 1994.
Thiel, Franz Josef, "Die christliche Kunst in China", in Franz Josef Thiel, *Die Begegnung Chinas mit dem Christentum: Ausstellung: Christliches Kunstschaffen in China 21. Mai–31. Okt. 1980*, St. Augustin : Haus Völker und Kulturen, 1980.
Ticozzi, Sergio, "Celso Costantini's Contribution to the Localization and Inculturation of the Church in China", *Tripod* 28, no. 148 (Spring 2008), pp. 11–28. For the Chinese version, see Tian Yingjie 田英傑 [Ticozzi], "Gang Hengyi dui Zhongguo jiaohui benweihua ji bendihua de gongxiang" 剛恒毅對中國教會本位化及本地化的貢獻, *Ding* 鼎 (Tripod) 28, no. 148 (2008), pp. 10–22.
Van Genechten, Edmond, "Principes d'esthétique chinoise", *Bulletin des Missions* 13 (1949), pp. 244–258.
Van Hecken, Joseph L., "Alphonse Fréderic De Moerloose C.I.C.M. (1858–1932) et son œuvre d'architecte en Chine", *NZM* 14,3 (1968), pp. 161–178.
Warner, Torsten, *German Architecture in China*, Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1994.
West, Philip, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916–1952*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.
Wiest, Jean-Paul, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918–1955*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1988.

4.8. China's Missionary-Scholars

Lauren F. Pfister

Missionary-Scholars: Who were they?

Although there were Catholic missionaries who lived and served even in the imperial house during the last two dynasties of imperial China, and some produced works in both Chinese and European languages about the dimensions of Chinese culture which they came to understand, they were only able to anticipate the development of what later would become the tertiary academic disciplines of sinology in Europe and Chinese studies in North America.[1] European scholars who became interested in studying Chinese followed the proto-sinological writings of Jesuits and Catholic missionaries of other orders, but almost none of them had ever lived in China.[2] As a consequence, when the first Protestant missionaries arrived in China during the early decades of the nineteenth century, such as the first member of the London Missionary Society sent to south-eastern China, Robert Morrison 馬禮遜 (1782–1834), and the American missionary from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Elijah Bridgman 裨治文 (1801–1861), they considered the systematic study of Chinese language and literature to be part of their missionary work, especially for the sake of later generations of missionaries who would follow in their steps. As a consequence, Morrison's trilingual (Cantonese, *guanhua* 官話, English) six volume dictionary[3] and Elijah Bridgman's (1801–1861) *Chrestomathy*[4] set the foundations for later missionaries to enter into a more substantial scholarly encounter with Chinese intellectual culture. This concern for producing more and more accurate and broad ranging interpretive tools for sinology continued to be a major interest in the development of professional sinol-

[1] For this reason they were referred to as "proto-sinological" by David Mungello (1985).

[2] For example, the famous author of *Novissima Sinica*, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), fits into this category, as well as all of the first and second generation of sinologues in the French Academy, starting with Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832).

[3] See Morrison, *Dictionary of the Chinese Language in Three Parts*. For a recent work on the man, consult Hancock, *Robert Morrison and the Birth of Chinese Protestantism*.

[4] Consult Elijah C. Bridgman (1841). For more on this American missionary, see Lazich, *E. C. Bridgman (1801–1861)*.

ogy, and missionary-scholars had a major part to play in setting the standards and extending the range of materials covered. In his own case, Bridgman also conceived of a wide-ranging English language journal, the *Chinese Repository* (1832–1851), which published relatively informed articles about multiple dimensions of contemporary Chinese society and culture; notably, most of the authors of these articles were Protestant missionaries in China.[5] Through publishing in the *Chinese Repository* these early Protestant missionaries cooperated with some informed foreign merchants and interested military figures to present images of the late Qing dynasty which they were coming to know only in part. Nevertheless, all of these early contributions set the foundation for a more thorough and systematic study of China which was documented in the publications of some of the later generations of Chinese Protestant and modern Roman Catholic missionaries. It is these later missionaries who became some of the most informed, competent, and well published Chinese scholars in European and North American contexts. While being engaged with the particular dimensions of Chinese imperial society, often serving as missionary-educators in their own religious institutions as well as publishing some Christian religious pamphlets and apologetic missionary works in Chinese languages, they also produced translations of Chinese canonical texts and indigenous Chinese linguistic tools, some also creating important sinological interpretive works which set the standards for nineteenth and twentieth centuries European sinology and North American Chinese studies.[6] Some of these works were published as independent monographs; others appeared in contemporary missionary and sinological journals such as the *Chinese Recorder* (Shanghai, 1868–1949), the *China Review* (Hong Kong, 1872–1919), and the *Journal of the Northern Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Shanghai, 1848–1857), or European sinological journals such as *T'oung Pao* (Paris and Leuven, 1890–) and *Sinica* (Frankfurt, 1927–1942), or the later American equivalents in the *Journal of the American Oriental*

[5] Overviews of the character of this journal in Chinese history are presented in Malcolm, "The *Chinese Repository* and Western Literature on China, 1800 to 1850". Note that the author reflects the secularising values of her own day in her interpretation. See also Wu Yixiong 吳義雄, "Zhongguo congbao yu Zhongguo lishi yanjiu".

[6] This was particularly the case in the light of such key Protestant figures as James Legge (1815–1897), John Chalmers 湛約翰 (1825–1899), and Ernst Faber 花之安 (1839–1899) as well as later Jesuit missionary scholars such as Séraphin Couvreur 顧賽芬 (1835–1919) and Léon Wieger 戴遂良 (1856–1933).

Society (1842–) and the *Journal of Asian Studies* (1941–). These persons who helped to create the academic study of China in their own home countries during the period from the middle of the nineteenth century to the years following the Second World War are the group of hyphenated "missionary-scholars" whose lives and works will be briefly discussed in what follows.

It should be mentioned that there were missionary-educators whose main contributions appeared in Chinese language texts that they composed and published in China, and so their influence within academic circles outside of China was relatively indirect, even though their influences in China herself were beyond doubt. So, for example, the early impact of the Jesuit Matteo Ricci's 利瑪竇 volume, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* 《天主實義》(1603)[7] and the later influences of American Protestant W. A. P. Martin's 丁韙良 (1827–1916) *Tracing the Sources of the Heavenly Way*《天道溯源》(first edition, 1850s)[8] are undeniably significant as cross-cultural missiological treatises that left a deep impression wherever Chinese intellectuals and informed Chinese readers could obtain them. Nevertheless, because they did not also serve as formative tools in interpreting China within European and North American sinological circles, they are not counted among the missionary- scholars we are discussing. Also there were foreign missionaries in China whose books and articles produced major influences within Christian circles in their own home countries and elsewhere internationally, but whose writings were not directly taken up into the academic study of China until much later. These include such figures well-known in Anglophone worlds as the founder of the China

---

[7] This volume is now produced in a modern Chinese-English annotated version prepared by Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven, T'ien-chu shih-i*. Modern reproductions are available in microfilm from the Beijing Normal University (2003) and in printed form prepared by the Shanghai Ancient Books Store (1995); it also appears as part of the *Si ku quan shu* (四庫全書) or the massive eighteenth-century collection called the Four Treasuries of the Imperial Library.

[8] An Chinese-Japanese annotated version of this important work has been prepared by Yoshido Tora 吉田寅 entitled *Chūgoku Kirisutokyō dendō bunsho no kenkyū: "Tendō kyogen" no kenkyū, tsuketari yakuchū*. Many versions of the work were produced in China in the nineteenth century, and some of these Chinese versions are now available also in microfilm and printed forms. Two volumes on this major American missionary have been produced by Covell: *W. A. P. Martin: Pioneer of Progress in China*; as well as a very substantial dissertation entitled "The Life and Thought of W. A. P. Martin, Agent and Interpreter of Sino-American Contact in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century", Ph.D. diss., University of Denver, 1974.

Inland Mission, James Hudson Taylor 戴德生 (1835–1904),[9] the controversial American Protestant missionary-educator and novelist, later becoming a self-confessed non-Christian, Pearl S. Buck (1892–1973),[10] as well as the popular spiritual reflections based in experiences among the Lisu people in south-western China, produced in lyrical prose by Isobel Miller Kuhn 楊宓貴靈 (1901–1957).[11] All of these persons helped to create certain images of the parts of China, her people, and the dimensions of Chinese culture they had come to know, especially among a broader audience of readers. Still, their books as well as other like-minded writings in European languages besides English did not directly influence the formation of the academic study of China,[12] and so will also not be considered here under the category of missionary-scholars.

According to Andrew Walls, those nineteenth and twentieth century missionaries who wrote and published something about their experiences in various missionary fields were about one tenth of all missionaries. Those among these published authors who, as missionaries in China, also produced works that became important for academic studies of China constituted about one tenth of this more select group of authors.[13] Because the Chinese situation generally required more intellectual engagement of missionaries than in many other contexts, Walls notes that there may have been a higher percentage of missionaries in China who effectively became what we are referring to here by the hyphenated phrase "missionary-scholars" from China. Especially when a more broadly based definition of 'missionary-scholar' is applied, including those more generally involved in the pursuit and

---

[9] For more about this figure, see the seven volume work produced by A. J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century*, and Pfister (2003).

[10] See her autobiography, *My Several Worlds, A Personal Record*, and two major biographies in English: Irving Block, *The Lives of Pearl Buck: A Tale of China and America*; and Peter J. Conn, *Pearl Buck: A Cultural Biography*.

[11] Her autobiography was simply titled *By Searching* and has been published in at least a half dozen languages. There are a number of Christian biographies about her, one of the earliest which is a relatively substantial piece is Canfield, *One Vision Only: A Biography of Isobel Kuhn*.

[12] One could argue that there was a later indirect influence through their literary efforts, for example, the volumes by Gao, *Pearl S. Buck's Chinese Women Characters*, and Leong, *The China Mystique: Pearl S. Buck, Anna May Wong, Meiling Soong and the Transformation of American Orientalism*, are both published by university presses, but have appeared only in the twenty-first century.

[13] See these claims in the relevant parts of Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*.

exchange of knowledge, a much larger percentage of all foreign missionaries in China would fit into this category. Consequently, our primary focus will have to be confined to the most outstanding among a particular group of scholars.

Missionary-Scholars who produced Canon-in-Translation for Sinology

Among this influential class of missionary-scholars from China, there are three who stand out as the contributors of standard renderings of Chinese traditional scriptures in various European languages. Though there had been previous translations of some Chinese canonical works by earlier Catholic missionaries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as well as some by European *sinologues* in the burgeoning national academies in the first half of the Nineteenth century, none of these persons completed renderings of the full range of "classical" works associated with Ruist ("Confucian"), Daoist and Chinese Buddhist teachings. Instead, this process of producing a standard set of translations related to the authoritative scriptures in these traditional Chinese teachings was formally and successfully initiated among later generations of Protestant and Catholic missionaries Though previous translations of some of the same Chinese canonical texts were produced in a more or less systematic manner, the following three missionary-scholars prepared and published multi-volume sets of translations based on studies of Chinese original sources and their commentarial traditions, adding precision and details to their works that had not previously been included. This does not mean that their renderings were without fault, as will be seen below, for their works did rely on selective indigenous sources of information available to them during their active periods, and also normally revealed their own hermeneutic orientations. Nevertheless, no one before them had produced works of such breadth and stature in sinological circles within the academic institutions of their own countries; in fact, all of them set international standards for the study of China that remain significant still in the twenty-first century. Notably, their monumental works were produced through research regularly aided by certain Chinese scholars who joined them in their intellectual projects; in those cases we know, these Chinese collaborators often provided important alternative interpretations, new bibliographic and commentarial information, and at times constructive criticisms. As a consequence of all these factors, the

major works that these three missionary- scholars published became "classics" in their own right within Anglophone, Francophone, and German-reading publics. (Please see the Appendix for details.) In other words, they produced "canon-in-translation", for their translations became the new canon or standard literature about China which many sinological authors who produced subsequent works about ancient, pre-modern, modern and contemporary China had to address in order to advance their own research projects.[14]

Among these key figures within missionary-scholarship from China, the Scottish Congregational missionary representing the London Missionary Society who lived primarily in the British colony of Hong Kong (1842–1873), James Legge (理雅格, 1815–1897), was the first to produce a complete set of Ruist and Daoist "canon-in-translation". These appeared in his award-winning eight tome set entitled *The Chinese Classics* (first edition, 1861–1872; second partially revised version, 1893–1895) and his subsequent contributions to Friedrich Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*, the six distinct volumes identified as *The Sacred Books of China* (1879–1891, vols. 3, 16, 27–28, 39–40). These two standard sets of Ruist and Daoist Chinese scriptures notably constituted the new standard and broad foundation for the study of ancient China in the modern era, earning Legge the first Julien Prize for Chinese Literature (Paris, 1873, for *The Chinese Classics*) and ultimately justifying his becoming Oxford's first Professor of Chinese Language and Literature (1876–1897).[15]

Following in the train of this new missionary-scholar sinological tradition, the French Jesuit Séraphin Couvreur (顧賽芬, 1835–1919) produced a similarly comprehensive series of renderings of Ruist scriptures in both French and Latin translations. Focusing exclusively on the Ruist canon, Couvreur produced translations of all but one of the Chinese scriptures in the *Four Books* (*Si Shu* 四書) and the *Five Classics* (*Wu Jing* 五經). Although very little is yet known about Couvreur's Chinese teachers and Chinese collaborators, due to the

[14] The coining of the phrase "canon-in-translation" occurred in an article by this author entitled "Canon-in-Translation: The Cases of James Legge and Richard Wilhelm in regard to Ruist and Daoist Canonical Literature in Europe", which was originally presented in a conference held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences and will be published in a collection of essays edited by members of the Research Group on Asian Religious History (Arbeitskreis Asiatische Religionsgeschichte) in 2009.

[15] These historic precedents and their significance have been thoroughly interpreted in works by Girardot (2002) and Pfister (2004) as found in the attached bibliography.

problem of currently inaccessible or actually lost archives, certain additional features related to his works should be noted. Like Legge's *Chinese Classics*, Couvreur added the standard Chinese text at the top of the page, followed by his translations. Unlike Legge's precedent, he added a French transliteration of all classical texts immediately beneath the Chinese passages on each page, meaning that he provided the phonetic equivalent (sound and tone) for each character in the canonical Chinese scripture. In addition, he sometimes integrated the authorised Zhu Xi interpretations of canonical texts in both the Chinese text above (in smaller characters) and his renderings below, while Legge had most of the time integrated these and other Chinese commentaries into his footnotes presented normally at the bottom of the page beneath his translation. Notably, Couvreur did not produce a version of the *Book of Changes* or *Yijing* 易經 and its commentaries, as Legge had done in his *Sacred Books of China* (vol. 16), but he did add one other translation of a semi-canonical work not rendered by Legge, the *Yili* 儀禮 (*Cérémonial*).[16]

Working on the basis of these and other precedents, the German Lutheran missionary, Richard Wilhelm (pre-1924 尉禮賢, post 1924 衛禮賢, 1873–1930), sought to present German translations that were both literarily appealing to German-speaking Europeans and interpretations that were more sympathetic, addressed in his footnotes as well as in cross-cultural evaluations within independent interpretive works. Less systematic in his plans and achievements in translating canonical Chinese literature than Legge and Couvreur, and self-consciously so, Wilhelm sought to add attractive translations that highlighted the positive cultural contributions of different kinds of canonical and non-canonical texts produced primarily in ancient and pre-modern Chinese contexts. Though Wilhelm ultimately produced renderings in German of all of the *Four Books*, he in fact produced more translations of ancient Daoist scriptures and other non-canonical texts, and left one major Ruist text in a partial rendering that was never completed (the *Shujing* 書經 or *Shangshu* 商書).[17]

---

[16] All of the bibliographic details can be found in the Appendix to this article.

[17] Details about Richard Wilhelm's missionary-scholarship have appeared in Dorothea Wippermann *et al.* (eds.), *Interkulturalität in frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Richard Wilhelm*. Another volume offering a new interpretation of Wilhelm's missionary career and the stages of his sinological transformation is being produced for the University of Washington Press by the International Richard Wilhelm Research Team, and is projected to be published there in 2009.

The Hermeneutic Orientations of Key Missionary-Scholars

When we consider the interpretive positions adopted by these three major missionary-scholars, focusing on their self-conscious commitments as well as some identifiable influences which they assumed in what may be considered a somewhat less self-conscious manner, we need to note the differences in the specific Christian worldviews they endorsed and the institutional connections which they accepted, but also should consider the active roles which they took up within Chinese and non-Chinese settings during their lifetimes. For example, Couvreur remained in China for the balance of his life, (as did some other notable Protestant missionaries including W. A. P. Martin), while Legge and Wilhelm become directly involved in the academic study of China within tertiary institutions in Europe. In this regard, missionary-scholars like Legge and Wilhelm endured an important transformation of professional roles: though they were previously missionaries working in scholarly manners, they became something like "post-missionary sinologists" as missionary-scholars, and so were essentially sinologists who had previous careers as missionaries. In some cases, such as Wilhelm, this change of roles also involved a transformation of their own worldviews. It should also be noted that the majority of these figures had been teachers of some sort while they were missionaries in China, and so once could also say that their professional transformation of roles involved a change from being missionary-educators in China to becoming sinological educators and specialists in European and North American university settings.

Generally speaking, the three key missionary-scholars whose works established the "canon-in-translation" for international sinology adopted very different hermeneutic orientations.

James Legge was a Congregationalist Dissenter and self-consciously supported a Scottish evangelical realist worldview informed by Scottish Commonsense philosophy and its Christian advocates. This involved precedents in Neo-Aristotelian philosophy promoted by Thomas Reid (1710–1796) and Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), as well as their application to the philosophy of religion from a Christian standpoint by the Scottish Presbyterian theologian, pastor and philosopher, Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847). Significantly, it was this particular kind of relatively liberal evangelical worldview that carried a major influence among Anglophone missionaries and academic circles, so that even one of the nineteenth century presidents of Yale University,

James McCosh (1811–1894), was also a major philosophical advocate of this Scottish realist worldview.[18]

To the contrary, Séraphin Couvreur followed Jesuit precedents in the production and interpretation of the Ruist canon. In this regard he adopted a position presented the authorised interpretation of Ruist scriptures, in his own case following the established texts of Zhu Xi's (1130–1200) commentaries. Nevertheless, like Ricci before him, Couvreur promoted the existence of an early monotheism found within the most ancient Ruist texts, claiming that evidence for this level of self-conscious natural theology was manifest in these texts and their traditions related to *tian* 天 and *shangdi* 上帝.[19] In this regard he was following the theological and philosophical precedents of Thomas Aquinas, who was deeply influenced by Aristotelian teachings. As a result, it is not surprising that Legge, who relied on a Scottish Neo-Aristotelian worldview, also argued for the existence of an ancient monotheism within these same texts as evidence of a relatively advance natural theological consciousness among ancient Chinese sages. What Legge further asserted, unlike Couvreur, was that this monotheistic worldview had been revived in the imperial cult during the Ming dynasty 50 years before the coming of Jesuit missionaries to China in the sixteenth century, and so an active form of monotheistic belief which Legge associated with authoritative Ruist traditions was also identified.[20] In this regard, Couvreur remained more reserved, presenting instead the authorised Zhu Xi interpretations that were metaphysically less explicit about any monotheism, and relying on sinological precedents set in the French Academy for rendering some of the Ruist canonical literature in ways that reflected values of the French Enlightenment. Still it should be remembered that the Jesuit order established what could be considered a counter-cultural alternative in tertiary education in continental Europe, and so its impact in the counter-

[18] All of these issues are discussed in a thorough manner in Pfister (2004). The Yale University president documented his intellectual heritage by writing a book about the Scottish Realists. McCosh, *The Scottish Philosophy*.

[19] Couvreur explicitly addresses this issue in his introductory essay to his rendering of *The Book of Poetry, which he entitled Cheu King* (Ho Kien fu: 1896).

[20] Legge first identified and translated the prayers prepared for these imperial sacrificial rites in the 1850s, in the first section of *The Notions of Chinese concerning God and Spirits*. He returned to these same prayers thirty years later, and offered a slightly revised version of them as well as a new interpretation in *The Religions of China: Confucianism and Taoism Described and Compared with Christianity*.

Reformation movements in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continued to offer alternatives to Protestant and the new secular universities, including their understanding of China.[21] In this regard, Couvreur's texts were incorporated into this larger counter-cultural setting in Europe, and so served as standards in the Jesuit intellectual discourse on China in the twentieth century as well as texts which other academic sinologues in Francophone settings employed.

The German renderings of Richard Wilhelm stood apart from both Legge's and Couvreur's corpi because they did not participate in what could be called the traditional philological traditions which the latter two missionary-scholars supported and advocated.[22] Being a missionary of the state-supported Lutheran church and a member of a German-Swiss missionary society, entering China just before the Boxer Uprising took place in 1900, Wilhelm naturally had a different orientation toward missionary work and translation than both Legge and Couvreur. Preferring to adopt a less aggressive form of missionary involvement as a missionary-educator, and yet still working within the institutional structures of the German national Protestant context in north-eastern China, Wilhelm was less influenced by his own Lutheran tradition and more attracted to German spiritual and intellectual precedents which opened the door toward cross-cultural understanding. In this regard, it is notable to see his consistent references to Goethe within his notes to his various translations, who was an early nineteenth-century German intellectual advocating the adoption of a "world literature" that included a self-conscious effort to learn from and respond to Chinese literature.[23] Less noticeable in his footnotes but still very influential in Wilhelm's spiritual formation as a missionary

[21] Lebeau tells how the Society of Jesus began creating "new schools" for younger students, developing a "three year program of logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics at a higher level" for older students, so that by 1679 they had established "578 schools, many with university-level instruction" across much of the political landscape in the European continent. For details see Yann Lebeau, "University", in *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, ed. Maryanne Cline Horowitz (Detroit: Thompson and Gale, 2005), Volume 6, pp. 2387–2394, here specifically pp. 2389–2390. A similar institution can still be seen in Shanghai, where the Xujiahui 徐家汇 Library still stands as a testimony to Jesuit scholarship and the quality of educational institutions they had established in China.

[22] A helpful description of these philological standards and the tradition they represented in sinology is offered by David B. Honey (2001).

[23] So significant was this theme in Wilhelm's teachings that an essay devoted to "Goethe and Laozi" appeared in a posthumously published collection of essays. See Wilhelm, *Der Mensch und das Sein*, pp. 98–113.

were the writings and teachings of his father-in-law, the radical Lutheran pastor and socialist political leader, Christoph Blumhardt (1842–1919).[24] In addition, Wilhelm self-consciously reflected the influences of his training at the Tübingen theological school, which included emphases in Kantian ethics, Schleiermacher's hermeneutics, the aesthetic perspectives of German Romanticism and exposure to Friedrich Nietzsche's elegant and devastating critiques of European Christendom. While Legge and Couvreur remained advocates of the forms of Christianity which they had represented as missionaries, Wilhelm endured a more radical shift in his worldview during the 1920s, while he was still active as a translator, and so this traumatic transition deserves more careful attention.[25]

Living and working in north-eastern China during the final years of the Qing empire, Wilhelm experienced and endured the culturally devastating impact of both the Boxer Uprising (1898–1900) and the 1911 Chinese revolution during his missionary career, which was essentially lived out in the relatively small German colony of Qingdao 青島 (1898–1920). Added to this was the political instability following the Japanese invasion of that seaport city in 1914, because Japan opposed Germany during the advent of World War I. Unlike Legge and Couvreur, Wilhelm's professional roles including serving as a political figure in China representing the post WWI government of the Weimar Republic as a cultural consultant to the German ambassador (1922–1924), and so he was able to spend one year as a visiting professor at the relatively new Beijing University in the Foreign Languages Department. Given an honorary doctorate from Frankfurt University for his previous translations in 1923, a year later he moved back to Germany and started an academic career as a sinologist associated with Frankfurt University, establishing there the independently funded China Institute (1925–1939) and initiating the sinological journal, *Sinica* (1927–1942). As a consequence, Wilhelm's German intellectual and cultural heritage manifests itself in both his translations and com-

[24] This influence has been seen as so significant that a collection of letters between Blumhardt and Wilhelm were published and interpreted nearly three decades after Wilhelm had died. See Christoph Blumhardt and Richard Wilhelm, *Christus in der Welt: Briefe an Richard Wilhelm* (Christ in the World: Letters to Richard Wilhelm), Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1958.

[25] This was initially discussed in Lauren Pfister, "Protestant Ethics among Christian Missionaries, Problems of Indigenization, and the Spirit of Academic Professionalization," *Journal of Classical Sociology* 2,1 (March 2005), pp. 93–114.

mentarial interpretations. He presented a radically different kind of approach to elitist and popular culture in China than had been offered by Legge and Couvreur. Sympathising initially with the disorientation experienced by Chinese traditionalists such as Ku Hung-ming 辜鴻銘, Wilhelm studied the *Book of Changes* with the Qing Ruist scholar from the former Imperial Academy, Lao Naixuan 劳乃宣 (1843–1921), and was later influenced by the eclectic Ruist teachings of the political reformer, Kang Youwei 康有爲 (1858–1927). Significantly, his versions of the *I Ging, Das Buch der Wandlungen* (1924), which was informed by Lao's teachings, and the so-called *Li Gi, Das Buch der Sitte des Älteren und Jüngeren Dai* (1930), which reflected Kang's influences, obviously departed from the form of the standard Chinese versions of the *Yijing* and *Liji*.[26] Nevertheless, Wilhelm's elegant and dynamic rendering of the *Book of Changes* became his most popular work, and was later reproduced in at least nine other languages.

Unlike Legge and Couvreur, Wilhelm went through a religious crisis due to both the downfall of traditional Chinese culture and the morass of problems experienced in Germany in the post-WWI context, and ultimately stepped away from and was rejected by his Lutheran institutional foundations. As a consequence of all these factors, he stood out among German sinologists in the 1920s as a "Chinese sympathiser", and was criticised for being "too subjective" and "uncritical".[27] Wilhelm took this stance self-consciously, however, because he believed that Chinese culture could offer constructive alternatives to the overly intellectualised and technologically self-destructive tendencies of Germanic (and ultimately also broader European) culture. In this he was following Goethe's intellectual precedents mentioned above, and so appealed to Europeans and Chinese persons to learn positively from each other. During the last years of the 1920s, then Wilhelm claimed that cross-culturally informed persons from both

[26] Many more details about these two later translations by Wilhelm and some further information about the influences of these major Chinese intellectuals in his life is found in [Lauren F. Pfister] 費樂仁, "Pandeng Hanxue zhong Ximalaya shan de jubo".

[27] For a revealing and insightful account of Wilhelm's religious transition, consult Lydia Gerber's essay, "Richard Wilhelms theologische Emanzipation", especially the section from pp. 113–119. Details about Wilhelm's unusual sinological role in Germany are offered in Mechthild Leutner's article, "Kontroversen in der Sinologie: Richard Wilhelms kulturkritische und wissenschaftliche Positionen in der Weimarer Republik".

cultures could achieve a "new humanity" that would provide a humane alternative to German militant nationalism and the inhumane techno-science that he believed fuelled the First World War. In the context of such a worldview transformation, Wilhelm produced a rather syncretistic reformist vision that included elements of Ruist, Daoist, and early Christian teachings. These are most evidently seen in the translation and interpretive essays he and the Swiss psychoanalyst, Carl G. Jung, published in 1929, just months before Wilhelm's death, under the title of *Das Geheimnis der goldenen Blüte* (The Secret of the Golden Flower).[28]

From a larger perspective related to the history of the discipline of Sinology or Chinese Studies, we can summarily state that Legge and Couvreur served as missionary-scholars promoting the traditional approach to classical Chinese texts, gained through intensive study of Chinese language and philology, and presenting authorised Chinese scriptures in forms that reflected their traditional contexts. To the contrary, Wilhelm became a counter-cultural figure within professional sinology, advocating a new and constructive role for the study of China within twentieth century Europe. His own traumatic transition toward a modern reformist position within Chinese settings that appealed to a less institutionalised and non-traditional form of Christian teachings revealed much about his own encounter with the divisive trends within post-1911 Republican China and his own disaffection with German Lutheranism in Europe.

In this light, it is worthwhile to consider how these three major missionary- scholars anticipate worldviews and hermeneutic orientations which subsequent representatives within academic sinology and Chinese studies also reflected. We can generalise this claim by suggesting that these post-missionary sinologists regularly took up one of these three kinds of orientations: a more or less liberal evangelical Protestant worldview such as Legge's, a traditional Jesuit and Roman Catholic position such as Couvreur's, or a liberal form of modern Protestantism critically reconsidering Chinese traditions as revealed in the career of Wilhelm. Though these orientations will not be described in as much detail in the following discussions, it should be understood that missionary-scholars could and did adopt one of these interpretive posi-

[28] Refer to Wilhelm and Jung, *Das Geheimnis der goldenen Blüte*.

tions as they participated in their academic roles as post-missionary sinologists.

Subsequent Influences of Missionary-Scholars in Sinological Circles

The emergence of professional sinology within modern university settings in 20th century Europe and North America reveals the undeniable influences of missionary-scholarship. The works of Legge, Couvreur, and Wilhelm set the foundations for the study of China in the 20th century, and these were extended by means of other works by later sinologists who were missionaries themselves or were children of missionaries who grew up in China. In the case of Oxford University in particular, the chair first occupied by Legge was continually reoccupied by other Protestant missionary-scholars from China until after World War II. Those who came included William Edward Soothill 蘇慧廉 (1861–1935), Ernest Richard Hughes 修中誠 (1883–1956), and the American Homer Hasenpflug Dubs 德效騫 (1892–1969). Each in their own way extended or refined the sinological standard Legge had set, by retranslating certain Ruist texts or ones not yet rendered by Legge,[29] by addressing and reinterpreting Chinese religions,[30] and by adding to the historical understanding of imperial China.[31] Others, like Ernst Faber (1839–1899), never had an official post in a university, but his works were published in several languages (Chinese, German, and English) and were considered of such high quality in their systematic coverage of classical texts and the translations he provided, that they became materials for tertiary level education.[32] In this way he joined those like Couvreur who spent their whole adult lives in China and ultimately died there still in his missionary role.

From the Roman Catholic side, there were those who extended the Jesuit tradition of modern sinology in the same place where Couvreur has made his contributions. Two stand out because of their prolific contributions: Léon Wieger (1856–1933) and Henri Doré 祿是遒 (1859–1931). On one side, Wieger produced a series of works to introduce different ways to study ancient and modern Chinese characters,

[29] As in Dubs (1927), Hughes (1942), and Soothill (1937).
[30] As in Hughes (1950) and Soothill (1913, 1930, 1937).
[31] Here particularly Dubs (1938–1948), but also Hughes (1942).
[32] Consult Ernst Faber (1875, 1877, 1882, 1897) and Pfister, "Ernst Faber's Sinological Orientalism".

calligraphy, grammar, and narratives.[33] These were always prepared in both French and Chinese versions, so that the learner could have examples in Chinese immediately in front of them, a pattern that many other manuals of Chinese language tended to follow. A good number of these were rendered into English with special effort made to change the transliteration system for Anglophone readers, indicating how very much this part of Wieger's works were valued. In addition, Wieger produced multivolume works on Chinese philosophies,[34] extensive essays on Daoist and Buddhist teachings and traditions, complete with pictures taken from Chinese texts which introduced these matters, and including extensive lists of the huge canonical libraries.[35] All of these works went through multiple printings, and most often at least one revised edition. To these monumental efforts he added works on Chinese history, focusing particularly on political history as in traditional texts, but summarising and explaining those sources rather than merely translating them.[36] While Wieger had also produced one volume on Chinese folk religions,[37] it was his colleague Henri Doré who developed this area by providing extensive ethnographic materials related to "Chinese superstitions". Doré's method was empirically based, providing images, pictures, and texts which illustrated his claims, accompanying them with brief explanations and analyses, and where needed, more elaborate descriptions and some translations. Due to the fact that some popular images become very creative in generating new or spiritually focused characters not found in normal dictionaries, his explanations were touchstones for a new level of understanding of common persons' worldviews and traditions. His eighteen volumes of *Studies on Superstitions in China* (1911–1938) are filled with examples and explanations of a wide variety of Chinese beliefs, temple rituals, and related paraphernalia, they are actually divided into three major thematic sections. The first set, involving five volumes, focus on "superstitious practices"; the second set, constituted by seven tomes, what Doré calls "the Chinese pantheon"; the final set consists of five books, and discusses the popular features of Confucian, Buddhist and Daoist traditions. As a consequence, a new level of understanding regarding

[33] Found in Wieger (1899, 1903, 1905, 1912, 1924, 1929).
[34] Specifically Wieger (1906, 1922).
[35] Seen in Wieger (1910–1913, 1911–1913).
[36] Here consult Wieger (1920, 1922–1923).
[37] The work of Wieger (1909).

popular Chinese beliefs and their relationship to traditional teachings could be learned and integrated into university curricula.

Works by subsequent missionary-scholars include the development of important interpretive tools for sinological research and other ground-breaking translations. Because of the complexity and different orientation of Chinese languages as well as the massive authorised imperial libraries and the development of the huge series of *collectanea* (*congshu* 叢書), it was important for professional sinology to become aware of these tools. As a consequence, the efforts such as John Chalmers 湛約翰 (1835–1899) translation in English of the important ancient philological text, *Shuo wen jie zi*《說文解字》, and of the authoritative *Kangxi Dictionary*《康熙辭典》, revealing their ways of analyzing and categorizing Chinese terms and phrases, were extremely worthwhile and critically needed.[38] Similarly, the monumental Chinese-English dictionary by the China Inland Mission representative, the Australian R. H. Mathews 馬守真 (1877–1970), served an important need for sinologists, and is still republished.[39] Similarly important were the polyglot Buddhist dictionaries produced by Ernst Johann Eitel (1838–1908) and William Soothill, both of whom served as missionaries under British missionary societies.[40] Luther Carrington Goodrich (富路得 and 傅路德; 1894–1986) added to these tools by providing an incisive study of the eighteenth century imperial library (*The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-Lung*, 1935), and so aided others in coming to understand the categories and networks of bibliographic studies in traditional Chinese settings.[41] Similarly, the remarkably thorough bilingual texts prepared by Léon Wieger set new standards for Chinese language training, and enriched students by his multiform ways of introducing aspects of Chinese language, literature and culture.

Though major works on the history of Chinese culture were written by earlier missionary-scholars, such as Samuel Wells Williams (1812–1884) famous work of the 1840s, *The Middle Kingdom*,[42] more precise tools were needed to advance sinological studies in Chinese history. One could hardly think of modern sinological works in various aspects

[38] Consult Chalmers (1873–1874, 1876–1877, 1882).

[39] Published originally in 1931 in Shanghai, this dictionary has continued to be revised and republished. See a later version in Robert Henry Mathews, *Mathew's Chinese-English Dictionary* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1956).

[40] See these important works in Eitel (1888) and Soothill (1937).

[41] Consult Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-Lung*.

[42] Consult Williams (1848).

of late imperial history without reference to L. Carrington. Goodrich's edited two volume work, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*,[43] or Arthur Hummel's (1884–1975) *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (1943),[44] and yet it is seldom noted that these persons were also missionary-scholars serving in North American institutions of higher learning (Hummel at the Library of Congress, and Goodrich at Columbia University). Another American contribution in this regard was the extensively researched three volume set of one portion of the Han history prepared by Homer H. Dubs.[45] All of these three works were efforts created by teams of scholars under these key sinological editors, and so advanced sinological study in its ability to cover many more historical details over a wider range of historical periods.

All these are examples of the influential contributions of China's missionary-scholars to the development of modern sinology and Chinese studies in European and North American educational institutions, and so indicate another dimension of the history of Christianity in China that should not be overlooked.

[43] A two volume work edited by L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, the *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368–1644* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976) was a massive co-ordinated effort involving many in the American Association of Asian Studies.

[44] Although edited by Arthur Hummel, this project also involved numerous other scholars as well. See Arthur Hummel, ed., *ECCP* (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1943–1944).

[45] As found in Dubs (1938–1948).

Appendix

Comparison of Translations in Major Ruist and Daoist Scriptures by James Legge (1815–1897), Séraphin Couvreur (1835–1919) and Richard Wilhelm (1873–1930)

(Titles followed by dates when first *published*)

Chinese Title	Legge's works / first and later editions	Couvreur's works / first and later editions	Wilhelm's works / first and later editions
論語	*The Analects* (1861, 1867, 1893)	*Liun Iu, Entretiens de Confucius et de ses disciples* (1895)	*Kongfutse Gespräche (Lun Yü)*
大學	*Great Learning* (1861,1867, 1893, "new Version" by Zhu Xi); [1882 "Old Version" in *The Book of Rites*]	*Ta Hio, La Grande Étude* (1895, "New Version" by Zhu Xi) [1899 "Old Version" in *Li Ki*]	*Da Hüo* (1905 "New" Version by Zhu Xi); *Die Höhere Bildung* (1920 "Old Version"); *Die Grosse Wissenschaft* (1930 "Old Version)
中庸	*The Doctrine of the Mean* (1861, 1867, 1893, All "New Version" by Zhu Xi) [1882 "Old Version" in *The Book of Rites*]	*Tchoung Ioung, L'Invariable Milieu* (1895, "New Version" by Zhu Xi) [1899 "Old Version" in *Li Ki*]	*Dschung Yung, Maß und Mitte* (1930) ("Old Version")
孟子	*The Mencius* (1861, 1872, 1893)	*Œuvres de Meng Tzeu* (1895)	*Mong Dsï (Mong Ko)* (1914)
易經	*The Yî King* or *Book of Changes* (1882)	[None published]	*I-Ging, Das Buch der Wandlungen* (1924)
書經	*The Shoo King*, or *The Book of Historical Documents* (1865); *The Shû King* or *Book of Historical Documents* (1879)	*Chou King* (1897)	[None published, partial Mss version made 1915–1917]
詩經	*The She King*, or *The Book of Poetry* (1871); *The Shih King* or *Book of Poetry* (1879). [Selecting only religious sections]	*Cheu King* (1896)	[None produced]
禮記	*The Lî Kî* or *Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usages* (1885)	*Li Ki* ou *Mémoires sur les Bienséances et les Cérémonies* (1899)	*Li Gi: Das Buch der Sitte des Älteren und Jüngeren Dai* (1930, posthumously published)

(*cont.*)

Chinese Title	Legge's works / first and later editions	Couvreur's works / first and later editions	Wilhelm's works / first and later editions
春秋左傳	*The Ch'un Ts'ew*, with *The Tso Chuen* (1872)	*Tch'ouen Ts'iou* et *Tso Tchouan, La Chronique de la Principauté de Lòu* (1914)	[None produced]
儀禮	[None produced]	*I Li, Cérémonial* (1916)	[None produced]
孝經	*The Hsiâo King*, or *Classic of Filial Piety* (1879)	[None published]	*Hiau Ging. Das Buch der Ehrfurcht* (1939)
道德經	*The Tâo Teh King*, or *The Tâo and its Characteristics* (1891)	[None published]	*Laotse Tao te king. Das Buch des Alten vom Sinn und Leben* (1911)
莊子	*The Writings of Kwang-tze* (1891)	[None published]	*Dschuang Dsï: Das wahre Buch vom südlichen Blütenland. Nan Hua Dschen Ging* (1912)

Bibliography

Block, Irving, *The Lives of Pearl Buck: A Tale of China and America*, New York: Crowell, 1973.

Blumhardt, Christoph, and Richard Wilhelm, *Christus in der Welt: Briefe an Richard Wilhelm* (Christ in the World: Letters to Richard Wilhelm), Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1958.

Bresner, Lisa, "The Fathers of Sinology: From the Ricci Method to Leon Wieger's Remedies", *Diogenes* 45 (1997), pp. 107–124.

Bridgman, Elijah Coleman, *A Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect*, Macao: S. W. Williams, 1841.

Broomhall, A[lfred] J[ames], *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century*, 7 vols., London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981–1989.

Buck, Pearl S., *My Several Worlds: A Personal Record*, New York: Day, 1954.

Canfield, Carolyn L., *One Vision Only: A Biography of Isobel Kuhn*, London: China Inland Mission, 1959.

Chalmers, John, *An Account of the Structure of Chinese Characters under 300 Primary Forms: After the Shwoh-wan, 100 A.D., and the Phonetic Shwoh-wan, 1833*. London: Trübner, 1882.

Chalmers, John, "Appendix on the Astronomy of the Ancient Chinese" in James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics: Vol. III—The Shoo King* (Hong Kong: Anglo Chinese Press, 1865), pp. 90–104.

Chalmers, John, "Chinese Etymology", *China Review* 5 (1876–1877), pp. 296–310.

Chalmers, John, "Chinese Natural Theology", *China Review* 5 (1876–1877), pp. 271–281.

Chalmers, John, "Confucian Cosmogony", *China Review* 3 (1874–1875), pp. 342–354.

Chalmers, John, *An English and Cantonese Pocket-Dictionary, for the use of those who wish to learn the spoken language of Canton Province*. Originally published in Hong Kong, 1859. Revised and enlarged by T. K. Dealy. 7th ed., Hong Kong: Kelly and Walsh, 1907.
Chalmers, John, "The Interminable Question", *China Review* 9 (1880–1881), pp. 190–192.
Chalmers, John, "Kanghi's Dictionaries", *China Review* 2 (1873–1874), pp. 335–341.
Chalmers, John, *The Origin of the Chinese: An Attempt to Trace the Connection of the Chinese with the Western Nations in their Religion, Superstitions, Arts, Languages, and Traditions*. Hong Kong: De Souza and Co., 1866.
Chalmers, John, *The Question of Terms Simplified: or, The Meanings of shan, ling, and ti in Chinese made Plain by Induction*. Canton: E-Shing, 1876.
Chalmers, John, "The Rhymes of the Shi-King", *China Review* 6 (1877–1878), pp. 75–82, 166–172; 9 (1880–1881), pp. 136–161, 297–301.
Chalmers, John, *The Speculations on Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality, of "the Old Philosopher", Lau-tsze*. London: Trübner, 1868.
Chalmers, Thomas. *Discourses on the Christian Revelation, Viewed in Connection with the Modern Astronomy: To which are added, Discourses Illustrative of the Connection between Theology and General Science*, New York: R. Carter and Brothers, 1855.
Chalmers, Thomas, *Sermons and Discourses*, Two volumes. New York: R. Carter and Brothers, 1873.
Conn, Peter J., *Pearl Buck: A Cultural Biography*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
Cordier, Henri, "Nécrologie. Rev. John Chalmers 湛約翰 Tchan Yo-han" *T'oung Pao* n. s. 1,1 (Mars 1900), pp. 67–69.
Cousins, George (comp.), *A Life for China, Being a Brief Memorial Sketch of the Late Rev. John Chalmers, M.A., LL.D. of Hong Kong*, London: London Missionary Society, 1900.
Covell, Ralph R., "The Life and Thought of W. A. P. Martin, Agent and Interpreter of Sino-American Contact in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century", Ph.D. diss., University of Denver, 1974.
Covell, Ralph R., *W. A. P. Martin: Pioneer of Progress in China*, Washington: Christian University Press, 1978.
Doré, Henri, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, 18 vols., Hien-hien: Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1911–1938. 1ère Partie: *Les Pratiques Superstitieuses* (vols. 1–5); 2ème Partie: *Le Panthéon Chinois* (vols. 6–12); 3ème Partie: *Popularisation du Confucéisme, de Bouddhisme et du Taoisme en Chine* (vols. 13–18).
Dubs, Homer H. (trans.), *Hsüntze: The Moulder of Ancient Confucianism*. London: A. Probsthain, 1927.
Dubs, Homer H., with Jen T'ai and P'an Lo-chi, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 3 vols., Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938–1948.
Eitel, Ernest J., *Buddhism: Its Historical, Theoretical and Popular Aspects*. London: Trübner, 1884. Third edition.
Eitel, Ernest J., *Feng-Shui: The Science of Sacred Landscape in Old China*. London: Trübner, 1873.
Eitel, Ernest J., *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, being a Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary with Vocabularies of Buddhist Terms in Pali, Singhalese, Siamese, Burmese, Tibetan, Mongolian, and Japanese*. London: Trübner and Co., 1888 (second edition, revised and enlarged).
Faber, Ernst, *Introduction to the Science of Chinese Religion: A Critique of Max Müller and Other Authors*. Hong Kong: Lane, 1879.
Faber, Ernst, *The Mind of Mencius: Political Economy founded upon Moral Philosophy*. London: Trübner, 1882.

Faber, Ernst (trans. and annot.), *Der Naturalismus bei den alten Chinesen, sowohl nach der Seite des Pantehismus als des Sensualismus: oder die sämmtlichen Werke des Philosophen Licius*. Elberfeld: Friedrichs, 1877.
Faber, Ernst, *The Principal Thoughts of the Ancient Chinese Socialism, or, The Doctrine of the Philosopher Micius*. Tr. from German by C. F. Kupfer. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1897.
Faber, Ernst, *Problems of Practical Christianity in China*. Trans. from German by F. Ohlinger, ed. John Stevens. Shanghai: Office of "The Celestial Empire"; London: J. Tamblyn, 1897.
Faber, Ernst, *A Systematic Digest of the Doctrines of Confucius: According to the Analects, Great Learning and Doctrine of the Mean, with an Introduction on the Authorities upon Confucius and Confucianism*, Trans. from German by P. G. von Moellendorff. Hong Kong: China Mail Office, 1875.
Gao, Xiongya, *Pearl S. Buck's Chinese Women Characters*, Selingsgrove, Pennsylvania: Susquehanna University Press, 2000.
Girardot, Norman J., *The Victorian Translation of China: James Legge's Oriental Pilgrimage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
Glüer, Winfried. "The Encounter between Christianity and Chinese Buddhism during the Nineteenth Century and the First Half of the Twentieth Century", *Ching Feng* 11,3 (1968), pp. 39–57.
Goodrich, L. Carrington, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-Lung* (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Co., 1966, original version 1935).
Goodrich, L. Carrington, and Chaoying Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368–1644*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.
Hamilton, William, ed. *The Works of Thomas Reid*. Two volumes. Bristol, England: Thoemmes Press, 1994.
Hancock, Christopher, *Robert Morrison and the Birth of Chinese Protestantism*, London: Continuum, 2007.
Honey, David B., *Incense at the Altar: Pioneering Sinologists and the Development of Classical Chinese Philology*. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2001.
Hughes, E. R., *Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times*, London: T. M. Dent and Sons, 1942.
Hughes, E. R. (trans.), *The Great Learning and The Mean-in-Action*, London: T. M. Dent and Sons, 1942.
Hughes, E. R., *The Invasion of China by the Western World*, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1937.
Hughes, E. R., and K. Hughes, *Religion in China*, London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1950.
Kuhn, Isobel, *By Searching*, London: China Inland Mission, 1957.
Lazich, Michael C., *E. C. Bridgman (1801–1861), America's First Missionary to China*, Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000.
Lebeau, Yann, "University", in *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, ed. Maryanne Cline Horowitz, Detroit: Thompson and Gale, 2005, Vol. 6, pp. 2387–2394.
Leong, Karen J., *The China Mystique: Pearl S. Buck, Anna May Wong, Meiling Soong and the Transformation of American Orientalism*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
Leutner, Mechthild, "Kontroversen in der Sinologie: Richard Wilhelms kulturkritische und wissenschaftliche Positionen in der Weimarer Republik", in Klaus Hirsch (ed.), *Richard Wilhelm: Botschafter zweier Welten*, Frankfurt am Main and London: IKO Verlag, 2003), pp. 43–84.
Malcolm, Elizabeth L., "The *Chinese Repository* and Western Literature on China, 1800 to 1850," *Modern Asian Studies* 7,2 (April 1973), pp. 165–178.
McCosh, James. *The Scottish Philosophy: Biographical, Expository, Critical: from Hutcheson to Hamilton*. London: Macmillan, 1875.

Morrison, Robert, *Dictionary of the Chinese Language in Three Parts*, Macao: East India Company Press, 1819.
Mungello, David E., *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*. Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag, 1985.
Pearce, Thomas W., "The Late Dr. Chalmers", *China Review* 14:3 (1900), pp. 114–119.
Pfister, Lauren F., "From Derision to Respect: The Hermeneutic Passage within James Legge's (1815–1897) Ameliorated Evaluation of Master Kong ('Confucius')", *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 26 (2002), pp. 53–88.
Pfister, Lauren F., "Ernst Faber's Sinological Orientalism", in Ricardo K. S. Mak and Danny S. L. Paau, eds., *Sino-German Relations Since 1800: Multidisciplinary Explorations* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 93–107.
Pfister, Lauren F., "In the Eye of a Tornado: Lessons to be Learned from Critiques of Christian Missionaries", *Ching Feng* 8,1–2 (2007), pp. 91–116.
Pfister, Lauren F., "The Legacy of James Legge", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 22,2 (April 1998), pp. 78–82.
Pfister, Lauren F., "The Mengzian Matrix for Accommodationist Missionary Apologetics: Identifying the Cross-cultural Linkage in Evangelical Protestant Discourse within the Chinese writings of James Legge (1815–1897), He Jinshan (1817–1871), and Ernst Faber (1839–1899)," *Monumenta Serica* 50 (2002), pp. 391–416.
[Pfister, Lauren F.] 費樂仁, "Pandeng Hanxue zhong Ximalaya shan de jubo: cong bijiao Li Yage (1815–1897) he Wei Lixian (1873–1930) fanyi ji quanshi rujiao gudian jingwen zhong suode zhi qi di" 攀登漢學中喜瑪拉雅山的巨擘: 從比較理雅各 (1815–1897) 和尉禮賢 (1873–1930) 翻譯及詮釋儒教古典經文中所得之啓迪 (Scaling the sinological Himalayas: Insights drawn from comparisons of James Legge's (1815–1897) and Richard Wilhelm's (1873–1930) translations and interpretations of Ruist canonical literature), *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiusuo tongxun* 中央研究院中國文哲研究所通訊 (The Newsletter of the Institute for Chinese Literature and Philosophy of Academia Sinica) 15,2 (2005.6), pp. 21–58.
Pfister, Lauren F., "Rethinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard" in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Imperialist Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880–1914*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2003, pp. 183–212.
Pfister, Lauren F., *Striving for 'The Whole Duty of Man': James Legge and the Scottish Protestant Encounter with China*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004. 2 vols.
Reid, Thomas, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, ed. Derek R. Brookes; annot. Derek R. Brookes and Knud Haakonssen. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.
Reid, Thomas, *Practical Ethics: Being Lectures and Papers on Natural Religion, Self-Government, Natural Jurisprudence, and the Law of Nations*, Ed. Knud Haakonssen. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
Ricci, Matteo, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven = Tianzhu shi yi*, translated, with introduction and notes, by Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen; edited by Edward J. Malatesta, St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985.
Soothill, William Edward, and Lewis Hodous. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms: With Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali Index*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd, 1937.
Soothill, William Edward, trans. *The Analects; or, The Conversations of Confucius with his Disciples and Certain Others*. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.
Soothill, William Edward, trans. *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law, or, The Lotus Gospel, Saddharma pundarīka sūtra, Miao-fa lien hua ching*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930.

Soothill, William Edward. *A Mission in China*. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1907.
Soothill, William Edward. *The Three Religions of China: Lectures delivered at Oxford*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913.
Stewart, Dugald. *The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart*. Eleven volumes. Ed. Sir William Hamilton. Edinburgh: T. Constable and Co., 1854–1860.
Walls, Andrew F., *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*, Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Press, 1996.
Walravens, Hartmut. *Sinica und andere periodischen Publikationen des Frankfurter China-Instituts*. München: Kraus International Publishers, 1981.
Wang Hui 王暉. "A Postcolonial Perspective on James Legge's Confucian Translation: Focusing on his Two Versions of the Zhongyong." Ph.D. diss., Hong Kong Baptist University, 2007.
Wieger, Léon, *Bouddhisme Chinois*. Two volumes. Hien-hien: Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1910–1913.
Wieger, Léon, *Caractères chinois: etymologie, graphies, lexiques*. Hien-hien: Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1924. Fourth edition.
Wieger, Léon, *Chinois écrit. Précis. Grammaire. Phraséologie*, Hien-hien: Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1929. Fourth edition.
Wieger, Léon, *Chinois parlé: manuel: koan-hoa du Nord, non-pékinois*. Amathont: Maquet, 1912. Third edition.
Wieger, Léon, *Folk-lore Chinois moderne*. Hien-hien: Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1909.
Wieger, Léon, *Histoire des Croyances religieuses et des opinions philosophiques en Chine depuis l'origine, jusqu'à nos jours*. Hien-hien: Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1922.
Wieger, Léon, *La Chine a traverse les ages, hommes et choses*. Hien-hien: Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1920.
Wieger, Léon, *Parler et style chinois: rudiments*. Hien-hien: Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1899. Second edition.
Wieger, Léon, *Rudiments 4: Morale et usages*. Hien-hien: Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1905.
Wieger, Léon, *Rudiments 5 et 6: narrations populaires*. Hien-hien: Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1903.
Wieger, Léon, *Textes philosophiques: Confuciisme. Taoisme. Buddhisme*. Hien-hien (Xianxian, Hejian fu): Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1906.
Wieger, Léon, *Taoisme*. Two Volumes. Hien-hien: Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1911–1913.
Wieger, Léon, *Textes historiques: histoire politique de la Chine, depuis l'origine jusqu'en 1912*. Hien-hien: Impr. de la Mission catholique, 1922–1923. Second edition.
Wilhelm, Richard, *Der Mensch und das Sein* (Human[ity] and Being), Jena: Eugen Diedrichs Verlag, 1931.
Wihelm, Richard, and Carl Jung, *Das Geheimnis der goldenen Blüte: Eine chinesisches Lebensbuch* (The secret of the golden flower: A Chinese book of life), Zürich: Rascher Verlag, 1929.
Williams, Samuel Wells, *The Middle Kingdom: A Survey of the Geography, Government, Education, Social Life, Arts, Religion, etc, of the Chinese Empire and its Inhabitants*, New York: G. P. Putnam, 1848. Second edition.
Wippermann, Dorothea, Klaus Hirsch and Georg Ebertshäuser (eds.), *Interkulturalität in frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Richard Wilhelm—Theologe, Missionar und Sinologe. Dokumentation einer Tagung der Evangelischen Akademie Bad Boll in Zusammenarbeit mit der Sinologie der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main von 09. bis 11. Juli 2004*, Frankfurt am Main and London: IKO—Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2007.

Wong Man-kong 黃文江, "Protestant Missionaries' Images of Chinese Buddhism: A Preliminary Study of the Buddhist Writings by Joseph Edkins, Ernest John Eitel, and James Legge" in *A Collection of Essays in Commemoration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Department of History, Hong Kong Baptist University*, Hong Kong: Lee Man Publications, 1999, pp. 183–203.

Wong Man-kong 黃文江. "Christian Missions, Chinese Culture and Colonial Administration: A Study of the Activities of James Legge and Ernest John Eitel in Nineteenth Century Hong Kong." Ph.D. diss., The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1997.

Wu Yixiong 吳義雄, "Zhongguo congbao yu Zhongguo lishi yanjiu"《中國叢報》與中國歷史研究 (The Chinese Repository and Chinese Historical Studies), *Zhongshan daxue xuebao: shehui kexue ban* 中山大學學報 (Zhongshan University Academic Bulletin: Social Sciences Edition) No. 48 (2008, No. 1), pp. 79–91.

Wylie, Alexander. *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese: giving a list of their publications, and obituary notices of the deceased*. Shanghae: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867. See pp. 217–218.

Yoshido Tora 吉田寅, *Chūgoku Kirisutokyō dendō bunsho no kenkyū: "Tendō kyogen" no kenkyū, tsuketari yakuchū* 《中國キリスト教傳道文書の研究:「天道溯源」の研究, 附譯註》(*Studies of Chinese Protestant Missionary Literature: A Study of Tracing the Sources of the Heavenly Way, supplemented with a [Japanese] Translation and Annotations*), Tōkyō 東京: Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 1993.

Yue Feng 岳峰, *Jiashe Dong Xi fang de qiaoliang—Yingguo hanxuejia Li Yage yanjiu* 《架設東西方橋樑—英國漢學家理雅各研究》。福州: 福建人民出版社, 2004 年四月。

4.9. Demise of the Missionary Enterprise

Oi Ki Ling 凌愛基

The "reluctant exodus" of Western missions from China in the early 1950s not only signified the end of the missionary era in China, but also triggered a crisis in Western missions, which was reflected in a frenzied missionary debate on whether the whole of the missionary enterprise in China had been a debacle. The term 'debacle', which conjured up an image of the total collapse of the missionary enterprise or of a fiasco, had caused a great deal of controversy in missionary circles.[1] While most of the missionaries rejected the notion of a 'debacle', in their soul-searching revaluation they admitted that their work in Chins consisted of a series of 'failures'. Missionaries' excessive self-criticism might have found a sympathetic hearing in the 1950s and had been regarded as an attempt to diffuse the crisis about the validity of missions. With the passage of time, however, new source material has been made available for research. This has opened up new ways of looking at the past and enabled historians to offer fresh interpretations of what some China missionaries have regarded as long-foregone conclusion.

Context of the debate

The 'debacle debate' was, in fact, a response not only to the Communist polemics discharged under a barrage of political fireworks but also to the criticisms hurled against them by the Chinese Christians, not a few of whom had joined the Communist revolution. These caustic comments, made by Christians and the Communists, focused on all aspects of missionary activity in China. Firstly, missionaries were accused by the Communists of working hand in glove with their home governments and of collaborating with the Guomindang regime. Secondly, missionaries were accused by both the Chinese Christian and non-Christian critics of having failed to identify economically and culturally with the Chinese people whom they had com to serve. Thirdly,

[1] See 'A China Missionary' [David Paton], "First Thoughts on the Débâcle of Christian Missions in China", *IRM* 40 (October 1951), pp. 411–420; G. Rosenkranz, "China Today, Some Reflections against the Background of Yesterday", *IRM* 44 (October 1955), p. 424.

missionaries were criticised by Chinese Christians of having failed to adapt the Western style of worship to Chinese conditions and to promote the three-self principle. Missionaries were said to have exported denominational disunity to the Chinese churches. How did missionaries perceive those charges? Did the missionary enterprise in China fail because, as their critics had argued, of the mistakes made by the missionaries?

Political charges

In response to the charges of the Communists that missionaries were tools of Western imperialism, some missionaries did admit that the association of their predecessors with imperialism was partly responsible for their own failures. Missionary implication in the opening of China has been well documented and does not warrant enumeration. Suffice it to say that the rationale behind their invoking secular power to open China was that it would break down barriers and prepare the way to salvation. Although most missionaries had not condoned the use of naked force, they did sanctify imperialism by giving it a theological justification and throughout the nineteenth century acts of Western aggression in China was perceived as an act of Providence. Belief in such a providential theory disposed them to identify with the invaders. Most missionaries failed to realise that the unholy alliance of Christianity with foreign secular forces would damage the Christian cause in the longer run. Their subsequent reliance on protective intervention by their own governments gave rise to further misunderstandings among the Chinese that missionaries were the emissaries and agents of foreign powers.

By 1945, after all 'unequal' treaties had been buried under the rubble of war, missionaries assumed that the stigma of imperialism had been removed from them. However, few of them realised that they would still have to labour under the bitter burden of their forefathers' legacy and the distrust which the Chinese people had developed towards them and which could not be overcome overnight.[2]

Missionaries were also accused of being collaborators of the Guomindang (GMD). This is a sweeping condemnation, especially since the

[2] Ling, "The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945–52", p. 199.

missionaries' relationship with the GMD was ambiguous and inconsistent. During the nationalist revolution of the mid-1920s missionaries had reservations about the GMD, because some of its members played an important part in the anti-Christian movements of 1922–1927. After the GMD assumed power in Nanjing in 1928, Protestant missionaries remained wary of the government's anti-religious policy as exemplified in the severe restrictions imposed on religious activities in mission schools and in the vigorous party indoctrination of education. Chiang Kai-shek's (1887–1975) marriage to the Methodist Song Meiling in December 1927 and his conversion to Christianity in 1930 did not immediately bring about a closer relationship between church and state. Nor did Chiang's earnest appeal for missionary support of the New Life Movement and the rural reconstruction project sponsored by the Nationalist Party succeed in minimising missionary apprehension about the GMD's track record concerning religion. Many remained sceptical about the GMD's seductive offers. It was the Xi'an Incident in 1937 as well as the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War that year that helped the transformation of Chiang into a popular hero, making him the focal point of national unity and support. Missionaries began to endorse the New Life Movement in increasing numbers and championed the cause for international relief for the Nationalist Government. Nonetheless, their support for Chiang was by no means unequivocal. In any case, the Protestant missionary body was never a homogeneous group and their political views were coloured by differences in theological and denominational backgrounds as well as personal preferences. The fundamentalist and conservative evangelicals were more prone to adopt a pro-Chiang attitude whereas the 'progressives' or 'modernists' were sympathetic to the Communists. In the post-war era, many missionaries became increasingly critical of Chiang's government and tried to distance themselves from it. Towards the end of the civil war, some missionaries gave shelter to university students who had been radicalised in reaction to the GMD's police terrorism, enabling them to slip away into Communist territory. However, against the small number of Protestant missionaries who were labelled as 'pink', the majority of them found the GMD more preferable than the CCP.[3] Although most of them stayed out of 'front line' political activities, a few of them—Americans in particular—were

[3] Ibid., pp. 71–73.

engaged in overt anti-Communist activity. The role of John Leighton Stuart (1876–1962), the former president of Yanjing University who became the American Ambassador to the government of the Republic of China in 1945, was a case in point. Stuart was a vociferous advocate of American support for the GMD and on account of this he was seen by the CCP as the "perfect example of the missionary imperialism".[4]

Missionaries were generally condemned for having allied themselves with the reactionary forces in society. Their institutional work was said to be inadequate in catering for the whole of the Chinese population. In the face of these attacks, many missionaries lamented the fact that their social welfare work had been a failure and some even suggested that the Communists had provided a more effective social programme for the people.[5]

There is no doubt that most of the missionaries were uncritical of the socio-economic structure. Few were acutely aware of the structural evils inherent in Chinese society. As many of them were conservative evangelicals stressing inward spirituality, their world-view was more life-denying than life-affirming. On account of this narrow theological outlook, they tended to define problems in terms of moral malaise and believed that conversion would eventually bring about social regeneration. In addition, their middle-class mentality might have prevented them from identifying sufficiently with the poor and the oppressed and their evolutionary approach to social change could hardly be effective in eliminating social injustice and in bringing about any substantial changes in society.

From today's perspective, the missionaries' recipe for correcting social injustice must be seen as highly inadequate, but it would not be justified to dismiss all Christian humanitarian work as a failure. In evaluating their welfare work, missionaries tried to compare it with the Communist effort—which is not justifiable because it confuses the role of missionaries with the function of government. It was not the primary task of the missionaries to provide socio-economic and political solutions to the nation's problems. Even if the churches had wanted to do it, neither the churches nor the missions had the institutional structures and the resources to implement a nation-wide reform

[4] Ralph and Nancy Lapwood, *Through the Chinese Revolution*, p. 156.

[5] David MacDonald Paton (1913–1992), Victor Evelyn W. Hayward (1908–1988) and Stanley H. Dixon (d. 1960) were among those who agreed with this view.

programme. Despite their limited manpower and financial resources, missionaries did provide pilot schemes and undertook pioneering work. Besides laying the foundations of a modern medical system in China, missionaries contributed to the introduction of women's education, established institutionalised care for the blind, the insane and the lepers. They also pioneered literacy campaigns, provided famine relief and initiated social crusades against foot-binding, drunkenness and opium-smoking. In fact, they had done so much in humanitarian work that they were regarded by the Communists as their rivals.[6]

Cultural Charges

Missionaries were criticised by Chinese Christians for being insensitive to Chinese culture. They were also accused by both Christian and non-Christian critics of denationalising Chinese Christians. Some of these criticisms were justified. The missionary literature in the nineteenth century depicted a negative image of the life of the Chinese people and tended to pass moral judgements on them. In their attempt to canvass support for their work and to answer critics at home, they had exaggerated the moral depravity of the Chinese people. There is a point in such a tactic but the more important reason for their being contemptuous of Chinese way of life was that they were products of their own times and their perception of all aspects of Chinese culture was coloured by their belief in the cultural superiority of the West, which was tainted also by their own national and racial pride.

Missionaries' cultural insensibility can also be reflected in their attitude to cultural reforms. Believing that Western civilisation should be introduced as a preconditions for evangelism, many missionaries, especially the Social Gospellers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, bent on promoting social and cultural changes. As they were over-confident in themselves and unaware of the corporate dimensions of the social structures and the complex web of social relationship of Chinese people, some missionaries pushed their converts along the path they thought they should travel.[7] Such an orientation not only led to alienation of Chinese Christians from the social life and cultural

[6] Ling, "The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945–52", pp. 215–216.
[7] Ibid., p. 204.

roots which the missionaries regarded as heathen but also provoked resentment of Chinese people.

The problem of denationalising Chinese people was not confined to the Church. In the 1920s mission schools were the targets of attack by both the GMD and the CCP for denationalising Chinese students, both Christian and non-Christian. There was ample evidence for this view. Until the end of the 1920s most of the mission schools were either registered at the foreign consulates in China or with their mission boards at home. Many Christian colleges had their Board of Directors in the US which supervised the budget of the schools.[8] In those schools not only was their direction by foreigners resented by the Chinese, the Western curriculum, the celebration of Western national day and festivals, the flying of foreign flags, and their protection by unequal treaties were regarded as an infringement of China's sovereign rights. In such Western enclaves Western way of life was exulted and undoubtedly the end product of such inculturation was a Westernised elite, who tended to despise Chinese civilisation and was more proficient in English than in their own native language.[9] To the non-Christian critics, Christian education was perceived as the most visible form of cultural aggression.

Chinese Christians were very conscious of their vulnerability to ridicule and anti-Christian attacks from their fellow countrymen. In the event of those attacks, they were all the more eager to prove that they had not been denationalised by trying to identify with the Chinese populace. In the twenties some Chinese Christians participated in the campaigns to abrogate the unequal treaties, supported the Restoration of Educational Rights Movement, and issued declarations to support the nationalist revolution.[10] In the fifties the problem

---

[8] Zhong Rongguang, "Lingnan xuexiao" 嶺南學校; and Yang Kaijia, "Huaxi xiehe daxuexiao" 華西協和大學校, in *Zhonghua Jidujiao nianjian* 中華基督教年鑒 vol. 5 (1918), pp 108–109, 116–117; Wei Zhuowen, "Wuchang wenhua shuyuan ji qi hou shen Huazhong daxue" 武昌文華書院及其後身華中大學, *Wuhan wenshi ziliao* 武漢文史資料 No. 9 (1982), p. 122.

[9] Li Huizu, "Wo suo jingli de jiaohui xuexiao", *Hubei wenshi jiliao* (1990), p. 114; Xian Zien 冼子恩, "Liushi nianjian sili Guangzhou pizheng zhongxue di bianqian" 六十年間私立廣州培正中學的變遷, *Guangdong wenshi ziliao* 廣東文史資料 no. 45 (1984–85), pp. 279–280.

[10] Chinese Christians in Changsha, Chengdu, Suzhou, Kaifeng, Hengyang, Shanghai, Xiangtan and Yanhai issued manifestoes declaring their support for the nationalist revolution. See Huang Jitang and Yang Duo, "Wuhan Jidutu gexin yundong zhi qianyin haoguo", *Zhonghua jidujiao nianjian* 中華基督教年鑒 vol. 10 (1928), iii, pp. 25–26; "Guan yu xin yundong yishu", in ibid., iii, pp. 41–64.

of identification returned to plague the Christians when some of them wanted to demonstrate their patriotism to the state through political action.

Social and Economic Charges

Missionaries were criticised by the Chinese Christians for their failure to identify materially with Chinese people. This found concrete expression in the great discrepancy in the standard of living between most of the missionaries, except those belonging to the China Inland Mission, and the Chinese people. In the treaty ports and towns, the large Western style missionary houses and their Western way of living could hardly escape notice of the people. With a much higher rate of salary, which was at great variance to that of a Chinese worker of comparable age and ecclesiastical responsibility, missionaries could hire three to four domestic servants.[11] In the eyes of the Chinese, missionaries were part of a rich and privileged elite.

In justifying a higher standard of living, concern for the health of missionaries and problems in bringing up children in China was the usual argument.[12] To remain healthy, a comfortable way of living which resembled to that at home would cushion them from the harsh realities of life and enable them to work more efficiently. Another rationale was that missionaries' novelty in their house served to attract attention and inspire awe from the people whereas their affluence would demonstrate the truthfulness and vitality of their Gospel. In a double sense, missionaries thought, their affluence had apologetic value.[13] Such an argument did not remain uncontested in the period of our study. When challenged by Chinese Christians in the 1920s missionaries reasoned that living a certain amount of comfort would enhance their social status and would enable them to establish relationship with the cultured classes of Chinese.[14]

---

[11] See 'A China Missionary' [David M. Paton], "First Thoughts on the Débâcle of Christian Missions in China", *IRM* 40 (October 1951), p. 414.

[12] H. R. Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1957, p. 333; S. H. Dixon, "The Experience of Christian Mission in China", *IRM* 42 (1953), p. 293.

[13] J. J. Bonk, *Missions and Money: Affluence as a Western Missionary Problem*, New York: Orbis, 1994, p. 41.

[14] See Kenneth Allison Baird, "Missionary Mistakes", *CR* 60,7 (July 1929), pp. 460–461.

Missionaries paid a staggering cost for their insistence on maintaining a higher economic level. It made identification with the life situation of the Chinese impossible. Missionaries preached the Gospel of the poor but lived a life of material abundance themselves. It raised the question as to the validity of the Gospel message and distorted Chinese understanding of it. Consequently not a few who joined the Church were "rice Christians". Missionaries' comfortable lifestyle elicited envy and hostility from the Chinese. It led to "invidious comparison" of the two life styles and aroused suspicion of the Chinese as to the motives of missionaries. Missionaries were not aware of the double standard by which they applied to themselves and to the Chinese. They ridiculed those who wanted to imitate their life style as "money-loving" people.[15] While they enjoyed a higher standard of living, the Chinese pastors could hardly make ends meet. As they were preoccupied with comfort and security, they could not effectively challenge their converts to a life of self-sacrifice which they refused to follow.

Missionaries' affluent life style formed a great social barrier segregating them from the Chinese people. In Jonathan Bonk's words, the missionaries were "inhabiting an island in a sea of poverty, which insulated them".[16] Few of the missionaries made attempts to fraternise with the Chinese. They chose to spend their leisure time and holiday with their fellow countrymen. Their children, too, were separated from the Chinese and were sent to costly special schools catering to those children of privileged Westerners.

Missionaries were not aware of the problems created by their economic and social disparity. They did not realise that their economic ascendancy over the Chinese distorted the latter's perception of missionary motives. It also isolated them from the life experience of the Chinese, thus creating a "hypocrisy of ministry without identification".[17]

Religious Charges

In the 1950s Chinese Christians blamed the missionaries for imposing Western style of worship and their home-made denominational

[15] J. J. Bonk, *The Theory and Practice of Missionary Identification 1860–1920*, Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989, p. 69.
[16] Bonk, *Missions and Money*, p. 46.
[17] Ibid., p. 75.

divisions upon the Chinese Church. Missionaries were also criticised for the failure to set up a three-self church in China.

Missionaries admitted that they had failed to adapt worship to the Chinese way of life. As for the problem of Western denominationalism missionaries sought remedy by making comity agreements to limit rivalries among themselves. They also sought to promote functional unity of churches and missions through the National Christian Council and the church of Christ in China. The former, which was formed in 1922, represented the majority of all Protestant institutions in China whereas the latter, which held its meeting in 1927, brought together mainly the congregational and Presbyterian groups comprising about one-third of communicants in the country. In spite of these efforts, the lack of unity among Chinese Christians proved to be a great obstacle to united witnesses in times of difficulties.

Another charge against missionaries was their failure to establish a three-self church in China. The principle of the "three-self', that is, self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating, had been laid down by Henry Venn, the Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society from 1841 to 1872, as the goal of missions. It appeared, however, on paper because the type of church the missionaries wanted to implant in China was based on Western models maintained by a Western trained ministry. In many places the congregation found it impossible to support it and self-support especially in the twentieth century was gravely handicapped by natural disasters, civil strife, local unrest and the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–45. From the beginning Chinese Church had to rely heavily on Western personnel and finance. Furthermore, missionaries held a firm grip of the Church and this deprived the Chinese Christians of their opportunity to learn the spirit of responsibility. Under the unyielding control of the missionaries many intelligent and capable young men were discouraged from entering church ministry. In addition, the education by which Chinese church leaders were trained was Western in content. This cultural conditioning perpetuated a Western form of ecclesiastical organisation and church life, thus undermining the purpose of creating an indigenous church.[18] The Chinese Church, in consequence, remained foreign in the eyes of the outsiders.

[18] Ling, "The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China", p. 212.

Limitations of the missionary interpretation

One limitation of missionaries' evaluation of their work in China is that their discussions mainly focused on methods and policies of the missions. Many missionaries in the 1950s blamed themselves for not following Roland AlIen's (1868–1947) suggestions. AlIen, a SPG missionary, who had written critically about the practices of Western missions, advocated the return to the Apostolic missionary methods of St. Paul's time and strongly recommended the founding of indigenous churches by new believers.[19] Missionaries, while regretting for not listening to AlIen's advice, had overlooked the fact that AlIen's views were no recipe for success. AlIen had favoured the rapid expansion of churches under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. K. S. Latourette, however, punctured the myth of those who believed in such a rapid, spontaneous growth by pointing out that some indigenous churches were perversions of the Gospel.[20] All in all, missionaries' thinking was dominated by the search for effective methods of doing mission. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that methods alone can guarantee success.

During the missionary discussions one idea which had rubbed salt into the wound, adding anguish to those who had involved in the China missions was one suggested by David Paton and shared by a few other missionaries. These missionaries viewed the withdrawal of missionaries in the 1950s as a divine judgement on the character of missionary work and the Church in China.[21] They tended to theologise events without taking into account the historical context. The advocates of this divine judgement view had to answer a host of questions with regard to identifying the guilty party and determining the extent of guilt. They had to consider whether the setbacks of 1900 and 1926 were also the judgement of God. Another poignant question that remains is whether God would hold the Chinese people responsible for the inadequacies of the missionary work.[22] Far from accepting the

[19] See Roland Allen, "The Chinese Characteristics and Missionary Methods", *The East and West* (July 1903); idem, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours*, London: Robert Scott, 1912; idem, *Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It*, London: Dominion Press, 1927.

[20] Latourette, "The Light of History on Current Historical Methods", *IRM* 42 (April 1953), pp. 138–143.

[21] Paton's view was shared by Gerhard Rosenkranz; see Paton, *Christian Missions and the Judgement of God*.

[22] Hood, *Neither Bang nor Whimper*, p. 215.

exodus of missions as the judgement of God, some missionaries pointed out that no matter what sorts of strategies they might have adopted and no matter what kind of life style they might have to follow in China, events would have followed the same course.[23]

Historical Considerations

There is a common consensus among historians that the historical context of the nineteenth-century China was not conducive to the spread of Christianity. In a country where all religions had to be sanctioned by the state, Christianity, which was external to and above the socio-political order and threatened to destroy it, was bound to be regarded as subversive. So the argument goes that no matter how the Gospel was preached, whether by Catholics or Protestants, failure was certain in their view. To attribute the lack of success to political environment alone appears to be too simple an explanation. An important factor which has been overlooked is the fact that missionaries themselves had ignored political and social context of the country in which they came to share the good news. Their belief in providential theory, their inclination to theologise events led to the willingness to adopt whatever means to achieve the desired results. Consequently, it led to distortions and abuses evident in the founding of the Church as an *imperium in imperio*, and in the exploitation of treaty protection. Their lack of understanding of the social and political context in which they sought to preach resulted in the slowness in perceiving the subversive effects their doctrines and practices had on Chinese way of life. Western hubris also blinded them from recognising the depths of the scholar-gentry's suspicion and antagonism towards the Christian faith. Their denunciation of these political and social elites as the fountain heads of China's corrupt conservatism was reciprocated by the extensive vilification campaign conducted by the latter who regarded the missionaries as their deadly rivals. It was the scholar-gentry who helped to inflame anti-missionary outbreaks at the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

---

[23] See Dixon, p. 286; Victor E. W. Hayward, *"Ears to Hear": Lessons from the China Mission*, London: Edinburgh House Press, 1955, p. 1; and his article, "Have Christian Missions in China Failed?", *Missionary Herald* (January 1952), p. 2; Hubert W. Spillett 蘇佩禮, "The Work of God in China", *Missionary Herald* (London, April 1953), p. 62.

If the atmosphere in the nineteenth century was unfavourable to the spread of Christianity, what happened to the twentieth century with the dawning of a new political era? With the demise of Confucianism, missionaries saw a great opportunity for Christianity. In the first few years following the 1911 Revolution Christianity seemed to have enjoyed a receptive hearing. Evangelistic meetings held in the major cities drew large audiences in the country.[24] But with the ascendancy of the New Thought Tide in China, Christianity was increasingly under pressure.

Missionaries deluded themselves into believing that after the New Thought Tide had challenged and driven out all old beliefs, things would go sweetly for Christianity as a marriage bell. This was but a pipe dream. The rise of scientism, the influx of Western agnostic and atheistic literature and the Russian revolutionary propaganda gave new impetus to the anti-Christian tradition in China. Christianity became the chief target of attack and suffered a devastating blow in the ensuing anti-Christian and anti-imperialist movements in the 1920s.[25] During the early years of the Nanjing regime some GMD officials were hostile to Christianity. In the first two or three decades of the twentieth century when secular Westernisation was under way, there was no good ground for assurance that Christianity would have greater opportunity to show its value.

The lack of spectacular success in conversion led some historians to conclude that the missionary movement in China was a failure. They judged the mission solely in terms of the number of converts. Historians were not the first to judge success of missions mainly on the basis of visible results. The belief in number was shared by many missionaries, both conservative evangelicals and Social Gospellers, the premillennialists and post-millennialists, who entertained the hope of a large scale conversion in China. However, no mass conversion occurred because of two main reasons. Firstly, resistance to Christianity was strong on account of its foreign nature. Secondly, missionaries were so concerned about the question of "rice Christians" that they carried out

[24] John Mott and Sherwood Eddy made tours of China in 1911, 1913, 1914 and 1915 and held evangelistic meetings for students in major cities in China. See Dai Weiliang, "Muai erjun zai Zhongguo da budao hou chengyi baogaoshu zhaiyao", *Zhonghua jidujiao nianjian* vol. 1 (1914), pp. 57–59; idem, "Aidi bodao shimo", *Zhonghua jidujiao nianjian* vol. 2 (1915), pp. 119–128.

[25] Ling, "The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China", p. 220.

a scrupulous screening of those who sought membership of the Church. This accounted for the long period of catechism and the limited number of communicants admitted to the Church. Those who believed that numbers are everything had overlooked the fact that church growth was difficult to measure not only because of the existence of different church orders and traditions but also because of the difficulty of obtaining accurate statistics especially during the long period of political turmoil and chaos before 1949.[26]

Many authors agreed that failure in indigenisation of the Christian faith was a main obstacle to the propagation of Christianity. There were many theoretical and practical problems involved in the process at indigenisation. Both the early Jesuit and the later Protestant attempts at indigenisation led to compromising the Christian faith. In the 1920s some Chinese Christian intellectuals led the debate on indigenisation but external factors complicated the issue. In view of the mounting pressure of Japanese aggression in the following decade national salvation was all that mattered and the initial debate on indigenisation was not followed through.[27]

In retrospective, indigenisation would not have made Christianity more acceptable than Buddhism or Daoism by the Communists, who rejected all religions, whether indigenised or not, on the ground that they were irrelevant to a communist society.

Among some supporters of mission, "failure" was the religious version of the idea that the West had "lost" China to Communism.[28] They believed that Christian mission had suffered a defeat because 'of the failure of Chinese Christians to offer an alternative to Communism and after the Communist revolution the failure of them to confront Communist rule. Many missionaries believed that they had been fighting a losing battle with communism since the 1920s. Why did Communism have a greater appeal to the revolutionary youth and Chinese intellectuals than Christianity?

Since the establishment of the Chinese Republic, the concern of Chinese intellectuals had been to save China. Communism offered them a "totalistic" solution to China's problems which the Church was unable to address. Communism could fill the ideological void left by

---

[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., p. 222.
[28] Hood, p. 214.

Confucianism and offer the Chinese people an all embracing world view as well as a clear guide for practical political action.[29]

Some Chinese Christian intellectuals tried to prove the relevance of their Christian faith by a social interpretation of Christianity. They presented Jesus as a modern Confucius. Those who embraced modernist theology gave a material interpretation of the mission of Jesus. They believed that Christianity would offer ethics and new dynamics essential for the transformation of Chinese society. The preaching of Christianity as a means to national salvation is a poor apologia for Christian faith. Brian Stanley, a prominent mission historian, pointed out that "the presentation of Christianity as the guarantor of national regeneration was a standing invitation to any rival ideology which could present itself as being to deliver the same good".[30] This occurred when Communism offered a recipe for a new society and delivered promises to set up a utopia on earth. Intellectuals began to enshrine this political belief as their faith.

As to the question about the failure of Chinese Christians to confront the Communist rule, it must be pointed out that a small number of them, who were disillusioned with Christian reformism and advocated more violent solution to China's ills, believed that they could usher in the Kingdom of God on earth by cooperating with the Communists. The majority of the Chinese Christians were impressed by the achievements of the new Communist government, most important of which was that the new government gave them a new sense of national pride and hope. They did not consider their support of the new government a betrayal of their faith. In addition, a confrontational approach was impossible under Communist rule.

For the missionaries nothing was so devastating as their being rejected not only by the Chinese people whom they had come to serve but also by those Christians whom they had laboriously nurtured. Not surprisingly, their sense of loss was great and their reflections were deeply introspective, focusing on their mistakes in their attitudes and policies. There was an implicit assumption that if they could do better, they could compete successfully with the Communists. They failed to realise that they could not control events. No matter what kind of

[29] Ling, "The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China", pp. 223–224.

[30] Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, Leicester: Apollos, 1990, p. 142.

policy they had adopted, they could not change the fate of the GMD. In retrospect, we find that in their attempt to identify failure in some particular areas of their work, missionaries and some contemporary historians had broached the question in sweeping terms. In fact, the issues concerning missionary "failure" were more complicated than they had assumed and those issues must be analysed within their historical context. Instead of lamenting what missionaries had considered to be a colossal loss, one should rejoice that the 1952 exodus was a success. If a church had been planted in the "most frustrating of all mission fields",[31] their mission had already been accomplished. Missionaries could find satisfaction in the knowledge that having been free from the suffocating embrace of the missionaries, Chinese Christians were able to embark on their own adventure of faith and bring forth fruits a hundred fold.

Bibliography

Allen, Roland, "The Chinese Characteristics and Missionary Methods", *The East and West* (July 1903).
Allen, Roland, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours*, London: Robert Scott, 1912.
Allen, Roland, *Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It*, London: Dominion Press, 1927.
Baird, Kenneth Allison, "Missionary Mistakes", *CR* 60,7 (July 1929), pp. 460–464.
Bonk, Jonathan J., *Missions and Money: Affluence as a Western Problem*, 3rd ed., New York: Orbis, 1994.
Bonk, Jonathan J., *The Theory and Practice of Missionary Identification 1860–1920*, Queenston, Lewiston, Lampeter: Edward Mellen Press, 1989.
Dai Weiliang, "Aidi bodao shimo", *Zhonghua Jidujiao nianjian* vol. 2 (1915), pp. 119–128.
Dai Weiliang, "Muai erjun zai Zhongguo da budao hou chengyi baogaoshu zhaiyao", *Zhonghua Jidujiao nianjian* vol. 1 (1914), pp. 57–59.
Dixon, Stanley H., "The Experience of Christian Mission in China", *IRM* 42 (1953).
Fitzgerald, Charles P., "Opposing Cultural Traditions, Barriers to Communication", in Lutz, *Christian Missions in China: Evangelists of What?*, Boston: D. C. Heath, 1965, pp. 95–104.
Hayward, Victor E. W., *"Ears to Hear": Lessons from the China Mission*, London: Edinburgh House Press, 1955.
Hayward, Victor E. W., "Have Christian Missions in China Failed?", *Missionary Herald* (January 1952).
Hood, George, *Neither Bang nor Whimper: The End of a Missionary Era in China*, Singapore: Presbyterian Church in Singapore in association with the Friends of the Church in China (U.K.), 1991.

[31] C. P. Fitzgerald, "Opposing Cultural Traditions, Barriers to Communication", in Lutz, *Christian Missions in China: Evangelists of What?*, Boston: D. C. Heath, 1965, p. 95.

Lapwood, Ralph and Nancy, *Through the Chinese Revolution*, London: Spalding & Levy, 1954.
Latourette, Kenneth Scott, "The Light of History on Current Historical Methods", *IRM* 42 (April 1953), pp. 138–143.
Ling, Oi Ki, "The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China", Ph.D. diss., University of Leeds, 1995. Published as: Ling, Oi Ki, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945–1952*, Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1999.
Lutz, Jessie G., *Christian Missions in China: Evangelists of What?*, Boston: D. C. Heath, 1965.
Paton, David MacDonald, *Christian Missions and the Judgement of God*, London: SCM Press, 1953. A second edition, with additional information: Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1996.
[Paton, David MacDonald] 'A China Missionary', "First Thoughts on the Débâcle of Christian Missions in China ", *IRM* 40 (October 1951), pp. 411–420.
Rosenkranz, Gerhard, "China Today, Some Reflections against the Background of Yesterday", *IRM* 44 (October 1955), pp. 418–429.
Spillett, Hubert W., "The Work of God in China", *Missionary Herald* (London, April 1953).
Stanley, Brian, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leicester: Apollos, 1990.
Wei Zhuowen, "Wuchang wenhua shuyuan ji qi hou shen Huazhong daxue" 武昌文華書院及其後身華中大學, *Wuhan wenshi ziliao* 武漢文史資料 No. 9 (1982).
Williamson, H. R., *British Baptists in China 1845–1952*, London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1957.
Xian Zi'en 冼子恩, "Liushi nianjian sili Guangzhou pizheng zhongxue di bianqian" 六十年間私立廣州培正中學的變遷, *Guangdong wenshi ziliao* 廣東文史資料 no. 45 (1984–85).
Yang Kaijia, "Huaxi xiehe daxuexiao" 華西協和大學校, in *Zhonghua Jidujiao nianjian* 中華基督教年鑒 vol. 5 (1918).
Zhong Rongguang, "Lingnan xuexiao" 嶺南學校, in *Zhonghua Jidujiao nianjian* 中華基督教年鑒 vol. 5 (1918).

PART THREE

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, HONGKONG, MACAO, TAIWAN

1. Sources 1950 to the Present

1.1. Chinese Primary Sources

Access to Chinese primary sources can be difficult, especially in the People's Republic of China with regard to the post-1949 period. In this connection, the political centre of the PRC has striven to create a particular presentation of the past. Thus, "unified thinking" and "memory management" are believed to be a major precondition to national stability and unity. The process of liberalisation and commercialisation notwithstanding, Western scholars may still encounter difficulties in tracking down relevant material.

1.1.1. *Archival sources*

Generally speaking, state archives in the PRC are still subject to strict control over archival holdings and highly selective distribution of historical knowledge for the implementation of orthodox history. Careful planning is, therefore, essential to ensure at least a degree of success in the repositories. The following publications discuss the China archive question in considerable detail.

Wagner, Vivian, "Die Archivsituation in der Volksrepublik China", *Jahrbuch für historische Kommunismusforschung* (2009), pp. 7–18.

Wagner, Vivian, *Erinnerungsverwaltung in China: Staatsarchive und Politik in der Volksrepublik*, Köln: Böhlau, 2006.

Especially at the lower-level archives access may be more flexible as well as variable. The following guide concerning access to provincial archives, frequently updated, is an online continuation of Ye Wa and Joseph W. Esherick, *Chinese Archives: An Introductory Guide*, Berkeley, 1996. URL: orpheus.ucsd.edu/chinesehistory/chinese_archives.htm

It should be noted that Chinese religious communities and church organisations, as well as some foreign missionary societies have created local archive collections in Hongkong and Taiwan. In this connection, the Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives 香港天主教教區檔案, for example, are the repository of primary source material generated after 1949. Note also the Archives of the Chinese Province of the Society of Jesus in Taibei. It should, however, be borne in mind that the material relating to post-1949 Christianity in Mainland China, Hongkong, Macao and Taiwan is in some cases too recent and cannot yet be made available for consultation by scholars. Moreover, the topic is still of a rather sensitive nature.

1.1.2. *Local histories*

Because access to archival material is highly restricted in the People's Republic of China, some insights into the development of Catholic and Protestant Christianity at the local level after 1949 can be gleaned from many of the new gazetteers that have been published for virtually every county and higher-level administrative jurisdiction in Mainland China since the 1980s. However, the quality and extent of coverage varies considerably, depending on the expertise and enthusiasm of the local gazetteer editorial committee.

Since access to the several thousand gazetteers is difficult, the passages covering Christianity are now available on the internet for most counties and higher-level jurisdictions, including autonomous regions such as Xinjiang. They have been extracted from the new gazetteers by Chan Kim-kwong 陳劍光 and others. This web site has an index that enables researchers to find the relevant local gazetteer and view the pages dealing with Christianity.

URL: http://www.hsscol.org.hk/fangzhi/main.htm

General histories of Christianity

Zhao Tian'en 趙天恩 [Jonathan Chao], and Zhuang Wanfang 莊婉芳 [Rosanna Chong], *Dangdai Zhongguo Jidujiao fazhanshi 1949–1997* 當代中國基督教發展史, 1949–1997 (A History of Christianity in Socialist China, 1949–1997), Taibei: CMI Publishing, 1997.

Zhongguo Jidujiao sanzi aiguo yundong weiyuanhui 中國基督教三自愛國運動委員會; Zhongguo Jidujiao lianhui 中國基督教協會 (eds.), *Chuanjiao yundong yu Zhongguo jiaohui* 傳教運動與中國

教會 (The missionary movement and the Chinese church), Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2007.
A collection of articles published by the Three-Self Patriotic Movement of China and the China Christian Council.

1.1.3. *Topographical survey*

The periodic guides to the Catholic Church in the People's Republic in China and the annual directories for Hongkong, Macao and Taiwan: Chinese and English. Thus changes and developments over time can be gleaned from a comparison of data (for instance, names of priests, locations of churches, etc.) in the various issues.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE CHINESE WORLD

Guide to the Catholic Church in China 2008 中國天主教指南 2008, edited by Jean Charbonnier MEP, Singapore: China Catholic Communication (Singapore), 2008.
Earlier editions: 1986, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2004

Annual directories

Hongkong

Hong Kong Catholic Directory 2003 香港天主教手冊, 2003 年 Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society, 2003, and subsequent years. In Chinese and English.
Earlier title: *Hong Kong Catholic Directory and Year Book for the year of our Lord*, 1953–1973; since 1974: *Hong Kong Catholic Church Directory*.
The current directory can be consulted on the world-wide web. URL: http://www.catholic.org.hk/v2/cath_db/search.php?l=en

Macao

Directório católico de Macau 2008; Aomen Tianzhujiao shouce 澳門天主教手冊 2008 年, Macau: Camara eclesiastica Paco Episcopal, 2008.

Taiwan

Catholic Church Directory Taiwan • 2007 台灣天主教手冊，民國九十三年; issued by: Taiwan diqu zhujiao tuan mi shu chu 台灣地區主教團秘書處, 2007. 2007; accompanied by 1 CD-ROM. Also earlier years.
Title in the past (e.g. 1976): 中華民國六十五年臺灣天主教手冊 = Catholic Directory, Taiwan, Republic of China, 1976, issued by: Secretariat of the Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference 天主教中國主教團秘書處.

Ku Pao-ku 顧保鵠 (ed.) *Taiwan Tianzhujiao xiuhui jian jie* 臺灣天主教修會簡介 [Short Presentation of All Religious Orders and Congregations in Taiwan] Taipei: Guangqi Press, 1968.

For information on TSPM Protestant churches and meeting points, consult the web pages of Amity Foundation, Nanjing (in Chinese and English); URL: http://www.amitynewsservice.org/page. php?page=1233

Periodical literature

Provides information on developments in China; also publish Chinese government regulations concerning religion in general and Christianity in particular.

Chinese Theological Review, an annual publication of the Foundation for Theological Education in South East Asia (FTESEA). Published since 1985, the Chinese Theological Review is the product of a desire to make available to a wider readership a broad spectrum of current Chinese theological writings and CCC statements originally written in Chinese for Chinese Christians. Its aim is to be a link between the Christian community in China and those abroad through the more widely current medium of the English language, providing to those outside China a vivid picture of Chinese Protestant thinking as it has been evolving over the past years. At the same time, the Review seeks to show the background as well as the underlying continuity of developments as reflected in the self understanding of Chinese Christians. The online version is available at: URL: http://www.amitynewsservice.org/page.php?page=356

Christianity in Contemporary China Clippings Database 當代中國基督教發展剪報數據庫, Hong Kong Baptist University Library. It is one of the digitisation projects available for educational and research purposes on the World Wide Web free of charge. The 1660 newspaper and periodical clippings, spanning from 1950 to 1976, were originally collected by the Union Research Institute from approximately 123 Chinese and English language newspapers and periodicals, published in 9 countries or regions. These clippings focus on the Chinese government policies on religions and the development of Christianity in China from 1950 through 1976. Topics of special interest include 'Three-self Movement', the development of churches and seminaries, trials of some Christians and Catholics such as 龔品梅 in China. URL: http://libproject.hkbu.edu.hk/was40/search?channelid=7336

Dao Feng: Hanyu shenxue xuekan 道風: 漢語神學學刊 (Logos and Pneuma: Chinese Journal of Theology), No. 1 (1994), Hong Kong: Tao Fong Shan Christian Study Centre Research Department, 1994. See also *Sino-Christian Studies*.

Jinling shenxue zhi 金陵神學誌 (variant title: Nanjing Theological Review), published in Nanjing by Jinling xiehe shehuiyuan 金鈴協和學會院 since 1984. (Note that there was an earlier periodical by that name, published from 1932 by the Nanking Theological Seminary.)

Nanjing shenxue zhi 南京神學誌 *(Nanjing Theological Review*; Hongkong): annual volume of articles selected from *Jinling Theological Review*, a quarterly theological journal published in Nanjing (Jiangsu) in simplified Chinese characters. At the end of each year, articles of particular interest are selected and converted to traditional Chinese characters for a wider Overseas Chinese audience. Recent NTR articles are available online; URL: http://www.amitynewsservice.org/page.php?page=357

Sino-Christian studies: an international journal of Bible, theology & philosophy / Hanyu Jidujiao xueshu lun pin 漢語基督教學術論評. Dao Fong Shan Christian Centre Research Department, (Sha Tin, Hongkong); issued by Chung Yuan Christian University; 中壢: 中原大學, Chungli, Taiwan, 2006–.

Tianfeng 天風 (Heavenly Wind), Shanghai: Zhongguo Jidujiao sanzi aiguo yundong weiyuanhui; published since 1945. The magazine is the chief exponent of the official views of the Protestant Chinese church. Its reports and analyses are hence of immense value towards

the understanding of the Chinese church. An online index for the years 1947–1963 has been prepared by the Centre for the Study of Christianity in Asia, Trinity Theological College, Singapore. URL: http://www.ttc.edu.sg/csca/epub/tf/tfindex.htm

Zhongguo Tianzhujiao 中國天主教 (China Catholic News), the official bulletin of the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association, published in Beijing.

Zhongguo yu fuyin 中國與福音 (China and the Gospel); Hongkong: China Ministries International 中國福音會, 1994–; originally called *Fuyin yu jiaohui* 中國與教會.

Xinde 信德報 (Faith Monthly), a Catholic paper published by Hebei Faith Press (Shijiazhuang, Hebei) which was established by Fr. John B. Zhang Shijiang 張士江 in 1991.

In addition, there are several other Catholic and Protestant newspapers and journals, as well as local Christian web pages.

1.2. Western Primary Sources

Following the expulsion of foreign missionaries from the Mainland after 1949, continued foreign evangelisation of the Chinese came to be concentrated in Hongkong, Macao and Taiwan, as well as in the Chinese diaspora. The missionary societies active in these areas continue to collect archival material. However, some archival source material of recent decades may not yet be available for consultation, depending on whether particular repositories operate under certain restrictions, such as, for example, a 30, 50 or 70 year rule. In other words, archival records may be made available to the public only by the time they are 30, 50 or 70 years old. Access information should, therefore, be obtained from the relevant agencies (for details concerning the older missionary societies, see the previous 'Sources' sections in this *Handbook*). Some of the newer foreign (as well as Overseas Chinese) organisations are currently involved in clandestine missionary work on the Chinese Mainland. Naturally, such organisations refuse access to their sources for obvious reasons.

The major mission organisations may not have had any active workers on the Chinese Mainland after 1950, but they continued to maintain a keen interest in the religious affairs of China. Thus, 'Christian

China watchers'[1] observed developments in and obtained information from inside the country. Substantial collections of reports and correspondence concerning incarcerated foreign missionaries and the fate of Chinese Christians have been preserved in various missionary and government archives.

Published Documents

Wurth, Elmer (comp.), *Papal Documents Related to China 1937–2005*, Hongkong: Holy Spirit Study Centre, 2006. Rev. and updated ed. of: *Papal Documents Related to the New China, 1937–1984*.
The 450-page volume is divided into two parts and contains a total of 103 documents. Part I includes the encyclicals of Pius XI and Pius XII, the documents of John XXIII and Paul VI. Part II deals exclusively with the many statements of John Paul II.

General Histories

Brown, G[eorge] Thompson, *Christianity in the People's Republic of China*, rev. ed., Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1986.

Lam, Anthony S. K., *The Catholic Church in Present-Day China: Through Darkness and Light*, trans. from the Chinese by Peter Barry and Norman Walling, ed. by Betty Ann Maheu and Anne Reusch, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation; Hongkong: Holy Spirit Study Centre, 1995.

Myers, James T., *Enemies Without Guns: The Catholic Church in the People's Republic of China*, New York: Paragon House, 1991.

Tony Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*. Revised and updated. Oxford: Monarch Books, 2006.

Whyte, Bob, *Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity*, London: Collins, 1988.

Periodicals and online news services

Several Christian research institutes and church agencies have published their observations concerning developments in Chinese Christianity

[1] Parig Digan, *The Christian China-Watchers: A Post-Mao Perspective*, Brussels: Pro Mundi Vita, 1978.

after 1950 in periodicals and newsletters. The current state of church affairs in China can also be gleaned from a number of web sites. In view of the fact that much of the post-1950 Western archival material will remain inaccessible for some time to come, the periodical literature and online news services can provide helpful insights into the recent history and current state of Christianity in China. The list below, by no means complete, is indicative of the growing interest in Chinese Christianity. For additional relevant serial publications, consult Crouch, Christianity in China, "Serial Titles". In addition to other church-related serials, news about Christianity in China is also being reported in the general media (in newspapers, journals and online).

Agenzia Fides, the press agency of the Vatican. It is based in the Palace de Propaganda Fide in Vatican City. URL: www.fides.org

Amity News Service, bringing news and views from the China Christian Council. URL: http://www.hk.super.net/~amityhk/

AsiaNews, (PIME Missionaries); available in Italian, English and Chinese. URL: http://www.asianews.it/

Bridge: Church Life in China Today; Shatin, N. T., Hong Kong: Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Centre, No. 1 (Sept. 1983). No. 1–22 issued by: Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Centre; 23– by: Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture. Issued also in a Chinese edition. Ceased publication in the late 1990s.

Catholic News Service, CNS is editorially independent and a financially self-sustaining division of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops; URL: http://catholicnews.com/

Catholic World News, a leading Catholic News service since 1996, in now part of Trinity Communications; URL: www.cwnews.com

The Censer, the official publication of the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Hong Kong and Southeast Asia. URL: http://www.cs.ust.hk/faculty/dimitris/metro/CENSER.html

China and the Church Today. Hongkong: Chinese Church Research Center; Abington, PA: Distributed by Partnership in Mission, 1979–.

China Bulletin. National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Far Eastern Office, Division of Foreign Missions, New York. 1947–1952; continued by *China Notes*.

China Church Quarterly (Online Version), U.S. Catholic China Bureau. URL: http://www.usccb.net/usccb_new/newsletter.htm

China Desk e-Bulletin, Churches Together in Britain and Ireland. URL: http://www.chinaonlinecentre.org/

China heute: Informationen über Religion und Christentum im chinesischen Raum; China-Zentrum e.V., Sankt Augustin, Germany; published since 1982.

China Insight Newsletter: A bi-monthly newsletter giving an insider's view of China by Tony Lambert (Overseas Ministries Fellowship); formerly called *China Insight*. URL: http://www.omf.org/omf/content/view/full/5514

China Ministry Report (Kowloon, Hong Kong), China Ministries International 中國福音會, 2003–; formerly *China Prayer Letter*, published by Chinese Church Research Centre, Shatin, Hong Kong, distributed by Christian Nationals Evangelism Commission, San Jose, Calif.

China News, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Division of International Mission, Atlanta, Ga., 1981–1985; continued as *China News Update*, 1986-. China News Update is an occasional newsletter published by the China Program, East Asia/Pacific Office, Worldwide Ministries Division, Presbyterian Church (USA), Louisville, KY, U.S.A.

China Notes was published throughout the 1980s and until the early 1990s by the East Asia/Pacific Office of National Council of Churches (U.S.A.).

China Prayer Letter, Christian Nationals Evangelism Commission, published by Chinese Church Research Centre, Shatin, Hong Kong, distributed by Christian Nationals Evangelism Commission (now called Partners International), San Jose, Calif., ca. 1980–1986. Continued as *Partners Update*. See also *China Ministry Report*.

China Study Journal, an academic journal publishing articles on religion and religious policy in China published by the China Desk of Churches Together in Britain and Ireland. Before 1986 is was published as *Religion in the People's Republic of China: Documentation*.

Chinese Theological Review, providing to those outside China a vivid picture of Chinese Protestant thinking as it has been evolving over the past years. Issues from 1985 are available on the World Wide Web. URL: http://www.christianityinchina.org/Common/Admin/showFP_auto.jsp?Pid=7&Version=1&Charset=big5

Christianity in China, an online resource of the Global China Center世華中國研究中心 (Charlottesville, Virginia) URL: http://www.globalchinacenter.org/analysis/christianity-in-china/

Courier Verbiest, Bulletin Trimestriel; Dutch version: *Verbiest Koerier* (Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, Leuven, Belgium).

Eglises d'Asie is a serial publication of the Missions Etrangères de Paris. URL: http://eglasie.mepasie.org

Far East Broadcaster Hong Kong: Far East Broadcasting Co., 1999–; published as *China Broadcaster*, 1978–1999. Chinese version: *Yuandong guangbo* 遠東廣播 (continuing Fuyin guangbo 福音廣播).

Global Chinese Ministries: A monthly newsletter to help you pray for Chinese people all over the world (Overseas Ministries Fellowship); URL: http://www.omf.org/omf/us/resources__1/newsletters/global_chinese_ministries

Kitaiskij Blagovestnik 中國福音報, the official Russian language publication of the Russian Spiritual Mission in Beijing, was discontinued in the early 1950s. It was re-started in Moscow in 1999 as the official Russian language magazine of the Study Group on Orthodox Affairs in China organised by Department for External Church Relations of Moscow Patriarchate. URL: http://www.chinese.orthodoxy.ru/

Mondo e missione is one of the oldest missionary magazines in Europe. First published in 1872 as *Le Missioni Cattoliche*, it has become one of the most authoritative Italian missionary magazines. (PIME Missionaries, Milan).

Newsletter of the Cardinal Kung Foundation (online). URL: http://cardinalkungfoundation.org/articles/newsletter/

Tripod, a quarterly bilingual publication of the Holy Spirit Study Centre, Aberdeen, Hongkong.

UCANEWS: Union of Catholic Asia News; URL: *www.ucanews.com*; UCAN Chinese service 天主教亞洲通訊社: http://www.ucanews.com/trad/

Bibliography

Bibliographic Database of Literatures on Chinese Christianity and Society Since the Inception of People's Republic of China, Hong Kong Baptist University Library; URL: http://www.library.ln.edu.hk/cinc/toc.htm

Biography

The Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives 香港天主教教區檔案 web site maintains, among other things, an online section called "In Memory" 已亡聖職人員, with obituaries of deceased foreign and Chinese priests and brothers (but no sisters) in English and Chinese.

URL: http://archives.catholic.org.hk/memory/index.htm

2. Actors

2.1. The Missionaries

Beatrice Kit Fun Leung 梁潔芬

According to the statistics, in 1948, one year before the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Mainland China had 48 Catholic missionary orders of men, 63 native religious orders for women and 59 foreign religious orders for women working in 139 dioceses and prefectures apostolic with perhaps as many as 4 million Catholics.[1] In 1949 there were 6,500 Protestant mission centres/churches to provide pastoral as well as various kinds of cares to one million of Protestant believers.[2] The Catholic missionary orders had been active in China for different lengths of time. The Franciscans claim 1292 as the year of their first arrival; the Jesuits claim 1552 as the beginning of their mission.[3] However, missionary work did not start until the arrival of Matteo Ricci SJ in 1583. When the Jesuits were expelled from China in 1951, a total of 888 men (priests and lay brothers) were active there, the largest number among all the missionary societies in China.[4] In contrast to the Jesuits, the Sisters of Social Service arrived at Shanghai from the USA in 1946 with only five religious.[5] However, in Greater China,[6]

---

[1] Luo Guang 羅光 (ed.) *Tianzhujiao zai Hua chuanjiao shiji* 天主教在華傳教史集 (The History of Catholic Missions in China), pp. 5–8; *Annuaire de l'Église catholique en Chine 1949*, Shanghai: Bureau Sinologique de Zi-ka-Wei. 1949. pp. "A" 7–11. In the 1948 statistics a total of 3.3 million Catholics is given, but this figure is largely based on data for 1940.

[2] Shao Yuming [Shaw Yu-ming] 邵玉銘, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo Jidujiao wenti* 二十世紀中國基督教問題 (Questions on Chinese Christian Churches in the Twentieth Century), (2nd ed.), pp. 1–37.

[3] The Order of Friars Minor (Franciscan Fathers) take the arrival of Joannes de Monte Corvino in the capital of Mongol China in 1292 as the start of their mission. The Jesuits regard the death of St. Francis Xavier on Shangchuan Island in 1552 as the beginning of their missionary endeavour.

[4] Ku Pao-ku 顧保鵠 (ed.), *Taiwan Tianzhujiao xiuhui jian jie* 臺灣天主教修會簡介 (Short Presentation of All Religious Orders and Congregations in Taiwan), Taibei: Guangqi Press, 1968, pp. 181–187.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Scholars regard Mainland China plus Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan as Greater China. See: Robert Taylor, *Greater China & Japan: Prospective for an Economic Partnership in East Asia*, London: Routledge, 1996; Thomas Metzger & Ramon Myers (eds.), *Greater China & U.S. Foreign Policy*, Stanford, CA: Hoover Institute Press, 1996; David Shambaugh (ed.) *Greater China: The Next Superpower?*, London: Oxford University Press, 1995.

including Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau, there were 151 Catholic dioceses and prefectures apostolic, and the nine major male mission societies administered 93 dioceses, which is of one third of China's territory. These missionary societies were the Society of Jesus (Jesuit Fathers), the Order of Preachers (Dominican Fathers), the Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans), the Paris Foreign Missions (Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris), the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll Fathers), the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentian Fathers), the Pontifical Foreign Missions Institute (P.I.M.E. Fathers), the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Scheut Fathers) and the Society of Divine Word (SVD or Steyl Fathers).[7] In 1948 China had 5,788 Catholic clergy including 97 Catholic bishops, 7,463 sisters and 1,107 brothers. Of these, 2,676 clergy, 632 brothers and 5,112 sisters were foreign missionaries.[8] With the arrival of Robert Morrison in 1807 began the Protestant missionary enterprise.[9] In the Protestant church, like Catholic, there were five major areas of mission activities: pastoral care, literary work, education, social and medical services.[10]

The expulsion of foreign missionaries and the confiscation of their institutes right after the 1949 Revolution was a political measure which Mao Zedong applied to take revenge for the embargo imposed by the US and the West on China and the freezing of Chinese assets in the US due to the Korean War (1950–3).[11] The expulsion was carried out by the Foreign Section of the Public Security Bureau. The first to be expelled were the US citizens, and they were followed by other Western people. It was ordered that the US missionaries should receive very severe treatment, while the rest should be treated more leniently. The procedure was as follows: those who were found guilty of serious anti-government or anti-revolutionary action were tried and given jail

---

[7] The histories of these nine missionary orders were combined in one compilation. See Luo Guang 羅光 (ed.) *Tianzhujiao zai Hua chuanjiao shiji* 天主教在華傳教史集 (The History of Catholic Missions in China).

[8] *Annuaire de l'Église Catholique en Chine 1949*, p. 45 "F".

[9] K.S. Latourette. *The Chinese, Their History and Culture*, (4 ed.), New York: Macmillan 1964; *A History of Christian Mission in China*; Wang Chih-hsin, *History of Christianity in China*, Shanghai: The Association Press of China, 1948, pp. 145–162.

[10] Wang Chih-hsin, *History of Christianity in China*, pp. 275–358.

[11] Xiao Feng, "Zhonggong zenyang duidai jiaohui he zongjiaotu" (How the Chinese Communist Party treated the church and religious believers). The author spent 1949–59 working as a senior cadre in a provincial Religious Affairs Bureau in south China. This article considers the treatment of foreign missionaries from a political angle.

sentences. Then public assemblies were called to denounce those who had committed minor offenses, before they were expelled. If any US missionaries were proved to have committed no offense, a deadline for leaving the country on a 'voluntary' basis was given. Other non-US missionaries were put under close supervision and observation. By May 1952, 90 per cent of the foreign missionaries had been expelled.[12] By 1955 more than 6,000 foreign missionaries were expelled from China and went either to nearby regions such as Hong Kong , Macau, Taiwan or to Southeast Asia to continue their service to the Overseas Chinese. The charges of the murdering of infants and the accusations that missionaries were spies have been admitted to be spurious by ex-cadres who were involved in many of these cases.[13] The American Bishop James E. Walsh was kept in the Shanghai prison until all other missionaries had been expelled. Eight sisters of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary were allowed to remain in Beijing. This group of foreign women missionaries were kept by the government to run a convent school for the children of foreign diplomats. However in the midst of the chaotic vandalism by the Red Guards in 1966, these eight missionaries were humiliated and deported on 31 August 1966. One of them died after a few hours after their arrival in Hong Kong as a result of hardship and stress suffered at the hands of Red Guards. This news received world-wide publicity and caused additional damage to China's international image.[14]

The exile of Chinese clergy and religious was not due to expulsion but flight from the hardship imposed on them in political purges during the Great Leap Forward and Anti-Rightist Movement.[15] The exodus of missionaries from China coincided with the flight of Chinese refugees to Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. The sudden influx of refugees to Hong Kong and Macau caused major problems as there was no housing, education or medical care ready for them. The Hong Kong government took refugees as temporary asylum seekers, so no long-term planning in education or housing was made. Government officials held the opinion that the limited resources of Hong Kong's

[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Beatrice Leung, *Sino-Vatican Relations: Problems in Conflicting Authority 1976–1986*, pp. 94–100.
[15] Joseph Motte 穆啓蒙, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao Shi* 中國天主教史 (History of the Catholic Church in China). Trans. Joseph Tarc Hou, 4ed., Taiwan: Guangqi Press, 1992, pp. 141–59.

social services should be reserved for people born in Hong Kong or at least these should receive priority provision; refugees would at best be helped later.[16] However, the arrival of foreign and Chinese missionaries from the Mainland provided extra manpower to Catholic churches in Hong Kong and Macau, which could therefore initiate relief services for refugees. In Hong Kong refugee work was vigorously carried out under the leadership of Bishop Lorenzo Bianchi 白英奇 (1951–1969), a PIME missionary in China before and after his consecration in 1951. He was expelled from China and returned to Hong Kong in 1952. The expelled missionaries were not only a source of manpower but with their foreign connections they also attracted aid for refugees. For example, the American Foreign Missionary Society (Maryknoll Fathers), founded in Ossining, New York, in 1911, had established their first mission in China. Affiliated to the American Catholic Relief Service (whose headquarters were in New York) since 1945, the Maryknoll Fathers had been able to help poor Chinese Catholics in remote areas by providing social services, housing, medical care and education projects sponsored by the American Catholic Relief Service.[17] With their departure from the Mainland in 1950s to join their confreres in Hong Kong, the China projects funded by the American Catholic Relief Service were diverted to Hong Kong. Thus began the church relief and education services on a large scale even before the government involved itself in that provision. Strictly speaking, relief goods, such as milk powder, flour and vitamin tablets, came from the US government and the American Catholic Relief Center acted as a government agent in distribution. Before the Hong Kong government started its massive housing project to provide houses for the refugees in Hong Kong in 1954, the Church was the sole agent building houses for them with US money. With donations from the USA and the visit of the American Cardinal Spellman to Hong Kong in 1954, the refugee service, which was largely staffed by exiled missionaries from China, incorporated the political tone of anti-Communism of the Cold War period.

New districts in Hong Kong and Macau were developed, with refugees as the main inhabitants. Afterwards mission schools, clinics and

---

[16] *South China Morning Post* (Hong Kong) 15 December 1949, p. 5; 19 December 1949, p. 3; 10 April 1950. (editorial)

[17] Luo Guang 羅光 (ed.) *Tianzhujiao zai Hua chuanjiao shiji*, pp. 45–74. Also Maryknoll Archive no. MPBA Hong Kong 9/8.

social centres were clustered around houses built by foreign missionaries. Rennie Mill in Hong Kong was a typical area, with the occupants coming from the Mainland, accompanied by exiled missionaries. Diamond Hill and King's Park of Kowloon and Green Island of Macau were developed along similar lines, with missionaries establishing Catholic or Protestant social centres, missions schools, relief services and places of worship.[18] In 1956 the Hong Kong population rocketed to 2.5 million, of which 30 percent of were political refugees.[19] Catholic and Protestant missionaries became the main partners of the Hong Kong and Macau governments in providing social services to Chinese refugees in the 1950s and 1960s.

In Taiwan, during the Japanese occupation (1895–1945), the presence of the Catholic church in Taiwan was not noticeable. Spanish Dominicans, the pioneers of the Taiwan mission, never numbered more than 15 priests. There were three local clergy to assist the Dominicans in the pastoral care to a few thousand Catholics.[20] After the withdrawal of the Guomindang Government to Taiwan in 1949, civilians as well as foreign missionaries and Chinese religious personnel followed. In 1956, Taiwan had more than 300 Catholic foreign missionaries and 95 Chinese clergy, not to mention numerous religious women. Like the missions in Hong Kong and Macau, with the inflow of manpower as well as financial assistance from abroad the Catholic church in Taiwan became much more active than at any time before.

In 1930 there were less than 100 missionaries in Taiwan, with 107 churches and 9,000 church-goers. In 1949 there were 70,000 Protestants and 350 churches while in 1964 believers numbered 278,700 and churches had increased to 1,796.[21] In Xinzhuang, a suburb of Taibei, the Catholic Fujen University was erected. It was a continuation of the Catholic Fujen University in Beijing which had been closed in 1952. At the same time, three Protestant universities and colleges were

---

[18] Thomas Ryan, *The Story of A Hundred Years: The Pontifical Institute of Foreign Mission (PIME) in Hong Kong, 1858–1958*, Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society, 1959, pp. 243–58.

[19] *Hong Kong Report 1956*, Hong Kong Government, 1956.

[20] Joseph Motte, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao Shi (History of the Catholic Church in China)*, pp. 160–1.

Ku Pao-ku 顧保鵠 (ed.), *Taiwan Tianzhujiao xiuhui jian jie*, p. 1.

[21] Li Guiling 李桂玲 (ed.), *Tai Gang Ao zongjiao guaikuang* 台港澳宗教概況 (A General Survey on Religious in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau), Beijing: Dong Fang Press, 1996, pp. 151–166.

re-established in Taiwan.[22] Although Christians (Catholics and Protestants) constituted 3.5% of Taiwan's total population, the influence of Christian education and other services was disproportionately high. In 1968 Taiwan had 19 Catholic male religious orders and 48 female religious institutes with 467 missionary priests, 94 brothers and 919 sisters engaged in traditional types of education, social services and medical work in urban as well as rural areas of Taiwan.[23] The spectrum of Christian service ranged widely from running the university to running simple medical clinics in mountain areas among aborigines.[24]

After the missionaries left mainland China, the majority of them continued their service to Chinese in Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan where most overseas Chinese were concentrated. Yet there were also a scattering of Diaspora Chinese in cities around the world, but especially in Southeast Asia. Chinese in Southeast Asian countries are numerous and have great economic power. In Singapore and Malaysia as well as in Manila, pastoral work among Chinese Catholics was strengthened with the arrival of missionaries from China in the 1950s. Under the prominent leadership of Mgr. Juan Bautista Velasco Díaz 茅中砥 (1911–1985), a Spanish Dominican expelled from Xiamen (Amoy), Fujian province, Chinese pastoral work in the Philippines had developed into 28 Chinese parishes and 29 Chinese schools.[25] In 1953 the Holy See created a Visitor of the Overseas Chinese Apostolate. The exiled bishop of Ningxia, Mgr. Carlo van Melckebeke 王守禮 (1898–1980) was the first Visitor, with his office in Singapore as a centre to co-ordinate pastoral work among Diaspora Chinese Catholics. Later Mgr. Paul Pang OFM became the Director of Office for the Promotion of the Overseas Chinese Apostolate of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, located in Rome.

Exiled missionaries from China served the refugees in Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan for nearly two decades (1950s–1970s). Their dream of returning to China for direct evangelisation seemed to be in vain, because the People's Republic of China did not allow any return of foreign missionaries for religious purposes. However, the teachings of

---

[22] Shao Yuming [Shaw Yu-ming] 邵玉銘, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo Jidujiao wenti* 二十世紀中國基督教問題 (Questions on Chinese Christian churches in the twentieth century), 2nd ed., Taiwan: Cheng Chung 1987, pp. 1–37.

[23] Ku Pao-ku 顧保鵠 (ed.), *Taiwan Tianzhujiao xiuhui jian jie*, pp. 1–2.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Joseph Motte, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao Shi* (History of the Catholic Church in China), pp. 170–176.

the Second Vatican Council (Vat II) (1963–5) suggested a new orientation for mission. First of all, the Council re-confirmed that the Church is always missionary by nature; and it suggested that "if there is no possibility of expounding the gospel directly and immediately, then missionaries can and must at least bear witness to Christ by charity and works of mercy, with all patience, prudence and great confidence. Thus they will prepare the way for the Lord and make Him present in some manner."[26] Both Catholic and Protestants missionary societies have been preserving their missionary zeal to go to China. Once the slightest sign appeared in the Deng Xiaoping era in 1979 of China opening up, almost without delay former China missionaries travelled to China as tourists to visit their former mission regions with the desire of helping to re-establish their former churches and parish communities. In the 1980s and 1990s missionary societies which had had their men and women in China before 1949 eagerly responded to the call of the Pope to form a 'bridge' between the Catholic Church in China and the universal church.[27] The so-called 'bridge' is a kind of informal contact at the grassroots level for the revival of the Chinese Catholic church after the harsh treatment it received in the Mao era in general and during the Cultural Revolution in particular. The crushing of the Chinese Church by an atheistic political regime was done in such a way that without external assistance the revival would be rather difficult. Out of missionary zeal, mission societies such as the above-mentioned Society of Jesus (Jesuits), the Order of Preachers (Dominicans), Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans), Paris Foreign Missions (Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris), Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll Fathers), Missionary Society of St. Columban (Columban Fathers), Pontifical Foreign Missions Institute (P.I.M.E. Fathers), Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Scheut Fathers) and the Society of Divine Word (S.V.D.

[26] "Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church" in Walter Abbott (ed.) *The Documents of Vatican II*, New York: Guild Press, 1966, pp. 584–636.

[27] The Vatican wanted to establish a warmer relationship with China to secure a better environment for the growth of Catholic Church in the PRC. In 1981, when Pope John Paul II received Taiwan bishops who had gone to Rome for their quinquennial *ad limina* visit, he entrusted the Overseas Chinese Catholics with being the "bridge" to cement the relationship between Catholic Church in China and the universal Church. See Beatrice Leung, *Sino-Vatican Relations: Problems in Conflicting Authority 1976–1986*, pp. 189–256; idem, "Catholic Bridging Efforts with China", pp. 185–195.

Fathers), as well as many Protestant missionary societies enthusiastically built bridges between the churches in China and the churches abroad. They established contacts with their former mission fields in China and actively helped the revival of Catholic life by helping with the repair and rebuilding of churches, reviving church-run social services, renewing religious activities and assisting priest and sister training programmes. Protestant missions did the same for the revival of their churches.

There were three types of bridge work to be undertaken by missionary societies. The first type was the bridge built by missionary societies which still had their own Chinese members in China after the foreigners were expelled in the 1950s. There had not been any contact during the long years from the 1950s to the 1970s between foreign missionaries—for example the Jesuits and Franciscans, and Salesians—and their Chinese members in the PRC. This prompted fact-finding missions and investigations of the societies into some controversial cases, for example concerning the marital status of priests and bishops. They also investigated the motivation of the priests who had joined the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CPA) and Chinese Protestant Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM). Joining these organisations has been taken to indicate membership of the government controlled church (official church), as opposed to the unofficial church, and some had been willing to be ordained as bishops on government instruction. Through contact with these former missionaries the situation of the unofficial church was made known.[28] Usually such visits were made discreetly. They had an orientation and approach that arose out of their previous experience with China. This type of visit was resented by the Chinese government and regarded as an act of "hostile religious forces from the outside designed to set up underground churches and other illegal organizations."[29] Nevertheless, reports were made to

[28] The unofficial church refers to those Chinese Catholics who refused to follow the state's demand of being independent from the Holy See. Subsequently they refused to participate in religious activities organised by the government sponsored Catholic Patriotic Association, and held religious activities privately without official sanction. Thus, this sector of Chinese Catholics is called 'The underground' or 'unofficial' Church.

[29] "The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Question during Our Country's Socialist Period (Document 19)", in Documentation Centre of Party Central and Policy Section of Religious Affairs Bureau 中共中央文獻研究室綜合研究組, 國務院宗教事務局政策法規司 (eds.), *Xinshiqi zongjiao gongzuo wenxian xuanbian* 新時期宗教工作文獻選編 (Selected Documents on Religious Work of New Age), Beijing:

high-ranking people in mission headquarters, the World Council of Churches, and to the Vatican, to supplement the picture painted by the official sector of the Chinese Christian Churches.[30]

The second type of bridge , like the first type, was built by foreign missionary societies who had carried out mission work in China before 1949, but unlike the previous type they had no Chinese religious members of their own in China. They initiated a new type of mission, not by directly sending missionaries to China as before, but trying to work for Chinese Christians in the spirit of reconciliation which they felt the Chinese church needed most. In their own way, they played the role of a bridge in contacting the CCPA and TSPM, with a very sympathetic attitude and approach. They invited the CCPA and TSPM informally to send their members on visits with the aim of softening the antagonistic attitude of the CCPA and TSPM to the Vatican and of breaking the isolation of CCPA and TSPM by giving them a chance to come out of their shell and see for themselves that the local churches in Hong Kong, Germany, the United Kingdom and the USA operated with a great amount of freedom and autonomy while keeping their essentially *spiritual* union with the Holy See or other foreign churches. At the same time, through their international connections these missionaries were able to offer material assistance to the CCPA and TSPM in the form of donations of books to seminaries as well as scholarships and grants for Chinese seminarians, and priests to study abroad as well as financial assistance in many other ways.

The third type of bridge is built by Overseas Chinese Christian intellectuals and professionals as well as foreign missionaries who respond to the need of institutes of social services and tertiary education in China with a missionary spirit. They go to China to serve there as professionals. In Hong Kong an agency called International Technological, Educational and Cultural Exchange (ITECE) was set up to provide service and assistance by Catholic professionals (including missionaries and laity) for China's modernisation programmes. There is a Protestant counterpart called Amity Foundation doing more or less the

---

Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe. 1995, pp. 55–76. The English translation first appeared in Donald E. MacInnis, *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice*, New York: Orbis Books, 1989, pp. 8–25.

[30] The Chinese Government insists on the nondenominational character of churches in China. Thus, there are no denominational churches in the official Protestant sector. They are called simply called Christian or Protestant churches.

same kind of service work in the Chinese Protestant Church. ITECE is an amalgamation of missionary efforts: whereas the Columban Fathers and Sisters take care of its administration, the Maryknoll Sisters provide the premises for the office while other missionary societies send their members to China to work and to teach. In 1997 there were 52 missionaries of various societies and some laity teaching in different tertiary institutes as language teachers, medical and technological experts.

In general, through these bridges various types of assistance were given to the Chinese Christian Church (both the official and unofficial sectors), including training of church personnel, providing religious literature and financial aid to church operated and church related enterprises in rural as well as in urban areas. Even after the June Fourth massacre in Tiananmen Square in 1989, when many international NGOs' social assistance bodies pulled out of China, Catholic social assistance continued all the same. With the missionaries' endeavour, the revival of the Chinese Christian churches had been so successful that it caused alarm in the government and a particular document (Document No. 3, 1989) was issued by Party Central, along with other regulations intended to curb the revival and growth of the Chinese Catholic Church through foreign assistance.[31]

Initiated by the mission societies, "concerned China groups" and "China Desks" were formed in Europe and North America under the auspices of national/regional bishops conferences as well as the World Council of Churches and National Council of Churches to encourage support for the Church in China. In fact, through the efforts of missionary societies, Catholic and Protestant leaders from China met 150 other Christians from around the world in Montreal in 1981. Apparently the attitudes of the Catholic and Protestant Churches toward mission were altered, bringing about a change of approach to the China mission.

In the past four decades, with the contribution of former missionaries in China, the growth of local churches in Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan was spectacular in the 1950s and 1960s. The exile of Franciscan missionaries to Hong Kong in 1948 was accompanied by their transla-

[31] Circular on "Stepping Up Control Over the Catholic Church to Meet the New Situation", Party Central Office document no. 3, 1989, in Beatrice Leung, *Sino-Vatican Relations*, pp. 376–383.

tion project which had begun in Beijing in 1945.[32] Under the leadership of Fr. Gabriele Maria Allegra 雷永明 (1907–1976) OFM, the translation team continued their work in Hong Kong. The first Chinese Bible was published in 1968 and its contribution to the Church in the Chinese speaking world is unfathomable. The reopening of the Catholic Fujen University and five Protestant universities in Taiwan and two Protestant tertiary colleges in Hong Kong was also due to the work of former China missionaries. Although the church authorities in Taibei under the leadership of Cardinal Yubin and Protestant leaders had done a lot of the groundwork for the reopening of these universities, yet without the contribution of former missionaries to China and their societies, these Christian universities would not have been possible. The Christian universities function as a meeting point of the church and intellectuals for dialogue concerning socio-cultural issues.

The "bridge" projects in 1980s and 1990s saw a drastic change of attitude and orientation of missionaries. Right now the Catholic church in China is on the road of revival and is developing, with 60,000 to 70,000 new converts annually. In the 115 dioceses in the whole country, there are 73 bishops, over 1,000 priests and 31 seminaries (11 major and 20 minor) training 700 seminarians. There are 4,500 churches scattered everywhere within the PRC. There are over 40 religious convents for sisters with more than 1,000 professed religious and 1,600 novices.[33] When the Catholic Church and the Christian Church in China were able to be rebuilt from the ashes of the Cultural Revolution, the contributions of former missionaries and their mission societies were essential.

Now evangelisation in China is no longer a question of sending foreign missionaries to take charge of ecclesiastical territories in China, to convert Chinese pagans to Catholicism or Protestantism and to extend the right of extraterritoriality to their Chinese converts as they did in the nineteenth century under the protection of foreign powers. After more than thirty years of having no missions on the Mainland,

[32] In 1948 the exiled Franciscan missionaries brought along to Hong Kong their Studium Biblicum, a Chinese Bible translation project that had been started in Beijing in 1945.

[33] These figures were given by the late Bishop Joseph Zong Huaide 宗懷德 (1917–1997), the chairman of the China Catholic Bishops College 中國天主教主教團, when he received a delegation of women religious from Hongkong in December 1996.

missionaries have changed their approach from rivalry to co-operation and from aggression to fellowship. A Sinologist once remarked that China's closed door policy for three decades gave the missionaries enough time to reflect on their previous endeavour and develop a completely new approach to China mission.[34] The first wave of missions in China in modern history was accompanied by the quarrel between Dominicans and Jesuits, resulting in the Chinese Rites controversy and the expulsion of missionaries in the sixteenth century. Now, in the second wave, foreign missionaries are preparing themselves—along with Overseas Chinese as well as lay professionals—to work for Christianity in China after the Chinese door was opened slightly. This time, their attitude is totally different. In contrast with their forerunners, their approach has changed from the arrogance of imperialism to friendly service.[35]

Catholic Missionaries in Taiwan, Hongkong and Macau (Men)

Religious Congregations (Men)	Year Founded	Year of Arrival in China	Year of Arrival in Taiwan	Year of Arrival Hongkong or Macau	No. of Members in Taiwan (T), Hongkong (HK) & Macao (M)
Bethlehem Mission Society (SMB)	1921	1924	1953	–	(T14)
Canons Regular of St. Augustine (Grand St. Bernard) (CR)	1049	1933	1952	–	(T5)
Clerics of St. Viator (CSV)	1831	1931	1953		(T8)
Comboni Missionaries (MCCJ)		1990	–	1990 (M)	(M4)
Congregation of Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM)	1862	1865	1956	1951	(HK12) (T9)
Congregation of St. John the Baptist (CSJB)	1928	China	1954	–	(T31)
Congregation of the Disciples of the Lord (CDD)	1928	China	1949	–	(T26)
Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists) (CM)	1625	1699	1949	–	(T36)
Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (CSsR)	1732	1932	–	1989	(HK8) (M1)

[34] Professor Julia Ching of the University of Toronto once made this remark.

[35] Chinese historians accuse foreign missionaries in China of being arrogant and aggressive, forerunners of cultural imperialism. See Lü Shiqiang 呂實強, *Zhongguo guanshen fanjiao di yuanyin (1860–1874)* 中國官紳反教的原因 (Causes of Anti-missionary attitudes of officials and gentry in China); Gu Changsheng 顧長聲, *Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo* 傳教士與近代中國, (1981).

(*cont.*)

Religious Congregations (Men)	Year Founded	Year of Arrival in China	Year of Arrival in Taiwan	Year of Arrival Hongkong or Macau	No. of Members in Taiwan (T), Hongkong (HK) & Macao (M)
Divine Word Missionaries (SVD)	1875	1879	1954	1948	(HK16) (T59)
Marist Brothers of the School (FMS)	1817	1893	1964	1949	(HK14)
Maryknoll Missioners (MM)	1911	1918	1951	1918	(HK39) (T16)
Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI)	1816	–	–	1966	(HK8)
Missionary Society of St. Columban (SSC)	1918	1920	1970	1950	(HK4) (T14)
Order of Augustinian Recollects (OAR)	1621	1923	1962	–	(T9)
Order of Cistercian of the Strict Observance (OCSO)	1098	1883	1970	1950	(HK20) (T6)
Order of Friars Minor (OFM)	1209	1292	1951	1948	(HK12) (T49)
Order of Preachers (Dominicans) (OP)	1216	1631	1626	1861	(HK14) (T20) (M)
Order of St. Benedict (OSB)	520	1924	1948	–	(T5)
Order of St. Camillus (MI)	1586	1946	1952	–	(T21)
Paris Foreign Mission Society (MEP)	1660	1684	1952	1847	(HK13) (T28)
Paulist Fathers (SSP)		1948	–	1960s (M)	(M3)
Pontifical Foreign Missions Institute (PIME)	1850	1870	1960	1858	(HK40) (T4)
Salesians of Don Bosco (SDB)	1845	1902	1951	1927	(HK76)(T23) (M31)
Society of Jesus (Jesuit, SJ)	1540	1552	1951	1926	(HK35)(T225) (M11)
Society of the Divine Saviour (SDS)	1881	1922	1959		(T9)

Catholic Missionaries in Taiwan, Hongkong and Macau (Women)

Religious Congregations (Women)	Year Founded	Year of Arrival in China	Year of Arrival in Taiwan	Year of Arrival in Hong Kong or Macau	No. of Members in Taiwan (T) Hong Kong (HK) & Macau (M)
Benedictine Sisters (OSB)	1846	1930	1946	–	(T8)
Canossian Daughters of Charity (FDCC)	1808	1860	–	1860	(HK103) (M25)
Carmelite Nuns (Order of Discalced Carmelites) (OCD)	1451	1869	1954	1933	(HK11) (T30)
Chinese Dominican Sisters (OP)	1932	in China	1949	–	(T27)

(*cont.*)

Religious Congregations (Women)	Year Founded	Year of Arrival in China	Year of Arrival in Taiwan	Year of Arrival in Hong Kong or Macau	No. of Members in Taiwan (T) Hong Kong (HK) & Macau (M)
Chinese Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (CIC)	1932	in China	–	1951	(HK11)
Congregation of Notre Dame (Canonesses of St. Augustine) (CND)	1597	1965		1965	
Contemplative Missionary Fraternity	1955	1983		1983	
Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (DC)	1633	1848	1959	–	(T46)
Daughters of Jesus (FI)	1871	1931	1953	–	(T50)
Daughters of Mary Help of Christians (FMA)	1872	1923	1952	1952	(HK31) (T9) (M17)
Daughters of St. Paul (FSP)	1915	–	1959	1979	(HK4) (T16)
Dominican Sisters of St. Joseph (OP)	1865	1920	1955	–	(T12)
Franciscan Missionaries of Mary (FMM)	1877	1886	1953	1947	(HK37) (T65) (M48)
Franciscan Missionary Sisters of O.L. of Sorrows (OSF)	1939	in China	–	1958	(HK11) (T6)
Franciscan Sisters of Mercy (FM)	1847	1926	1960	–	(T13)
Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Infant Jesus (OSF)	1906	in China	1956	–	(T9)
Helpers of the Holy Souls (SH)	1856	1867	1960	1954	(HK7) (T8)
International Catholic Auxiliaries (ICA)	1937	1947	1953	–	(T4)
Institute of the Foreign Missions Sisters (MEP Sisters) (ISME)	1931	1950		1950	
Little Sisters of Jesus (of Brother Charles of Jesus), Fraternity of the	1939	1956		1956	
Little Sisters of St. Teresa of Child Jesus (Theresian Sisters) (CST)	1928	in China	1952	–	(T32)
Little Sisters of the Poor (LSP)	1839	1860	1960	1923	(HK32) (T14)
Maryknoll Sisters (MM)	1912	1921	1953	1921	(HK25) (T15) (M4)
Mercedarian Missionaries of Berriz (MMB)	1218	1926	1953	–	(T28)
Missionary Dominican Sisters of the Rosary (OP)	1918	1932	1949	–	(T15)
Missionary Sisters Del Sacro Costato (MSC)	1908	–	1961	–	(T25)

(*cont.*)

Religious Congregations (Women)	Year Founded	Year of Arrival in China	Year of Arrival in Taiwan	Year of Arrival in Hong Kong or Macau	No. of Members in Taiwan (T) Hong Kong (HK) & Macau (M)
Missionary Sisters Oblates of the Holy Family (OHF)	1910	in China	1956	–	(T39)
Missionary Sisters of Immaculate Heart of Mary (ICM)	1897	1923	1959	1954	(HK13)(T18)
Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of the Angels (MNDA)	1922	1930	–	1926	(HK13) (M5)
Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (MIC)	1902	1909	1954	1928	(HK17) (T25)
Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God (Sheng Kung Sisters) (SMIC)	1910	1931	1948	–	(T50)
Missionary Sisters Servant of the Holy Spirit (SSpS)	1889	1905	1954	–	(T38)
Movement of the Little Sisters of Mary	1971	1986		1986	(M5)
Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd (RGS)	1641	1860	–	1951	(HK15) (T6) (M4)
Providence Sisters Catechists (PSC)	1930	in China	1948	–	(T42)
Religious Missionaries of St. Dominic (OP)	1696	1889	1903	–	(T46)
Religious of the Sacred Heart (RSCJ)	1800	1928	1960	–	(T13)
Roman Union of the Order of St. Ursula (OSU)	1535	1922	1958	–	(T23)
Saint Martha Institute (SMI)	1960	in China	–	–	(T67)
School Sisters of St. Francis (OSF)	1873	1939	1966	–	(T2)*
Sisters Announcers of the Lord (SAL)	1936	in China	1967	1953	(HK14)
Sisters Disciples of the Divine Master (PDDM)	1924	2000		2000	
Sisters Ministers of the Sick (Camillian Sisters) (MI)	1829	1948	1952	–	(T20)
Sisters of Charity of St. Anne	1804	1987		1987	(M26)
Sisters of Mercy of the Holy Cross (CSC)	1856	1929	1953	–	
Sisters of Our Lady of China (OLC)	1940	in China	1952	–	(T21)
Sisters of Providence (SP)	1840	1920	1948	–	(T15)
Sisters of Providence of Portieux (CP)	1762	1875	1967	–	(T5)

(*cont.*)

Religious Congregations (Women)	Year Founded	Year of Arrival in China	Year of Arrival in Taiwan	Year of Arrival in Hong Kong or Macau	No. of Members in Taiwan (T) Hong Kong (HK) & Macau (M)
Sisters of Social Service (SSS)	1908	1946	1963	–	(T8)
Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres (SPC)	1696	1848	1960	1948	(HK68) (T13)
Sisters of the Divine Saviour (SDS)	1882	1925	1961	–	(T8)
Sisters of the Holy Infant (SHI)	1959	in China	–	–	(T3)*
Sisters of the Precious Blood (SPB)	1922	in China	1963	1922	(HK84) (T15) (M8)
Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus & Mary (SSCC)	1960	in China	–	–	(T12)
Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (SSH)	1953	in China	1953	–	(T54)
Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Mary (CSCM)	1932	in China	1948	–	(T84)
Society of Holy Love (SHL)	1968	in China	–	–	(T4)*
Society of Our Lady of the Most Holy Trinity (SOLT)	1958	1999		1999	(M)
Ursuline Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (OMSC)	1898	1926	1958	–	(T12)

* According to statistics in Ku Pao-Ku (ed.) *Taiwan Tianzhujiao xiuhui jian jie* [Short presentation of all religious orders and congregations in Taiwan]. Taibei: Guangqi Press, 1968.

Sources:

1. *Annuaire de l'Eglise Catholique en China 1949*. Shanghai: Bureau Sinologique de Zi-ka-wei 1949.
2. *Directorio Catolico de Macau 1996*. Macau: Camara eclesiastica Paco Episcopal 1996.
3. *Catholic Directory: Taiwan, Republic of China 1997*. Taipei: The Secretariat of the Chinese Regional Bishops conference 1997.
4. *Hong Kong Catholic Church Directory 1997*. Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society 1997.
5. Ku Pao-ku 顧保鵠 (ed.) *Taiwan Tianzhujiao xuihui jian jie* 臺灣天主教修會簡介 (Short Presentation of All Religious Orders and Congregations in Taiwan), Taipei: Guangqu Press, 1968.

Bibliography

Bays, Daniel H., *Christianity in China: from the eighteenth century to the present*, New York: Stanford University Pr., 1996.

Crouch, Archie, and et al., *Christianity in China: a scholars' guide to resources in the libraries and archives of the United States*, Armonk, N.Y. M. E. Sharpe 1989.

Gu Changsheng 顧長聲, *Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo* 傳教士與近代中國 (Missionaries and Modern China), Shanghai: People's Press, 1981. Revised editions were published in 1991 and 2004.

Ku Pao-ku 顧保鵠 (ed.), *Taiwan Tianzhujiao xiuhui jian jie* 臺灣天主教修會簡介 (Short Presentation of All Religious Orders and Congregations in Taiwan), Taibei: Guangqi Press, 1968.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *The Chinese, Their History and Culture*, 4th ed., New York: Macmillan, 1964.

Lau, Stephen, and Lewis Choi, *Literature on Chinese Christianity and Society since the Inception of the People's Republic of China: an index of writings located in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: S. L. Lau, 1996.

Leung Kit Fun, Beatrice, "Catholic Bridging Efforts with China", *Religion, State and Society* 28,2 (2000), 185–195.

Leung Kit Fun, Beatrice, *Sino-Vatican Relations: Problems in Conflicting Authority 1976–1986*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Chinese version: *Zhonggong yu Fandigang guanxi: yijiuqiliu—yijiujiusi nian* 中共與梵蒂岡關係：一九七六—一九九四年, Xinzhuang, Taibei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 1995.

Leung Kit Fun, Beatrice, and John D. Young, *Christianity in China: Foundations for Dialogue*, Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1993.

Li Guiling 李桂玲 (ed.), *Tai Gang Ao zongjiao guaikuang* 台港澳宗教概況 (A General Survey on Religious in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau), Beijing: Dong Fang Press, 1996.

Lü Shiqiang 呂實強, *Jindai Zhongguo zhi shi fen zi fan Jidujiao wenti lunwen xuanji* 近代中國知識分子反基督教問題論文選集 (Anthology of essays on the anti-Christian issue of some intellectuals in modern China), Taibei: Jidujiao yu zhou guang quan ren guan huai ji gou, 2006.

Lü Shiqiang 呂實強, *Zhongguo guanshen fanjiao de yuanyin: yi ba liu ling—yi ba qi si* 中國官紳反教的原因: 一八六〇—一八七四 (Causes of Anti-missionary attitudes of officials and gentry in China), Taibei: Zhongguo xueshu zhuzuo jiangzhu weiyuanhui, 1966.

Luo Guang 羅光 (ed.) *Tianzhujiao zai Hua chuanjiao shiji* 天主教在華傳教史集 (The History of Catholic Missions in China), Hong Kong & Taibei: Guangqi Press and Zeng Xiang Press, 1967.

Motte, Joseph, 穆啓蒙, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao Shi* 中國天主教史 (History of the Catholic Church in China). Trans. Joseph Tarc Hou, 4ed., Taiwan: Guangqi Press, 1992.

Ryan, Thomas, *The Story of A Hundred Years: The Pontifical Institute of Foreign Mission (PIME) in Hong Kong, 1858–1958*, Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society, 1959.

Shao Yuming [Shaw Yu-ming] 邵玉銘, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo Jidujiao wenti* 二十世紀中國基督教問題 (Questions on Chinese Christian Churches in the Twentieth Century), (2nd ed.) Taiwan: Cheng Chung 1987.

Wang Chih-hsin, *History of Christianity in China*, Shanghai: The Association Press of China, 1948.

Elmer Wurth (comp.), *Papal Documents Related to China 1937–2005*, Hongkong: Holy Spirit Study Centre, 2006. Rev. and updated ed. of: *Papal Documents Related to the New China, 1937–1984*.

Xiao Feng 蕭楓 [pseud.], "Zhonggong zenyang duidai jiaohui he zongjiaotu" 中共怎樣對待教會和宗教徒 (How the Chinese Communist Party treated the Church and religious believers), *Zhi shi fenzi* 知識分子 (Intellectual monthly) 65 (Xianggang, 16 November 1970), Part I, pp. 13–14; 66 (16 December 1970), Part II, pp. 21–24; 67 (16 January 1971), Part III, pp. 30–32; 68 (16 February 1971), Part IV.

2.2. Growth of the Chinese Church since 1949

Alan Hunter and Chan Kim-kwong 陳劍光

The fate of religions in traditional China was profoundly influenced by state intervention as the imperial bureaucracy promoted some sects, and suppressed others. When the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) took control in 1949, it soon followed its predecessors in establishing policy guidelines and an administrative structure for conducting religious affairs. But while China's emperors had for the most part been content to regulate religions and suppress only heterodox sects, the new rulers had a more ambitious project: to strictly control all religions, and eventually to eliminate them. The CCP viewed the Christian churches with particular suspicion as agents of imperialism, and adopted various methods to suppress them. For details of the ideology that inspired this project and the mechanisms for implementing it, the reader is referred to our article, "Chinese Churches and Communist State: The Patriotic Churches" in this *Handbook*. We focus here on the Christian experience after 1949—in the mainland and also in the Diaspora—which forms a remarkable chapter in the history of religions in Chinese society. In the People's Republic, Christian churches were targeted for systematic repression by a hostile state apparatus, yet the number of Christians increased beyond all expectation. By the 1990s there were at least twenty-five million Christians, with churches in almost every county. Christian communities had also developed patterns of religious life that reflected local cultural traditions, for example in spiritual practices, doctrines, and institutions.

Many details of this phenomenon will probably remain forever a mystery, because it was for the most part undocumented and, for much of the time, underground. Nevertheless scholars have pieced together enough material to recount the outline of the story with some confidence. For further details, the reader is referred to the following studies:

Richard C. Bush, *Religion in Communist China*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.

Alan Hunter and Kim-Kwong Chan, *Protestantism in Contemporary China*, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Anthony Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991. An updated version has been pub-

lished as: Tony Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, Oxford: Monarch Books, 2006.
Bob Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity*, London: Collins, 1988.

Other specialist works are cited in this article.

Under Communist control, 1949 to 1965

The CCP came to power on a wave of popular enthusiasm and nationalism. Much of the population welcomed the overthrow of the Guomindang government, and regarded the Communists as patriots and national saviours. Peasants wanted radical land reform; the urban working class and many intellectuals hoped for improved social conditions, and an end to the corruption and hyper-inflation that had discredited the previous regime. This enthusiasm was skilfully nurtured by CCP campaigns for a New China; it rapidly sharpened into anti-Western hostility on the outbreak of the Korean conflict. The consequent expulsion of missionaries and the eventual formation of state-sanctioned church leadership, namely the Three-Self Patriotic Movement 中國基督教三自愛國運動委員會 (TSPM) for Protestants in 1954, and in 1957 the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association 中國天主教愛國會 (CCPA) are examined in "Chinese Churches and Communist State".

The Christian experience of the 1950s was extremely bitter, leaving divisions which still exist. At one extreme, the "progressive" Christians led by Wu Yaozong 吳耀宗 (1893–1979) preached wholehearted support for the new government, and opposition to imperialism, feudalism and capitalism. They called for a complete break with the missionary enterprise and Western churches. Some of this group may have been seeking personal advancement by aligning with the new power; but others may have genuinely supported the effort to build a new, independent, prosperous, united China, and were simply naive about the CCP's longer-term plans for religion. At first, such Christians were probably sincerely attempting to find an acceptable place for their faith under the new regime: "we are not unmindful of the challenges and difficulties lying ahead… Just how the Christian gospel can be witnessed in a clime that is, by virtue of its ideology, fundamentally materialistic and atheistic presents a challenge stronger

than ever before. The banner of the Cross has never been easy to carry and it will not be easy in the new era of China."[1]

However, differences of opinion rapidly deteriorated into conflict between this group and Christians who declined to endorse the new line in church politics. From the early 1950s, there was an escalation of attacks in the media and in meetings (in both Protestant and Catholic circles). Among the former, perhaps the most famous case was that of Wang Mingdao 王明道 (1900–1991). Before 1949, Wang had been an independent pastor and a prolific writer who, although not militantly anti-Western, had refused to work inside mission organisations and had also bravely refused to collaborate with the Japanese during the occupation. Wang refused to accept the leadership of the TSPM and was subjected to a vicious campaign before being imprisoned from 1955 to 1980. He became known as a "man of iron" for his refusal to compromise despite persecution, and became a living symbol of faith for many Chinese Christians. Many Roman Catholic priests also became martyrs in this period, including Franciscus Xaverius Zhu Shide [Chu Shih-teh] 朱樹德 (1913–1983) SJ, who deliberately left the safety of Hongkong for Shanghai in 1949 in order to be with his community, writing to his brother, "As long as there are Christians in Shanghai, I must still return there. Because I am a priest. I represent Christ and his Church. Wherever I am, the Church is. I am willing to stay in Shanghai, to let the Communist Party know that the Catholic faith is still alive".[2] He was imprisoned in 1953 and died in a labour camp in 1983.

After the early 1950s, the visibility of the Christian community diminished rapidly. This led many observers to conclude that the church had collapsed and would never regain its former position. In fact, the opposite occurred. It is true that the institutional structures were first transformed into pro-government agencies and then, after 1958, virtually abolished. But in 1978, relatively large numbers of Christian groups began to emerge. They had been born during the years of repression, although there is almost no documentary evidence of their history.

---

[1] "Message from Chinese Christians to Mission Boards Abroad", December 1949, quoted in Gao Wangzhi, "Y. T. Wu: A Christian Leader Under Communism", in Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China* p. 345.

[2] Translated in Kim-Kwong Chan and Alan Hunter, *Prayers and Thoughts of Chinese Christians*, p. 23. Francis Xavier Chu Shu-Teh [Zhu Shude], *If the Grain of Wheat Dies,…It Yields a Rich Harvest*, [Rome, Italy?: s.n., 1984?].

The Cultural Revolution period, 1966 to 1978

The chaotic years of the Cultural Revolution, when the state was at its most hostile and destructive towards religion, laid the foundation for the rapid church growth of the 1980s. Two factors seem particularly important in explaining this remarkable phenomenon.

First, countless Christians persisted in their faith even when profession was dangerous. Sometimes parents were frightened to reveal their beliefs even to their children, who were receiving an intensively atheist education. Most held on in a purely personal capacity; some groups held secret prayer meetings, like the Catholic fishing people on the lakes and rivers of Jiangsu, and Protestants of the Miao nationality in caves in the Yunnan mountains. Thus an older generation of believers, although reduced in number, survived. Many of them can still be seen in churches across China today.

Second, new converts came, sometimes from totally unexpected social groups. For example, some of the most active evangelists of the 1980s were former Red Guards who became disillusioned with politics and turned to religion in the late 1970s. Many prisoners or settlers in Xinjiang or Qinghai, where Christianity had previously hardly penetrated, were converted by believers who had been displaced from their homes in cities like Shanghai. Many preachers had been imprisoned and thereby gained sympathy and prestige among local Christians; overseas Chinese brought in Bibles and other literature; Gospel radios were effective in education and conversion. By this strange combination of circumstances, it appears that many tens of thousands converted to Christianity, especially to Protestantism. Towards the end of the period, in the political uncertainty of the years 1976–79, despite state disapproval, Christian communities eventually felt able to conduct some small-scale services in public.

Even though the balance of the story is a testament to survival and the human spirit, one should not forget the suffering inflicted on an unknown number of Christians, as on their fellow citizens, in a *gulag* system that was possibly more appalling than those of Stalin's Russia or Hitler's Germany.[3]

[3] For a recent study see Saunders, *Eighteen Layers of Hell: Stories from the Chinese Gulag*.

The Deng Xiaoping reform era, 1978 to 1997

Deng Xiaoping returned to power in December 1978, and China's economy and society underwent a sea-change. Radical reforms created a national economy that was largely capitalist, with a substantial amount of foreign investment. The government's main focus was to rally all social groups to implement the programme of economic modernisation, rather than to insist on ideological uniformity. As the economy boomed, especially in the mid-1990s, many Chinese cities began to resemble those of neighbouring Asian countries, with an abundance of consumer goods. Controls over cultural life generally were much relaxed, and religious activities were legalised, although still restricted. Standards of living improved dramatically for some groups, and tens of millions of new consumers had higher disposable incomes than ever before. However, there were also losers in the reforms: impoverished peasants, migrant workers, the unemployed. After the shared poverty of Maoism, Chinese society became polarised, complex, and volatile. Churches grew rapidly in this new, fast-changing environment.

Church growth

The number of Christians in China has been a matter of intense debate among scholars and other observers of the church.[4] It is thought that in 1949 there were approximately one million Protestants in the whole of China, and perhaps three million Catholics. It is quite impossible to estimate how many should be counted during the years of repression before 1978, and even for subsequent years we can make only approximate calculations. There have been no nation-wide or even province-wide surveys conducted with reliable techniques, and many individuals decline to register. The government and state-approved church leadership generally wants to downplay the numbers of Christians for political reasons, and similarly evangelical groups may want to exaggerate them. There is also the problem of defining what is meant by the term 'Christian'.

The TSPM stated that there were around six million Protestants in 1990, and ten million by 1996. A more reasoned estimate provided by

[4] For a resume of the debate, see Hunter and Chan, *Protestantism*, pp. 66–71.

a researcher in 1989 was twenty million,[5] and it is clear that there were further rapid increases in the 1990s. (Some evangelical groups have claimed that there are sixty million or even more, but this figure is almost certainly exaggerated.) Catholic numbers are equally uncertain. A minimum figure is probably around eight million, but unofficial sources sometimes maintain there are at least double that many. It is more easy to establish which provinces and cities have high concentrations of Christians. Protestants are most numerous in southeast coastal regions, and in Henan, Anhui, and Yunnan provinces. Catholics are concentrated in Hebei, Sichuan, and Shaanxi provinces.

The Protestant community

Chinese Protestantism has gradually absorbed influences from indigenous religious traditions, and over the course of time, it will become a distinctive stream within the world church, perhaps analogous to Chinese Buddhism in the context of worldwide Buddhism. This all-important development has tended to be overlooked, perhaps because its beginnings took place outside the purview of missionaries, in independent Chinese Churches; later, it was overshadowed by the desperate political situation.[6] Moreover, just as Chinese Buddhism made a profound change in the Chinese religious consciousness, so are the religious ideas and practices of Protestantism gradually becoming accepted in Chinese society. The spread of Christianity in China may be seen, in future years, as a key development in the religious history of the twentieth century.

In the mainstream of Chinese Protestantism it is common to find beliefs and practices that, in the Western context, would be considered rather conservative, evangelical, traditional, literalist, or fundamentalist. One reason is probably that the religion was for the most part learned from the 1930s or earlier, and there has been relatively little exposure to world Christianity since then. Some pastors and congregations are elderly, and seek stability in the current period of rapid change. Moreover, many of the materials, printed and broadcast, imported in the 1980s and 1990s came from evangelical rather than

[5] Tony Lambert, "Counting Christians in China: Who's Right?"

[6] See Daniel H. Bays, "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937", in Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*, pp. 307–16.

"liberal" overseas groups. In recent years there has also been strong interest in miracles and healing, and on end-time teachings. Some of these beliefs may be considered to lie within the parameters of orthodox Protestantism, but others, with their associated practices, should perhaps be considered heterodox, and may owe more to indigenous cultic practices than to mainstream Christianity.

The TSPM generally operates in rather formal churches or meeting places, with traditions adapted from those of the mainline denominational mission churches. In recent years, pastors within the organisation have produced Chinese-language hymns and liturgy, and promoted, with moderate success, a style of congregational worship that can be accepted by the great majority of churches. At times, although much less in recent years, they have been subject to censorship and their literature has reflected government concerns: for example, some sermons and publications express support for the government, and some express disapproval of "supernatural" teachings, such as the Day of Judgement, exorcism, and spiritual healing, which appear to contradict Marxist tenets.

What is known in some literature as the "house church" movement is the other major institutional element of Chinese Protestantism. During the years of repression, the faith survived as personal devotion, and in small home meetings that appear to have spread their influence during the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s, home meetings and house churches expanded far beyond their original scope. Some of them developed extensive national and international networks, with thousands of members, and even publishing and educational facilities. To reflect this change, in our 1993 publication we proposed the adoption of the term "autonomous Christian communities" (ACCs) as now more accurate than "house churches" to describe these groups.[7]

Many ACCs inherit practices from groups that were formed in the 1920s. Interaction with popular culture has sometimes led to syncretism with local cults, and in some areas a Pentecostalist style of worship has been practised since around 1910. Phenomena such as speaking in tongues and faith healing are widespread, but many groups, on the contrary, are pietistic: for example, most "Little Flock" congregations are opposed to charismatic styles of worship, and place emphasis

[7] Hunter and Chan, *Protestantism*, pp. 81–88.

on literal belief in the Bible, and on what they assert are Apostolic traditions.

Another important formative influence has been the energetic and well-financed contemporary evangelical missions or "China Ministries", usually based in Hong Kong or the USA, which over the past two decades have provided training materials, personnel, and successful Gospel Radio broadcasts. At present, a theme emphasised among many ACCs, and promoted by some overseas agencies, is martyrdom and an extreme missiological orientation. Asceticism and sacrifice of earthly life for the Gospel is praised, and believers told that the highest goal is to abandon everything to follow Christ. Such calls appear to have some success in arousing religious zeal among young converts, especially in poor rural areas.

The extent of Christian activity outside TSPM supervision has aroused considerable controversy. TSPM sources tend to claim that the movement hardly exists, and that only small, insignificant, and occasional groups of isolated eccentrics meet outside its own purview. On the other hand, many groups abroad seem to view the groups through a romantic haze. In fact, it is extremely difficult to gather reliable information about them, as they are spread through the countryside. Temporary leadership structures rise and fall, the communities publish little, and most receive few visitors.

The Roman Catholic community

As described in "Chinese Churches and Communist State", the Catholic community in China split into the pro-government or "Patriotic" section and the pro-Rome or "Underground" section in 1957, as the Patriotic faction began to consecrate bishops without Rome's approval. In 1980, the pro-government group re-established the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association, formed a Chinese Bishop's Conference and the Chinese Catholic Church Affairs Committee (which merged into the Bishop's Conference as a sub-committee in 1992). These structures emphasise their ecclesial autonomy from Rome, and consecrate bishops independently from Rome. The Patriotic group, which had about seventy bishops by 1996, is the only Catholic community recognised by the Chinese state. It openly rejects the political and administrative authority of the Vatican, but acknowledges the Pope's spiritual authority; this theological stance places it in a deeply ambiguous Canonical position. The CCPA operates many seminaries and has adopted the

post-Vatican II liturgy, in this respect being similar to other Catholic communities worldwide.

As for the pro-Rome faction, when the government began to relax its control on religion in 1978, Rome authorised the handful of surviving pro-Rome bishops to consecrate successors, to ordain priests, and to re-establish a Chinese Holy Hierarchy under Rome's authority. They established a Bishops' Conference in Mainland China in 1989, and regard themselves as the only orthodox Catholic Hierarchy, the legitimate continuation of the Chinese Holy Hierarchy set up in 1946. This pro-Rome ecclesial structure, with about sixty bishops by 1996, is in direct opposition to the government, which views any foreign intervention as a challenge to national sovereignty. This community (illegal in Chinese law, but legitimate in Canon) has since enjoyed rapid growth with its own seminaries, religious orders, and support from overseas groups. Many of its members are incarcerated, some have died in jail or detention, and its activities are often raided by authorities, sometimes brutally: the Roman Catholic community in China has been victim of some of the worst human rights abuses in the 1980s and 1990s. Until the mid-1980s , this faction favoured the Tridentine liturgy; since then, it gradually adopted the Vatican II vernacular liturgy to keep in step with the Catholic Church outside China.

The situation was further complicated by the death of Bishop Peter Joseph Fan Xueyan 范學淹 (1907–1992), the most senior pro-Rome bishop. By the mid-1990s, some underground bishops wanted to achieve reconciliation with the pro-government faction, while others in the pro-Rome camp vigorously opposed such a development. These groups and some individuals have issued pastoral letters advocating their views, which added to the confusion in the Catholic community.

The Sino-Vatican relationship is further complicated by the Taiwan factor. The Vatican has maintained full diplomatic relationship with Taiwan, strengthened by the formal visit of the Vice-President of the Republic of China to the Vatican in 1997 (the most senior Chinese official to visit the Vatican to date). Yet the Beijing authorities would not engage in talks with Rome for normalisation of Sino-Vatican relationship unless the Vatican severs its relationship with Taiwan. In a sense, the Chinese Catholic community is a hostage in the Beijing-Taipei diplomatic struggle, and the Holy See's link to the underground Church is deemed a subversive act. Pope John Paul II's efforts to find a rapprochement with Beijing are defeated by his often open endorsement of the underground Catholics; at the same time, he makes conciliatory

gestures to the Chinese government, for example referring to the state by its full title of the "People's Republic of China" in his 1996 letter, which implies a step towards diplomatic recognition. However, this "two-China" stance is rejected by the Beijing government.

The Chinese Catholic Church as a whole is theologically conservative, with a pre-Vatican II orientation. Congregational religious activities centre around liturgy, despite the very serious lack of priests. Compared to the Protestant community, the Catholics are far less evangelical, and growth in numbers has been mainly through family and friendship networks. An interesting aspect is the strong cultic worship of Mary, officially the patron saint of China; it is perhaps a substitute for the widespread worship of Mazu, the Goddess of fishermen, especially in Catholic fishing villages. The community has also shown extreme courage in maintaining its integrity in extraordinarily difficult circumstances. It inherits this tradition: Chinese Catholics kept their faith alive during the proscription of the Qing dynasty, and they regard persecution as part of the price of faith. Martyrdom and suffering may be valued spiritual qualities, a subtle endorsement for the growth of the underground community.

The churches of the Chinese Diaspora

It is widely recognised that the overseas Chinese have played a critical role in revitalising the mainland's economy since 1978. They also have a long association with Christianity, and they have been an important factor in the growth of the church on the mainland. The history of the churches of the Chinese Diaspora has yet to be written; however, it is clear that much of that history is closely tied to migration patterns. By the beginning of the eighteenth century there were populations of ethnic Chinese across southeast Asia. From the late nineteenth century, many Chinese, most of them labourers, migrated to the Americas and Europe, and, in smaller numbers, to India and Africa. Later, groups of young Chinese intellectuals went overseas, to Japan, the USA, and Europe, for higher education; although fewer in number, these students were extremely influential in politics and culture. Migration was much reduced during the first decades of Communist rule, but reached significant numbers again in the 1980s. Today, there are at least thirty million ethnic Chinese living outside the People's Republic. Another six million live in Hong Kong and Macao, which were outside Chinese jurisdiction until the constitutional changes of the late 1990s; and sixteen

million in Taiwan, a Chinese state which does not recognise the legitimacy of the People's Republic.

China was closed to foreign missionaries before 1842, so those who wished to work with Chinese had to do so outside its borders. Catholic missionaries evangelised among the Chinese in the Philippines, where an early convert from Fujian (Gregory Lopez or Luo Wenzao) was prepared for the priesthood and later became the first Chinese Catholic bishop in China. The first Protestant missionaries, such as Robert Morrison, started mission activities among the overseas Chinese in places like Malacca. Thus the earliest Chinese converts were not in China itself. As China opened her doors to the West after the Opium Wars, missionaries utilised colonial territories such as Hong Kong and Macao as staging posts to China, and churches began to be established among the overseas Chinese.

Work among overseas Chinese communities received a sudden impetus in 1949 when missionaries were forced to leave China. Most mission agencies and religious orders decided to continue their activities among the overseas Chinese. Some, for example the Jesuits in Shanghai, even took their novices out of China hoping that the Communist regime would soon end and that they could then return to China. Many Chinese Christians, experienced ministers among them, also left China in 1949 or 1950. Churches grew rapidly in both Hongkong and Taiwan. Before 1945, the Christian presence in Taiwan was tiny. By 1959 there were over six hundred missionaries representing most of the major denominations on the island. Presbyterians alone counted some 175,000 church-goers by 1965.

The next major impulse came in the 1960s, when growing numbers of overseas Chinese sought higher education in the USA. The campus ministry movement, by groups such as Campus Crusade for Christ, converted many Chinese students in US universities. These new converts began to attend Bible study classes, which formed the nucleus of what later developed into Chinese churches in North America. Subsequent trends in migration have affected the spread of Christianity among ethnic Chinese. For example, Western churches began to offer Chinese language services for Chinese immigrants who began to arrive in Canada, Britain, and Australia in the 1970s; some of these Chinese services later evolved into Chinese congregations and churches. During the 1980s, there was large-scale migration from Hongkong and Taiwan to Canada, Australia, Britain, and the USA. Many of the migrants were Christians, and they began to form churches as an extension of

their mother church. Similarly, Christian immigrants from Taiwan to South America and Africa also formed churches of their own. The most recent trend, since the early 1990s, is migration from the mainland to Russia and its former satellites and, where possible, to Europe and North America. Many migrants are students, some are illegal aliens, others are business people and traders. Mission organisations from the Chinese Church have sent missionaries to this latest wave of migrants and established several hundred new churches among them.

As a rough estimate, there are perhaps half a million Protestants in Taiwan, about 300,000 in Hong Kong, 200,000 in North America, 150,000 in Singapore, and 120,000 in West Malaysia. Most of the Chinese speaking seminaries, para-church organisations, and publishing houses are located in Taiwan and Hong Kong. These regions account for about 80% of the overseas Chinese Protestants. In total, there are some seven thousand Protestant churches among the Chinese of the Diaspora, with a community of at least a million believers. There are few statistics on ethnically Chinese Roman Catholics, because only a few major urban centres have Chinese Catholic churches, and many Chinese Catholics simply join their local diocese, their numbers thus hidden among the parish statistics. The Catholic church in Hongkong alone, however, is a significant body with around a quarter of a million believers.

These Christian communities reflect several interesting characteristics. Firstly, they are part of the Chinese community in the Diaspora, rather than a community in Christendom or a community within their host countries' church structures. They grow as the Chinese community expands, as in North America and Australia; they decline when the Chinese community shrinks, as in India. Their identity also changes as the Chinese community struggles for its identity in the host community. For example, most of the Chinese churches in Thailand now speak Thai rather than Chinese, and increasing numbers of these "Thai Chinese" churches no longer claim "Chineseness"; they integrate into the Thai Christian community, reflecting the changing dynamics of the Chinese community in Thailand. The Indonesian Chinese church is another example: as more Chinese take on Indonesian identity for political reasons, the Indonesian Chinese churches disappear. Chinese churches in some parts of the world struggle with this identity crisis, just as the Chinese community faces an identity crisis especially in second generations of Chinese migrants, sometimes compounded by political discrimination in host countries against minority ethnic groups.

Secondly, the Chinese church usually distinguishes itself from the local Christian community or regional denominational structures. Its identity is more "Chinese" than "denominational" or "regional". Therefore, there is more interaction amongst Chinese churches than between the national church of the host country and the Chinese churches. This phenomenon was highlighted in 1976 by the formation of the Chinese Church Coordination Center of World Evangelism (CCCOWE), an umbrella organisation to contact all the Chinese churches worldwide. CCCOWE successfully promotes the concept of "Chinese Church in Diaspora" as an ecclesial reality, and rallies cooperation among the Chinese Churches in different regions. On the Catholic side, the Holy See appointed a Chinese Bishop as the Bishop to the Chinese Catholics in Diaspora. However, this honorary Bishopric appears to have made little impact on overseas Chinese Catholics, since most of them join local parishes. It seems that the Catholicity of the Catholic Church overrides the ethnicity of the Chinese, in contrast to the Protestant situation.

Thirdly, most overseas Chinese churches are theologically conservative, partly due to the background of most of the missionaries to China, and partly due to the predominantly conservative orientation of most of the Chinese speaking seminaries. Therefore, the churches have little outreach to local society other than providing services to the Chinese community, and they seldom become involved in local politics. The theological emphasis is on evangelism and mission. Today, there are several hundred Chinese missionaries working on all continents, mostly in the Chinese community, although a growing number serve other ethnic groups. If any factor will break through the ethnic boundary, it is evangelical zeal.

Finally, although numerically small compared to Christians in China, the Chinese Christians in Diaspora have much greater resources than their counterparts in the mainland. Most of the overseas Chinese Christians are well educated, especially those living in North America, while many in southeast Asia are business people with powerful financial resources. Also, the churches in Hongkong, Taiwan, and Singapore have highly qualified theologians as well as theological training institutions (in Hongkong along there are twenty Protestant seminaries, more than all the seminaries combined in China itself). These church groups have played a very significant role in the growth of the church in China. For example, many of the newly built churches in China are financed by overseas Chinese Christians, and overseas

Chinese practically shape theological development in China by providing textbooks and training to Chinese seminarians. On the Catholic side, the Church in Hong Kong attempts to serve as a bridge between the Chinese Catholic Church and the universal Church, and Catholics from Hong Kong and Taiwan have been key elements in the restructuring of the Chinese Catholic community since 1978.

The Chinese churches in Diaspora mirror the fate of the Chinese community in Diaspora. Moreover, the intimate relationship between mainland and overseas Chinese Christians looks set to continue. As Christianity in China faced tremendous suppression between 1949 and 1978, Christianity grew and developed among the overseas Chinese. Then, as the church in China began to re-emerge with numerous adherents yet very poor resources, the Chinese church in Diaspora supported it-generously. Now, churches in Diaspora and those in China (like businesses, families, and other social groups) may continue to grow closer and consolidate their ties to become a major grouping in world Christianity.

Bibliography

Aikman, David, *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power*, Washington, D.C.: Regnery; Lanham, Md.: Distributed to the trade by National Book Network, 2003.

Bays, Daniel H., "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937", in Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China*, pp. 307–16.

Bush, Richard C., *Religion in Communist China*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.

Chan Kim-Kwong and Alan Hunter, *Prayers and Thoughts of Chinese Christians*, London: Mowbray, 1991.

Chu Shu-Teh, Francis Xavier [Zhu Shude], *If the Grain of Wheat Dies, It Yields a Rich Harvest*, [Rome, Italy?: s.n., 1984?].

Dunch, Ryan, "Protestant Christianity in China Today: Fragile, Fragmented, Flourishing", in Stephen Uhalley Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2002, pp. 195–216.

Gao Wangzhi, "Y. T. Wu: A Christian Leader Under Communism", in Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford University Press, 1996, pp. 338–52.

Guerin, Guilbert, *La vie du père Chu Shu-Teh, s.j.*, Montreal: Guerin, 2002.

Hunter, Alan, and Kim-Kwong Chan, *Protestantism in Contemporary China*, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Lam, Anthony S. K. 林瑞琪, *Banshi ji paihuai: Zhonggong zongjiao zhengce yu shishi tan tao* 半世紀徘徊: 中共宗教政策與實施探討 (Decades of Vacillation: Investigating the Communist Party's religious policy and its implementation), Xianggang: Shengshen yanjiu zhongxin, 1997. English version: *Decades of Vacillation: Chinese Communist Religious Policy and Its Implementation*, Hongkong: Holy Spirit Study Centre, 2003.

The Chinese Communist Party knew few days of peace after its founding in 1921 but instead responded to one crisis after another. So government policy, including

religious policy in the PRC, saw a number of painful lurches from tight control to relaxation and back to tight restrictions. War, civil war and internal struggles led to a deep desire to monitor and control everything in society through the state security apparatus. Lam chronicles the earlier flip-flops and amply documents the current regulations for monitoring and supervising religious groups. Current policy satisfies neither the government, which gets little return for its effort, nor religious believers who move and breathe with difficulty.

Lam, Anthony S. K. 林瑞琪, *Power and Struggle: The Authentic Church Structure of the Catholic Diocese in China and the Abuse of Political Power*, Hong Kong: Holy Spirit Study Centre, 2006.

The author concentrates on certain documents that address pertinent legal aspects affecting the life of the Chinese Church today. It is a collection of materials, most of which have previously been published as separate articles in Chinese and/or English. These materials have now been updated with added insights and commentaries.

Lambert, Tony, "Counting Christians in China: Who's Right?", *News Network International*, 14 April 1989, pp. 28–36.

Lambert, Tony, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991. An updated version has been published as: Tony Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*. Revised and updated, Oxford: Monarch Books, 2006.

Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei, "Watchman Nee and the Little Flock Movement in Maoist China", *Church History*: Studies in Christianity and Culture 74,1 (March 2005), pp. 68–96.

Leung Ka Lun [Liang Jialin] 梁家麟, *Gaige kaifang yilai de Zhongguo nongcun jiaohui* 改革開放以來的中國農村教會 (The rural churches of Mainland China since 1978), Hongkong: Jiandao shenxue yuan (Alliance Bible Seminary Press), 1999.

Leung Kit Fun, Beatrice, "The Catholic Church in Post-1997 Hong Kong: Dilemma in Church-State Relations", in Stephen Uhalley Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2002, pp. 301–343.

Leung Kit Fun, Beatrice, "China's Religious Freedom Policy: The Art of Managing Religious Activity", *The China Quarterly* 184 (2005), pp. 894–913.

Leung Kit Fun, Beatrice, "Christianity in Post-Mao China: Legalism and Accommodation", in Peter Chen-main Wang (ed.), *Contextualization of Christianity in China: An Evaluation in Modern Perspective*, Sankt Augustin, Germany: Monumenta Serica, 2007, pp. 277–296.

Leung Kit Fun, Beatrice, "Communist Party-Vatican Interplay over the Training of Church Leaders in China", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40,4 (2001), pp. 657–673.

Leung Kit Fun, Beatrice, and William T. Liu, *The Chinese Catholic Church in Conflict: 1949–2001*, Boca Raton: Universal Publisher, 2004.

Leung, Philip Yuen-sang, "Conversion, Commitment, and Culture: Christians Experience in China, 1949–99", in Donald M. Lewis (ed.), *Christianity Reborn: The Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2004, chapter 4.

Liu, William T., and Beatrice Leung, "Organizational Revivalism: Explaining Metamorphosis of China's Catholic Church", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41,1 (2002), pp. 121–138.

Madsen, Richard, "Beyond Orthodoxy: Catholicism as Folk Religion", in Stephen Uhalley Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2002, pp. 233–249, 395–396.

Madsen, Richard, "The Catholic Church in China: Cultural Contradictions, Institutional Survival, and Religious Renewal", in Perry Link, Richard Madsen and Paul G. Pickowicz (eds.), *Unofficial China: Popular Culture and Thought in the People's Republic*, Boulder, San Francisco and London: Westview Press, 1989, pp. 103–120.

Madsen, Richard, "Catholic Conflict and Cooperation in the People's Republic of China," in Jason Kindopp and Carol Lee Hamrin (eds.), *God and Caesar in China policy implications of church-state tensions*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004, pp. 77–106.
Madsen, Richard, "Catholic Revival During the Reform Era", *The China Quarterly* No. 174 (June 2003), pp. 468–487.
Madsen, Richard, *China's Catholics: Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
Saunders, Kate, *Eighteen Layers of Hell: Stories from the Chinese Gulag*, London: Cassell, 1996.
Tang, Edmond, and Jean-Paul Wiest (eds.), *The Catholic Church in Modern China: Perspectives*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Press, 1993.
Vala, Carsten T., "Pathways to the Pulpit: Leadership Training in 'Patriotic' and Unregistered Chinese Protestant Churches", in Yoshiko Ashiwa and David Wank (eds.), *Making Religion, Making the State: The Politics of Religion in Modern China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.
Wang, Peter Chen-main, "Christianity in Modern Taiwan: Struggling Over the Path of Contextualization", in Stephen Uhalley Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2002, pp. 321–343.
Wang, Xiao-qing, "Staying Catholic: Catholicism and Local Culture in a Northern Chinese Village", Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2004.
Whyte, Bob, *Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity*, London: Collins, 1988.
Yamamori Tetsunao and Kim-kwong Chan, *Witnesses to Power: Stories of God's Quiet Work in a Changing China*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000.
Yang Fenggang, "Lost in the Market, Saved at McDonald's: Conversion to Christianity in Urban China", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 44,4 (2005), pp. 423–441.

2.3. Chinese Orthodox Church

Alexander Lomanov

Last years of the Mission, 1949–1956

Before the Communist take-over of mainland China, the Orthodox Church was split into pro-Soviet and non-Soviet groups. During these years Soviet politics again interfered with the Beijing Mission's life. Many emigrants wanted to return to the USSR that was painted by propagandists as a happy land where the Orthodox Church was free from oppression and rapidly developing.

In 1946 the Centre of the East Asian Exarchate 東亞督主教區 of the Russian Orthodox Church was established, not in Beijing but in Harbin. In reality this led to the existence of three quasi-independent bodies: the Exarchate in Harbin, the Spiritual Mission in Beijing and the 'rebellious' diocese in Shanghai. The latter was in hands of Bishop Ioann 伊望 (Maksimovich), who was legitimate in the eyes of the Nationalist (Guomindang) government. The Mission in the care of Archbishop Viktor 魏克托爾 (Svyatin) was regarded politically as a "Soviet institution". In the struggle for control over the Mission's property, Viktor joined forces with the Soviet representatives in China. While Ioann was prepared to make this property Chinese, Viktor wanted to protect it by claiming it as Soviet property in accordance with the Sino-Soviet treaty of 1924.

This rivalry ended in favour of Archbishop Viktor. The patriarchal exarch, Metropolitan Nestor 尼士托 (Nikolai Aleksandrovich Anisimov) (1884–1962) of Harbin, was detained by the Chinese Communist authorities in June 1948. He was deported to USSR and tried in Khabarovsk for anti-Soviet activities and exiled for eight years. The conflict with Ioann ended in May 1949 when he and his Shanghai flock left for the Philippines. Probably bishop Viktor's struggle for control over the Mission was based upon a tragic misunderstanding on his part. He sincerely believed that the Soviet authorities would endorse the continuation of the Ecclesiastical Mission in China.

In 1949 Viktor proposed to the Moscow Patriarchy to develop the Mission's activities in five areas: missionary, cultural, monastic, economic and charity work.[1] In order to re-start evangelisation among the

[1] Dionisij Pozdnyaev. *Pravoslavie v Kitae* (1998), pp. 117–118; for the English ver-

Chinese, he proposed to strengthen ties with the ecclesiastical schools in Russia, to open classes for Chinese priests in Beijing, to re-open missionary stations that were closed thirty years earlier, to establish seminaries in Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai, and to form a commission for the translation of the prayer books into Chinese. Other suggestions included placing greater emphasis on the monastic training of priests and the opening of Russian elementary schools, but these were difficult to realise in the climate of new-born Communist China. Finally Viktor petitioned Moscow Patriarch Aleksij I to send to China the new 21st Mission.

In his blueprint for the future development of the Mission, Viktor planned to get complete financial independence and even to be able to provide the Moscow Patriarchate with some funds. He had big plans to open businesses on all Orthodox premises in China (agriculture, sanatoriums, houses to let, etc.), although this was once again not compatible with Communist economic policy.

Viktor also suggested to use these businesses for the baptisms of the Chinese—the best chances for conversions would be created by Russians and Chinese members of the Mission working together in agriculture and the Missions's commercial enterprises. Viktor was appealing to the pragmatic feelings of the Chinese, but this "business evangelisation" did not live beyond the rapidly approaching confiscation of the Mission's business enterprises.

In his response Patriarch Aleksij I criticised Viktor for paying too much attention to the economic side of the Mission and suggested to him to change his view of the Mission as of business enterprise or a "feudal domain". For the sake of objectivity, it should be remembered that Viktor spend a lot of time and effort defending the Mission's property in the 1930s and 1940s, and he was very proud of his success. The Patriarch ordered Viktor to establish the Chinese Orthodox Church with Chinese clergy and a Chinese flock over a ten-year period. In August 1950 the Patriarch put Viktor in charge of the East Asian Exarchate, comprising five dioceses (Beijing, Harbin, Shanghai, Tianjin and Xinjiang) and appointed him as the head of the 20th Mission (the previous appointment had been made by anti-Soviet Church Abroad).

---

sion, see Dionisy Pozdniaev, "The Chinese Orthodox Church on the Path to Autonomy", *Far Eastern Affairs*, No. 4 (1998), p. 65.

Because Russian émigrés were leaving China in growing numbers, the plans of creating a Chinese governing clergy were accelerated. In July 1950 in Trinity-Sergievsaya Lavra near Moscow the Chinese protohiereus Feodor Du Runchen 杜潤臣 (1886–1965) was admitted to monasticism under the name of Simeon 西麦翁. On 30 June, Patriarch Aleksij I had ordained him as bishop of Tianjin. The ordination of the first-ever Chinese bishop was another milestone event in the history of the Chinese Orthodox Church.

Simeon (Du) was assigned to work in Shanghai where he ran into conflict with the Russian clergy. This could be attributed partly to the legacy of the previous conflicts, partly to conceptual differences. The Chinese bishop, not without reason, criticised the practices of the Russian Mission as conservative, whereas the Russians perceived his reformism as harmful "chauvinistic nationalism". Simeon was a proponent of the formation of a united Chinese autonomous diocese led by a Chinese cleric with the rank of "bishop of Peking and all China" (a position he hoped to hold), simultaneously lowering the rank and administrative authority of the Russian clergy. This suggestion was practical because continuing decentralisation was harmful for the five rapidly shrinking dioceses. Simeon established good relations with the authorities of Shanghai and his rhetoric was very similar to the "three-self" patriotic discourse of Protestant and Catholic leaders. On the other hand, he valued Orthodox education when a new ecclesiastical school (*Dongzhengjiao daoxueyuan* 東正教道學院) was established in Shanghai in 1952. Simeon was determined to borrow some methods of Protestant evangelisation and invited secretaries and teachers from the Chinese Protestants. From 1954 till 1958 he published his own bi-weekly church periodical *Zheng guang* (True Light).[2]

The Orthodox church was not "imperialist", but also was not sufficiently independent. There was not too much time left for the Russians to help the Chinese to build their own Orthodox Church. The Mission was in a difficult situation due to high taxes imposed by the new Chinese government and land confiscations by Chinese peasants. Its monetary income shrank proportionally with the departure of the Russian flock. The hostility of the Chinese clergy headed by Simeon towards the Russian leader of the Mission increased, although Viktor had no power to stop Russians from fleeing from Communist China.

---

[2] Zhang Sui. *Dongzhengjiao he Donzhenjiao* (1986), p. 289.

In the autumn of 1950 Viktor ordained five Chinese priests (Ioann Du 杜立昆, Mikhail Li 李奉慈, Nikita Li, Anikita Wang 王玉林, Ioann Luo) and 4 deacons (Falalei Mao 毛德禄, Pinna Du 杜恩盛, Nikolaj Zhang 張舉民, Antonij Shuang, born 姚寶順). To strengthen the Chinese component, a catechist school was opened in Beijing. The Mission ran three schools for more than 600 Chinese schoolchildren, translators courses, and a no-fee kindergarten for 140 children. In 1951–1953 there were 310 conversions.[3]

But these small replacements were not able to counterbalance the loss of dozens of thousands of Russian parishioners. By 1954 Orthodox churches in China were almost empty. In July the Holy Synod of Moscow Patriarchate decided to close down the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission and to leave all churches under care of East Asian Exarchate.

The time had come to say farewell to the property so much cherished by the Russian Mission. The Mission had to give up all its 73 churches. The real estate was split. Everything went to the Chinese government except the Northern Yard (*Beiguan*) that became the new premises of the Soviet embassy. Once again the decision concerning the surrender of property was taken in Moscow without consultation with the Chinese part of the Church.

Chinese bishop Simeon (Du Runchen) resisted the order from archbishop Viktor to transfer real estate to the government. He sent a telegram directly to the Patriarch and in protest asked to be retired from the active clergy of the Church. Disagreement within the Church was great and Simeon refused to withdraw his dissident opinion. He was not dismissed, at the same time he was not trusted anymore.

This conflict prompted urgent preparations for the ordination of the second Chinese bishop who was to be chosen to head the Chinese Church instead of Simeon. This was Ignatij Yao Shuanglin 姚雙林 (1888–1962), who was born in Beijing. In 1915 he was ordained into deacon by bishop Innokentij (Figurovskij), and in 1948 ordained as priest and in the same year entered monasticism under the name of Vasilij 瓦西里 (Shuang). He was a very modest person who avoided ecclesiastical promotions and only in October 1955 agreed to become a bishop. In April 1956 Religious Affairs Bureau of the Chinese government approved the nomination of archimandrite Vasilij as bishop of Beijing.

---

[3] Pozdnyaev, *Pravoslavie v Kitae* (1998), p. 136.

The conciliatory pro-Communist stance of Viktor and of the Russian Church had very limited effectiveness. "The Moscow Patriarchate believed that voluntary transfer of real estate without compensation would be a natural precedent for resolving the question of foreign missionary property in China. Subsequently, however, expectations of loyalty towards Orthodoxy from the [Chinese] authorities in connection with this noble gesture were not justified".[4] On the other hand, it helped to extend the presence of the Russian Mission till 1956. Almost no other Western missionary was able to stay in Communist China for this length of time (unless one counts the incarcerated Catholic priests).

When Archbishop Viktor left China on 24 May 1956, the situation of the Orthodox Church in China looked grim, but not yet desperate. The Chinese government agreed to the transfer of the administration from Viktor to Vasilij (Shuang) as Bishop of Beijing. At the same time, it permitted the establishment of a new Orthodox church in Beijing in place of the Northern Yard which had been lost to the Soviet embassy.

The Church Invisible (post-1957)

The year following Viktor's departure was spent by the Chinese clergy in settling the formalities of property transfers and in mergers of small parishes which had lost their flock. In 1957 Moscow Patriarchate gave autonomy (i.e. full independence and self-governing) to the Chinese Orthodox Church which was named in Chinese as *Zhonghua dongzhengjiao hui* 中華東正教會.

But Vasilij had still not been consecrated as bishop, so only the rebellious Simeon had the highest ecclesiastical rank. A glimpse of hope for the future of the Church came on the day of ordination of archimandrite Vasilij (Shuang). On 30 May 1957 he was consecrated in Moscow as the bishop of Beijing. After his return to China the Council of the Church was to be convened to elect him as the head of the Church. But the rivalry initiated by bishop Simeon prevented this and humble Vasilij failed to establish himself as an efficient head of the Chinese Church. He became seriously ill in 1960 and died in January 1962.

[4] Dionisy Pozdniaev, "The Chinese Orthodox Church" (1998), p. 71.

After Vasilij's death, protohiereus Nikolaj Li 李遜一 looked after the affairs of Beijing diocese. In 1964 the authorities closed the last Orthodox church in Beijing. In March 1965 the rebellious and independently-minded bishop Simeon also died and the authorities closed the Cathedral of Shanghai.

The first destructive blows to the church buildings were dealt not by the Chinese authorities, but by Russian compatriots. The new Soviet ambassador to the PRC, academician Pavel Fyodorovich Yudin (1899–1968), was a top Marxist-Leninist theoretician whose rigid dogmatism and unlimited loyalty were favoured by Stalin. By that time Stalin was dead and it would seem that Yudin tried to follow the tastes of the new leader Nikita Khrushchev, who had renewed atheistic repressions in the USSR. During the reconstruction of the *Beiguan* for the needs of the USSR Embassy in 1957 Yudin ordered the demolition of ecclesiastical buildings of the Russian Mission. It must be stressed that the *Beiguan* contained a great deal of land, so these destructions were not motivated by pragmatic need to clear spaces for new official edifices.

The Church of All Holy Martyrs was demolished and the bodies, including the relics of 222 Chinese Holy Martyrs of the Boxer uprising, the bodies of family members of the Russian tsar, of Metropolitan Innokentij (Figurovskij) and archbishop Simon (Vinogradov) were removed from the crypt and re-buried in the Russian cemetery at Andingmen. The old Dormition of the Theotokos Church was converted into the Embassy garage. The beautiful bell-tower over the southern Beiguan gate was demolished. The Mission library was found to be useless (and perhaps ideologically harmful) and was burned. If in 1900 the *Beiguan* had been devastated by the anti-Christian Boxers, this time the work was done by the hand of the Russians themselves. This iconoclasm of the "elder Communist brother' sent no doubt a clear message to the Chinese Communist authorities that the same could be done to other Orthodox churches.

In 1958 the Annunciation Church in Harbin was closed and converted into circus school. In the same year two Russian cemeteries (Pokrovskoye and Uspenskoye) of Harbin were closed, tombstones were utilised for strengthening the embankment of Sungari river. Few relatives of the dead had time to remove coffins to the new cemetery in Sangkeshu (25 km from Harbin). The Pokrovskaya (Holy Veil of the Theotokos) Church 聖母帡幪(守護)堂 was converted into a warehouse, the Uspenskaya (Dormition) Church became an amusement hall with distorting mirrors; the cross on the top was replaced with the

Communist five-pointed star. All Orthodox churches along the China Eastern Railway had been closed by 1958. In August 1966 the 'Red Guards' started burning icons from the St. Nikolaj Cathedral of Harbin. In a few days this huge wooden structure had been dismantled.

In February 1966 the last Russian cleric left the PRC, namely protohiereus Viktor Chernykh from Harbin. He reported to Moscow Patriarchate on situation in the Church he left behind in the mainland. He had information about four priests (protohiereus Anikita Wang Yulin, protohiereus Stefan Wu Zhiquan 吳志全 [1925-1970], priest Grigorij Zhu Shipu, hieromonk Simon Bai Zenglin 白增林) with 2 open churches in Harbin, 3 priests in Beijing (protohiereus Nikolaj Li Xunyi, protohiereus Leonid Liu Enhou 劉恩厚, hiereus Aleksander Du Lifu and protohiereus Ioann Du Likun), and two more priest in the peripheral Orthodox regions of Inner Mongolia and Three Rivers district (*Trekhrech'ye*).[5]

According to Chinese estimates the number of Orthodox Christians in the PRC was about 8,000 persons in 1984.[6] Estimates of the late 1990s put the Orthodox population of the north-eastern China (Heilongjiang and Liaoning) at about 3,000, of Xinjiang at approximately 3–3,500; there are also about 300 Orthodox descendants of Albazinians in Beijing and no less than 30 Orthodox believers in Shanghai.[7]

The only Chinese priest who returned to his ecclesiastical duties after the "cultural revolution" was Grigorij Zhu Shipu 朱世朴 of the Svyato-Pokrovskaya (Holy Veil) Church of Harbin, which was reopened in 1986. According to informal information, this church was opened on the strict condition exacted by the Heilongjiang authorities that no new Chinese members be admitted to this community. Until the death of hiereus Grigorij Zhu in September 2000 it was the only Orthodox church in China where divine services were performed. The parish of this church has about 120 people, including seven ethnic Russians. In 1995 the Church of Nativity of John the Baptist in the Sankeshu Russian cemetery was restored with the money from the provincial authorities. The impressive Byzantine-style building of the Harbin church of St. Sophia 聖索菲亞堂 was restored by the authorities in 1997 and functions as a museum.

---

[5] Pozdnyaev, *Pravoslavie v Kitae* (1998), p. 160.
[6] Zhang Sui, "*Dongzhengjiao*" (1988), p. 94.
[7] Lomanov & Pozdnyaev, "Khristianstvo v Kitaye", pp. 534–535; see also Pozdniaev, "The Orthodox Church in China: Its Problems and Prospects".

In Xinjiang[8] where all Orthodox churches had been demolished, the authorities constructed the "Urumchi Orthodox Church" in 1991. In the strict sense, it is merely a building rather than a church because it has not been consecrated by a priest and in 2000 the community had still no clergy. The notion of an Orthodox community without a priest, liturgy and Holy Communion is far less canonical than an existence of the "non-Vatican" Catholic Church of China. Nevertheless, the Orthodox of Urumqi have no choice and each Sunday they gather in that building for "self-services".

In Beijing the authorities have rejected all applications of the descendants of Albazinians for opening an Orthodox church. The Albazinians (the Russian Mission was started in 1712 for the spiritual needs of their ancestors) keep the faith within their small community and baptise their children. In recognition of contributions of hiereus Aleksander Du Lifu in supporting the faith among the members of this community, Moscow Patriarch Aleksij II awarded him with the 2nd degree church order of St. Innokentij in 1998.

By now all traces of the Orthodox presence in Beijing have been successfully eliminated. St. Serafim Church in the Russian cemetery was demolished in 1986. The cemetery was turned into the Qingnianhu 青年湖 (Youth Lake) amusement park, the tombstones were crushed. The remains of the Chinese Holy Martyrs, the relatives of the imperial Romanov family and the Russian missionaries are supposedly resting now at the bottom of an artificial lake. The last Orthodox church to be demolished, in 1991, was the church on the premises of the old Russian embassy (former 'Southern Yard' or *Nanguan*).

In Shanghai two Orthodox churches are quite well maintained by the authorities. The cathedral of the Icon of the "Theotokos answering for the sinners" hosts a bank and a restaurant. St. Nikolaj Church, erected in commemoration of the murder of the Russian tsar Nikolaj II, has been converted into a warehouse.

The problems of the Chinese Church were discussed at the meeting of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, presided over by the Patriarch, on 17 February 1997. It was decided that before the election of the legitimate head of this Church by its Local Council, "canonical administration of the dioceses of the Chinese Autonomous

[8] Chinese sources reported the revival of Orthodox activities not only in Urumchi, but also in Yining and Dacheng. Yue Feng, *Dongzhengjiao shi* (1999), p. 205.

Orthodox Church is carried out by the head of the Mother Church—by the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia".[9] Although this move could be seen as an attempt at 'external interference' by a suspicious Chinese bureaucracy, the statement of the Russian Church clearly indicated that Moscow's care will end with the formation of the Chinese hierarchy of the Chinese Church. Also in 1997 the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church decided to resume prayers in memory of the 222 Chinese Orthodox Martyrs of the Yihetuan uprising of 1900.[10]

Another symbolic token of revival occurred on 19 April 1997 in Beijing. That day the Adoration Cross was opened on the premises of the Russian Embassy to commemorate the history of the Mission, the Orthodox Chinese and the Russian Sinologists. The Orthodox journal for the Chinese Church, *Kitaiskij Blagovestnik*, discontinued in the early 1950s, was re-started in Moscow in 1999 on a bi-annual basis with the blessing of the head of the Church Department of External Relations, Metropolitan Kirill (Vladimir Mikhajlovich Gundjaev).

The Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church entered the twenty-first century with no bishop at its head and with no active priests. In December 2003, the last Chinese Orthodox priest living in China, Aleksander Du Lifu 杜立夫, passed away in Beijing at the age of 80. He never managed to get permission from the government to open a church in Beijing. The authorities argued that the community (about 300 faithful) was too tiny. Nor are the Chinese authorities in favour of inviting priests from Russia, and there is no seminary for Orthodox training inside China. The Russian Orthodox Church has offered training for Chinese priests in its seminaries. Now the revival of the Orthodoxy in Russia proper, together with the opening of the Russian borders, has created new potential for baptisms among hundreds of thousands of Chinese who are visiting or residing in the Russian territory.

The Russian Mission in almost three centuries of its existence has based its policy towards the Chinese government upon the principles of a conciliatory non-conflicting approach (probably the only exception was the dispute with the Guomindang government in the 1930–40s). Still, the existing "strategic partnership" between Moscow and Beijing leaves no room for any pressure from the Russian side upon the PRC

[9] *Kitaiskij Blagovestnik* (1999), No. 1, p. 7.
[10] *Kitaiskij Blagovestnik* (1999), 1, pp. 9–10.

bureaucracy for concessions to the needs of the Chinese Orthodox flock. Currently the Chinese Orthodox Church exists in a legal limbo as a regional ethnic minority religion without priests and without local Chinese ecclesiastical administration.

It is only in most recent years that some encouraging developments have emerged. Thus, in early 2009 the newly elected Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, Kirill (Gundjaev) met a Chinese delegation led by Ye Xiaowen, head of the State Administration for Religious Affairs. Moreover, thirteen Chinese Orthodox seminarians are studying at the Sretenskaya Theological Academy in Moscow and the Academy of St Petersburg. At the same time, the "smouldering rivalries" between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople 正教會普世宗主教聖統 are receiving some attention. Although the Orthodox Church in China has been granted autonomous status, the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia has assumed canonical care for the parishes in China. This jurisdictional arrangement has, however, not been recognised by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Indeed, in 1997 the Patriarch of Constantinople established the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Hong Kong and Southeast Asia 香港及東南亞都主教教區, which includes the Chinese Orthodox Church in Taiwan 台灣基督正教會. Yet in Hongkong there is also the Russian Orthodox parish of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. In the meantime, the differences that existed since the early 1920s between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia appear to have been overcome to some extent with the signing of the Act of Canonical Communion on 17 May 2007. Yet, while there is mild optimism on the international scene, there are still no Chinese priests to give spiritual guidance to the local Orthodox faithful.

Bibliography

Adamek, Piotr, "Wiederbelebt oder noch am Leben? Die Situation der orthodoxen Kirche in China heute", *China heute* 27,1–2 (2008), pp. 42–44.

Lomanov, Alexander V., and Dionisij Pozadnyaev, "Khristianstvo v Kitaye: put' k samostoyatel'nosti" (Christianity in China: way to independence), in *Kitaj na puti modernists i reform, 1949–1999* (China on the road to modernisation and reforms, 1949–1999), Moscow: Russian Academy of Science 'Oriental literature' publishers, 1999, pp. 523–537.

Pozdniaev, Dionisy, "The Chinese Orthodox Church on the Path to Autonomy", *Far Eastern Affairs*, No. 4 (Moscow, 1998), pp. 63–72; reprinted in: *China Study Journal* Vol. 14,1 (April 1999), pp. 15–21.

Pozdniaev Dionisy, "The Orthodox Church in China: Its Problems and Prospects", *China Study Journal* 14,1 (April 1999), pp. 21–22.

Pozdnyaev, Dionisij, *Pravoslavie v Kitae 1900–1997 gg.*, Moskva: Izd-vo Svjato-Vladimirskogo Bratstva, 1998.

Rumyantseva, Marina V., *E-Han dongzhengjiao cihui cidian* 俄漢東正教詞彙詞典 (Russian-Chinese Dictionary of Orthodox Vocabulary), Moscow: Krutitsy Patriarchal Metochion; Hongkong: Brotherhood of SS Peter & Paul, 2007.

Yue Feng 樂峰, *Dongzhengjiao shi* 東正教史 (History of Orthodox Church), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1999; new ed. 2005.

Zhang Sui 張綏, "Dongzhengjiao" 東正教 (Eastern Orthodoxy), in *Zhongguo da baike quanshu. Zongjiao* 中國大百科全書. 宗教 (The Great Chinese Encyclopaedia. Vol. "Religion"), Beijing-Shanghai: Zhongguo baike quanshu chubanshe, 1988, pp. 90–94.

Zhang Sui 張綏, *Dongzhengjiao he Dongzhengjiao zai Zhongguo* 東正教和東正教在中國 (The Orthodox Church and the Orthodox Church in China), Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe; Xinhua shudian Shanghai faxing suo faxing, 1986.

2.4. Sympathetic but not Christians

Alan Miller

Background

The era of 'reform and opening' since 1979 to the present day, has brought to modern China a liberalisation of economic policy, and accompanying this economic liberalisation there has been a perceptible lessening of the strict ideological control by the Chinese Communist Party and central government over centres of academic learning and research. Throughout the 1980s, research centres in many fields of study were re-established or founded and there was an explosion of publications covering a great variety of subjects, including religions and religious studies.

Scholars and researchers in universities and government-sponsored research institutes have, in particular, published books and articles that deal with the sensitive subject of Christianity—Christian theology, philosophy, art and ethics. Often standing outside any of the Chinese Churches and denying any personal faith-involvement with Christianity, these new works are remarkable in revealing a change in attitude towards Christianity, from one of scepticism and outright hostility to a new one which is more positive. While not declaring themselves to be overtly interested in Christianity as a faith, the emphasis is on an encounter with Christianity in historical, philosophical, sociological and cultural terms.

The continuing dialogue between Christianity and Chinese culture over the past four decades has taken a different turn in mainland China, compared to the situation in Hong Kong or Taiwan. This is due to a number of different reasons, the most important of which may be identified as following: firstly, there is a sense of cultural continuity in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Neither of these places has had to experience the complete break with the past cultural traditions of their society that was imposed in the PRC from its beginning in 1949, and especially during the Cultural Revolution (1966–76). In the mainland, there was a definitive break with the past and most of those under fifty years of age have little sense of belonging to traditional Chinese culture.

Secondly, the different political and economic situations have created environments in Hong Kong and Taiwan which are much less

hostile to Christianity than on the mainland. This has meant much more freedom for exploration of Christian topics. Economically, the presence of sizeable middle classes in both Hong Kong and Taiwan has ensured the presence of a strong intellectual class in universities and the continuation of cultural traditions relating to the intellectual tradition of China before 1949.

Finally, there has been the continued presence of a Western missionary paradigm in Hong Kong and Taiwan long after this model of the Church in a Chinese context had been abandoned on the mainland. What this has meant is that while Christianity on the mainland developed between 1951 and 1979 in isolation from the Western Churches and culture from which it had grown initially, Christians in Hong Kong and Taiwan were able to maintain contact with non-Chinese and Western Christianity.

Sympathisers but not Christians—changing attitudes in the PRC

In the past decade or so the debate on religion for many scholars, who have been trained in a Marxist environment on the mainland, has been around the question of whether religion is in fact a legitimate subject for intellectual enquiry. If it is, then must religion be assumed to be 'opium of the people', or is it possible to see some good in religion? Is religion, and Christianity in particular, compatible with socialism? Does religion have a contribution to make to social modernisation? It is in this context that much of the debate among the academics and intellectuals mentioned above is taking place.

Quite clearly, as evidenced by changing tone of research and articles being published now, there has been a change from hostility and scepticism to a more objective and indeed more positive, view of religion. The important changes in attitude have been summarised by Philip Wickeri in the following seven points:

1. Replacement of dogmatism with a 'seek truth from facts' (i.e. objective and pragmatic) approach in religious research.
2. Recognition that religion is a complex multi-layered social entity. Scholarship should not limit itself to the philosophical and doctrinal aspects of religion—a call for a scientific approach to religious research, rather than either a theological or Marxist approach while recognising the complex nature of religious faith and the role that religious believers can play in society.

3. Having appropriate understanding of and re-evaluate the idea of religion as an 'opiate of the people'
4. Recognition that religion has an ethical or moral dimension and can play a positive role in a socialist society.
5. Religion can be compatible with socialism. One of the most significant points that religious apologists have tried to make is that religion does not necessarily oppose socialism, as it is an integral part of human society and should therefore be accepted as such and not be seen as a rival ideology.
6. Religion should be seen as an intrinsic part of the socialist cultural inheritance. This leads on from point 5, and can be seen as a call for recognition of the important role played by religion in the formation of human civilisation.
7. A call for the reform of the leadership and administration of religious affairs work. This is perhaps a logical result of the preceding points, as a re-evaluation of the nature and role of religion in Chinese society would necessarily entail a revision of RAB policy which since the 1950s seems to have taken as a premise the fact that religion is hostile to socialism and therefore needs to be kept under control.

The main non-Church research centres for the study of Christianity in the People's Republic are at present located in the Institute for the study of World Religions in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and the Institute for Religious Research in the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, and the Institute for Religious Studies of Nanjing University. Of these, the Institute for the Study of World Religions is the oldest, being founded in 1964.

The Shanghai institute was established after the beginning of the period of 'Reform and Opening' to train scholars in much the same way as, although on a smaller scale than, CASS in Beijing. It publishes a journal *Dangdai zongjiao yanjiu* 當代宗教研究 (Contemporary Religious Studies) which is still classified as 'internal circulation only', that is, distribution is restricted to mainland China and not for foreign consumption.

The Institute for the Study of Religion in Nanjing was set up in 1978 at the instigation of the China Christian Council as a first step in the process of rehabilitating religious study, and especially the study of Christian issues, in China in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution. This centre is officially a part of Nanjing University with an emphasis

on the academic, as opposed to theological, study of religious issues in China and abroad. Nevertheless, it retains strong links to the China Christian Council, as many of the staff are active Christians who also hold posts in the Jinling Theological Seminary. The Institute publishes a journal, *Zongjiao* 宗教 (Religion), which carries many articles on religion contributed by academics from the various research centres in China.

In addition to these research centres, scholars in several universities have also established centres for the study of Christianity—in particular, Peking University in Beijing (established in 1982) and Hangzhou University in Zhejiang province (established in 1991). Both of these centres are part of the Departments of Philosophy of their universities, and owe their existence to the interest of individual academics in Western philosophy and Christianity (rather than being set up by the University, Faculty or Department). At Peking University, where the Philosophy Department first took students of Christianity in 1982, there is an emphasis on the study of Christian philosophy and the influence of Christianity on the development of Western philosophy. In Hangzhou the research centre also covers this field but has in addition developed a project for the study of Christianity from a sociological and historical perspective as a cultural import into Zhejiang province. The Hangzhou centre has published a journal *Zongjiao yu wenhua luncong* 宗教與文化論叢 (Religion and Culture).

The large number of articles and books on Christian topics over the past few years are indicative of an interest in Christianity among only a minority of intellectuals, and in addition, it is clear that for many of these, Christianity remains a 'cultural ideology'. Yet despite lacking faith experience, it is within this group that much of the current dialogue between Christianity and Chinese culture is being conducted by "sympathetic intellectuals who deliberately remain un-churched". An insight into one of the main reasons why this may be so is given in a brief quotation from Zhuo Xinping 卓新平 (1955–), head of the Christianity section of the Institute for the Study of World Religions in Beijing: "I am not a Christian. As an outsider I have the privilege of being eclectic. I can choose what fascinates me, affirm what I find helpful, but I can also leave behind a lot of the baggage which burdens believers."[1]

---

[1] *Amity Newsletter* (Hong Kong) 32 (Spring 1995), p. 4.

Outside these official and semi-official centres described above, there are other loose groupings of scholars and intellectuals who share an interest in Christianity. In 1992 five principal groups had been identified: in Beijing, Shanghai, Wuhan, Chengdu and Guangzhou.[2] Of these, the largest groups were in Beijing, followed by Shanghai and Wuhan, with smaller, less-organised groups in Chengdu and Guangzhou. All of these groups share three things in common: the majority of their members can be classified as being of the younger generation of scholars in China (that is, those in their early thirties to late forties), who grew up during and were shaped by the experience of the Cultural Revolution. Their principal concern is the future of China and of Chinese culture in a time of rapid and far reaching social, economic and cultural change, and they all became active in the late 1980s as the economic state improved and political controls weakened.

More than sympathisers—the 'Culture Christians'

In the late 1980s there appeared in mainland China a group of intellectuals, drawn from various backgrounds, who took their interest in Christianity a step further than objective study and research. This group was distinctive in that while identifying themselves as Christians, they remained outside the established churches in China and claimed to be looking for a new way of expressing their faith that was neither tied to a political agenda nor to a perceived narrow and dogmatic Church doctrine. Bishop K. H. Ting, writing about the emergence of this intellectual group in the late eighties, labelled them 'Culture Christians', and their exploration of Christian faith 'Culture Christianity'.

Much of the published work of intellectuals in this group does not fall into the category of 'theology' as understood in the West: for example, many of their articles are analyses of Western theologians or reviews of Western published works, or translations of Western theology, rather than original creative theological thinking. Their publications nevertheless "reveal the gap between the theology of the local Churches and some of the live cultural issues [of the day]".[3]

---

[2] He Guichun and Lu Daji "The Current Situation of Religious Research in China", *China Study Journal* 10,1 (April 1995), pp. 5–12.

[3] *China News Analysis* (Hongkong) 1452, p. 3.

The key figure in this emerging group is Liu Xiaofeng 劉小風 (1956–), a graduate in Modern Languages in his native Sichuan province, before enrolling at Peking University to study Philosophy, then associate professor of Philosophy in Shenzhen University, he is now based at Chungchi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong. In the article "Culture Christians on the China Mainland",[4] Liu Xiaofeng offers his own vision of the form that 'culture Christianity' should take and the possibilities that it offers for a future generation of Chinese culture. In this article Liu points out that Culture Christianity does not yet (in 1989–90) exist as an organised form of Christianity: "All we can say is that the Christian faith and its theology has become one of the concerns (among many) which has captured the interest of a significant number of mainland intellectuals". Rather, it is a collective term for the exploration of the Christian faith by a certain number of Chinese mainland intellectuals in response to the uncertainty of China's contemporary society.

There is a feeling that the existing Churches in China are not able to respond on an intellectual level to the needs of these intellectuals, who then remain outside the Church community. In turn, this raises the question of whether it is possible to separate 'Church' and 'Christianity', of whether it is possible to have a 'Church-less Christianity' based on the individual and personal relationship between the believer and God.

The main source of published articles for intellectuals in this group are the three volumes of the *Jidujiao wenhua pinglun* 基督教文化評論 (Christian Culture Review) published in China since 1990. Produced by a group of intellectuals drawn from a wide range of backgrounds—in 2000 the standing editorial committee included two scholars from the Institute for the Study of World Religions in Beijing (Tang Yi 唐逸 and He Guanghu 何光滬), two from the Nanjing Union Theological seminary (Wang Weifan 汪維藩, the official representative of the Institute for Religious Studies in Nanjing, and Zhang Xianyong 張賢勇) and Liu Xiaofeng himself as editor in chief. Containing articles, reviews and translations dealing mainly with Western theologians, its intention was to introduce the works of Christian theologians to China. Additional mainland members of the editorial committee are drawn

[4] Tan Xing (Liu Xiaofeng), "Culture Christians on the China Mainland", *Tripod* 6 (1990), pp. 47–55.

from institutes of higher education and research institutes in Shanxi, Yunnan and Beijing. As an example of co-operation between government research departments (for example, the Institute for the Study of World Religions), the official Protestant Church and intellectuals working in other areas, this publication gives some idea of the complicated relationships between scholars in different situations engaged in the study of Christianity in mainland China.

Liu Xiaofeng started a new publication in Hong Kong in 1994: *Daofeng: Hanyu shenxue xuekan* 道風：漢語神學學刊 (Logos and Pneuma: Journal of Chinese Theology). This publication, based in the Tao Fong Shan Christian Centre in Hong Kong (now the Institute for Sino-Christian Studies) shares many of the characteristics of format of the *Christian Culture Review* and also includes on its editorial committee some of those involved in the publication of the *Review*, although with a conspicuously greater direct involvement of scholars and theologians from other parts of the Chinese-speaking world such as Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Liu sees the future of Christianity in China as closely tied to its dialogue with Chinese culture, yet at the same time he differs from the common assumption that the tension between Christianity with its history of Western imperialism and cultural arrogance will be resolved when Christianity becomes sinicised—the debate about how to achieve this sincisation he dismisses as 'irrelevant and out of date'.[5] Instead, he sees the phenomenon of 'Culture Christianity' as a Chinese cultural phenomenon within Christianity, rather than a Christian phenomenon within Chinese culture. Liu hoped that if the Culture Christians could establish a systematic Christian theology and an authentic Christian philosophy using a scientific and reflective methodology, a theology which "finds its agenda in the context of its own existential situation", then they might define the future form of Christianity in China. Liu lists five points that should characterise this new theology:[6]

1. It must be a critical theology that both looks inwards to critique itself and outwards to critique the atheistic ideologies and beliefs of the world outside it. The standard on which this criticism of itself and of its larger social and ideological environment is to be based is

[5] Tan Xing (Liu Xiaofeng), p. 49.
[6] Tan Xing (Liu Xiaofeng), pp. 53–54.

the cross of Christ and the Word of God as found in the scripture, 'the crucified God is then at once the critical point and the foundation stone on which this theology is to be built'.

2. It must be liberating and not despotic. The core of this theology is to be a dialogue between God and man and between man and man. Theology must be recognised as a human creation—its language is human language and not God's language, and as such can lay no claim to divinity or orthodoxy. This theology must be constantly on the move.
3. It must be a scientific theology—not only in methodology but by its very nature.
4. It must be both existential and *a priori*—based on the incarnation of Word in the world. In overcoming this conflict it may also overcome the problem of present Chinese theology which is caught up in an 'antagonistic dualism' which sets Western culture against Chinese. This will allow Chinese theologians to see that theology is based not on nationalism but on the existing relationship between God and all humanity.
5. It must be an incarnational theology that underlines the importance of the present world and that can give direction to a theology of a culture that is emerging from its own national tradition—a situational theology that incarnates the spirit of Jesus in the existing situation. This is a theology that unfolds from within a culture, culture is its soul and its substance. Christ's spirit emerges then as the ground and pattern of culture.

The ideal for Liu Xiaofeng is that Chinese theology should not be a borrowed theology that has become Chinese, but a theology "already existing and emerging from the Chinese language and environment". Further, "there is, in the end, no substantial distinction to be made between Western and Chinese theology" in that the most important change in Chinese theology over the previous decade had been "the transformation of its profession of a Christian faith received from abroad into a spontaneous search for meaning". This for Liu marks an important turning point in the history of Chinese theology and is a key to its future development.

Liu sees the present cultural scene in mainland China as very complex, a situation in which both Confucianism, the basis of traditional Chinese culture, and Marxism, the cultural norm and dominant ideol-

ogy in the People's Republic since 1949, have lost a great deal of their former influence.

It can be argued that the idea of 'Culture Christianity' belongs broadly to the humanistic ethical religious tradition in China, with its emphasis on the potential benefits that Christianity can bring to Chinese society. However, at the same time it also goes beyond this by acknowledging the existence of a transcendent God who is 'wholly other' than the present physical world. Perhaps Liu's most radical departure from previous Chinese theologians is his call to Christianise Chinese culture, which displays a commitment to a new vision for Chinese society, one in which the integrity of both Chinese culture and Christian faith are maintained.

The challenge of Modernisation

Although the context of the debate on the nature of religion is one part of the intellectual debate on Christianity at present, the other is the changing world in which China finds herself in the late twentieth century. Economic liberalisation coupled with increasing contacts with the outside world means that China in the era of 'reform and opening' since 1979 has experienced and is still experiencing great changes in society. After the trauma of the Cultural Revolution and the relaxation of strict economic and social control, the implementation of the policy of 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' has led to the creation of an increasingly market-based economy, a growing gap between rich and poor, an increase in crime, official corruption and vice, as well as the advent of a consumer society.

While many people in China are wealthier and better off than before, the economic boom has also brought with it an erosion of old certainties and values. To many people in China, it seems as if the old ethics and morality of communism have been discredited by the Cultural Revolution and have been discarded, with nothing to take their place and exert a moral influence on the developing society. The Churches are aware of this, and see here the possibility that Christianity may have a role to play. The same may well be true of many scholars and other intellectuals who have encountered Christianity in the course of their researches. In October 1994, scholars and Church theologians came together at the ground-breaking conference *Christianity and Modernization*, which was held in Beijing.

Liu Xiaofeng has made the point that it would be quite wrong simply to equate 'modernisation' with 'Westernisation', and yet for China, the process of modernisation in the twentieth century has been built largely on Western assumptions and cultural norms. This has created a dual tension in Chinese culture between East and West and between tradition and modernity, a conflict that has yet to be resolved.

Bibliography

Charbonnier, Jean, "Chine 1992: l'enjeu culturel de l'ouverture", *Eglises d'Asie: Dossiers et Documents* 1992.4, pp. 1–16.

Chen, Cunfu, "The 'Cultural Christian' Phenomenon: An Overview and Evaluation. Part I: The Historical and Cultural Background to the Emergence of 'Scholars in Mainland China Studying Christianity' (SMSCs)", in Ling and Bieler (eds.), *Chinese Intellectuals and the Gospel*, pp. 83–108.

Chen Cunfu, 陳村富 (ed.), *Zongjiao yu wenhua luncong* 宗教與文化論叢 (Religion and Culture), Changchun: Jilin Renmin Chubanshe, 1993.

China News Analysis, "Christianity and Chinese Culture", *China News Analysis* No. 1452 (January 1992), pp. 1–9.

China News Analysis, "Dilemmas of Modernisation", *China News Analysis* No. 1399 (December 1989), pp. 1–3.

Cole, Lois, and Philip L. Wickeri (eds.), *Christianity and Modernization: A Chinese Debate*, Hong Kong: DAGA Press, 1995.

Ding Fang 丁方, and others (eds.), *Wenhua yu yishu luntan* 文化與藝術論壇 (Culture and Art Forum), Hong Kong: Art Currents, 1993.

He Guanghu 何光滬, Liu Xiaofeng 劉小楓, Tang Yi 唐逸, Wang Weifan 汪維藩 and Zhang Xianyong 張賢勇 (eds.), *Jidujiao wenhua pinglun* 基督教文化評論 (Christian Culture Review), Vol. 1, Guizhou: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1990. Four more issues were subsequently published before the journal was discontinued due to lack of funding.

He Guanghu 何光滬 and Lu Daji, "The Current Situation of Religious Research in China", *China Study Journal* 10,1 (April 1995), pp. 5–12.

He Guanghu 何光滬, "A Summary of Research in the Last Ten Years Into the History of Christianity in China", *China Study Journal* 8,1 (April 1993), pp. 23–36.

Hui, Edwin, "The 'Cultural Christian' Phenomenon: An Overview and Evaluation. Part II: The 'Cultural Christian' Phenomenon in Immediate Context, With Theological Reflections", in Ling and Bieler (eds.), *Chinese Intellectuals and the Gospel*, pp. 109–136.

Li Pingye 李平曄, "A Preliminary Analysis of the Attitudes of Contemporary Chinese Intellectuals Towards Christianity", *China Study Journal* 9,3 (December 1994), pp. 4–11.

Li Pingye 李平曄, "Jidujiao yu ren de zhengjiu" 基督教和人的拯救 (Christianity and Human salvation), *Zongjiao* 20 (2/1991), pp. 40–58.

Li Pingye 李平曄, "Lun Jidujiao shiguan" 論基督教史觀 (Concerning the Christian View of History), *Zongjiao* 18 (2/1990), pp. 49–56.

Li Pingye 李平曄, "Shilun xinjiao de shisuhua" 試論新教的世俗化 (The Secularisation of Christianity), *Zongjiao* 19 (1991.1), pp. 105–113.

Li Pingye 李平曄, "The Special Characteristics of Protestantism and its Development in China", *China Study Journal* 8.1 (1993), pp. 1–8.

Ling, Samuel, and Stacey Bieler (eds.), *Chinese Intellectuals and the Gospel*, San Gabriel, Calif.: China Horizon; Vancouver, B.C.: Horizon Ministries Canada, 1999.

Liu Xiaofeng 劉小楓 (ed.), *Dao Feng: Hanyu shenxue xuekan* 道風**:** 漢語神學學刊 (Logos and Pneuma Chinese Journal of Theology), No. 1 (1994), Hongkong: Tao Fong Shan Christian Study Centre Research Department, 1994.

Liu Xiaofeng 劉小楓**,** "The Form of Faith of Chinese Intellectuals in the Context of Modernisation", *China Study Journal* 7,3 (1992), pp. 4–8.

Liu Xiaofeng 劉小楓**,** "From Enlightenment to Exile: Issues and Trends Among Chinese Intellectuals Today", *China Study Journal* 7,3 (1992), pp. 8–12.

Liu Xiaofeng 劉小楓**,** "Joy in China, Sin in Christianity? A Comparison", *China Study Journal* 7,3 (December 1992), pp. 17–25.

Liu Xiaofeng 劉小楓**,** "A Theological and Socio-Cultural Commentary on 'The Way' and 'The Word' ", *China Study Journal* 7,3 (1992), pp. 13–17.

Liu Xiaofeng 劉小楓, Zhengjiu yu xiaoyao 拯救與逍遙 (Salvation and Leisure) Taipei: Fengyun Shidai Publishing House, 1990.

Liu Xiaofeng 劉小楓, *Zou xiang shizijiashang de zhenli* 走向十字架上的真理 (Towards the Truth on the Cross), Hongkong: Joint Publishing Co., 1990.

Masson, Michel, "Chinese Culture and Christianity: Assessing the Agendas", *Tripod* No.71 (1992), pp. 5–29.

Shu Ning, "The Relationship Between Christianity and Chinese Culture in the Light of Cultural Communication", *China Study Journal* 7,2 (August 1992), pp. 4–10.

Sprenger, Arnold, "A New Vision for China: The Case for Liu Xiaofeng", *Inter-Religio* 19 (1991), pp. 2–20.

Sprenger, Arnold, "Religion and Modernization in China", *Tripod*, September-October 1992, pp. 35–48.

Standaert, Nicholas, "Religious Trends in China", *Areopagus* (Pentecost 1993), pp. 38–42.

Tan, Xing (Liu Xiaofeng), "Culture Christians on the China Mainland", *Tripod* 60 (1990), pp. 47–55.

Tang, Yi 唐逸, "Chinese Christianity in Development", *China Study Journal* 6,2 (August 1991), pp. 4–8.

Wang Shu 望舒, "Quxiang yu zuobiao zhou de shuangquxian—jiantan Liu Xiaofeng de xinlu licheng" 趨向與坐標軸的雙曲線：淺談劉小風的心路歷程 (Plotting and Coordinating a Hyperbola: A Brief Survey of Liu Xiaofeng's Thinking), *Nanjing shenxue zhi* 南京神學誌 *Nanjing Theological Review* 12 (1.1990), pp. 71–83.

Wang Weifan 汪維藩, "Dangdai Zhongguo xuezhe dui zongjiao de guannian zhi gaibian" 當代中國學者對宗教的觀念之改變 (The Changing Attitude of Contemporary Chinese Scholars Towards Religion), *Zongjiao* 24 (1993.2), pp. 13–16.

Yang Huilin and Daniel H. N. Yeung (eds.), *Sino-Christian Studies in China*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006.

Zhang Zhigang 張志剛, *Zongjiao wenhuaxue daolun* 宗教文化學導論 (The Theory of Religious Cultural Studies), Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1993.

Zhuo Xinping 卓新平, "Discussion on 'Cultural Christians' in China", in Stephen Uhalley Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001), pp. 283–300.

Zhuo Xinping 卓新平, "Original Sin in the East-West Dialogue—A Chinese View", *China Study Journal* 9,3, (December 1994), pp. 11–15.

Zhuo Xinping 卓新平, "Reflections on the Question of Religion Today", *China Study Journal* 8,2 (August 1993), pp. 4–15.

Zhuo Xinping 卓新平, *Shijie zongjiao yu zongjiaoxue* 世界宗教與宗教學 (World Religions and Religious Studies) Beijing: Social Science Publishing House, 1992.

Zhuo Xinping 卓新平, *Xifang zongjiaoxue yanjiu daoyin* 西方宗教學研究導引 (Researches into Western Religious Studies), Beijing: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1990.

3. Scene (The Chinese World)

After the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949, the whole country experienced drastic economic, political and social change, as the new regime set out to consolidate its power and implement its vision of the New China throughout this vast polity. This process involved establishing control over or elimination of not only real and imagined political competitors, but also "significant social groups with enough clout to block or deflect state initiatives".[1] In the countryside, the Agrarian Reform Law—which had been introduced in June 1950—abolished the landownership system of 'feudal' exploitation and confiscated landowners' holdings for redistribution to landless peasants in order to destroy the traditional rural power structure. In urban areas, the Chinese Communist Party launched a series of harsh mass campaigns against several social groups, starting in late 1950 with the extensive and often violent Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries which targeted individuals in urban areas. In cities and towns throughout China heavily stage-managed 'mass accusation meetings' (控訴會) were organised. They were "a form of high drama designed to concentrate free-floating public hatred…while galvanizing support behind the regime in a highly public manner".[2] In organising the accusations meetings, the Party-state could draw on the experiences gained from the well-rehearsed 'speak-bitterness campaigns' of the Yan'an and Civil War periods. Such mass campaigns were designed to ensure reaffirmation of the legitimacy of the CCP government through popular participation. The Three-Anti campaign in 1951 to combat corruption, waste, and bureaucratism, and the Five-Anti campaign of 1952 against bribery, tax evasion, fraud, theft of government property and leakage of state economic secrets were likewise designed to undermine and eliminate real or potential opposition to the revolutionary regime.

These continuous mass mobilisations certainly had a disruptive impact on Chinese Christianity in the early 1950s. This situation was aggravated by external developments at this time. China's participation in the Korean War (1950–1953) enabled the government to arouse the patriotic fervour of the masses, intensify the search for 'counter-revolutionaries' and expose foreign spies. In this connection, the

[1] Strauss, "Paternalist Terror", p. 80.
[2] Ibid., pp. 97–98.

systematic elimination of the missionary enterprise served as one useful instrument. Given the prevailing hostility and significant ideological differences between Catholicism and Communism, it is perhaps not surprising that the foreign personnel of the Catholic Church in China was treated especially harshly. As C. K. Yang has argued, the Maoist belief system, as a non-theistic 'faith' with distinctly religious and nationalistic characteristics, was not prepared to tolerate ideological competitors,[3] especially not foreign ones. In other words, the Maoist 'true believer' regarded the Catholic Church as a greater threat than other religious institutions in China.[4]

This threat was, however, perceived not only as ideological in nature, but also as an economic, political and social challenge. Although Catholics numbered approximately 3 million among a population of about 500 million, they were part of a well organised infrastructure with the capacity for co-ordinated nation-wide action supported by important international links. Moreover, collectively the Catholic Church—in most parts of the country still largely controlled by foreign priests—possessed significant economic power, especially as a major landowner in the countryside. With the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law of 1950, CCP's cadres expanded and intensified the campaign to ruin the Catholic missionary enterprise by imposing punitive taxes, confiscating economic resources (grain, land and buildings) and destroying or requisitioning mission property. Similar campaigns of economic ruin would be waged against Western commercial and industrial interests in the treaty ports.[5] In rural China, where most Chinese Catholics and foreign priests were located, the destruction of the socio-economic basis of Catholic villages and the assaults on mission personnel were also designed to draw the masses into a psychological commitment to participate in the drive against the foreign priests. In North China this process had already begun during the Civil War period. The attack on and destruction in 1947 of the Trappist monastery of Yangjiaping 楊家坪 in what at the time

[3] C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society*, pp. 381–387.
[4] For a more detailed discussion, see Myers, *Enemies without Guns*, pp. 21–25.
[5] For details concerning the campaign against British and French firms, see Shai, *The Fate of British and French Firms in China, 1949–54: Imperialism Imprisoned*.

was Chahar province is probably the most notorious of many cases at this time.[6]

Indeed, the removal of foreigners became the new government's immediate task in the early 1950s. Against the background of a systematic nationwide smear campaign to demonise the Vatican, the missionary movement and its institutions in China, foreign missionaries (including sisters) were placed under house arrest, imprisoned for lengthy periods and subjected to often rather severe interrogations. In addition to the routine but obscure charges of "crimes against the people", the missionaries were said to have committed 'political crimes' as agents of imperialism.[7] Some foreign priests and sisters were accused of negligence in hospitals and orphanages. In this connection, many of the lurid nineteenth-century tales about missionaries were revived by the Communists and—augmented with illustrations—published in the national and local media. Such propaganda was, no doubt, intended to revive widespread xenophobic tendencies of an earlier age.[8] The many missionary accounts describing the ordeal reveal a uniform pattern throughout China in the process of accusation, interrogation, confession and, finally, deportation. During prolonged interrogations, physical and psychological pressure was applied to get the foreigners to admit their 'guilt', and in the 'people's courts' Maoist fanatics would sometimes abuse and publicly humiliate the missionaries before expelling them from the county. By the end of 1953 some 5,500 Catholic missionaries had been removed from the country. However, not all foreign priests were deported. A good number of them spent many years in jail. Some died in Chinese prisons or while under house arrest.[9]

---

[6] On the violence and destruction of the monastery of Our Lady of Consolation 聖母神慰院 at Yangjiaping, followed by the 'death march' of the Trappist monks, see Myers, Chap. 1: "Portents".

[7] Wang, *Words Kill: Calling for the Destruction of "Class Enemies" in China, 1949–1953*, pp. 27–59 and 84–93.

[8] The attacks are described, with many illustrations from Chinese newspapers, in Schütte, *Die katholische Chinamission im Spiegel der rotchinesischen Presse*. The SVD missionary Johannes Schütte experienced the campaign in northern Henan. In the summer of 1951 a nationwide campaign was launched against Archbishop Riberi 黎培理 (1897–1967), Internuncio to China since 1946, demanding his expulsion from the People's Republic.

[9] Hundreds of foreign missionaries experienced the reign of terror in the early 1950s and there are innumerable published and unpublished accounts of their suffering. The story of William Aedan McGrath, promoter of the Legion of Mary in China,

The harsh and degrading treatment of foreigners may seem crude, but this kind of 'political theatre' was intended to appeal to the baser instincts of the simple-minded masses. The spectacle of 'foreign devils' being paraded before them and punished as 'evil-doers', as well as the prospect of economic gain at the expense of their Catholic neighbours encouraged many common folk to support the government and its agencies. In other words, the combination of nationalistic rhetoric and the public humiliation of foreigners were part of the general drive to secure regime consolidation and establishing the legitimacy of the new Maoist state. In this connection, it is noteworthy that the new rulers, although keen to take over various mission institutions (hospitals, relief centres, schools), nevertheless launched an uncompromising attack against the missionary enterprise without ever alluding to the fact that many foreigners had sacrificially served the Chinese people in often very difficult circumstances. In other words, the Chinese Communists had to be portrayed as the only saviours of the nation. That glory could not be shared with any other group of people—and certainly not with ideologically motivated foreign activists.

In contrast to the foreign Catholic presence in China—essentially hostile toward the Communist Party-state, the Protestant missionary enterprise was highly fragmented and thus lacked a single, unified structure of authority and approach. Indeed, some liberal members of the mainline denominations were even prepared to welcome the revolutionary changes. Generally speaking, Protestant missionaries were not attacked with the same vehemence as the Catholic priests. Many married foreigners had left China with their families before the anti-missionary campaigns go under way. In the aftermath of the missionary exodus from China, church people in the West began to ask: What had gone wrong? David MacDonald Paton 裴大衛 (1913–1992), perhaps the most outspoken critic of the Protestant endeavour, blamed the missionaries' cultural insensitivity and reliance on Western imperialism for this 'failure'.[10] Such an interpretation, while there is some

---

has recently been published by Theresa Marie Moreau (ed.), *Perseverance Through Faith: A Priest's Prison Story. The Memoirs of Father W. Aedan MacGrath*. For the experiences of the PIME missionaries in Henan, see Lazzarotto, *La Cina di Mao processa la Chiesa*.

[10] Paton, *Christian Missions and the Judgment of God*, London: SCM Press, [1953]. Paton had been an Anglican missionary in China during the turbulent years from 1939 to 1951. On the end of the missionary era, see also the collection of articles edited by Jessie G. Lutz, *Christian Missions in China: Evangelists of What?*

truth in it, fails to take into account the extraordinary diversity of the Protestant presence in China. Moreover, as Beatrice Leung has pointed out, the Western missionary sense of guilt has encouraged the Chinese post-Mao leadership to assert categorically and indiscriminately that a close link had existed between Christianity and foreign imperialism.[11]

The large-scale campaigns against 'reactionaries' and 'class enemies' of the early 1950s also affected Chinese church leaders who had worked with foreign missionaries. At the same time, a government-sponsored 'three-self movement' 三自運動 was organised, with the intention of not only breaking the link between Chinese Catholics and the West but also to enable state penetration of the local churches. Initially, most Chinese Catholics had steadfastly refused to join the 'independent' Chinese national Catholic Church. In Shanghai and elsewhere, two Catholic mass organisations, the Legion of Mary and the Catholic Youth movement, were instrumental in organising the resistance. Even the arrest and death of the Shanghai leader of the resistance, the Jesuit priest Zhang Zhengming 張正明 (a.k.a. Beda Chang 張伯達), (1905–1951), failed to undermine the opposition.[12] In 1954, Pius XII issue the encyclical *Ad Sinarum Gentes* which was critical of the three autonomies and strengthened the support against a Reform Church.[13] It was not until the mid-1950s that the resistance began to crumble, leading to the arrest of many Chinese priests, long-term imprisonment and death. Gradually the Communists managed to win over priests and bishops, preparing the way for the formal establishment of the government-sanctioned Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CCPA) in 1957.[14]

As was to be expected, Chinese Protestants were rather more ambivalent about the state's intentions. Many had welcomed the Communist victory and were actively involved in setting up a national church body in 1951, for which the name Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) was adopted in 1954, to promote a strategy of 'self-governance,

---

[11] Beatrice Leung Kit Fun, "Western Missionary Sense of Imperialist Guilt and China's Political Measures Against the Spread of Christianity".

[12] Myers, *Enemies without Guns*, Chap. 4: "The Early Campaigns"; Chap. 5: "The Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries".

[13] For the English text, see URL: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xii/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_07101954_ad-sinarum-gentem_en.html.

[14] Hutten, *Iron Curtain Christians*, p. 431. On the circumstances leading to the consecration of bishops without the Holy See's approval, see Lam, *The Catholic Church in Present-Day China*, pp. 34–39.

self-support and self-propagation' in order to eliminate foreign influences from the Chinese churches. Many of its leaders had been associated with the Church of Christ in China and had been active in the YMCA and YWCA in the 1930s and 1940s. Whereas liberal Protestants, most of whom had formerly been members of mainline denominations and worked with foreign missionaries, were willing to co-operate with the Communists, the more conservative elements, especially the indigenous Protestant churches and charismatic evangelicals who had been quite antiforeign in the past, now were opposed to the dissolution of denominational structures and resisted coerced unification or collaboration with the new state. In response, the TSPM organised a series of denunciation campaigns against unaffiliated groups and individuals in the 1950s. Jing Dianying, Wang Mingdao and Ni Tuosheng were some of the most prominent victims.

Even greater suffering was endured by China's Christians during the nation-wide mobilisation campaigns, especially after Mao Zedong began to exert greater ideological control from 1957. Agricultural collectivisation in the mid-1950s, the Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957), the Great Leap Forward (1958–1960), the establishment of the commune system, the Socialist Education Movement of 1962–1965 and the calamitous Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Ten Bad Years (1966–1976) were all inspired by Maoist revolutionary fervour. The persecution of Christians was particularly intense in the 1960s. During the Cultural Revolution not only Catholics loyal to Rome were attacked and imprisoned, but even 'patriotic' Catholics who had been willing to co-operate with the government. In 1964 the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association was disbanded. However, the new masters of the country had rather more ambitious plans to bring about the radical transformation of society, including people's religious beliefs. Of course, the control of religion by the state had preoccupied China's rulers in the past as well,[15] but the Maoist activists wanted to go much further. It was their intention to 'liberate' the common people from religion and 'superstition' and to propagate their secular, scientific, and rationalistic worldview. Thus, they began a process of controlling and undermining Buddhist, Daoist and Christian religious practices, for they were thought to be obstacles to the socialist transformation

[15] Yu, "On State and Religion in China: A Brief Historical Reflection"; Bays, "A Tradition of State Dominance".

of China. The provincial and local authorities exploited these mass mobilisations to attack the Catholic as well as Protestant communities in the countryside. In many rural areas places of worship were closed or converted into schools, warehouses, village factories and government offices. Where such campaigns and the confiscation of church property were carried out, the socio-economic viability of the Christian communities was obviously undermined. However, the extent and impact of these interventions and Red Guard violence are by no means clear. How, for example, did Catholic villages or villages where Catholics formed a majority cope with the Maoist radicals during this period? What compromises were made?

Indeed, when the Chinese government permitted the resumption of 'normal' religious activities in 1979, it quickly became apparent that Chinese Catholics had survived the turbulent years of the Maoist era. Especially the long-established Christian communities had forged strong group identities and solidarities, reinforced by common Catholic rituals, which outsiders had found difficult to break down.[16]

The decision to reopen places for religious activities was taken at the Third Plenum of the CCP's 11th Central Committee in December 1978 as part of the policy of openness and implementation of the Four Modernisations programme. However, divisions became apparent in both the Catholic and Protestant churches. On the one hand, reference is made to 'government-approved', 'public' and 'open' Catholic or Protestant churches; on the hand, there are churches that are not registered, namely 'underground', 'clandestine' or 'secret' churches. The unregistered Protestant churches are also called 'house churches' (*jiating jiaohui* 家庭教會). Concerning the government-approved Protestant churches, the TSPM was re-established as the 中國基督教三自愛國運動委員會 (or 三自教會 for short) and the China Christian Council 中國基督教協會 (CCC) was founded in 1980 as an umbrella organisation for all Protestant churches to concern itself with matters of faith, church order and theological education. Bishop Ding Guangxun (K. H. Ting) 丁光訓 (1915–) was made head of both organisations. The "Two Organisations" 兩會, as they are commonly referred to, are 'post-denominational' bodies sanctioned by the

[16] For a discussion of the survival of Catholic communities in China, see Madsen, "The Catholic Church in China: Cultural Contradictions, Institutional Survival, and Religious Renewal"; idem, "Catholic Conflict and Cooperation in the People's Republic of China".

government to represent the legal (or registered) Protestant churches. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part 3, 4.1. Chinese patriotic churches)* In contrast, the so-called 'house churches' consist of groups that refuse to register because they are suspicious of the TSPM church which, they claim, the Communist Party and state are using as a social agent for patriotic and nationalistic mobilisations. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part 3, 4.2. Chinese autonomous churches)* Western scholars and church people have taken sides in the contest between TSPM and house churches. Whereas members of mainline denominational churches tend to support the TSPM position, the sympathies of Evangelicals are more likely to lie with the 'house church' movement.[17]

What is, however, remarkable about Protestant Christianity in China today is the fact that its phenomenal growth in recent years has been particularly spectacular in the unregistered Christian communities. Moreover, it can be argued that these unregistered bodies derive to a large extent from the independent churches and the fundamentalist movement of the 1920s and 1930s. At least some of the indigenous churches received Pentecostal impulses during their formative years.[18] Given their resistance to state control, is not surprising that the suppression of such nonconformists by the government has not ceased, in spite of the religious freedom provided by the Constitution.[19] We also have to keep in mind that the religious fervour has given rise in recent years to various groups that are at best described as Christian-related cults, such as Eastern Lightning (*Dongfang shandian jiao* 東方閃電教), the Three Grades of Servants Church (*San ban puren pai* 三班僕人派), the Shouters (or 'Yellers', *Huhan pai* 呼喊派),[20] and several other groups. Alarmed by their 'heretical' teachings and violent

---

[17] For a study sympathetic to the TSPM, see Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity*. For an assessment from a 'conservative evangelical' viewpoint, see Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church*; idem, *China's Christian Millions: The Costly Revival*.

[18] Deng Zhaoming, "Indigenous Chinese Pentecostal Denominations", in: Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (eds.), *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, Oxford: Regnum Books, 2005, pp. 437–466.

[19] Note, however, Beatrice Leung's observation that in the PRC "formal law has only a limited role in social management and social control. What the society mainly relies on is the policies of the CCP. These policies constitute the informal law." Beatrice Leung, "Religion in Post-Mao China", p. 417.

[20] Emily C. Dunn, "'Cult', Church, and the CCP: Introducing Eastern Lightning", *Modern China* 35,1 (January 2009), pp. 96–119; Edmond Tang, "'Yellers' and Healers—Pentecostalism and the Study of Grassroots Christianity in China", in Anderson and Tang (eds.), *Asian and Pentecostal*, pp. 467–486.

behaviour, the Chinese government has not always drawn a clear distinction between 'illegal' house church groups and 'criminal' cults.[21]

As concerns the Catholic Church, in the late 1970s and early 1980s many of the clergy imprisoned in the 1950s were gradually released and allowed some limited activity. These priests took the opportunity to set up an underground church, engage in surreptitious communications with the Vatican, to train priests and consecrate bishops with the Pope's blessing. Until recent times, relations between the two factions of the Catholic Church have at been complicated and at times hostile, but on the whole such tension have been diminishing in recent years.

Whereas reconciliation within Chinese Catholicism is not impossible, the protracted negotiations for Sino-Vatican normalisation are by no means encouraging. One key issue concerns the Vatican's insistence on making the final decision in the selection of bishops. Certain events have also influenced the negotiations, such as the Tiananmen Square episode in 1989 and PRC government reaction to the controversial canonisation by Pope John Paul II on 1 October 2000 of Chinese and foreign Catholics who were killed by the Boxers. Chinese government spokespersons vilified these canonised individuals as criminals who had been the accomplices of the Western imperialists.[22] To a large extent, this reaction is indicative of the fact that, in the words of Richard Madsen,

> the PRC government is too insecure about its grip on the country to give the Catholic Church even a modest level of autonomy, even if doing so might work to the PRC's long-term best interests.... Because of the ways in which both the Vatican and the PRC government would like to impose more bureaucratic control over the Church, Rome and Beijing are engaged in a complex game of co-operation and conflict that is evolving in uncertain directions. This will affect the ability of the Chinese Catholic Church to renew its theology, recruit and train adequate clergy, and adapt its pastoral practices to an urbanizing, market-driven society.[23]

---

[21] Kristin Kupfer, "Christian-inspired Groups in the People's Republic of China after 1978: Reaction of State and Party Authorities", *Social Compass* 51.2 (2004), pp. 273–286.

[22] See e.g. D. E. Mungello, "Fact and Fantasy in the Sexual Seduction of Chinese Converts by Catholic Priests: The Case of the 120 Martyrs", *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 23 (2001), pp. 8–21.

[23] Madsen, "Catholic Revival During the Reform Era", p. 486, 487.

In the meantime, Pope Benedict XVI has taken yet another initiative to revitalise the dialogue, namely in his Letter to the Chinese Catholics in 2007.[24] Furthermore, it should be noted that in spite of China's official refusal to let Catholics recognise the authority of the pope, tacit agreement was is often reached with the Vatican on the naming of bishops. There are other modest signs that tension between Beijing and the Holy See is somehow easing.

CCPA (Catholic) Seminaries in the PRC

Name of Seminary	Location	Comments
China Catholic Institute of Philosophy and Theology 中國天主教神哲學院	Daxing (Beijing)	The National Catholic Seminary opened in 1983
Beijing Major Seminary 北京教區神哲學院	Haidian (Beijing)	Opened 1981
Tianjin Major Seminary 天津大修院	Tianjin	Opened 1994
Hebei Catholic Major Seminary 石家莊河北省神哲學院	Shijiazhuang (Hebei)	Opened 1984
Shenyang Seminary 沈陽神哲學院	Shenyang, (Liaoning)	Opened in 1983, it served the 3 northeastern provinces
Saint Joseph Seminary, Jilin 吉林聖若瑟神哲學院	Jilin	Opened in 1987 in Changchun, it moved to Jilin in 1990
Heilongjiang Diocesan Seminary 黑龍江教區修道院	Harbin	
Shanxi Montecorvino Seminary 山西太原孟高維諾總修院	Taiyuan (Shanxi)	Opened 1985; students moved to new premises in 2000
Inner Mongolia Seminary 內蒙古神哲學院	Hohhot	Opened in1985
Shaanxi Major Seminary 陝西神哲學院	Xi'an (Shaanxi)	Opened 1985; students come from Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai, Xinjiang, Shaanxi
South-West Major Seminary 西南神哲學院	Pixian (Sichuan)	Opened 1984 in Chengdu; reopened 1996 in Pixian
Hankou Diocesan Seminary 漢口備修院	Hankou (Wuhan)	Preparatory seminary
Central and South China Seminary 中南神哲學院	Wuchang (Wuhan)	Regional seminary for Hubei, Hunan, Guizhou, Guangdong, Guangxi, Hainan

[24] "Letter of Pope Benedict XVI to the bishops, priests, consecrated persons and lay faithful of the Catholic Church in the People's Republic of China of 27 May 2007."

(*cont.*)

Name of Seminary	Location	Comments
Sheshan Seminary 佘山神哲學院	Songjiang (Shanghai)	Opened 1982; sponsored by Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Fujian, Shandong, Jiangxi, Shanghai
Holy Spirit Seminary 聖神備修院	Ji'nan (Shandong)	Opened in 1988

Although the 'open' Catholic Church has built several major seminaries since the 1980s, the formation of priests remains an urgent problem, according to Paul Pei Junmin, vice-rector and dean of studies at the seminary of Shenyang (Liaoning) in 2005.

> The problem of vocations in China is that candidates who enter the seminary are not very mature especially from a psychological point of view. Now youths all come from families where they are the only child [a one-child law has been in force in China since 1979—ed. note]. Dealing with them is much more difficult: they are not used to being with others; they have always been spoilt at home by their parents; they have always been treated like royalty by their grandparents. Renouncing the well-being, peace and relationships padded in cotton wool to serve Jesus Christ and the Church is somewhat difficult for them. Our toughest and most urgent aim is to find the means of formation to enable them to grow in the gift of self and in service for others.
>
> Another problem is that many youths who want to become priests come from rural areas and they have not even attended high school. So they need to study in a minor seminary even if they are older than other students in the same grade.[25]

New Protestant theological seminaries and bible schools sponsored by the TSPM/CCC are similarly found in most provinces of China:

[25] Paul Pei Junmin 裴軍民, interview with *AsiaNews*, 8 August 2005, following an audience with the pope in Rome. URL: http://www.asianews.it/index.php?art=3875&l=en. German version in *China heute* 24,4–5 (2005), pp. 149–150. In 2006 he was consecrated as coadjutor bishop of Shenyang, with the approval of Pope Benedict XVI.

TSPM (Protestant) Seminaries and Bible Schools in the PRC

National & Regional Seminaries	City	Province
Nanjing (Jinling) Union Theological Seminary	Nanjing	Jiangsu
East China: Huadong Theological Seminary	Shanghai	Shanghai
North China: Yanjing Theological Seminary	Beijing	Beijing
Northeast: Dongbei Theological Seminary	Shenyang	Liaoning
South-Central: Zhongnan Theological Seminary	Wuhan	Hubei
Southwest: Sichuan Theological Seminary	Chengdu	Sichuan
South China: Guangdong Union Theological Seminary	Guangzhou	Guangdong
Provincial Seminaries & Bible Schools		
Anhui Theological Seminary	Hefei	Anhui
Fujian Theological Seminary	Fuzhou	Fujian
Gansu Provincial Protestant Christian Training Centre	Lanzhou	Gansu
Guizhou Provincial Protestant Christian Theological Class	Pan (county)	Guizhou
Hebei Provincial Protestant Christian Training Centre	Shijiazhuang	Hebei
Heilongjiang Provincial Protestant Bible School	Harbin	Heilongjiang
Henan Bible School	Zhengzhou	Henan
Hunan Bible School	Changsha	Hunan
Inner Mongolia Protestant Christian Training Class	Hohhot	Inner Mongolia
Jiangsu Provincial Bible Training School	Nanjing	Jiangsu
Jiangxi Bible School	Nanchang	Jiangxi
Qinghai Provincial Protestant Christian Training Centre	Xining	Qinghai
Shaanxi Bible School	Xi'an	Gansu
Shandong Theological Seminary	Ji'nan	Shandong
Yunnan Theological Seminary	Kunming	Yunnan
Zhejiang Theological Seminary	Hangzhou	Zhejiang

The elusive search for a Chinese theology has also preoccupied a number of Chinese and Western scholars. One of the key questions concerns the appropriate relationship between Christian faith and Chinese culture. Differences are emerging, for example, with regard to the cultural context in which the indigenisation of Christianity, especially Christian theology, is to take place: traditional culture (more specifically 'Confucianism') or the contemporary cultures of the Mainland, Hongkong or Taiwan. The issue is further complicated by the after-effects of the Cultural Revolution and socialist transformation, as well as by accelerating processes of globalisation. Bishop Ding Guangxun has been one of the earliest contributors to the Protestant debate in the PRC. His concept of the 'Cosmic Christ' and his thoughts

on the 'reconstruction of Chinese theological thinking' are particularly noteworthy.[26] According to his thinking, the creation of the Chinese Church's own theological system will enable the Church and Chinese socialism to mutually adapt and contribute to the building of a harmonious society (*hexie shehui* 和諧社會).[27] Paradoxically, in this scheme of things the Chinese government—having realised that religion is not easily eradicated—appears to have accepted Christianity as a positive power in the construction of in the construction of that harmonious society, yet at the same time the Party-state seeks to tighten control over all forms of religious activity. Thus, a common Sinocentric position in the search for a theology in the 'Chinese world' notwithstanding, such an approach is not necessarily shared by scholars in Hongkong and Taiwan.

In any case, it is doubtful whether these theological debates are of any relevance to the believers in China's countryside. It is here where the majority of Christians live. Their religious practices and activities, especially in the autonomous Christian communities, have very little in common with the theoretical musings of urban intellectuals. Besides, even the CCPA and TSPM rural Christian congregations have rather different concerns. In contrast to many of their urban co-religionists, they find it difficult to cope with rapid economic development under the new socialist market economy. Moreover, they are vulnerable to the lawlessness and corruption in the political institutions as well as in some church organisations.

Missionaries in the Chinese world

Active foreign missionary activities ended on the Chinese Mainland around 1950. As a consequence, hundreds of Catholic and Protestant missionaries poured into Hongkong and Taiwan, as well as some countries in Southeast Asia. Thus, the multifarious mixture of churches, denominations and missionary organisations has created a rather different Christian presence in these regions outside the PRC. Moreover,

---

[26] K. H. Ting, Janice Wickeri and Philip Wickeri, *A Chinese Contribution to Ecumenical Theology: Selected Writings of Bishop K. H. Ting*; Philip L. Wickeri, *Reconstructing Christianity in China: K. H. Ting and the Chinese Church*. For a recent study of theological education in China, see Marvin D. Hoff, *Chinese Theological Education: 1979 to 2006*.

[27] Zhuo Xinping, "The role of Christianity in the Construction of a Harmonious Society Today".

Chinese members of international missionary societies are being sent as evangelists from Hongkong or Taiwan into various parts of the world. *(cross-reference: Handbook II, Part 3, 2.1. The missionaries)*

However, it was not only the foreigners who left the newly established PRC. In the 1950s many Chinese Christians fled to seek refuge in Hongkong, Taiwan and Southeast Asia. These place witnessed a religious revival that resulted in significant church growth. At the same time, some of the evangelical Chinese church leaders who had left the Mainland started evangelistic work in Hongkong, Taiwan and among the Chinese of the United States. Thus, Calvin Chao (Zhao Junying 趙君影1906–1996) became the founder of the Chinese For Christ 中華歸主協會 organisation which co-ordinated evangelical projects among Chinese students in the United States and helped build a chain of CFC churches in several major U.S. cities.[28] Andrew Gih (Ji Zhiwen 計志文, 1901–1985) established the Evangelize China Fellowship 基督教中國佈道會 in Los Angeles. Timothy Dzao (Zhao Shiguang 趙世光, 1908–1974) set up the Ling Liang Worldwide Evangelistic Association 靈糧世界佈道會 in Hong Kong, with branches in Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Japan, North America, Europe, and other places.

The Chinese evangelist Leland Wang (Wang Zai 王載, 1898–1975) had already organised the *Nanyang budaotuan* 南洋佈道團 with the Christian and Missionary Alliance missionary Robert Alexander Jaffray (Zhai Fumin 翟輔民, 1873–1945) in 1928. They adopted the name Chinese Foreign Missionary Union 中華國外佈道團 (CFMU) a year later. At that time the CFMU sent several Chinese missionaries to the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) to work among the Chinese immigrants there. After the Second World War the work spread to other Southeast Asian countries and beyond.[29]

When Watchman Nee was arrested, his 'Little Flock' church migrated to Taiwan under the leadership of Li Changshou 李常受 (1905–1997), a.k.a. "Witness Lee". Li subsequently founded the prominent and controversial 'Local Church' 地方教會 (which members prefer to call The Recovery Movement 主的恢復). It is now a worldwide church, with

---

[28] Leung Yuen-sang 梁元生, Philip, "Christian Fundamentalism in Modern China: Calvin Chao and the 'Chinese For Christ' Movement".

[29] Zha, *Zhongguo Jidujiao*, pp. 267–278. See also Li Yading 李亞丁, "Wang Zai 王載, 1898–1975", *Huaren Jidujiao shi renwu cidan* 華人基督教史人物辭典 (Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity), URL: http://www.bdcconline.net/zh-hant/stories/by-person/w/wang-zai.php

joint headquarters in Taibei and Anaheim, California. The True Jesus Church has also become an international organisation.

Rather more controversial is the Back to Jerusalem Movement 傳回耶路撒冷運動. Its roots go back to the Jerusalem Evangelistic Band 遍傳福音團 and the Northwest Spirit Movement Xibei linggong tuan 西北靈工團that emerged in the 1940s. Its aim is for thousands of Chinese Christians "*to preach the Gospel and establish fellowships of believers in all the countries, cities, towns, and ethnic groups between China and Jerusalem*". Liu Zhenying (born 1958), called 'Brother Yun, the Heavenly Man', is one of several prominent exiled Chinese Christian *house church* leaders supporting the Back to Jerusalem vision.[30]

Territorial settings

The administrative divisions of the PRC have undergone several changes since 1949. Among the immediate changes were some of the entities created by the Guomindang government. Thus, the provinces of Rehe, Chahar, Suiyuan, Ningxia and Xikang were dissolved and the municipalities directly under the central government (*shi* 市) of Nanjing, Qingdao, Chongqing, Xi'an, Guangzhou, Hankou, Shenyang and Harbin were absorbed into nearby provinces. Only Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin (1958–1967 part of Hebei) remained under the direct administration of the central government. In addition, certain provincial boundary adjustments were made. Also in the 1950s Tibet was fully integrated into the PRC polity. In subsequent years and decades the current provincial-level arrangements gradually came into being, with the creation of new provinces (Hainan separated from Guangdong in 1988) and autonomous regions. Finally, in 1997 the large municipality of Chongqing was separated from Sichuan province.

Provincial-level administrative divisions in the PRC

Provinces. Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, Qinghai, Gansu, Shaanxi, Shansi, Hebei, Sichuan, Hubei, Henan, Shandong, Anhui, Jiangsu, Yunnan, Guizhou, Hunan, Jiangxi, Zhejiang, Hainan, Guangdong, Fujian.

---

[30] Hattaway, *Back to Jerusalem: Called to Complete the Great Commission.*

Autonomous regions. Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Tibet Autonomous Region, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.

Provincial-level municipalities. Beijing, Tianjin, Chongqing, Shanghai.

Special administrative regions. Hongkong SAR, Macao SAR.

Administrative divisions of the Republic of China

Taipei Municipality; Taiwan province, including the majority of the island of Taiwan as well as smaller islands, principally the Penghu archipelago (Pescadores) 澎湖群島; Fujian province, i.e. the ROC-controlled island groups of Jinmen (Quemoy) 金門 and the Mazu Islands 馬祖群島; Kaohsiung municipality 高雄. By the end of 2010 Taichung 臺中市, Tainan 臺南市 and Taipei County (under the new name of Xinbei 新北市) will also become direct-controlled municipalities 直轄市.

County-level divisions in the PRC

Below the intermediate entities of prefectures 地區, autonomous prefectures 自治州, prefecture-level cities 市, and leagues 盟 (in Inner Mongolia) are the following divisions: counties 縣, autonomous counties, county-level cities 市, banners 旗 and autonomous banners 自治旗. In spite of heavy urbanisation, the county is still the most common administrative unit at this level. As far as historical reconstructions are concerned, most PRC counties are not identical with the districts of late imperial China or the counties of the Republican period. Many new counties were created by dividing larger ones and some of the smaller counties were merged into neighbouring units. In addition, in a number of cases the administrative seats of counties were moved to new locations, necessitating a change of name for both the old and the new place. In other words, identifying the locations of Christian communities can become more difficult.[31]

[31] In addition to the preparation of new local gazetteers, county administration were also encouraged to produce geographical gazetteers. The one for Yishui county provides detailed information and maps to show the historical changes that have occurred over time. See *Shandong sheng Yishui xian diming zhi* 山東省沂水縣地名志, 1988. The total number of existing *diming zhi* in China is not known.

Bibliography

Bays, Daniel H., "Chinese Protestant Christianity Today", *The China Quarterly* 174 (June 2003), pp. 488–504.

Bays, Daniel H., "A Tradition of State Dominance", in Jason Kindopp and Carol Lee Hamrin (eds.), *God and Caesar in China policy implications of church-state tensions*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004, pp. 25–39.

Benedict, "Letter of Pope Benedict XVI to the bishops, priests, consecrated persons and lay faithful of the Catholic Church in the People's Republic of China of 27 May 2007." For the English-language version, see http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/letters/2007/documents/hf_ben-xvi_let_20070527_china_en.html

Deng Zhaoming, "Indigenous Chinese Pentecostal Denominations", in Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (eds.), *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, Oxford: Regnum Books, 2005, pp. 437–466.

Dunch, Ryan, "Protestant Christianity in China Today: Fragile, Fragmented, Flourishing", in Stephen Uhalley Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, pp. 195–216.

Dunn, Emily C., "'Cult', Church, and the CCP: Introducing Eastern Lightning", *Modern China* 35,1 (January 2009), pp. 96–119.

Harvey, Thomas A., *Acquainted with Grief: Wang Mingdao's Stand for the Persecuted Church in China*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Brazos, 2002.

Hattaway, Paul, *Back to Jerusalem: Called to Complete the Great Commission*, Carlisle: Piquant, 2003.

Hattaway, Paul, *China's Book of Martyrs* (The 'Fire and Blood' Series, 1), Carlisle, UK: Piquant Editions, 2007.

Hoff, Marvin D., *Chinese Theological Education: 1979 to 2006*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2009.

Hutten, Kurt, *Iron Curtain Christians: The Church in Communist Countries Today*, Kenosha: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967.

Lam, Anthony S. K., *The Catholic Church in Present-Day China: Through Darkness and Light*, trans. from the Chinese by Peter Barry and Norman Walling, edited by Betty Ann Maheu and Anne Reusch, Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation; Hongkong: Holy Spirit Study Centre, 1997.

Lambert, Tony, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church* (Wheaton Ill.: Harold Shaw Publishers, 1994). Revised edition published as *China's Christian Millions: The Costly Revival*, London: Monarch Books, 2006.

Lazzarotto, Angelo S., *La Cina di Mao processa la Chiesa: I Missionari del Pime nel Henan (1938–1954)*, Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana, 2008.

Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei, "Watchman Nee and the Little Flock Movement in Maoist China", *Church History*: Studies in Christianity and Culture 74,1 (March 2005), pp. 68–96.

Leung, Beatrice, "China's Religious Freedom Policy: The Art of Managing Religious Activity." *The China Quarterly* 184 (December 2005), 894–913.

Leung, Beatrice, "Religion in Post-Mao China: Legalism and Religious Management", in The Macau Ricci Institute (ed.), *Culture, Law and Order: Chinese and Western Traditions*. International Symposium organised by the Macau Ricci Institute, Macao, December 1st–3rd 2004, Macao: Macau Ricci Institute, 2007, pp. 405–425.

Leung Kit Fun, Beatrice, "Western Missionary Sense of Imperialist Guilt and China's Political Measures Against the Spread of Christianity", *NZM* 58,1 (2002), pp. 21–24.

Leung Yuen-sang 梁元生, Philip, "Christian Fundamentalism in Modern China: Calvin Chao and the 'Chinese For Christ' Movement", *Jian Dao* 17 (Hong Kong: The Alliance Bible Seminary, 2002), pp. 1–20.

Lozada, Eriberto P., Jr., *God Aboveground: Catholic Church, Postsocialist State, and Transnational Processes in a Chinese Village*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Lutz, Jessie G., *Christian Missions in China: Evangelists of What?*, Boston: Heath, 1965.

Madsen, Richard, "Beyond Orthodoxy: Catholicism as Folk Religion", in Stephen Uhalley Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2002, pp. 233–249, 395–396.

Madsen, Richard, "The Catholic Church in China: Cultural Contradictions, Institutional Survival, and Religious Renewal", in Perry Link, Richard Madsen and Paul G. Pickowicz (eds.), *Unofficial China: Popular Culture and Thought in the People's Republic*, Boulder, San Francisco and London: Westview Press, 1989, pp. 103–120.

Madsen, Richard, "Catholic Conflict and Cooperation in the People's Republic of China", in Kindopp, Jason, and Carol Lee Hamrin (eds.), *God and Caesar in China: Policy Implications of Church-State Tensions*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004, pp. 77–106.

Madsen, Richard, "Catholic Revival During the Reform Era", *The China Quarterly* 174 (June 2003), pp. 468–487.

Moreau, Theresa Marie (ed.), *Perseverance Through Faith: A Priest's Prison Story. The Memoirs of Father W. Aedan McGrath*, [Bloomington, Ind.]: Xlibris, 2008.

Mungello, D. E., "Fact and Fantasy in the Sexual Seduction of Chinese Converts by Catholic Priests: The Case of the 120 Martyrs", *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 23 (2001), pp. 8–21.

Myers, James T., *Enemies without Guns: The Catholic Church in the People's Republic of China*, New York: Paragon House, 1991.

Paton, David M., *Christian Missions and the Judgment of God*, London: SCM Press, [1953]. A second edition, with a section on Paton's life and work, was published by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Mich., in October 1996.

Politi, Giancarlo, *Martiri in Cina: «Noi non possiamo tacere» (Atti 4, 20). I martiri cattolici della Cina imperiale e repubblicana e della Repubblica populare cinese*, Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana, 1998.

Schütte, Johannes, *Die katholische Chinamission im Spiegel der rotchinesischen Presse. Versuch einer missionarischen Deutung*, Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957.

Shai, Aron, *The Fate of British and French Firms in China, 1949–54: Imperialism Imprisoned*, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford, 1996. Chinese translation: Xie Ailun 謝艾論 [Aron Shai], *Bei jian ya de diguo zhuyi: Ying Fa zai Hua qi ye de ming yun* 被監押的帝國主義: 英法在華企業的命運, Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004.

Shandong sheng Yishui xian diming zhi 山東省沂水縣地名志 (Place name gazetteer of Yishui county, Shandong province), Yishui: Yishui xian diming weiyuanhui, 1988.

Strauss, Julia C., "Paternalist Terror: The Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries and Regime Consolidation in the People's Republic of China, 1950–1953", *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History* 44,1 (January 2002), pp. 80–105.

Tang, Edmond, "'Yellers' and Healers—Pentecostalism and the Study of Grassroots Christianity in China", in Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (eds.), *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, Oxford: Regnum Books, 2005, pp. 467–486.

Ting, K. H. [Ding Guangxun], Janice Wickeri and Philip Wickeri, *A Chinese Contribution to Ecumenical Theology Selected Writings of Bishop K. H. Ting*, Geneva: WCC Publications, 2002.

Wang, Cheng-Chih, *Words Kill: Calling for the Destruction of "Class Enemies" in China, 1949–1953*, New York: Routledge, 2002.

Wickeri, Philip L., *Reconstructing Christianity in China K. H. Ting and the Chinese Church*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2007.

Wickeri, Philip L., *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1988.

Yang, C. K., *Religion in Chinese Society: Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors*, Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland, 1991.

Yu, Anthony C., "On State and Religion in China: A Brief Historical Reflection", *Religion East and West* 3 (2003), pp. 1–20.

Zha Shijie 查時傑, *Zhongguo Jidujiao renwu xiaozhuan* 中國基督教人物小傳 (Concise biographies of Chinese Christians), Taibei: China Evangelical Seminary Press, 1983.

Zhuo Xinping, "The role of Christianity in the Construction of a Harmonious Society Today", in Michael Nai-Chiu Poon (ed.), *Pilgrims and Citizens: Christian Social Engagement in East Asia Today*, Hindmarsh, S. Aust.: ATF Press, 2006, pp. 197–200.

4. Themes

4.1. Chinese Churches and Communist State: The 'Patriotic' Churches

Chan Kim-Kwong 陳劍光

The 'patriotic' churches—both Catholic and Protestant—are Christian organisations recognised and supervised by the state, and they are a key element in the history of religion in China since 1949. They should be understood in the context of communist theory and practice with regard to religion. This article therefore discusses the evolution of communist policies on religion, and then examines in greater detail the "patriotic" churches themselves.

The Communist state and religion

Marxist-Leninist analysis of religion

In the mid-nineteenth century, Marx and Engels developed a critique of religion based partly on their belief that the universe is a purely material phenomenon, and partly on their analysis of capitalism and advocacy of class struggle. According to Marx's well-known dictum, religion is an opiate that dulls the pain of the oppressed classes: when the masses cannot see their condition clearly, or are prevented from taking action, they seek solace in spiritual fantasies; Christian doctrine is a useful tool for the exploiting classes because it inculcates passivity, promising salvation after death, making virtues of poverty and humility, offering hope of supernatural assistance, and sacralising the existing social order; religion is a mechanism of social control.[1]

Lenin's Bolshevik party, later the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was particularly hostile to religion because the Russian Orthodox Church was a pillar of the Tsarist regime. After 1917, the Soviet state launched many campaigns to promote atheism and destroy the church (the attacks were suspended by Stalin during the Second

[1] For some frequently quoted sayings by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, see *K. Marx and F. Engels on Religion*, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, no date; and *Collected Works of Lenin*, translated and edited by A. Rothstein, vol. 10, p. 83ff., Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960–1970.

World War in the interests of national unity, and conducted with less vigour after it). Anti-religious ideology was exported as an integral part of communist doctrine after the foundation of the Communist International, and it found fertile ground in China. In the early 1920s, the new Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was persuaded by its advisers to highlight antireligious propaganda. The widespread dislike in China for Christians, perceived as foreign manipulators or indigenous stooges, was easily translated into support for the CCP, especially amongst young intellectuals.

In fact, a generation of young intellectuals had already rebelled against the Confucian tradition in the New Culture movement of the mid-1910s. Many of them despised Buddhism and Taoism as feudal relics, and Christianity as pro-imperialist. This view was not confined to radical circles but shared by people of most political persuasions, including many in the Nationalist Party; it was the professed duty of the educated elite (as it had been to some extent a duty of the Confucian scholar) to liberate the masses from religion and superstition. The CCP vigorously promoted anti-Christian propaganda in the 1920s and 1930s, although they seldom engaged in violence against believers. Despite this, Chinese communists made few contributions to the Marxist analysis of religion, and even after their rise to power, they added little of theoretical interest to Soviet orthodoxy. For example, Mao Zedong's observation that religion is backward, superstitious, unscientific, and used to exploit the masses, is merely a commonplace.[2]

CCP social objectives and techniques of government

If the CCP's theoretical analysis was pedestrian, the Party did display a warped creativity when translating it into action. The true communist state is not only an egalitarian, but also an atheist utopia. It is one of the tasks of the CCP to liberate believers from their religious bondage, and to offer them the freedom of atheism; Party members themselves must be die-hard and militant atheists.[3] However, this utopian aim frequently conflicted with other CCP objectives, for example the need to

[2] See Mao Zedong, "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*.

[3] See "The Patriotic Movement of the Christians", *Renmin ribao*, 23 December 1950.

unite the majority of the population, under Party leadership, in various tasks such as the war against the Japanese in the 1930s and 1940s or the modernisation of the economy in the 1980s.

The ideological rationale for tolerating religion in the atheist state is the theory of the "united front", which is formulated in a number of articles by CCP leaders: the CCP should at times work even with anti-communist elements to confront a common enemy.[4] Thus from 1936 to 1945, the Party generally welcomed co-operation with religious believers in its struggle against the Japanese, and after 1945 against the Nationalists. According to one observer, there were enough Christians in the communist base in Yan'an in the late 1930s to fill a church, and in the late 1940s the CCP had good relations with Christian relief agencies. This policy of accommodation was reflected in the proto-constitution, the *Common Programme*, adopted in 1950, of which articles 4 and 5 granted religious freedom to all citizens, and also in the first constitution of the People's Republic of China (PRC), adopted in 1954, of which article 88 states, "Every citizen of the PRC shall have freedom of religious belief".[5] The united front approach to religion is also related to policies on national minorities, some of whom live in sensitive border regions, are antagonistic to Chinese rule, and are fervent religious believers. To reduce the potential for conflict and to consolidate national integrity, the central government as at times accorded minority peoples social freedoms, including freedom to practice religion.

Since the CCP interprets religion as a distorted world-view rising from a backward society, it believes that the masses will abandon their beliefs when a true socialist society has been achieved. The provisional granting of religious freedom is therefore a pragmatic means to handle religious affairs during a transitional period. Gaining the support of national minorities and religious believers will speed the development of socialism, which in turn will eventually undermine religion.[6]

---

[4] See for example Mao Zedong, "The Task of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of Resistance to Japan", *Selected Works*, vol. 1, pp. 232–48; "On Contradiction", ibid., pp. 274–312.

[5] Translated in Donald E. MacInnis, *Religious Policy and Practice in Communist China: A Documentary History*, New York: Macmillan, 1972, p. 21; and *Constitution of the People's Republic of* China, Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1961, p. 39.

[6] Li Weihan, *Tongyi zhanxian wenti yu minzu wenti* (Questions on united front policy and nationality policy).

Religious policy, like many other CCP policies, became radicalised during the 1950s. In the early 1960s, two schools of CCP theoreticians conducted a heated debate. One group argued in favour of the united front policy; the other promoted the idea that force should be used to eliminate religion, in order to hasten the realisation of communism. The latter view eventually gained official blessing with the publication of articles in *Renmin ribao* ("People's Daily") and the CCP theoretical journal *Hongqi* (Red Flag).[7] Meanwhile, many religious institutions had already ceased to operate. Collectivisation of farming in the mid-1950s had drastically reduced income to monasteries and churches in rural areas, and political pressure had been brought to bear on congregations and religious professionals. In 1966, the Cultural Revolution brought the mass destruction of religious institutions in China, thereby implementing the then current theoretical position of the CCP. In practice, from the late 1950s to the late 1970s, the public expression of religion in China, with very minor exceptions, stopped, and many thousands of believers suffered extreme persecution.

In December 1978, when Deng Xiaoping assumed power, the Party revived the united front policy on religion and again tolerated a certain amount of religious activity. In a retrospective account of the previous decades, a Party report admitted:

> After 1957, the "Leftist" mistakes in our religious works began to aggravate and by the late 1960s became more serious. They became especially serious during the Great Cultural Revolution… They [the Gang of Four] wrecked the religious organisations.… and destroyed and closed down all the places of religious activities.… They framed up many wrong, false, and misjudged cases.… They used violence in solving religious problems.[8]

In the 1980s and 1990s, the Party has, on the whole, followed the united front policy although with occasional lapses into crude suppression.

It is well to remember that current relations between the Chinese state and religious communities are the product of a long historical development: the state has exerted control over religions at least since the Tang dynasty. The concepts of separation of church and state, and

---

[7] For translations, see *Survey of the Mainland China Press*, no. 3099 (1963) p. 1ff.; and ibid., no. 410 (1964), pp. 41–49.

[8] Translated in *China Study Project Documentation* (Tunbridge Wells, UK), no. 9, October 1982, p. 8. The original statement appeared in *Hongqi*, no. 400, 16 June 1982, p. 4.

of religious freedom, may be familiar in Western political traditions, but from the Chinese perspective they are alien. While it is true that the current institutions can be repressive, rigid, and over-politicised, it is more important to understand their dynamics than to compare them with any "ideal" foreign paradigm.[9]

Patterns of implementation

From these general considerations, we move on to a more specific analysis of the three main techniques that the Chinese government has adopted with respect to religions: administrative intervention; suppression; and limited tolerance. It is important to note that treatment of the other religions in China—Buddhism, Islam, and Taoism—usually followed a similar pattern to Christianity; however, lack of space precludes discussion here.[10]

Administrative control in the early 1950s

Before taking power, the CCP did not have a clear agenda for handling religion, which did not rate a high priority in the war years. In the early 1950s, the government tightened control over society, became involved in the Korean war, and effectively broke off relations with the West. In this political context, the government designed and implemented its policies on religion. Two key objectives were to end foreign influence, specifically that of Christian missionaries, and to assert state control over religious activities. The policies were most likely formulated by the CCP Central Committee, often with the active involvement of Zhou Enlai; they were implemented by a Religious Affairs Division formed in January 1951, which in 1954 was renamed the Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB) and now called the State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA) 國家宗教事務局, an organ of the State Council.

The SARA is still responsible for the administration of religious affairs in China, but it is an administrative rather than policy-making organ. Strategic decisions are taken by the top political leadership,

[9] See Chan Kim-Kwong, "A Chinese Perspective on the Interpretation of the Chinese Government's Religious Policy", pp. 38–44.

[10] Useful material on these topics will be found in Holmes Welch, *Buddhism Under Mao*; and Richard Bush, *Religion in Communist China*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.

often in co-operation with the United Front Work Department (UFWD) 中共中央統戰局, a powerful department of the Central Committee. The SARA and UFWD have central offices in Beijing, and local branches at various municipal, provincial, and local levels. Both co-operate regularly with police forces and the secret services in monitoring religious groups.

The attack on foreign influence in the Catholic Church was initiated by a number of letters in the press which accused sisters of maltreating Chinese orphans. Others followed, alleging (sometimes accurately) that Catholic missionaries and priests were spying, advocating anti-government activities, preventing Catholics from joining the armed forces, and so on.[11] In the summer of 1951 there was a massive media campaign against the Catholic Church, and specifically against the Internuncio Archbishop Antonio Riberi 黎培理 (1897–1967). At the same time, there was extensive intimidation and brutality by local cadres and security forces, directed against missionaries and Chinese Catholics. Some missionaries were charged with crimes and imprisoned; most were simply deported. About five thousand mission personnel were expelled in 1951 and 1952; the handful that remained followed soon after.[12] It did not prove so easy, however, to remodel the Church into a loyal pro-government organisation. Most Chinese Catholics refused to promote a state-sponsored church, and some started underground activities. The CCP eventually conducted a rigorous purge of Catholics in 1955 and 1956; only in 1957 was it able to launch the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CCPA) 中國天主教愛國會, which became the legal entity appointed by the state to control the Chinese Catholic community.[13]

The treatment of Protestants was a little more nuanced. In June 1950, forty Protestants launched a manifesto by the "progressive" Protestant leader Wu Yaozong 吳耀宗. It appeared on the front page of the People's Daily on September 23, with 1,500 signatures. The text condemned the Western missionary enterprise, called for a purge of imperialist elements in the church, and demanded loyalty to the new government. It was adopted by the National Christian Council in October 1950, and formed the basis for the subsequent administration of the Protes-

[11] For details, see Chan Kim-Kwong, *Struggling for Survival*, pp. 24–29.
[12] Expulsion was delayed for those who were incarcerated.
[13] Chan, *Struggling for Survival*, pp. 37–50.

tant movement. The exact provenance of the text is unknown, but it was most likely drafted by CCP officials under the guidance of Zhou Enlai. In April 1951 the government announced stringent regulations governing contacts with foreign churches, and promoted a series of meetings where Chinese Christians denounced their former missionary mentors as imperialists, sometimes in extremely vindictive fashion. As with the Catholics, only a handful of foreign Protestants (out of an estimated 4,000 in 1949) remained in China by 1953. The process of forming a pro-government administrative structure proved somewhat easier than for the Catholics, however. By 1954, the National Christian Council and the previous denominational structures had been abolished, and were replaced by the Three Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) 中國基督教三自愛國運動委員會.

State- and Party-sanctioned suppression

The developments described above were severe, and often backed up by intimidation at local level; however they arguably had a certain justification given the virtual state of war pertaining between China and the West. After the mid-1950s, the treatment of religion degenerated to outright persecution, partly with explicit state endorsement, and partly through extra-legal suppression by security forces, cadres, and, during the Cultural Revolution, Red Guards.

Many Christians were victims of political campaigns designed to purge elements of the old society, for example attacks on landlords during land reforms, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries in 1951, and attacks on the private business sector in 1952. Many more were criticised, arrested, and frequently imprisoned or deported for long periods in the anti-rightist campaign of 1957–58. The denominational Protestant churches were virtually outlawed in 1958, when the government ordered "unification" of all churches, which meant amalgamation of churches into one or two for each city; little was heard of the Catholic church after the late 1950s. Churches were technically not outlawed, although cadres in some districts attempted to create "model atheist counties" free of the corruption of religion. However, some believers were under arrest, others intimidated, or without access to open churches. Especially during the Great Leap Forward, peasants were exhausted from excessive hours of heavy labour, and clergy were set to productive work in fields or factories.

This effective termination of public worship was reinforced by the outcome of the debate, described earlier, advocating the forcible suppression of religion. The Socialist Education Campaign of the early 1960s, which called for a renewal of fundamentalist communist values and started the cult of Maoism, intensified the leftist mood of the country. By then, a generation had grown up in a resolutely atheist educational system, and in a society where religion was both ridiculed and dangerous.

State hostility to religion eventually spilled over into the massive upheavals of the Cultural Revolution period from 1966 to 1978. Religion was by no means the only target of the Red Guards or the various militias: they also attacked "capitalist-roaders within the Party" (i.e. Mao's political opponents), people with "bourgeois" life-styles, or simply rival cliques. However, religion was certainly considered reactionary, and the period saw massive destruction of China's religious heritage. Ironically many religious believers, including professional personnel, were already in prison, internal exile, or labour camp, and thus not available for personal attack. But as well as attacks on persons, the Red Guards in particular did irreparable damage to temples, churches, mosques, religious libraries, and works of art. The Cultural Revolution also vigorously promoted atheism and drove religion further underground (with strange repercussions, as we discuss elsewhere). The CCP leadership after 1978 explicitly repudiated these activities although, rather than acknowledging the Party's own role, it blamed them on its scapegoat, the Gang of Four.

Tolerance and control after 1979

In December 1978, a group of reformist leaders in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) initiated a series of reforms in economic, political, and social affairs. In early 1982, a thirty-page circular on religious policy, known as "Document 19", was sent to leading cadres, and an abstract of the document was published in the CCP theoretical journal *Hongqi* ("Red Flag") in June 1982.[14] Violent suppression of religion was repudiated, and freedom of belief accepted. However, while the new policy tolerated religious activities, it also stated that they should

[14] An English translation of the text is in Donald E. MacInnis, *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice*, pp. 8–24.

be closely supervised, and that activities falling outside defined limits should be suppressed. Two kinds of illegal activity were specifically mentioned in the document: criminal and counter-revolutionary activities hiding behind the facade of religion, and infiltration by hostile foreign forces.[15]

Believers soon took advantage of this relative tolerance, and religious groups sprang up, or came to the surface, all over China. By the mid-1980s, the rapid growth of religion alarmed scholars and officials, who realised that religious activities, especially the so-called "Christianity Fever", were getting out of hand. The Party's anxiety seems to be based on several factors, primarily the risk that some religious institutions might become influential and form independent power-bases outside Party control. Second, religious beliefs tend to be anti-materialist and theist, and they are therefore an ideological challenge to Marxism, the state orthodoxy. Third, religious organisations might strengthen demands for autonomy among non-Han Chinese, for example in Xinjiang or Tibet. Fourth, the Party leadership was extremely worried by the overthrow of the Soviet government and its satellite states in Eastern Europe, and aware of the role played by churches in the opposition to communist rule there. It feared a similar scenario in China, especially after 1989. Perhaps most significantly, the Party holds the view that many religious organisations are infiltrated by, and working in the service of, "hostile foreign forces". This view is explicitly linked to the concept of "peaceful evolution", the claim that the West, in particular the USA, is using ideological penetration and subversion as a strategy to overthrow the Chinese government. Among the hostile foreign forces allegedly infiltrating religious groups in the PRC are evangelical Protestants (for example the Southern Baptist Church has been accused of working for the CIA), Roman Catholics (accused of promoting the Vatican's interests), and sectarian groups from Taiwan, such as the Yiguandao 一貫道.

Religious organisations have often been uncertain how to interpret the guidelines of official policy. Officials have rarely made explicit public statements to clarify exactly where the boundaries are to be drawn, and it appears that even high-level cadres, not to mention lower-level officials, are not at all sure themselves. At times of political tension,

[15] For further details see Alan Hunter and Chan Kim-Kwong, *Protestantism in Contemporary China*.

particularly in the aftermath of the 1989 demonstrations, there have been crackdowns on many religious groups, sometimes including the official churches who are correctly registered with, and vetted by, the RAB. On some occasions, there have been allegations of outrageous abuses of human rights including torture. On the other hand, in the southern provinces unregistered house churches may receive frequent visits from foreign Christians, presumably in defiance of the spirit and letter of Document 19, without much interference from local officials. The situation is very fluid and depends on a number of factors: the national political scene, the attitude of provincial leadership, or relations between local religious groups and local cadres.[16]

A number of secret directives issued by government agencies, usually at city or provincial level, to control religious affairs in their region have been leaked to Hong Kong and reprinted. Their general trend is to emphasise the restrictive aspects of Document 19, for example those insisting that all religious activities should be conducted in authorised, registered buildings; that all Christian activities are supervised by the official church; that religious literature may not be brought in from overseas; and that activities like faith healing and exorcism (which do not conform with Marxist philosophy) are forbidden. A typical example is the "Regulation Concerning the Protection of Normal Religious Activities in the Hunan Christian Church", first adopted in 1981 and revised in 1990.[17] Among its stipulations are clauses such as "No meeting and sermon should run counter to the four cardinal principles, engage in propaganda which opposes Marxism, Leninism or Mao Zedong Thought, or interfere in politics, education or marriage… All illegal activities which are conducted in the name of evangelization… must be resolutely prevented… We do not approve any person from abroad to carry on religious activities within our boundaries." Through the 1980s and 1990s, Christians operated in this complex environment, where religious practice was officially tolerated, yet in practice restricted; where much depended on local negotiation and power-play; where they had to be extremely cautious about involvement in politics, and especially in their relations with visitors from overseas. Most of the above applies to both Protestants and Catholics;

---

[16] Alan Hunter and Chan Kim-Kwong, "Growth Stress: Protestant Churches in China in the Mid-1990s".

[17] See *Bridge*, (Hong Kong) no. 45, January–February 1991, pp. 10–11.

the situation of the latter, however, was complicated by the tension between the Chinese government and the Vatican, which has created divisions within the Catholic community.

The "Patriotic" Churches

The TSPM and the CCPA were created in 1954 and 1957 respectively to build a Chinese church that would be anti-imperialist and committed to the new government. A key demand was that these churches be "patriotic" (*aiguo*), a term that is still used today: the CCP often conflates its own interests and those of the whole country, so that failure to support the Party can be construed as treachery to the nation.

The TSPM was formally launched at the First National Christian Conference held under CCP auspices in Beijing in the summer of 1954.[18] 139 people were appointed to its governing committee: for the most part they were selected from younger Christians who had been active in the 1930s and 1940s, often in the YMCA and YWCA. It was not a mass organisation, and membership was restricted to those who had secured Party approval by enthusiastic support for the new government. Many were "progressive" Christians who sympathised with the CCP objectives of social reform and national independence; some were conservative church leaders who decided to co-operate with the new regime; others were underground security or Party personnel infiltrated into Christian circles. The most active and politically reliable members were selected to form the Standing Committee of the TSPM, led by Wu Yaozong and based in Shanghai, which supervised Protestant church activities. All denominational structures and the old National Christian Council were abolished, and Christians who refused to co-operate with the TSPM were generally punished. Two famous and respected church leaders, Ni Tuosheng (Watchman Nee) and Wang Mingdao, were arrested in 1952 and 1955. Ni died in a labour camp in 1972; Wang was released in 1979 and died in 1991.

---

[18] The following account is based on the following sources to which the reader can refer for further details:
Bush, *Religion in Communist China*; Hunter and Chan, *Protestantism*; Francis P. Jones (ed.), *Documents of the Three Self Movement*; Donald E. MacInnis, *Religious Policy and Practice in Communist China: A Documentary History*; Philip L. Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*.

The TSPM had little role following the suppression of church activities in 1958, and it was further weakened by the Socialist Education Movement. It is not clear whether it was formally suspended or abolished, but there was almost no news of the organisation until the late 1970s. It is thought that most of its members were sent to work in factories, although some of them appear to have had employment as translators, while others were perhaps subjected to periods of detention.

In 1979 the TSPM was reconstituted, and soon afterwards a sister organisation called the China Christian Council (CCC) 中國基督教協會 was formed. These two organizations, known as the "liang hui" ("two committees"), form the state-sanctioned leadership of the Protestant community. Their functions are not clearly differentiated, and many leading figures hold positions in both organisations concurrently, for example K. H. Ting (Ding Guangxun 丁光訓; 1915–), Bishop of Nanjing, being Chairman of both from 1979 to 1997. Power resides in the Standing Committees, which oversee church policy, relations with overseas churches, pastoral affairs, and personnel appointments. Most members of the national Standing Committees are also leaders of provincial or municipal Protestant organisations. These leaders are elected by the church members themselves, but are also vetted by the SARA. They have considerable influence over church affairs, and they supervise the activities of pastors and lower-level TSPM groups.

In the 1980s and 1990s, as the Protestant communities grew relatively strong, the "two committees" played a vital role in legitimising and promoting the religion. The official leaders have negotiated the return of church property, the right to print Bibles and other literature, the opening of seminaries and thousands of churches and meeting points. Bishop Ting and others have been outspoken advocates of religious freedom. Further, the TSPM is not a monolithic entity, but a loose fellowship with many diverse views. Many younger pastors (and some older ones) are rebellious, and do not accept the claim of their leadership to speak for the whole Protestant community in China; there is a parallel with the state, where there is vast regional diversity alongside the central government's claim to power. We feel it is mistaken to regard the TSPM and all connected with it simply as puppets, even though many Chinese Protestants do not recognise the TSPM as a legitimate church leadership. This constituency, loosely known as the house-church movement, argues that an essentially atheist political organisation should not be in charge of church affairs (others object

to alleged corruption inside the TSPM or have other grounds for non-co-operation).[19]

As for Catholics, a meeting was called in Beijing in June 1957 which was attended by some 250 Catholic delegates as well as by many CCP and RAB officials. This set the agenda for a national conference in the summer, at which the CCPA was formalised. By 1958 the CCPA had gained political control over the church, except in Shanghai, where Catholics loyal to Rome held out until 1960. CCPA functions and history resemble those of the TSPM. Its officials comprise priests and lay members who accept co-operation with the government; it is also alleged that some officials were CCP agents imposed on the organisation. From 1959 until the end of the Cultural Revolution, Catholics suffered intense persecution, and little is known about the CCPA at that time.

After 1979, the CCPA was reconstituted to form the politically acceptable leadership of Chinese Catholics. In many respects it has done a worthwhile job, building and reopening many churches and seminaries, and publishing a substantial amount of Catholic literature. It has had successful co-operative projects with overseas Catholic groups. By the 1990s, it presided over a dynamic Catholic community which reportedly numbered around six million.

A key difference between the Protestant and Catholic communities has been the question for the latter of loyalty to Rome. In keeping with the Catholic church's global strategy, the church in China was explicitly and sometimes actively anti-communist. The Vatican maintained diplomatic relations with Taiwan, supported UN intervention in Korea, and attacked Chinese clergy who supported an autonomous Chinese Catholic movement.[20] It adopted an intransigent position on co-operation with the CCP government. A papal encyclical *Ad Sinarum Gentes* in 1954 threatened those who supported moves to an autonomous Chinese church. In 1956, Rome rejected a diocesan election held in Shanghai, and in 1957 it issued a special decree, in response to the formation of the CCPA, which effectively polarised the

[19] The role of the TSPM is a controversial topic among observers of the Chinese church. Some evangelical groups condemn it outright, often in vituperative language. For a balanced and well-informed evangelical perspective, see Tony Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991; for a sympathetic evaluation, Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*.

[20] Chan, *Struggling for Survival*, pp. 29–31.

Catholic community in China. It condemned those who co-operated with the CCPA as possibly in apostasy, and encouraged all priests and lay-believers to remain loyal to Rome, even at the price of martyrdom. Finally another papal encyclical in 1958 denounced the CCPA as a communist tool, instructed Catholics to struggle against the CCP, and repeated the warning of excommunication. Rome has refused to approve consecrations of bishops or ordinations of priests carried out under CCPA auspices; on the contrary, it has endorsed the creation of an alternative, underground, and illegal hierarchy in China, comprising priests and bishops loyal to the Vatican.

There are technical niceties in determining whether the CCPA should be considered a schismatic church, and to what extent its members are full members of the world Catholic community. Those who agree to work under the auspices of the CCPA can worship with little interference in open churches, and the CCPA has undeniably done good work in church affairs, education, publishing, and other spheres. However, many prefer to stay within the underground movement, lacking many facilities and sometimes persecuted, but in full communion with Rome. This underground movement is deeply rooted and apparently able to resist the state's efforts to destroy it. This series of events has generated an enormous amount of confusion and personal tragedy to countless ordinary believers and priests.

Any overall assessment of the TSPM and CCPA should encompass many dimensions. The organisations are certainly far from perfect and have been criticised as tools of an aggressively atheist state. Yet it can also be argued that they represent the only possible means by which public, organised Christianity could have survived the post-1949 period. Eventually, each observer must decide whether they compromised essential aspects of the Christian faith, or whether they wisely adopted a practical ecc1esiology that has left the church in China far stronger than anyone could have anticipated. Critics, especially those in the West who do not have to face the realities of political survival in China, should perhaps avoid making them an easy target; yet it is also possible that they are only a transitional phenomenon in the long run of Chinese history, since we may expect a radical restructuring of all church institutions in case the present political system is radically changed.

Bibliography

Aikman, David, *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power*, Washington D.C.: Regnery Publ., 2003.

Bush, Richard, *Religion in Communist China*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.

Chan Kim-Kwong, "A Chinese Perspective on the Interpretation of the Chinese Government's Religious Policy", in Alan Hunter and Don Rimmington (eds.), *All Under Heaven: Chinese Tradition and Christian Life in the Peoples Republic of China*, Kampen, Netherlands: Kok, 1992, pp. 38–44.

Chan Kim-Kwong, *Struggling for Survival: The Catholic Church in China from 1949 to 1970*, Hong Kong: Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, 1992.

Dunch, Ryan, "Christianity and 'Adaptation to Socialism'", in Mayfair Mei-Hui Yang (ed.), *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008, pp. 155–178.

Hunter, Alan, and Chan Kim-Kwong, "Growth Stress: Protestant Churches in China in the Mid-1990s", *New Zealand Journal of East Asian Studies*, 4,2, (December 1996), pp. 42–63.

Hunter, Alan, and Chan Kim-Kwong, *Protestantism in Contemporary China*, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Jones, Francis P. (ed.), *Documents of the Three Self Movement*, New York: National Council of Churches, 1963.

Kindopp, Jason, "The Politics of Protestantism in Contemporary China: State Control, Civil Society, and Social Movement in a Single Party-State", Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 2004.

Lambert, Tony, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991.

Lee, Stephen Bun Sang, *Relaciones Iglesia-Estado en la República Popular China*, Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 1990.

Li Weihan 李維漢, *Tongyi zhanxian wenti yu minzu wenti* 統一戰線問題與民族問題 (Questions on united front policy and nationality policy), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1981.

MacInnis, Donald E., *Religious Policy and Practice in Communist China: A Documentary History*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1972.

Mao Zedong, "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan, March 1927", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol. 1, 3rd printing, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1975, pp. 23–29.

Welch, Holmes, *Buddhism Under Mao*, Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Wickeri, Philip L., *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity: The Three Self and China's United Front*, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1988.

Xu Yihua, "'Patriotic' Protestants: The Making of an Official Church", in Jason Kindopp and Carol Lee Hamrin (eds.), *God and Caesar in China: Policy Implications of Church-State Tensions*, Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004, pp. 107–121.

4.2. Autonomous Churches and the Question of Religious Freedom

Ryan F. Dunch

The question of religious freedom in China—whether it exists, and if so, to what degree and within what parameters—has been a focus of contention since the Communist Party assumed power in 1949, and it is generating as much attention now as it has at any point in the past sixty years. In fact, in recent years the issue has become an important one for China's foreign relations, particularly where the United States is concerned. Over the 1990s, contention over China's human rights record in general, including religious freedom, assumed an increasingly high profile in the annual debates in the US Congress over whether to renew China's Most Favoured Nation trading status. Late in the decade, human rights groups made common cause with the "religious right" in America in drawing attention to China's record on religious freedom, and this lobbying was instrumental in causing the US Congress to pass the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, which was signed into law by US President Bill Clinton on October 27, 1998. That act required the Department of State to place religious freedom squarely at the centre of US foreign policy, and set up a new government agency specifically charged with monitoring violations of religious freedom in other countries. Although the bill in its final version did not single out China specifically, it was clear that for many lobbyists, activists, and legislators China was one of the most important examples of a country in which religious believers were being systematically persecuted.[1]

Claims and counter-claims

As one would expect, one can characterise this debate by its extremes. On the one side, some religious organisations and others claim categorically that there is no religious freedom in China. On the other side, the Chinese government contends that Chinese citizens enjoy

[1] See e.g. Miles A. Pomper, "The Religious Right's Foreign Policy Revival," *CQ Weekly* 56:19 (1998), pp. 1209–1210; Deborah Lutterbeck, "Blind Faith," *Far Eastern Economic Review* 161:27 (July 2, 1998), pp. 28–29. The full text of the Act can be found at http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c105:H.R.2431.ENR:.

total religious freedom, "within the law." The truth lies somewhere in between these two positions.

The position of the Chinese government on religious freedom was spelled out most fully in the White Paper on religion in China, issued to coincide with President Jiang Zemin's visit to America in October 1997. This document argued strongly that religious liberty is enshrined in the Constitution and laws of the People's Republic of China, and that the treatment of religious believers in China is fully in accord with the relevant international agreements, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. "No-one in China is punished because of his or her religious belief," the document claimed.[2]

On the other side of the spectrum, various commentators have attacked China for its alleged persecution of religious believers, and of Christians in particular. On the Roman Catholic side, the Cardinal Kung Foundation has played a major role in disseminating information on the persecution of Roman Catholic clergy in China since its establishment in the early 1990s. Its chairman, Joseph Kung, has maintained that "in effect, there is no 'freedom of religion' in China," because "there is no religious freedom when a person cannot worship according to his conscience."[3]

Among Protestants, some prominent American conservative organisations have become increasingly vocal about religious persecution in China over recent years. In April 1997, James Dobson, head of the influential Focus on the Family organisation, addressed the issue of persecution of Christians in "Muslim, Communist, and other totalitarian countries" in his mass-circulation monthly newsletter. Beginning with an estimate by the missiologist David Barrett that 160,000 Christians would be martyred for their faith around the world in 1997, Dobson addressed persecution of Christians in many parts of the world, but focused much of his discussion on China, where, he stated, "Christians…are being persecuted and killed". How many of those

[2] *White Paper—Freedom of Religious Belief in China* (Information Office of the State Council, People's Republic of China, Beijing, October, 1997), URL: http://www.china-embassy.org/Press/wpreligi.htm.

[3] Testimony before the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights of the House Committee on International Relations of the United States Congress by Joseph M. C. Kung, President, Cardinal Kung Foundation, March 9, 1994, and February 15, 1996; URL: http://www.cardinalkungfoundation.org/testimony/testimy1.htm and http://www.cardinalkungfoundation.org/testimony/testimy2.htm.

estimated 160,000 martyrdoms took place in China was left unclear.[4] The following year his organisation released a "research paper" entitled the "international persecution of Christians" which again highlighted China, accusing it of imprisoning Christians by the thousands in a "vast religious gulag".[5]

The Family Research Council, which emerged in the mid-1990s as the most important conservative religious lobbying agency in American politics, was equally sweeping, calling China "the world's foremost aggressor against Christians" and advocating the revocation of China's Most Favoured Nation trading status in response to its persecution of Christians and other human rights abuses.[6]

A significant development after the military suppression of the Tiananmen Square demonstrators in 1989 was the increasing attention paid to the issue of religious freedom in China by human rights organisations. Both Amnesty International and Human Rights in China publicised individual cases of persecution of Christians and other religious figures in China.[7] Human Rights Watch/Asia went further, releasing a series of papers on the question of religious freedom in China which are among the best studies available on the topic. The fullest of these was a 150-page book published in 1997 entitled *China: State Control of Religion*. Based on Chinese government documents, interviews, and secondary sources, this report provided a detailed analysis of the legislation and other administrative mechanisms by which the Chinese government attempted to control religious expression. In contrast to the accusations of some conservative religious groups, the report found "no evidence of widespread or systematic brutality" against religious

---

[4] http://www.family.org/docstudy/newsletters/A0000068.html; Barrett's estimate is in David C. Barrett, "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1997," *IBMR* 21,1 (1997), pp. 24–25.

[5] Perry L. Glanzer, "International Persecution of Christians," March 1, 1998, http://www.family.org/cforum/research/papers/a0001409.html.

[6] Melissa McClard, "Religious Persecution: Long Ago in Places Far Away?" Family Research Council "In Focus" # IF98D2RG, April 1998, at URL: http://www.frc.org/infocus/if98d2rg.html; Gary L. Bauer, "Testimony on MFN Trade Status For China," presented to the US House Committee on Ways and Means, Subcommittee on Trade, June 17, 1997, "At the Podium" # PD97F2RG, at http://www.frc.org/podium/pd97f2rg.html.

[7] E.g. Amnesty International, "People's Republic of China Prisoner Profiles," April 1990, which listed a Catholic bishop, a Protestant evangelist, and two Tibetan clergy along with a dozen democracy activists; Human Rights in China, "Continued Persecution of Protestants," press release of 24 November 1998, URL: http://www.igc.org/hric/pr/english/981124.html.

believers in China, but concluded also that China's performance on religious freedom fell far short of international standards as expressed in the relevant United Nations documents.[8]

Religious freedom and the autonomous churches

Any assessment of religious freedom in China as it pertains to Christianity is bound up inextricably with how one views the role of the autonomous or 'underground' churches, and by extension those often termed the open or 'official' churches, i.e. the churches operating under the aegis of the Christian organisations recognised by the Chinese government, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement and China Christian Council for the Protestants, and the Catholic Patriotic Association, Chinese Catholic Bishops' Conference 中國天主教主教團, and Chinese Catholic Administrative Commission 中國天主教事務委員會. Since it is clear that Christian religious activities do in fact take place in China under the auspices of these organisations, those individuals and organisations who hold that there is no religious freedom in China tend also to contend that these are not true churches. Thus, over the last twenty years a variety of Protestant and Catholic commentators have denounced the officially-recognised Christian bodies as "atheistic government-controlled churches" and asserted that authentic Christian faith is confined to the underground churches.[9] Some of them pointed to known cases of infiltration of the clergy by the Communist Party in the 1950s and 1960s, or to cases of direct intervention in the management of churches and seminaries since 1980.[10]

---

[8] Human Rights Watch/Asia, *China: State Control of Religion*, New York, London, Washington, Brussels: Human Rights Watch, 1997, p. 1, passim.

[9] Glanzer, "International Persecution of Christians;" cf. Autumn 1994 Newsletter of the Cardinal Kung Foundation, URL: http://www.cardinalkungfoundation.org/articles/newsletter/let94aut.htm; or the statement by the British-based Christian Solidarity Worldwide in "Blair Urged to Raise Repression of Christians During Visit to China," press release of 2 October, 1998, URL: http://www.csworldwide.org/2–10–1998_tony_blair_s_visit_t.html.

[10] The best-known example of infiltration is Li Chuwen, pastor of an important Protestant church in Shanghai, who during the Cultural Revolution was revealed to be a long-standing member of the Communist Party; "Li Chuwen: A 'Journalist' in Hong Kong," *China and the Church Today* 5,6 (1983), p. 9; for other instances cf. T'ien Ju-k'ang, *Peaks of Faith: Protestant Mission in Revolutionary China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993). One of the more notorious recent cases of state intervention in church affairs was the 1994 appointment of a Religious Affairs Bureau official as deputy Rector of

On the other side of the debate, the position of the Chinese government, the officially-recognised Christian bodies, and commentators sympathetic to them regarding autonomous Christian groups has changed significantly over the last twenty years. From 1979, when the churches first began reopening in China, until the late 1980s, it was common for Chinese government officials, leaders of the recognised Chinese church organisations, and their supporters outside China to deny that there were Christians operating outside of the auspices of the recognised church organisations in any significant numbers.[11] Beginning in the late 1980s, as the government attempted to strengthen its management of religious affairs through legislation requiring the registration of all places of religious activity, key leaders of the Protestant and Catholic churches began to distance themselves from the government and acknowledge the existence of large bodies of Protestants and Catholics not affiliated with the patriotic religious organisations. Some church leaders have condemned these groups as schismatic and heresy-prone, but others have adopted a more conciliatory line, encouraging them to accept registration by the government and conduct their activities openly.[12]

Religious freedom with Chinese characteristics

When the Chinese Communist Party took control of China in 1949, it expected that religion would disappear in relatively short order in the course of reconstituting China as a socialist society. In the flush of victory and armed with a supreme confidence in the inevitable triumph of socialism, the Party could afford to be generous; as Premier Zhou Enlai told Chinese Christian leaders in 1950, "we think your beliefs untrue and false, therefore if we are right, the people will reject them, and your church will decay. If you are right, then the people will believe

---

the Catholic seminary in Chengdu, prompting a student walkout which closed the seminary for two years; *China Study Journal* 9:1 (1994), pp. 43–46.

[11] See e.g. "Present State of Protestantism: Interview with Bishop K. H. Ting," *Beijing Review* 27:24 (June 11, 1984), pp. 22–23; Peter Stursberg, *The Golden* Hope, Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1987, p. 229; Britt E. Towery, Jr., *The Churches of China: Taking Root Downward, Bearing Fruit Upward*, Waco: Baylor University, 3rd ed. 1990, pp. 46–47.

[12] Interview with Han Wenzao in *China Study Journal* 12:2 (1997), pp. 52–53; Bishop K. H. Ting's (Ding Guangxun) letter to the Religious Affairs Bureau, September 26, 1988, in *Baixing* 187 (1 March 1989), pp. 17–8.

you, but as we are sure that you are wrong, we are prepared for that risk."[13]

The readiness expressed by Zhou to allow religion to function openly in the new society was gradually curtailed through the 1950s and 1960s as Chinese politics moved to the left, and abrogated altogether during the Cultural Revolution of 1966–1976. At the time of the reinstatement of the policy of toleration for religious activities at the end of the 1970s, the Party leadership appears to have expected that only a small remnant of elderly religious believers remained in China, and that the disappearance of religion from socialist China was only a matter of time.[14] From that perspective, allowing open religious activities was a pragmatic and temporary concession to a small social minority with relatively minor negative consequences.

That expectation gave way to alarm as religious activities of all sorts gathered influence and adherents in Chinese society through the 1980s and 1990s, an alarm which was expressed through harsh suppression of sectarian religious movements, new and old, and legislation codifying the limits on "legitimate" religious activity in ever more explicit terms.[15] Nevertheless, perhaps reluctantly in some quarters, the Communist Party has maintained its basic commitment to toleration of religious activities within certain parameters. That toleration is welcome, but it falls well short of "religious freedom" as it is defined in international documents, since it extends only to certain religions operating in certain ways within registered locations; full freedom for religion in all its colourful, messy human vitality remains anathema to the Chinese government.

---

[13] Donald E. MacInnis, *Religious Policy and Practice in Communist China*, p. 24.

[14] Cf. Guangming Daily 6/1/79, in FBIS-CHI-79-16, 23/1/79; "Religion and Feudal Superstition," *People's Daily* 3/15/79, in Donald E. MacInnis, *Religion in China Today*, pp. 32–34; for more on the reasons behind the policy change see Ryan Dunch, "Protestants and the State in Post-Mao China", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1991, pp. 25–28.

[15] On the growth of sects, see Robin Munro, guest editor, "Syncretic Sects and Secret Societies: Revival in the 1980s," *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 21:4 (1989); for legislation see Human Rights Watch/Asia, *China: State Control of Religion*, appendices and passim.

Bibliography

Aikman, David, *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power*, Washington, D.C.: Regnery Pub.; Lanham, Md.: Distributed to the trade by National Book Network, 2003.

Bush, Richard C., *Religion in Communist China*, Nashville and New York: Abingdon, 1970.

Chan Kim-kwong, *Towards a Contextual Ecclesiology: The Catholic Church in the People's Republic of China (1979–1983): Its Life and Theological Implications*, Hongkong: Photech Systems, 1987.

Deng Zhaoming, "Indigenous Chinese Pentecostal Denominations", in Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (eds.), *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, Oxford: Regnum Books, 2005, pp. 437–466.

Dunch, Ryan, "Protestants and the State in Post-Mao China", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1991.

Dunn, Emily C., "'Cult', Church, and the CCP: Introducing Eastern Lightning", *Modern China* 35,1 (January 2009), pp. 96–119.

Harvey, Thomas Alan, *Acquainted with Grief: Wang Mingdao's Stand for the Persecuted Church in China*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Brazos Press, 2002.

Human Rights Watch/Asia, *China: State Control of Religion*, New York, London, Washington, Brussels: Human Rights Watch, 1997.

Hunter, Alan, and Kim-Kwong Chan. *Protestantism in Contemporary China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Information Office of the State Council, People's Republic of China. *White Paper—Freedom of Religious Belief in China*. Beijing, 1997.

Kindopp, Jason, and Carol Lee Hamrin (eds.), *God and Caesar in China: Policy Implications of Church-State Tensions*, Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2004.

Kupfer, Kristin, "Christian-inspired Groups in the People's Republic of China After 1978: Reaction of State and Party Authorities", *Social Compass* 51,2 (2004), pp. 273–286.

Kupfer, Kristin, "Christlich inspirierte, spirtituell-religiöse Gruppierungen in der VR China seit 1978", *China heute* 21,4–5 (2002), pp. 119–127; 21,6 (2002), pp. 169–175; 22,1–2 (2003), pp. 27–32; 22,3 (2003), pp. 81–83.

Ladany, Laszlo, *The Catholic Church in China*, New York: Freedom House, 1987.

Leung Ka-lun 梁家麟, *Gaige kaifang yilai de Zhongguo nongcun jiaohui* 改革開放以來的中國農村教會 (China's rural churches since the reform period), Hongkong: Jiandao shenxueyuan, 1999.

Leung Kit Fun, Beatrice, "China's Religious Freedom Policy: The Art of Managing Religious Activity", *The China Quarterly* No. 184 (2005), pp. 894–913.

Leung Kit Fun, Beatrice, "Religion in Post-Mao China: Legalism and Religious Management", in The Macau Ricci Institute (ed.), *Culture, Law and Order: Chinese and Western Traditions*. International Symposium organised by the Macau Ricci Institute, Macao, December 1st–3rd 2004, Macao: Macau Ricci Institute, 2007, pp. 405–425.

Luo Zhufeng (ed.), *Religion Under Socialism in China*, trans. Donald E. MacInnis and Zheng Xi'an. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1991.

Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風 (ed.), *Zhongguo shehui zhuyi shiqi de zongjiao wenti* 中國社會主義時期的宗教問題 (Religious questions in China in the socialist period), Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, 1987.

MacInnis, Donald E., *Religious Policy and Practice in Communist China*, New York: MacMillan, 1972.

MacInnis, Donald E., *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice*, New York: Orbis, 1989.

Madsen, Richard, *China's Catholics: Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
Marshall, Paul A., with Lela Gilbert, *Their Blood Cries Out: The Untold Story of Persecution Against Christians in the Modern World*, Dallas: Word, 1997.
Munro, Robin (guest editor), "Syncretic Sects and Secret Societies: Revival in the 1980s." *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 21:4 (1989).
Pas, Julian F. (ed.), *The Turning of the Tide: Religion in China Today*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and Oxford University Press, 1989.
Stursberg, Peter, *The Golden Hope*, Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1987.
Tang, Edmond, "'Yellers' and Healers: Pentecostalism and the Study of Grassroots Christianity in China", in Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (eds.), *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, Oxford: Regnum Books, 2005, pp. 467–486.
Towery, Britt E., Jr., *The Churches of China: Taking Root Downward, Bearing Fruit Upward*, Waco: Baylor University, third edition 1990.
Vala, Carsten T., "Attraction without Networks: Recruiting Strangers to Unregistered Protestantism in China", *Mobilization* 12,1 (March 2007), pp. 79–94. Reprinted as "Recruitment to Protestant House Churches", in Kevin J. O'Brien (ed.), *Popular Protest in China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008, pp. 108–125, 241–249.
Wang, Stephen, *The Long Road to Freedom: The Story of Wang Mingdao*, Tonbridge, Kent: Sovereign World, 2002.
Wickeri, Philip L., *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front*, New York: Orbis, 1988.
Zhao, Tian'en (Jonathan Chao) 趙天恩 (ed.), *Zhonggong dui Jidujiao de zhengce* 中共對基督教政策 (Chinese communist policy toward Christianity), Hong Kong: Chinese Church Research Centre, 1983.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

As the preceding pages have indicated, the encounter of Christianity and Chinese society has been extraordinarily complex. The 'Western' religion came to China in different guises and was practiced by Chinese believers in a variety of ways. The *Handbook* has introduced a number of themes and perspectives. However, constraints of space have precluded exhaustive treatment of all the topics. At the same time, it has not been possible to list every relevant item in the bibliographical and 'sources' sections. Many aspects of this bewilderingly rich experience deserve more careful and comprehensive scholarly attention. Much has been accomplished in recent years, but more needs to be done, especially now that mission studies and the study of Christianity in China have achieved a degree of legitimacy in the academic communities in China and abroad. The *Handbook of Christianity in China* has been produced with the aim of pointing scholars in the right direction and stimulating further research.

The contributions to this volume have also shown that the motives for and experiences of propagating, accepting or opposing Christianity have been mixed and varied. It is obvious that Christianity in China was far from being a monolithic movement. Crude generalisations, although still commonly practiced by PRC officials and postcolonial scholars, are surely inappropriate. What is needed is a more sophisticated approach to the study of Christianity in China, one that recognises its variety, contradictions and contributions. It would, of course, be helpful if the motives of politicians and academics for interpreting the Christian presence in China in a particular way were known. The creation of a psychological profile for individual scholars would be a start.

Since the propagation of the Christian message was the overriding concern of the missionary enterprise, it is appropriate to conclude with an overview of the reception of the Bible in nineteenth and twentieth-century China.

The Bible in China: Interpretations and Consequences

John Y. H. Yieh

In recent studies of the Christianity in China, much has been accomplished in the areas of missionary enterprise (education, medicine, social service and publication), foreign diplomacy, cultural exchange, state-church relation, and biography.[1] One overlooked area of research, however, is Chinese biblical interpretation except for issues concerning translation, even though Protestant missionaries often made it their primary task to translate the Bible into Chinese dialects spoken in their mission fields. Different interpretations of the Bible have led Chinese churches to take contending positions on matters of religion, politics, and society. The Bible as Holy Scripture functions as a "foundational document" of Christianity to define its belief system and self-identity as a religion and regulate its life patterns and mission purposes as a social group. Biblical text is broadly embedded in the catechisms and liturgies of Catholic and Orthodox churches. Its divine authority is held prominent in the theologies and sermons of Protestant and Evangelical churches. Its teaching has been compared to that of the Chinese classics and has captivated the hearts and imagination of numerous Chinese readers. Thus, one cannot fully understand the character and activities of the Christianity in China without taking into account the interpretations and consequences of the Bible in China.[2]

The history of the Bible in China from Late Qing to the present can be divided into four periods in correlation to major social-political changes of the nation.[3] In each period the Bible plays significant roles in shaping Christian belief and practice and in addressing various crises of the Chinese society undergoing radical changes. In the nineteenth century, the Chinese Bible was made available and used by missionaries, who translated and taught it in churches and colleges, to introduce Christian faith to the Chinese literati. As a result, the transported Christianity gradually took root in the soil of China. In the twentieth century, the Bible was often interpreted and quoted by

[1] Lutz (1966); Fairbank (1974); Lin (1981); Ng (1995); Bays (1996).
[2] Jenkins (2006), pp. 15–17; Starr (2008).
[3] Cf. John Yieh, "Chinese Biblical Interpretation: History and Issues," in Foskett and Kuan (2006), pp. 17–30.

native scholars and preachers to explain theologies and offer responses to ecclesial disputes and national crises, and thus a distinctive "Chinese Christianity" began to emerge.

Infancy (1807–1864)

China has a long and proud intellectual history endowed with many fascinating writings in history, literature, philosophy, and religion. *Sishu* 四書, *wujing* 五經, *baijia* 百家, *liezhuan* 列傳 are merely some of the better-known classics. There are also well-developed hermeneutic traditions concerning textual criticism, philological exegesis, and philosophical interpretation of the scriptures copied, taught, and learned in the schools of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism.[4] It is no wonder that the Chinese Bible published by Robert Morrison 馬禮遜 (1782–1834) failed to impress Chinese scholars at its debut in 1814 (New Testament) and 1823 (Complete Bible), as it was translated by a foreigner with the help of Chinese assistants whose classical education was limited. Nevertheless, many Protestant missionaries followed Morrison's example to translate the Bible in different dialects and literary styles for the readers in their mission fields.[5]

(1) The "term question". As Bible translations proliferated, the first controversy in Chinese biblical interpretation arose in 1840 with the so-called "term question." What is God's name in Chinese? *Shangdi* 上帝 or *Shen* 神? The protracted and passionate debates between European and American missionaries reflected their different understandings of ancient religions (monotheism vs. polytheism) and popular religions (Daoist *shangdi* vs. pantheistic *shen*) in China.[6] Recent studies show that Chinese translators and readers were also divided on their opinions.[7] The decision to print the Delegates' Version (1852) in two versions (American Bible Society used *Shen* with a blank of reverence, and British and Foreign Bible Society used *Shangdi*) to accom-

[4] Lopez (1988); Henderson (1991); Huang, Li, and Yang (2004).

[5] I-Jin Loh, "Chinese Translations of the Bible", in Chan and Pollard (1995), pp. 54–69; Zetzsche (1999), pp. 1–192; Pfister, in Tiedemann (2009), *Handbook II,* pp. 362–371.

[6] Irene Eber, "The Interminable Term Question", in Eber (1999), pp. 135–161; Zetzsche (1999), pp. 82–90.

[7] Wong, Timothy Man-kong, "The Rendering of God in Chinese by the Chinese: Chinese Responses to the Term Question in the *Wanguo gongbao*", in Lackner and Vittinghoff (2004), pp. 589–613.

modate readers on both sides of the debate shows how persistently each camp held on to their views of God's name in Chinese.

The term question raises a serious theological issue for Chinese people. It is ironic that, just as missionaries came to China to proclaim their God as the one true and living God, they called him by different names as if there were two different gods. They denounced the gods and goddesses of other religions as human-made idols and published religious tracts to argue for the truth of monotheism, but hey could not agree on the name of their God. The heated debate over the term question created a great confusion over their monotheistic message. Because the Catholics used yet another term, *Tianzhu* 天主, to translate the word "God", the Catholic Christianity in China (*Tianzhujiao*) is often considered a different religion from Protestant Christianity (Jidujiao). Recent translation of *Shangzhu* 上主 in *Today's Chinese Version* (NT 1975, complete Bible 1980) serves as an interesting footnote to these historical feuds and represents a fresh effort to resolve the controversy by combining the Protestant and Catholic translations into one. Several new studies on the translation theories and principles of Chinese versions of the Bible have yielded additional insights on Chinese language, dialects, and church politics.[8] What might be further investigated are the theological views supporting each version and the impact they may have exerted on the formation of the beliefs, theologies, practices and liturgies of the Chinese Christianity.

(2) Origin of sinology. The effort to translate the Bible motivated missionaries to study Chinese language and culture carefully and give birth to the scholarly discipline of sinology in Europe. Morrison's *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* (1815) and *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (3 vols.; 1815–1823) took the lead, and James Legge 李雅各 (1815–1897) made an enormous advance for the discipline by translating Chinese Classics into English such as, *The Chinese Classics: With a translation, critical and exegetical notes, prolegomena, and copious indexes, in five volumes* (1861–1872). As a consequence, commercial transactions accelerated, diplomatic interactions increased, and Chinese-Western cultural exchanges multiplied. In seeking to communicate biblical messages to Chinese people in the popular currency of their language, Bible translation reflected and affected the evolution

[8] Kramers (1965); Strandenaes (1987); Chong (2000).

of modern Chinese language, especially *baihuawen* 白話文.[9] As a literary medium for Western culture, the Chinese Bible also introduced new images, new ideas, new terms, and new styles of speech to enrich modern Chinese language and contributed to the development of its new literature.

(3) Biblical Interpretation. Remarkable among the new Chinese Bibles is the version translated by Karl Gützlaff 郭實獵 (1803–1851; Medhurst-Gützlaff-Bridgman NT 1836; Gützlaff OT 1840) that was adopted and revised for the printed Bible of the Taiping Tianguo 太平天國 (Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace)—*Jiuyizhao shengshu* 舊遺詔聖書 (The Sacred Book of the Formerly Bequeathed Oracles) and *Xinyizhao shengshu* 新遺詔聖書 (The Sacred Book of the Newly Bequeathed Oracles)—published in 1853. The charismatic leader of the Taiping Rebellion, Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 (1814–1864), was converted into Christianity literally by a religious tract, *Quanshi liangyan* ("Good Words to Admonish the Age"), filled with biblical quotations from Genesis, Isaiah, Matthew, and Romans, written by Liang Fa 梁發 (1789–1855), an early convert and assistant of Morrison. Hong baptised himself and taught himself Christian faith by reading Gützlaff's version of the Bible and founded the Society of God-worshippers. His iconoclastic zeal for monotheism and evangelism resulted in clashes with local temples and schools. As Jonathan Spence has convincingly demonstrated in *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (1996), the Bible offered a symbolic universe for Hong to make sense of his enigmatic visions received during illness, enable him to claim his identity as the Second Son of God, brother of Jesus Christ, and validate his mission to fight the Qing rulers as demons. It also provided him with legal codes, especially the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, to rule over a heavenly kingdom on earth with its capital in Nanjing (1853–1864). Hong's Taiping Kingdom may be law-strict and short-lived, but his biblically-informed ideal of a heavenly kingdom with all citizens treated as family members, fair distribution of land, sharing of common resources, and respect for gender equality, inspired Sun Yat-sen, also a Christian

[9] Thor Strandenaes, "The Bible in the Twentieth-Century Chinese Christian Church", in Starr (2007), pp. 68–80, esp. p. 71; Yuan Jin, *Zhongguo wenxue: Jindai biange*, Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press, 2006, pp. 69–96; Cf. Janice Wickeri, "The Union Version of the Bible and its Relationship to the New Literature in China", *Translator* 1,2 (1995), pp. 129–152.

convert from the same province who admired the legendary Hong since childhood, to lead a national revolution to overthrow the corrupted Qing monarchy and found the first Republic in Asia in 1911. Mao Zedong, supreme leader of the Chinese Communist revolution, was also greatly enthused by Hong's passion to fight for the poor and his programme of land reform which led to a successful peasant revolution in anticipation of his own victory in 1949.[10] In this trajectory of biblical influence on the political thoughts of Hong, Sun, and Mao, we see how the Bible was read as a political text with apocalyptic promises for the oppressed and how its grand vision of the kingdom of God unleashed a force so powerful that not only Hong Xiuquan and his generation, but also the entire course of history of the twentieth-century China was dramatically changed.

The missionaries' debate on the term question and Hong's interpretation of the Bible demonstrate that the Bible was used typically for apologetic purpose to reveal the Christian God as the creator of the world worthy of worship while other gods and goddesses are nothing but idols. The law and commandments in the Bible were often highlighted to show the moral superiority of Christianity over other religions and thus deserving following. Such use of the Bible fit missionaries' evangelistic purpose, but it also offended the gentry class who regarded themselves as guardians of traditional culture. It is no wonder that they would condemn Christianity as anti-traditional perversion that needed to be censured.

Childhood (1864–1911)

After its humiliating defeat in the Opium War by the British navy (1842), the Chinese government signed several treaties with Western colonial powers, including the Treaty of Nanjing (1842), the Treaty of Tianjin (1858) and the Beijing Convention (1860) allowing foreign merchants to reside and trade in several port cities. Missionaries also secured permission and protection under the treaties to travel and build churches in those cities. Having gained a foothold on China's soil, they began to translate popular Christian tracts in the West into Chinese for evangelistic and catechistic purposes.

[10] Cohen (2003), p. 212.

(1) Missionary publications. Two major collections of the nineteenth-century publications by missionaries in China are stored in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University.[11] They include evangelistic and apologetic tracts (e.g. W. A. P. Martin, *Tian dao su yuan; Evidence of Christianity*, 1854; W. Milne, *Zhang Yuan liang you xiang lun; The Two Friends*, 1819), catechisms (e.g. R. Morrison, *Wenda qianzu yesu jiaofa*, The Shorter Catechism, 1812; W. C. Milne, *Zhendao rumen*, Introduction to the Truth, 1851), religious allegory (e.g. W. Muirhead, *Tianlu licheng*, The Pilgrim's Progress, 1851), hymnals, *The Book of Common Prayer*, Sunday school textbooks, devotional treaties, Christian biographies, theology and doctrines, Bible commentaries, confessions of faith, systematic theology and church history.[12] The varieties and volumes of these publications testified to the vitality of the church at least in major cities.

(2) Bible references. Noticeable among the publications are biblical stories and creedal statements written in the memorable trimetric form 三字經, a conventional Chinese genre for primers of moral education. Missionaries found an indigenous genre to popularise biblical education among children. They also produced several hundred kinds of annotated Bible books, commentaries, primers for exegesis, and Bible dictionaries to be used as textbooks and references in theological colleges.[13] A great number of these reference books contain up-to-date critical scholarship and archaeological discoveries. Because missionaries translated the Bible, wrote commentaries, and held the pulpits and lecterns as preachers and teachers, their biblical views moulded and shaped the theology of the incipient Chinese Church.

(3) Contending biblical interpretations. With the huge influx of missionaries from more than 130 denominations in late 19th century,[14] a wide range of theological views and biblical interpretations, from fundamentalist to liberal, were imported to China. The denominational battles already fought for centuries in the West were also transposed to the Middle Kingdom to be fought again in the Chinese churches. Thus, even though missionaries trained the first generation

---

[11] David Helliwell, "Two Collections of Nineteenth-century Protestant Missionary Publications in the Bodleian Library", *Chinese Culture* 31:4 (1990), pp. 21–38.

[12] Lai (2005), pp. 148–175.

[13] Chloë Starr, "Reading Christian Scriptures: The Nineteenth-Century Context," in Starr (2008), pp. 32–48.

[14] Wang (1979), pp. 199–230.

of native scholars and preachers to teach the Bible in the twentieth-century China, their theological biases also instigated the intra-mural bickering on the authority and interpretation of the Bible which continue to divide the Chinese churches and obstruct their common witness to the gospel today. There was a great diversity of purposes and strategies in the missionary enterprises. Hudson Taylor (1832–1905), for instance, founded the China Inland Mission to bring the gospel, by faith and prayer, to the unreached areas in order to save Chinese souls. Young Allen (1836–1907) edited and published *Wanguo gongbao* (Globe Magazine) to report world news to China and facilitate its modernisation. Historical scholarship on these missionary enterprises has done well in finding and describing their accomplishments. What have yet been fully examined are missionaries' biblical views of mission that informed their particular focus on religious conversion or social service.

Adolescence (1911–1949)

After the bloody Boxers' Riot (1900)—an anti-foreign and anti-Christian uprising—was suppressed by the armies of eight allied nations, the Qing Dynasty reached its demise. Shortly after, the Republican China was born (1911), and several ignominious Sino-Western treaties were abolished. With the political sea-change, missionaries began to transfer their authority and control to Chinese Christians and allow them to manage schools, lead the churches and teach in theological colleges. An indigenous Chinese Christianity did not immediately rise, however. It took some more time for native leaders to emerge,[15] but emerging they were, as evident in the changing roles Chinese translators played. They served mainly as "assistants" to the missionary translators for the Delegate Version (1852), but became "partners" for the Union Version (1919).[16]

The first half of the 20th century was a tumultuous time when radical nationalism rose against colonial aggressions and pro-science modernism denounced traditional culture as obsolete and useless. The

[15] Bays (1996), pp. 265–268.

[16] Youbin 游斌, "Beiyiwang de yizhe: zhongguo shiren yu zhongwen shengjing fanyi" (The forgotten translators: Chinese scholars and Chinese Bible translation), *Daofeng* 道風: *Christian Cultural Review* 27 (2007), pp. 227–247.

May Fourth movement (1919) best represented the sentiment of the time. It began as an angry protest against the Treaty of Versailles that transferred Shandong province from Germany to Japan without any regard to China's sovereignty and grew into an intellectual movement that advocated liberalism and socialism as better ways to modernise and empower the bullied China. Meanwhile, in the West, the new knowledge of Darwin's evolution theory, Marx's materialistic view of history, Russell's economic socialism, and Dewey's pragmatism were calling Christian tradition into question. Thus, Christianity in China was criticised as imperialistic and anti-modern by some university professors, such as Cai Yuanpei and Hu Shi, who proposed to replace religion with aesthetics or science. In that climate, the rise of the Non-Christian Alliance (1922) against the meeting of the World Christian Student Association in Beijing and its subsequent protests against the religious education in Christian universities were understandable. Another crisis was the senseless devastation of incessant wars between local warlords, the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), and the long-drawn battles between the Nationalists and the Communists. Many lives were lost and hopes dashed, and the whole nation paralyzed in ruins. Facing these challenges and crises, the first generation of Chinese Christian leaders were compelled to answer some tough questions: Why is Christianity necessary? Can it save the ailing nation?

(1) Liberal scholars. In response to the challenges of nationalism and modernism, Wu Leichuan 吳雷川 (1870–1944), the first Chinese Chancellor of Yenching University, argued that the essence of Christianity was neither the church nor its doctrines, but Jesus Christ. And Jesus Christ can indeed save China. To make his case, he used the Gospels in the New Testament as historical documents to portray Jesus as a moral teacher, whose action (especially his willingness to die for the Kingdom of God) and teaching (especially the Lord's Prayer) provide a blueprint to establish a heavenly kingdom on earth as an ideal society by transforming the citizens' moral character to reform the corrupted society of China.[17] Modernisation and science were necessary to build a strong China, he admitted, but moral character was the indispensable foundation of a healthy nation in which progress and prosperity

[17] Wu (1934); Wu (1936), pp. 82–98; Wu (1950), pp. 302–304.

can be shared by all.[18] For him, to be a Christian means to become a disciple of Jesus, following his personal example and moral teachings to live an ethical life characterised by self-sacrificing love.

Wu Leichuan used historical-critical methods being developed in the West of his time to read biblical stories. Following the German liberal theology and the American social gospel movement,[19] he interpreted miracle stories with rationalist explanation and looked for moral teaching for the good of the society. The story of feeding five thousand people, for instance, was interpreted as a miracle of the selfless love of the boy that inspired the large crowd to share the food they brought rather than a supernatural act of multiplying the five loaves and two fish.[20] It is by emulating Jesus' compassion and self-sacrifice and by obeying his commandments, he argued, will Chinese be able to reform their moral culture and save their corrupted nation from the Western colonial exploitation and the self-destruction of civil wars. A professor of Chinese classics, Wu Leichuan often explained biblical meaning in Chinese cultural terms. For instance, he called Jesus Christ, who performed the functions of king, prophet, and priest in Jewish tradition, "*Shengtianzi*" 聖天子 (Holy Son of Heaven), the sage-king of *Shujing* 書經 who was "*bing congming zuo yuanho*" 稟聰明作元后 (endowed with wisdom to serve as the first and the last).[21] He also interpreted the work of the Holy Spirit as equivalent to the principle of *ren* 仁 in Confucian tradition, such as "*qiuren er deren*" 求仁而得仁 (ask for *ren* and receive *ren*) and "*shashen chengren*" 殺身成仁 (kill the body to accomplish ren), which is what a moral person wants to pursue for the good of the community even if one has to sacrifice one's own life.[22] Wu's interpretation of the Bible thus serves as an excellent example of indigenisation. Other notable scholars, such as Zhao Zichen 趙紫宸 (1888–1979), professor of theology at Yenching University, and Wu Yaozong 吳耀宗 (1893–1979), leader of YMCA and Three Self Patriotic Movement, also interpreted the Bible from

---

[18] Wu Leichuan 吳雷川, "Tianguo shi shemo?" (What is the kingdom of heaven?) in *Zhenli zhoukan* 真理周刊 (1925), 3:9, 11.

[19] Wu Yaozong 吳耀宗, "Preface", in Wu (1936), p. 5.

[20] Wu (1936), pp. 38–40.

[21] Wu (1936), pp. 82–83.

[22] Wu (1936), pp. 56–59.

a liberal theological point of view, and often cited Jesus' teaching to address national concerns.[23]

(2) Conservative preachers. In contrast to liberal scholars, Ni Tuosheng 倪柝聲 (1903–1972), better known as Watchman Nee and leader of a network of "local churches", believed that Jesus was much greater than a moral sage or social reformer. Jesus was the Son of God who came to redeem sinners by dying on the cross and save human souls from eternal judgment. This is the essence of Paul's apostolic teaching, so Ni favoured Paul's Letters and often used them to discuss issues of faith and life. With a trichotomic view of anthropology, Ni envisioned a spiritual journey where a born-again Christian is saved first in the spirit, then the soul, and finally the body. Becoming sanctified is thus the goal of the Christian life.[24] To help believers to become sanctified, he constructed a Chinese version of the "cure of soul", similar to the program of "*askesis*" in Greek moral philosophy, as may be found in two of his most popular books, *Shulingren* 屬靈人 (The Spiritual Man) and *Zhengchang de Jidutu shenghuo* 正常的基督徒生活 (The Normal Christian Life). Also in contract to liberal scholars, Ni believed that human nature is so hopelessly depraved by sin that no moral character can be restored. Ni said, "The purpose of salvation is not to save and make a person perfect, but to make him saved. Even a perfect person remains a natural person, who cannot have a relationship of life with God."[25] As such, the corrupted society can no longer be reformed except to wait for its final judgment.

Honouring the Bible as inspired word of God, Ni developed a meticulous and imaginative way of reading the Bible, called "*lingyi jiejing*" 靈意解經 (spiritual interpretation) embraced by many conservative preachers in China. Contrary to what critics may think, this method is not arbitrary or subjective. It involves a close reading of biblical text and a cogent process of inference-making.[26] Often started with Hebrew or Greek, the meaning of each word or concept must cohere with the key theme in the larger context by association of words, symbols, or motifs. It also applies the principle of *scriptura scriptorum*

---

[23] Glüer (1979); Wu Yaozong, "My Conception of the Universe and of Life since I Knew Jesus," in Malek (2005), Vol. 3, pp. 1236–1241.

[24] Lam (2003), pp. 56–131.

[25] Nee (1989), p. 14.

[26] Leung Ka-Lun, "A Defense for Spiritual Interpretation of the Chinese Church," in Choong (1997), pp. 45–46.

made famous by Luther and Calvin to cross-reference other biblical passages in the entire canon and to use explicit text to explain obscure text. Moreover, it does not stop at the level of literal meaning, but allow the so-called "spiritual meaning" which may exist beyond the immediate text to emerge from the whole Bible. Ni called it "spiritual interpretation" because he was convinced that "All scripture is inspired by God and is useful for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness, so that everyone who belongs to God may be proficient, equipped for every good work." (2 Tim 3:16–17). Other conserve preachers—such as Jia Yuming 賈玉銘 (1880–1964), seminary professor and prolific biblical commentator, and Wang Mingdao 王明道 (1900–1991), outspoken evangelist and martyr—also saw Jesus Christ as savoir of individual souls and the Bible as a spiritual manual for holy life.[27]

(3) Non-Christian writers. Also noteworthy is the great interest in Jesus taken by writers and poets, most of whom were not Christians, in the New Culture Movement. One of the most renowned admirers of Jesus from this group was Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1879–1942), a well-known professor of Peking University and a founding leader of the Chinese Communist Party. Praising Jesus as the "incarnation of universal love" in "Christianity and Chinese People" (1920), Chen wrote, "We do not need to seek aid in any theology, or trust any ritualism, or join any particular denomination. We go directly to Jesus and knock at His door and ask that His lofty and magnificent character and His warm sympathetic spirit be united with us."[28] Based on his reading of Mathew's Gospel, Chen summarised the character and spirit that Jesus taught us as sacrifice, forgiveness, love and brotherliness, which would save the entire human race for eternal life and not the country as some politicians would have people believe. Bing Xin 冰心 published two poems, "Gethsemane" and "The Place of Nazarene" in 1921 to portray Jesus' sorrow and pain in the face of his pending death while remaining committed to his mission to save sinners. Ai Qing 艾青 also wrote a narrative poem, "The Death of the Nazarene" in 1933, depicting Jesus' impressive calm presence before Pilate and Roman

[27] Wang (1982); Xie (2008).

[28] Chen Duxiu, "Jesus, the Incarnation of Universal Love", in Lutz (1966), p. 49. Chen's essay was originally published as "Jidujiao yu Zhongguoren" 基督教與中國人 (Christianity and the Chinese People), in *Xinqingnian* 新青年 (New Youth) 7,3 (1 February 1920), pp. 14–22.

soldiers. Jesus' firm belief in the final victory of the people made him a great revolutionary and fearless liberator. In a novel entitled "The Death of Jesus," Mao Dun 矛盾 wrote a life of Jesus according to the NT Gospels, but he removed everything miraculous to present Jesus as a human hero rather than the divine Son of God. Jesus emerged as a courageous fighter to rebuke the corrupted Pharisees and other Jewish leaders for the sake of the people. Mao Dun later explained that he meant to "use the stories of the Bible to make a trick of oblique accusation" against corrupted officials and Japanese aggressors.[29]

Most of these writers did not think Jesus' moral teaching could save the nation as Wu Leichuan did, nor did they believe his violent death has redemptive power for sinners as Ni Tuosheng did. But they were surely mesmerised by his teaching of love and his action of self-sacrifice for a higher cause beyond self-interest and life itself. There seems to be a power in his personality that attracts and challenges the readers to transcend their limited visions and concerns. Jesus' determination to fulfil his mission and his fearless calm in the face of death may in some way meet the psychological need of the Chinese people facing the distressing wars and senseless destruction.

During the first half of the 20th century, the Bible—the Union Version (1919) in particular—became readily available to many Chinese people. As a holy scripture for Christians and a Western classic for intellectual elites, it was discussed and debated in universities, studied and preached in churches, and read and used for literary creation. In a time when the whole nation experienced anger, anxiety, devastation and despair under the onslaught of colonial aggression, foreign occupation, government corruption and civil wars, the Chinese people recognised the wickedness of human nature and the frailty of human life. They were looking for "heroes" and ways to save their nation. Thus, Jesus in the Gospels became the focus of many Bible readers. His personality, teaching, and noble death for a higher cause grasped many minds and hearts, believers or non-believers. In order to understand the Bible and its messages, Western hermeneutics were tried and indigenous methods invented. Several themes were heatedly debated: Christian faith vs. Chinese culture, national salvation vs. individual

[29] Mao Dun, *Mao Dun's Complete Works*, Vol. 9, Beijing: People's Literature Press, 1985, pp. 542–543.

redemption, moral character vs. spiritual discipline, and personal sanctification vs. social ministry. Evidently, the Bible made a deep and wide impact on many minds and lives, and it is interesting to note that liberal scholars, conservative preachers, and literary writers were all attracted to Jesus' character and teaching, and they were all concerned about the cultivation of human character, be it moral, spiritual, or social.

Growing Pains (1949–)

The Communists took over the nation in 1949. Seeking to eradicate old colonial influences, the new government expelled foreign missionaries. In order to rein in the churches to ensure a smooth political transition, Zhou Enlai 周恩來 and several Christian leaders drafted the so-called "Christian Manifesto" (1950) and asked church leaders to sign on as a pledge of allegiance to the new regime. Even though the new constitution promised religious freedom, some leaders of the independent churches were wary of the atheism of the Communists and refused to sign the Manifesto. As a result, the Three Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) churches and the autonomous churches parted ways. In the next decade, the Bureau of Religious Affairs continued to pressure the independent churches to join the TSPM through a series of "accusation meetings." The tension persisted through the chaotic Cultural Revolution in the 1970's when most of the churches and seminaries were shut down. During this time, the dominating issue for Chinese Christianity was how the church should relate itself to the state in the aftermath of the civil war. It is interesting to note that, while the TSPM churches cited Romans 13 to justify its compliance to the government, the autonomous churches used the Book of Revelation as warrant to reject what they considered political interference. Another issue was religious persecution. Some church leaders were willing to go to jail or labour camp because they regarded persecution as a test of their faithfulness. Even though their churches were shut down and corporate worship was banned, they resorted to private prayer, hymn-singing, memorizing and reciting scriptural verses to sustain their faith. The experience of suffering brought them closer to the ancient Hebrews enslaved by the Egyptians and the early Christians under Roman persecutions. As often seen in sectarian groups, persecution did not intimidate them or thwart their growth. Instead, it gave them

new insights on the contexts and contents of the Bible, bolstered their self-identity as a chosen people of God, and strengthened the bond of affection among members of these house churches.

After the chaos of Cultural Revolution (1976) subsided, the government began to loosen its control of religions, though the Bureau of Religious Affairs continued to be watchful. As a result, there was a religious revival in China, and the Christian church gradually restored its vitality.[30] In time, confiscated properties were returned, and some seminaries reopened. Ding Guangxun (K. H. Ting) 丁光训 (1915–), the last Anglican Bishop in China also resumed his leadership as chair of the TSPM and of the Chinese Council of Churches (CCC), and began to rebuild relationship with foreign churches. Many autonomous churches, however, remained separated from the TSPM and CCC. Also to be noted is the phenomenon that, after China changed its policy to rejoin the international community, a strong interest in academic studies of religion surged in the universities in the 1990's. The so-called "Cultural Christians" began to publish their studies of Christian thoughts and Centres of Christian Studies were established to offer post-graduate programs. With the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, overseas Chinese Christians and scholars also began to make significant contributions to the new development of Christianity in China.

(1) TSPM and CCC: Bible as religious text. In all Chinese churches the Bible is revered as the word of God with authority, but the TSPM churches and the autonomous churches approached it differently. For Ding Guangxun, national leader of the officially sanctioned churches, the Bible is a religious text whose theological contents should be understood in historical contexts. He regards the Bible as God's word but written by human hands. Following the same contextual hermeneutics of the liberal scholars of previous period, he believes that the Bible needs to be critically interpreted and its main themes discovered in order to appropriately address our contemporary individual and social problems.[31] In Ding's view, one of the most urgent tasks that the Chinese church is called to accomplish is to build a bridge to connect the two C's—Christianity and China or Christians and Communists. In order to befriend the two groups of people, he underscores Jesus'

[30] Bays (1996), p. ix.
[31] Ding (2000), pp. 31–48; 65–122.

role and mission as the "Cosmic Christ" who reveals and embodies God's universal love for all people.[32] The Cosmic Christ loves all people, those in and out of the church, so Chinese Christians should reach out not only to their fellow Christians in different denominations but further to the society at large. To avoid any conflict with the Chinese society which is largely atheist and multi-religious, he urges Christians to testify to the gospel by taking actions of love to care for all people without discrimination and to serve the nation loyally as law-abiding citizens. To avoid offending non-believers, furthermore, he urges the Chinese churches to engage in a "theological reconstruction".[33] He wants Christian leaders to de-emphasise (*danhua* 淡化) the doctrine of "justification by faith", the hallmark of Reformed theology, because its presumption that all people are sinners in need of forgiveness may be offensive and repulsive to outsiders. Instead, he wants them to emphasise the all inclusive love of God.[34] It appears that the Gospel of John, which reveals God's love for the world and features Jesus' commandment to love one anther, has served as "the canon within the canon" for him to construct his cosmic Christology and inclusive missiology. His interpretation of the Bible shows political acumen and contextual sensitivity that may explain why he has been able to lead the TSPM churches through one of the most turbulent and dangerous times in recent Chinese history.

(2) Autonomous Churches: Bible as revelatory text. There are an uncountable number of autonomous churches existing and growing in different parts of China. Their theological positions, social engagements, and political relationships with local Bureaus of Religious Affairs vary greatly from one to another, but all of them hold a very high view of the Bible. It is written by human hands but it is the word of God, a revelatory text inspired by the Holy Spirit and accordingly an authoritative scripture. These autonomous churches inherit the conservative legacy of Ni Tuosheng and Wang Mingdao and refuse to compromise with what they call the *buxinpai* (the unbelieving party) of the liberal scholars before 1949 and that of the TSPM. Despite and

[32] J. and P. Wickeri (2002), pp. 91–100.

[33] Wickeri (2007), pp. 333–369.

[34] Love is the governing theme in Ding's theology, so it is no coincidence that one of his collected writings is entitled, *God is Love: Collected Writings of Bishop K. H. Ting* (2004), one festschrift is *Seeking Truth in Love* (Wang 2005), and one biography is *Discovering Truth through Love—Biography of K. H. Ting* (Ma 2006).

indeed because of their suffering for the sake of faith, they believe that they have experienced God's presence and power in miracles, and are therefore particularly keen in sharing personal testimonies to others.[35] With simple but strong faith, one autonomous church in Henan, for instance, has trained and sent out hundreds of evangelists to the Chinese Muslim areas in western provinces to carry out missionary work under the banner of the "Back to Jerusalem" movement started in the 1940's. They see this westbound mission as God's plan for them to bring the gospel through the Muslim regions to complete a circle of missionary works around the globe back to Jerusalem.[36] With incredible faithfulness, dedication and perseverance as such, the autonomous churches have increased in great numbers and have converted people from all walks of life. Their members include not only poor peasants in rural areas, but also highly educated professionals in major cities. *Fangzhou jiaohui* 方舟教會 (The Ark Church) in Beijing, for instance, is one such urban church full of academics, artists, and writers who are noted for their bold profession of social and political views on web-pages.[37] They are not isolated from the world outside, either. In fact, moved by the stories of their suffering and perseverance for the sake of faith, many overseas Chinese churches, especially theological conservatives, have found ways to keep in contact with them over the years, providing Bibles, commentaries, theological books and sermon tapes to train their leaders. Their survival as a suppressed religious group provides many interesting issues for research in sociology of religion. In 1998, in a surprising move, several larger autonomous churches made a joint declaration of faith, in which they declare that they believe the Bible is inspired by God, the complete truth, and without error. On how to interpret the Bible, they state, "In seeking to understand Scripture, one must seek the leading of the Holy Spirit and follow the principle of interpreting Scripture by Scripture, and not taking anything out of context. In interpreting Scripture, one ought to consult the traditions of orthodox belief left by the church throughout her history. We are opposed to interpreting Scripture by one's own will, or by subjective spiritualization."[38] Upholding "orthodox belief"

---

[35] Yun with Hattaway (2002).
[36] Hattaway, Yun, Xu, and Wang (2004).
[37] Fredrik Fällman "Hermeneutical Conflict? Reading the Bible in Contemporary China", in Starr (2004), pp. 60–61.
[38] Aikman (2003), pp. 313–325.

as the frame of reference for biblical interpretation clearly separates their view from Ding's. It is evident that the Acts of the Apostles has been used as their "canon within the canon," from which they draw inspiration and strength for endurance under persecutions, zeal for missions, and strategies for evangelism and church planting. How their life experience sheds light on the meaning of the Bible is another interesting issue deserving further investigation.

(3) Centres of Christian Studies at Universities: Bible as cultural text. The Bible is not only read or studied in the churches, seminaries, training centres, or Christian's homes. As China rejoins the international community, the hostility against Christianity as a Western imperialistic religion has decreased, and some scholars in the universities begin to take serious interest in Christian theology as a valuable philosophy of the West that can be compared to the Chinese philosophy. Some such scholars are called "Cultural Christians", because they appreciate Christian thoughts as valuable but do not wish to participate in the liturgy or mission of the institutionalised church.[39] For them, the Bible is no more than a philosophical text. Liu Xiaofeng 劉小楓 takes one step further attempting to construct a *Hanyu shenxue* 漢語神學 (Sino-Christian theology) in the linguistic context of Chinese language.[40] One immediate question raised is how one should define Chinese language. Is it Mandarin, Cantonese, or any dialect? Another question concerns the so-called "Chinese Apollo," a Chinese theology that, some worry, may fall short of the essence of traditional Christian theology.[41]

In the Centres for Christian Studies at major universities, Christian Bible has also been read as a literary text of the West.[42] Literary analysis of biblical narrative, ironies and symbols and comparative studies of the Bible with Chinese literature seem to be the two major approaches being taken for research, as demonstrated by the essays collected in Irene Eber (eds.), *Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact* (1999) and in Lo and Wang (eds.), *Shengjing wenxue yu wenhua* 《圣经》文学与文化 (The Bible: Literature and Culture, 2007), a Festschrift for Prof. Zhu Weizi 朱维之, a pioneer in

[39] Fällman (2004).
[40] Liu (2000).
[41] Institute of Sino-Christian Studies (1997).
[42] Zha Changping, "Studying the New Testament in the Chinese Academic World: A Survey, 1976–2006," in Starr (2008), pp. 81–94.

academic study of biblical literature in China.[43] It is also interesting to note that recent general readers have shown a strong interest in biblical stories, especially those of the OT, rewritten in easy-to-understand language. There seems to be a curiosity and admiration for the Jewish people who survive the holocaust and excel in many areas of science, art and economics in the world. Evidently, they read the OT as a cultural text to learn about the character, history, wisdom and tenacity of the people of Israel.

There is also a new interest in finding ethical teaching in the Bible that may address the increasing problems of greed and corruption caused by economic boom in recent years. Frustrated by the inability of the traditional Confucian teaching to prevent fraudulence or promote justice, some scholars are turning to the Bible to learn what moral visions and ethical ideas might have helped to create the spiritual civilisation and civil society in the West where the laws are obeyed and generosity practiced.

To read the Bible as a cultural text of the West raises some questions. How well does the Bible in its Chinese translation represent or reflect the Western culture? The Bible does represent a Christian culture, but how much does it reflect ancient Hebrew and Greek cultures? In order to understand Christianity and its Bible, one also needs to study the history of biblical interpretation in the West.

(4) Overseas Chinese scholars: Bible as social text. Many Chinese Bible scholars from the mainline and evangelical churches in Hong Kong and overseas are trained with advanced academic degrees to interpret the Bible with critical methodologies developed in the West. Among them, several have taken special interest in biblical interpretation for the social contexts of contemporary China. They take different approaches. Archie Lee, an OT specialist, for instance, is concerned about the social impact of the Bible, so he proposes a "cross-textual" reading of biblical text (text B) in juxtaposition with contemporary Asian (including Chinese) contexts (text A).[44] By allowing a dialectical interplay to take place between the two texts (one written, one liv-

[43] Eber (1999); Gálik (2004); Lo and Wang (2007).

[44] Archie Lee, "Cross-Textual Reading Strategy: A Study of Late Ming and Early Qing Chinese Christian Writings," in *Ching Feng* 4 (2003), pp. 1–27. Idem., "Naming God in Asia: Cross-Textual Reading in Multi-Cultural Context," *Quest* 3.1 (2004), pp. 21–42. Idem., "Textual Confluence and Chinese Christian Identity: A Reading of Han Lin's Duo Shu," *Chakana: Intercultural Forum of Theology and Philosophy* 2 (2004).

ing), Lee believes, some "meanings" will arise that will make sense to contemporary Chinese readers. Kwok Pui-lan, a feminist theologian, focuses her attention on the issues of gender discrimination, ethnic tension and economic injustice that are prevailing in Asian countries including China. Roots to those social problems, such as moral corruption, extreme poverty, and lack of cultural identity, she reckons, are caused by colonial exploitation and military oppression. Seeing the Bible as a colonial text once used to justify colonial domination, therefore, she advocates a feminist postcolonial critique of the Bible, wanting to eradicate the colonising tendencies and domination ideology in biblical texts and the abuses of colonial and patriarchal interpretation.[45] K. K. Yeo, a NT scholar, is interested in a comparative study of the Bible with Chinese Classics and Communist ideas.[46] He wants to compare and contrast the three belief systems and cultural traditions to see how they might complement one another to enrich the spiritual life and social discourse of the Chinese people. These scholars read the Bible with a clear attempt to let its message challenge the cultural traditions and social realities of the Chinese people today.

Conclusion

In the last two centuries, the Bible has made a remarkable entry to China and a deep impact on the minds and lives of many readers. It was introduced as a religious book of Christianity by foreign missionaries, honoured as a sacred text of God's word by Christian converts, and appreciated as a literary classic of Western culture by intellectual elites. It has been translated, studied, and preached with critical methods, spiritual interpretation, and literary imagination. Its messages have been analysed, indigenised, and contextualised. Throughout the nineteenth century, its monotheistic views in the OT were often cited to argue for the Christian God as the true creator of the world in polemic against the idolatry of other religions. The Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount were regarded as divine laws for moral life. In the first half of the twentieth century, Jesus' winsome personality, teaching of love, and sense of purpose as portrayed in the Gospels charmed and enamoured scholars, preachers, poets and novelists,

[45] Kwok (1995); Kwok (2005).
[46] Yeo (1998); Yeo (2002).

even among non-believers. His teaching of the Kingdom of God was interpreted as a social program to save the nation. His passion narrative, in particular, captivated the imagination of many creative writers. Paul's letters were carefully studied for spiritual discipline. Since 1949, the Bible has been read variably as religious, revelatory, cultural, and social text to define the church's identity and Christians' civil responsibility. The Gospel of John informs the theology of love of the TSPM, while the Book of Revelation sustains those who suffer under persecution and the Acts of Apostles provides the autonomous churches with models and visions for their missionary zeal. It serves as a window through which one may see Western philosophy and literature and it contains ethical and spiritual visions that may enrich and challenge Chinese culture today. As indicated in history, the Bible has touched every aspect of the life—political, social, moral, and spiritual—of people in modern China. It has changed many lives and there is no doubt that it will continue to fascinate and challenge its readers.

Bibliography

Aikman, David. *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power*, Washington DC: Regnery, 2003.

Bays, Daniel H. (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Chan Kim-kwong, *Towards a Contextual Ecclesiology: The Catholic Church in the People's Republic of China (1979–1983): Its Life and Theological Implications*, Hongkong: Photech Systems, 1987.

Chan Sin-wai and David E. Pollard (eds.), *An Encyclopaedia of Translation*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1995.

Chong Yau-yuk 莊柔玉, *Jidujiao shengjing Zhongwen yiben quanwei xianxiang yanjiu* 基督教聖經中文譯本權威現象研究 (A Study of the Phenomenon of Authoritativeness in the Chinese Translations of the Protestant Bible), Hong Kong: International Bible Society, 2000.

Choong Chee-Pang (ed.), *The Role and Interpretation of the Bible in the Life of the Church in China*, Geneva: The Lutheran World Federation, 1997.

Cohen, Paul A. *China Unbound: Evolving Perspectives on the Chinese Past*, London and New York; Routledge, 2003.

Ding Guangxun 丁光訓, *God is Love: Collected Writings of Bishop K. H. Ting*, Colorado Springs: Cook Communication, 2004.

Ding Guangxun 丁光訓, *Lun shengjing* 論聖經 (On the Bible), Shanghai: TSPM and CCC, 2000.

Eber, Irene (eds.), *Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact*, Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica, 1999.

Fairbank, John K. (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Fällman, Fredrik, *Salvation and Modernity: Intellectuals and Faith in Contemporary China*, Stockholm; Stockholm University, Department of Oriental Languages, 2004.

Foskett, Mary F. and Jeffrey Kah-Jin Kuan (eds.), *Ways of Being, Ways of Reading: Asian American Biblical Interpretation*, St. Louis: Chalice, 2006.

Gálik, Marián, *Influence, Translation, and Parallels: Selected Studies on the Bible in China*, Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica, 2004.

Global China Center, *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity*, Global China Center in Virginia, USA, www.bdcconline.net.

Glüer, Winfried, *Die theologische Arbeit T. C. Chao's in der Zeit von 1918–1956*, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1979.

Hattaway, Paul, Brother Yun, Peter Xu Yongze and Enoch Wang, *Back to Jerusalem: Called to Complete the Great Commission*, Carlisle: Piquant, 2004.

Henderson, John B., *Scripture, Canon, and Commentary: A Comparison of Confucian and Western Exegesis*, Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Huang Junjie 黃俊傑, Li Minghui 李明輝, and Yang Jubin 楊儒賓 (eds.), *Zhongguo jingdian quanshi chuantong* 中國經典詮釋傳統 (Chinese Scripture Hermeneutic Tradition), 4 vols., Taibei: Taiwan University Press, 2004.

Institute of Sino-Christian Studies, *Wenhua Jidutu: xianxiang yu lunzheng* 文化基督徒: 現象與論爭 (Cultural Christian: Phenomenon and Argument), Hong Kong: Institute of Sino-Christian Studies, 1997.

Jenkins, Philip, *The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Kramers, R. P. (ed.), *Chinese Bible Translation* (in Chinese), Hong Kong: The Council on Christian Literature for Overseas Chinese, 1965.

Kwok Pui-lan, *Discovering the Bible in the Non-Biblical World*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1995.

Kwok Pui-lan, *Postcolonial Imagination and Feminist Theology*, Louisville: WJK, 2005.

Lackner, Michael and Natascha Vittinghoff (eds.), *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Lai, John, *The Enterprise of Translating Christian Tracts by Protestant Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China*, unpublished D.Phil. Thesis; University of Oxford, 2005.

Lam Wing-hung 林榮洪, *Shuling shenxue: Ni Tuosheng sixiang de yanjiu* 屬靈神學: 倪柝聲思想的研究 (The Spiritual Theology of Watchman Nee), Hong Kong: China Alliance Press, 2003.

Lam Wing-hung 林榮洪, *Wang Mingdao yu Zhongguo jiaohui* 王明道與中國教會 (Wang Mingdao and the Chinese Church), Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 1982.

Lee Chi Chung 李熾昌, Archie, "Cross-Textual Reading Strategy: A Study of Late Ming and Early Qing Chinese Christian Writings," in *Ching Feng: A Journal on Christianity and Chinese Religion and Culture* 4 (2003), pp. 1–27.

Lee Chi Chung 李熾昌, Archie, "Naming God in Asia: Cross-Textual Reading in Multi-Cultural Context," *Quest: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Asian Christian Scholars* 3,1 (2004), pp. 21–42.

Lee Chi Chung 李熾昌, Archie, "Textual Confluence and Chinese Christian Identity: A Reading of Han Lin's Duo Shu," *Chakana: Intercultural Forum of Theology and Philosophy* 2,3 (2004), pp. 89–103.

Lin Zhiping 林治平 (ed.), *Jindai Zhongguo yu Jidujiao lunwenji* 近代中國與基督教論文集 (Essays on Recent China and Christianity), Taipei: Cosmic Light, 1981.

Liu Xiaofeng 劉小楓, *Hanyu shenxue yu lishi zhexue* 漢語神學與歷史哲學 (The Sino-Christian Theology and Philosophy of History), Hong Kong: Institute of Sino-Christian Studies, 2000.

Lo Lung-kwong 盧龍光 and Wang Lixin 王立新 (eds.), *"Sheng jing" wenxue yu wenhua: jinian Zhu Weizhi jiaoshou bainian danchen lunji* 《聖經》文學與文化：紀念朱維之教授百年誕辰論集 (Essays in memory of the 100th birthday of Prof. Zhu Weiji), Tianjin: Nankai University Press, 2007.

Lopez, Donald S. Jr. (ed.), *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988.

Lutz, Jessie (ed.), *Christian Missions in China*, Boston: D. C. Heath, 1966.

Ma Jia 馬佳, *Ai shi zhenli: Ding Guangxun zhuan* 愛釋真理: 丁光訓傳 (Discovering Truth through Love: Biography of K. H. Ting), Hong Kong: Chinese Christian Literature Council, 2006.

Malek, Roman (ed.), *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*, Vol. 3a and Vol. 3b, Nettetal and Sankt Augustin: Jointly published by Institut Monumenta Serica and China Zentrum Sankt Augustin, 2005–2007.

Malek, Roman, *Verschmelzung der Horizonte: Mozi und Jesus: zur Hermeneutik der chinesisch-christlichen Begegnung nach Wu Leichuan, 1869–1944*, Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Nee, Watchman 倪柝聲, *Weiwancheng de zuihou jiangzhang* 未完成的最後講章 (The Unfinished Last Sermons; or Interpreting Matthew), Hong Kong: Living Word, 1989.

Ng, Peter Tze-ming (ed.), *Essays on Historical Archives of Christian Higher Education in China*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1995.

Spence, Jonathan, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1996.

Starr, Chloë, "The Prayer Book in Nineteenth-Century China", *Monumenta Serica* 56 (2008), pp. 395–426.

Starr, Chloë (ed.), *Reading Christian Scriptures in China*, London: T & T Clark, 2008.

Strandenaes, Thor, *Principles of Chinese Translation as Expressed in Five Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt. 5:1–12 and Col. 1*, Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1987.

Wang Peng 王芃 (ed.), *Zai aizhong xunqiu zhenli* 在爱中尋求真理 (Seeking Truth in Love), Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua, 2005.

Wang Zhixin 王治心, *Zhongguo Jidujiao shigang* 中國基督教史綱 (History of Christianity in China), Hong Kong: Chinese Christian Literature Council, 1979.

Wickeri, Janice and Philip Wickeri (eds.), *A Chinese Contribution to Ecumenical Theology: Selected Writings of Bishop K. H. Ting*, Geneva: WCC Publications, 2002.

Wickeri, Philip L., *Reconstructing Christianity in China; K. H. Ting and the Chinese Church*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 2007.

Wu Leichuan 吳雷川, *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo wenhua* 基督教與中國文化 (Christianity and Chinese Culture), Shanghai: Youth Association, 1936.

Wu Leichuan 吳雷川, *Modi yu Yesu* 墨翟與耶穌 (Mozi and Jesus), Shanghai: Youth Association, 1950), reprinted in *Mozi daquan* 墨子大全 (Mozi Collection, Vol. 50), Beijing: Library Press.

Wu Leichuan 吳雷川, *Yesu de shehui lixiang* 耶穌的社會理想 (Jesus' Social Ideal), Shanghai: Youth Association, 1934).

Xie Longyi 謝龍邑, *Jiduren: Jia Yuming de lingming shenxue* 基督人: 賈玉銘的屬靈神學 (Christ Person: The Spiritual Theology of Jia Yuming), Taipei: China Evangelical Seminary Press, 2008.

Yeo, K. K. [Khiok-khng] 楊克勤, *Chairman Mao Meets the Apostle Paul: Christianity, Communism, and the Hope of China,* Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2002.

Yeo, K. K. [Khiok-khng] 楊克勤, *What Has Jerusalem to Do with Beijing: Biblical Interpretation from a Chinese Perspective*, Harrisburg: Trinity, 1998.

Yieh, John, "Chinese Biblical Interpretation: History and Issues," in Jeffrey Kuan and Mary Foskett (eds.), *Ways of Being, Ways of Reading: Constructing Asian-American Biblical Interpretation*, St. Louis: Chalice, 2006, pp. 17–30.

Yun, Brother with Paul Hattaway, *The Heavenly Man: the remarkable true story of Chinese Christian Brother Yun*, Mill Hill: Monarch, 2002.

Zetzsche, Jost O., *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version of The Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica; Steyler Verlag, 1999.

APPENDIX

In the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries several hundred new Catholic and Protestant missionary organisations became involved in a variety of missionary activities in China. Given this sheer number of groups, it is not practical to provide detailed information for each one of them. The tables listing missionary societies are, therefore, an attempt to convey the Chinese and Western names under which these organisations and fellowships operated in China, along with their starting date and the province(s) in which they were active.

The table for Catholic Religious Communities of Chinese Women includes both religious institutes in the making and pious associations of unwed Catholic women. This is still a little-studied phenomenon and information about these groups of females is too fragmentary to permit historical reconstruction of their work and organisation.

The statistical tables are indicative of the size and distribution of foreign and indigenous personnel as well as Chinese Christians. However, the figures for converts are not absolutely accurate. Especially the prevailing military and political conditions in the 1940s rendered the gathering of statistics rather hazardous. Still, the figures are a reasonable reflection of the state of affairs in the Catholic and Protestant missions and churches.

Table 1: Catholic Religious Communities of Men (1800–1950)

Religious Community of Men (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Augustinians of the Assumption; *Shengmu shengtian hui* 聖母升天會; Pia Societas Presbyterorum ab Assumptione; Augustiniani ab Assumptione; Augustins de l'Assomption; Assumptionists. (Jilin, Manchuria)	AA	Canadian	1935
Benedictine Congregation of St. Ottilien; Sheng Aotilai Bendu hui 聖奧提來本篤會; Congregatio Ottiliensis Ordinis Sancti Benedicti; Missionsbenediktiner von St. Ottilien. (Jilin, Manchuria)	OSB	German	1934

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Men (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Benedictine Congregation of St. Procopius (OSB); *Sheng Aotilai Bendu hui* 聖奧提來本篤會; Congregatio Americana Cassinensis Ordinis Sancti Benedicti. (Henan)	OSB	American	1934
Benedictine Congregation of St. Vincent; *Bendu hui* 本篤會; Congregatio Americana Cassinensis Ordinis Sancti Benedicti. (Hebei; Henan)	OSB	American	1925
Benedictine Congregation of the Annunciation; *Bendu hui* 本篤會; Congregatio belgica Ordinis Sancti Benedicti ab Annunciatione B.M.V.; Congrégation Belge O.S.B. de l'Annonciation (C.B.B.A.); Benedictine Congregation of St. André-les-Bruges; Benedictines. (Sichuan)	OSB	Belgian	1929
Bethlehem Missionary Society; *Baileng waifang chuanjiao hui* 白冷外方傳教會; Societas Missionum Exterarum de Bethlehem in Helvetia; Missionsgesellschaft Bethlehem. (Heilongjiang, Manchuria)	SMB	Swiss	1925
Brothers of Mercy of Our Lady of Perpetual Help; Fratres Misericordiae Mariae Auxiliatricis; Barmherzige Brüder von Maria Hilf; Brothers of Mercy of Trier. (Gansu; Shanghai)	FMMA	German	1933
Brothers of Our Lady of the Seven Dolors; Broederscongregatie Onze Lieve Vrouw van Zeven Smarten; 'de Broeders van de Blauwe Koorden'; Broeders van Amsterdam. (Hebei)		Dutch	1927
Brothers of St. Paul; *Baolu hui* 保祿會; Frères de St. Paul; Paulists. (Hebei)		Chinese	1895
Brothers of the Christian Schools; *Jidu xuejiao xiushihui* 基督學校修士會; Institutum Fratrum Scholarum Christianarum; De la Salle Brothers; Christian Brothers. (Hongkong; Hubei; Manchuria)	FSC	international	1875
Canons Regular of Grand St. Bernard; *Sheng Aosiding yongli hui* 聖奧斯定詠禮會; Congregatio Ss. Nicolai et Bernardi Montis Iovis; Congrégation des chanoines du Grand-Saint-Bernard; Canons Regular of SS. Nicholas and Bernard of Montjoux; now: Ordo Canonicorum Regularium S. Augustini; Canons Regular of St. Augustine (Grand St. Bernard) (CR). (Yunnan)	CRB	Swiss	1933

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Men (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Christian Brothers; Congregatio Fratrum Christianorum; Brothers of the Christian Schools (Ireland). (Hubei)	CFC	Irish	1922
Claretian Missionaries (CMF); *Shengmu shengxin xiaozi hui* 聖母聖心孝子會; Congregatio Missionariorum Filiorum Immaculati Cordis Beate Maria Virginis; Misioneros Hijos del Imaculado Corazón de María; Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary; Missionary Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary; Claretians. (Anhui)	CMF	Spanish	1933
Clerics of Saint Viator; *Sheng Weidao hui* 聖衛道會; Congregatio Clericorum Parochialium seu Catechistarum Sancti Viatoris; Clercs de Saint-Viateur; Viatorians. (Rehe; Liaoning, Manchuria)	CSV	Canadian	1931
Clerks Regular of the Immaculate Conception; Congregatio Clericorum Regularium Marianorum; Congregatio Clericorum Marianorum ab Immaculata Conceptione Beatissimae Virginis Mariae; Marians of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary; Marian Fathers. (Harbin, Manchuria)	MIC	Polish; Belarusian	1928
Congregation of Picpus; *Bibusi erxin hui* 比布斯二心會; Congregatio Sacrorum Cordium Iesu et Mariae necnon adorationis perpetuae SS. Sacramenti altaris; Congrégation des Sacrés-Coeurs de Jésus et de Marie et de l'Adoration Perpétuelle du Très-Saint-Sacrement de l'Autel / Pères des Sacrés-Coeurs / Picpus; Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary and of the Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar; Picpus Fathers. (Hainan, Guangdong)	SSCC	French	1922
Congregation of the Disciples of the Lord; *Zhutu hui* 主徒會; Congregatio Discipulorum Domini. (Hebei; Shanxi)	CDD	Chinese	1928
Congregation of the Holy Family of Jesus Christ; *Shengjia hui* 聖家會; Congregatio Sacrae Familiae Iesu Christi; Congregazione della Sacra Famiglia di Gesú Cristo	SFIC	Italian	18th cent.

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Men (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary; *Shengmu shengxin hui* 聖母聖心會; Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae; Congrégation du Coeur Immaculé de Marie; Congregatie van he Onbevlekt Hart van Maria; Scheut Fathers. (Inner Mongolia; Ningxia; Rehe; Shanxi; Gansu; Qinghai; Xinjiang)	CICM	Belgian	1864
Congregation of the Mission; *Qianshi hui* 遣使會; Congregatio Missionis; Lazarists; Vincentians. (Hebei; Jiangxi; Zhejiang)	CM	international	1699
Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer; Congregatio Sanctissimi Redemptoris; Redemptorists; Liguorini. (Sichuan)	CSsR	Spanish	1928
Congregation of the Passion of Jesus Christ; *Ku'nan hui* 苦難會; Congregatio Passionis Iesu Christi; Passionists. (Hunan)	CP	American	1921
Congregation of the Priests of the Sacred Heart of Jesus of Betharram; *Shengxin siduo hui* 聖心司鐸會; Prètres du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus de Bétharram; Betharram Fathers; Betharramites. (Yunnan)	SCJ	French	1922
Congregation of the Stimmatini; *Yin wushang siduo hui* 印五傷司鐸會; Congregatio a Ss. Stigmatibus D.N.I.C.; Congregazione delle Sacre Stimmate di NSGC; Stigmatins; Stimmatini; Stigmatine Fathers. (Hebei)	CPS; CS	Italian	1925
Discalced Augustinians; Ordo Fratrum Eremitarum Discalceatorum Sancti Augustini; Order of Discalzed Augustinians. (Beijing)	OSAD	Italian	1698
Disciples of the Sacred Heart of Jesus; *Yesu shengxin mentuhui* 耶穌聖心門徒會; Congrégation des Frères du Sacré-Cœur; Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. (Rehe)		Chinese	1912
Foreign Missions of Paris; *Bali waifang chuanjiao hui* 巴黎外方傳教會; Societas Parisiensis Missionum ad exteros; Missions Étrangères de Paris; Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris; Paris Foreign Mission Society. (Manchuria; Sichuan; Yunnan; Guizhou; Guangxi; Guangdong)	MEP	French	17th cent.

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Men (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Foreign Missions Society of Parma; *Baerma Sheng Shawulüe hui* 巴爾瑪聖沙勿略會; *Baerma waifang chuanhui* 巴爾馬外方 傳會; *Sheng Fangji Shawulüe hui* 聖方濟沙勿略會; Pia Societas S. Francisci Xaverii pro exteris missionibus; Pious Society of St. Francis Xavier for Foreign Missions; Xaverians. (Henan)	SX	Italian	1898
Little Brothers of St. John the Baptist; *Yaohan xiao xiongdi hui* 耀漢小兄弟會; Parvi Fratres a S. Joanne Baptista; Congregation of St. John the Baptist (Anguo). (Hebei; Shanxi; Shaanxi; Inner Mongolia)		Chinese	1928
Marist Brothers of St. Joseph; *Zhu-Mu-hui* 主母會; Joséphistes-Maristes; Congregation of the Chinese Brothers of the Mother of God; Josephites-Marists. (Jiangsu)		Chinese	1866
Marist Brothers of the Schools; *Shengmu xiaokun zhonghui* 聖母小昆仲會; Institutum Fratrum Maristarum a Scholis; Institutum Parvulorum Fratrum Mariae (PFM); Institute of the Marist Brothers of the Schools; Litte Brothers of Mary. (Jiangsu; Hebei; Shandong; Sichuan; Hubei)	FMS	international	1891
Maryknoll Fathers; *Meiguo Tianzhujiao zhuangjiao hui* 美國天主教傳教會; Societas de Maryknoll pro missionibus exteris; Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America. (Guangdong; Guangxi; Hongkong; Manchuria)	MM	American	1918
Milan Foreign Missions; *Milan Waifang Chuanhui* 米蘭外方傳會; Ponfificium Institutum Mediolanense pro Missionibus; Missioni Estere di Milano; Foreign Mission Society of Milan; Lombard Seminary for Foreign Missions; see also PIME. (Hongkong; Guangdong; Henan). Merged into PIME in 1926.	MEM	Italian	1858
Ministers of the Sick; *Lingyi hui* 靈醫會; Ordo Clericorum Regolarium Ministrantium Infirmis; Chierici Regolari Ministri degli Infermi di S. Camillo; Order of St. Camillus; Camillians. (Yunnan)	MI OCM OSC CRMI OSCam	Italian	1946

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Men (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Issoudun); *Shengxin chuanjiao hui* 聖心傳教會; Missionarii Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu; Missionare vom Heiligsten Herzen Jesu von Issoudun; Hiltruper Missionare. (Guizhou)	MSC	German	1917
Missionary Society of St. Columban; *Sheng Gaolongpang waifang chuanjiao hui* 聖高隆龐外方傳教會; Societas S. Columbani pro missionibus ad Exteros; Maynooth Mission to China; Columban Fathers. (Hubei; Jiangxi)	SSC	Irish	1920
Order of Cistercians of Strict Observance; *Xidu hui* 熙篤會; *Yangui xidu hui* 嚴規熙篤會; Ordo Cisterciensium Reformatorum; Ordo Cisterciensium Reformatorum Beatae Mariae Virginis de Trappa" (deinde "Ordo Cisterciensis Strictioris Observantiae"); Reformed Cistercians; Trappists. (Hebei)	OCR OCSO	international	1883
Order of Discalced Carmelites; *Shengyi hui* 聖衣會; Ordo Fratrum Carmelitarum discalceatorum; Discalced Carmelites. (Hubei)	OCD	Italian	1947
Order of Friars Minor; *Sheng Fangjigehui* 聖方濟各會; *Fangjihui* 方濟會; Ordo Fratrum Minorum; Franciscans; Friars Minor. (Shanxi; Shaanxi; Shandong; Hubei)	OFM	international	13th cent.
Order of Friars Minor Capuchin; *Sheng Fangjige jiabu hui* 聖芳濟各嘉布會; Ordo Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum; Capuchin Franciscan Friars; Capuchins. (Gansu; Manchuria)	OFMCap	international	1922
Order of Friars Minor Conventual; *Sheng Fangjige zhuyuan hui* 聖芳濟各住院會; Ordo Fratrum Minorum Conventualium; Conventual Franciscans; Conventuals. (Shaanxi)	OFMCap	Italian	1925
Order of Hermits of St. Augustine; *Sheng Aosiding hui* 聖奧斯定會; Ordo (Fratrum) Eremitarum Sancti Augustini; Ordo Sancti Augustini; Order of St Augustine (OSA); Augustinians. (Hunan)	OESA	Spanish	1680
Order of Preachers; *Sheng Duomingwo hui* 聖多明我會; Ordo Praedicatorum; Dominicans. (Fujian; Taiwan; Sichuan)	OP	international	1631

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Men (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Order of Recollects of St. Augustine; *Chongzheng Aosiding hui* 重整奧斯定會; Ordo Recollectorum S. Augustini; Ordo Augustinianorum Recollectorum (OAR); Order of Augustinian Recollects; Recollect Fathers of St. Augustine; Augustinian Recollects. (Henan)	ORSA	Spanish	1923
Pious Society of St. Paul; *Sheng Paolu hui* 聖保祿會; Pia Societas a Sancto Paulo pro Apostolatu Preli; Paulists. (Jiangsu)	SSP	Italian	1934
Pontifical Institute of Foreign Missions; *Zongzuo waifang chuanjiao hui* 宗座外方傳教會; Pontificium Institutum pro Missionibus Exteris; Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere; PIME Fathers. (Hongkong; Guangdong; Henan; Shaanxi). Merger of MEM and the Pontifical Seminary of SS. Peter and Paul in 1926.	PIME	Italian	1926
Pontifical Seminary of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul of Rome; *Luoma Sheng Boduo yu Sheng Baoli waifang chuanjiao hui* 羅馬聖伯鐸與聖保祿外方傳教會; Pontificio Seminario dei Santi Apostoli Pietro e Paolo di Roma per le Missioni Estere; Missionaries of SS. Peter and Paul. (Shaanxi). Merged into PIME in 1926.		Italian	1885
Quebec Foreign Mission Society; *Kuibeike waifang chuanjiao hui* 魁北克外方傳教會; Societas pro missionibus exteris Provinciæ Quebecensis; Société des Missions-Etrangères du Québec; Société des Prêtres des Missions-Etrangères (PME); P.M.E. Fathers. (Rehe; Manchuria)	MEQ	Canadian	1925
Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith; *Tianzhujiao budao hui* 天主教布道會; Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide'; Propaganda Fide; Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples. (China)	SCPF	international	
Salesians of Don Bosco; *Baosigao ciyou hui* 鮑思高茲幼會; Societas S. Francisci Salesii; Society of St. Francis of Sales; Salesians. (Macao; Guangdong; Hongkong; Yunnan; Beijing)	SDB	Italian	1906

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Men (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Scarboro Foreign Mission Society; *Sijiaboluo chuanjiao hui* 斯加波羅傳教會; Societas Scarborensis pro Missionibus ad Externas Gentes; Scarboro Mission Society. (Zhejiang)	SFM	Canadian	1926
Society of Auxiliaries of the Missions; *Fuwu hui* 服務會; Societas Auxiliarium Missionum; Société des Auxiliaires des Missions. (northern China)	SAM	Belgian	1927
Society of Jesus; *Yesu hui* 耶穌會; Societatis Iesu; Compagnie de Jésus; Jesuits. (Jiangsu; Anhui; Hebei; Guangdong; Hongkong)	SJ	international	1583
Society of Mary; Societas Mariae; **Marianists**. (Shandong; Hubei)	SM	international	1905
Society of St. Sulpice; Societas Presbyterorum a Sancto Sulpitio; Compagnie des Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice; Priests of St. Sulpice; Sulpicians. (Yunnan)	PSS	French	1934
Society of the Divine Savior; *Jiuzhu hui* 救主會; Societas Divini Salvatoris; Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Heilands; Salvatorians. (Fujian)	SDS	German	1921
Society of the Divine Word; *Shengyan hui* 聖言會; Societas Verbi Divini; Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes; Divine World Missionaries; Steyl Missionaries. (Shandong; Henan; Gansu; Qinghai; Xinjiang)	SVD	German international	1879

Table 2. Catholic Religious Communities of Foreign Women

Religious Community of Foreign Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Antonian Sisters of Mary Queen of the Clergy; Congregatio Sororum Antonionarum Mariae Regine Cleri; Soeurs Antoniennes de Marie; Antoniennes de Marie, Reine du Clergé. (Manchuria)	AM	Canadian	1937
Benedictine Sisters; *Bendu xiunühui* 本篤修女會; Sisters of the Order of St. Benedict. (Hebei; Henan)	OSB	American	1930

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Foreign Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Canossian Daughters of Charity; *Jianuosa ren'ai nüxiuhui* 嘉諾撒仁愛女修會; Figlie della Carità Canossiane; Handmaids of the Poor. (Hongkong; Henan; Hubei; Shaanxi; Macao)	FDCC	Italian	1860
Capuchin Sisters of the Third Order of the Holy Family; Hermanas Terciarias Capuchinas de la Sagrada Familia; Religiosas Terciarias Capuchinas de la Sagrada Familia. (Gansu)		Spanish	1930
Claretian Sisters; Religiosas de la Enseñanza de María Inmaculada; Religiosas de María Inmaculada—Misioneras Claretianas; Religious Teachers of Mary Immaculate. (Anhui)	RMI	Spanish	1948
Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul; *Ren'ai xiunühui* 仁愛修女會; Puelle Caritatis Sancti Vincentii a Paulo; Filles de la Charité de St Vincent de Paul. (Zhejiang; Hebei; Shanghai)	DC; FdlC	international	1848
Daughters of Jesus (Salamanca); *Yesu xiao nühui* 耶穌孝女會; Hijas de Jesús (Salamanca); Jesuitinas. (Anhui)	FI	Spanish	1931
Daughters of Mary and Joseph (Holland); *Maliya Ruose xiao nühui* 瑪利亞若瑟孝女會; Congregatio Filiarum B. V. Mariae & S. Joseph; Dochters van Maria en Jozef; Congregatie der Zusters van Liefde Dochters van Maria en Jozef ('s-Hertogenbosch); Zusters van de Choorstraat. (Rehe)		Dutch	1922
Daughters of Mary Help of Christians; *Mu you xiunühui* 母佑修女會; in Taiwan they are known as Renai xiunühui 仁愛修女會; Filiae Mariae Auxiliatricis; Figlie di Maria Ausiliatrice; Salesian Sisters of Don Bosco; Salesian Sisters. (Guangdong)	FMA	Italian	1923
Daughters of St. Paul; *Sheng Baolu xiaonü hui* 聖保祿孝女會; Pia Societas a Sancto Paolo Apostolo; Pia Società San Paolo; Figlie di San Paolo; Pious Society Daughters of St. Paul; Paulines. (Nanjing)	FSP	Italian	1937
Daughters of the Holy Cross of St. Andrew; Congrégaton des Filles de la Croix Sœurs de Saint-André; Filles de la Croix (La Puye); Sisters of St. Andrew. (Yunnan)		French	1934

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Foreign Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
Daughters of the Holy Ghost; *Shengshen xiunühui* 聖神修女會; Filles du Saint-Esprit de St. Brieuc; Daughters of the Holy Spirit; White Sisters of Brittany. (Jilin)	FSE	French	1936
Discalced Carmelite Nuns; *Jiaermoluo xianzu nüxiuhui* 加爾默羅跣足女修會; *Shengmu shengyi yin xiuhui* 聖母聖衣隱修會; Ordo Carmelitarum Discalceatorum; Religieuses Carmélites; Order of Discalced Carmelites; Carmelite Nuns. A contemplative order. (Shanghai; Sichuan; Hongkong; Guangdong; Sichuan; Macao)	OCD	international	1869
Dominican Sisters of St. Joseph (Ilanz); *Sheng Ruose Daoming xiunühui* 聖若瑟道明修女會; Kongregation der Ilanzer Dominikanerinnen vom hl. Joseph; Missionsschwestern, Dominikanerinnen von Ilanz; Ilanzer Josephs-Schwestern vom Dritten Orden des Heiligen Dominikus. (Fujian)	OP	Swiss	1920
Dominican Sisters of St. Mary of the Springs; *Xiquan Shengmu Daoming xiunühui* 溪泉聖母道明修女會; Sorores Tertii Ordinis Sancti Dominici Congregationis Americanae Beate Virginis Mariae ad Fontes; Spring Dominicans. (Fujian)	OP	American	1935
Eucharistic Missionaries of the Most Holy Trinity; Misioneras Eucaristicas de la Ssma. Trinidad. (Anhui)	MESST	Mexican	1949
Franciscan Angelicals; Suore Francescane Angeline (Torino); Francescane Angeline. (Hunan)	SFA	Italian	1949
Franciscan Missionaries of Mary; *Maliya fangjige chuanjiao xiuhui* 瑪利亞方濟各傳教修會; Institutum Franciscalium Missionariarum Mariae; White Sisters. (Shandong; Hubei; Hunan; Sichuan; Manchuria; Hebei; Suiyuan; Shanxi; Yunnan; Macao; Shaanxi)	FMM	international	1886
Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Egypt; *Aiji fangji xiunühui* 埃及方濟修女會; Francescane del Cuore Immaculato di Maria dette d'Egitto; Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. (Hubei; Hunan; Hebei)	FCIM; FMCIM	Italian	1910
Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Divine Motherhood; Sorores Missionariae Franciscales a Divina Maternitate. (Hubei)	FMDM	British	1947

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Foreign Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Franciscan School Sisters of St. Francis; Sorores Scholarum Tertii Ordinis Sancti Francisci; School Sisters of St. Francis. (Shandong)	OSF; SSSF	American	1931
Franciscan Sisters of Luxemburg; *Puci Fangji xiunü hui* 普慈方濟修女會; Congregatio Sororum Tertii Ordinis S. P. Francisci (Luxembourg); Barmherzige Schwestern vom Heiligen Franziskus (Luxemburg); Franziskanerinnen vun der Baarmhäerzegkeet (Lëtzebuerg); Sisters of Mercy of St. Francis; Luxemburg Sisters. (Hubei; Hunan; Shanghai; Shandong)	OSF; FM	Luxemburg	1927
Franciscan Sisters of Oldenburg (Indiana); *Fangji xiunühui* 方濟修女會; Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Oldenburg; Oldenburg Sisters. (Hubei)	OSF	American	1938
Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration; *Sheng Fangjige yongjiu chaobi shengti xiunühui* 聖方濟各永久朝拜聖體修女會; Franciscan Sisters of St. Rose (La Crosse); La Crosse Sisters. (Hubei)	FSPA	American	1928
Grey Sisters of the Immaculate Conception; Soeurs Grises de l'Immaculée Conception (Pembroke). (Zhejiang)	MFIC; GSIC	Canadian	1930
Helpers of the Holy Souls; *Zhengwang hui* 拯望會; Sororum Societatis Auxiliatricium Animarum Purgatorii; Auxiliatrices des Ames du Purgatoire; Society of the Helpers of the Holy Souls in Purgatory; Society of Helpers. (Shanghai; Hebei)	SA; HHS	French	1867
Holy Spirit Adoration Sisters; Congregatio Servarum Spiritus Sancti de Adoratione Perpetua; Dienerinnen des Heiligen Geistes von der Ewigen Anbetung; Steyler Anbetungsschwestern; Sisters, Servants of the Holy Ghost of Perpetual Adoration; Pink Sisters. (Shandong)	SSpSAp	German	1932
Hospital Sisters of St. Francis (Springfield); Kongregation der Krankenschwestern vom Regulierten Dritten Orden des heiligen Franziskus; Hospital Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, Springfield. (Shandong; Henan)	OSF	American	1925

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Foreign Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
Lay Auxiliaries of the Missions; *Lei Mingyuan guoji nüzi fuwutuan* 雷鳴遠國際女子服務團; Auxiliaires Laïques des Missions; Auxiliaires Féminines Internationales Catholiques; Association Fraternelle Internationale (AFI); International Catholic Auxiliaries (ICA).	ALM	Belgian	1947
Little Sisters of St. Joseph (Heerlen); Parvulae Sorores Sancti Josephi; Kleine Zusters van de Heilige Joseph. (Shanxi; Hebei)		Dutch	1922
Little Sisters of the Poor; *Anpin xiao zimei hui* 安貧小姊妹會; Congregatio Parvularum Sororum Pauperum; Petites Soeurs des Pauvres. (Shanghai; Guangdong; Hongkong)	PSdP	French	1904
Maryknoll Sisters of St. Dominic; *Malinuo nüxiuhui* 瑪利諾女修會; Congregatio Sororum Sancti Dominici de Maryknoll; Foreign Mission Sisters of St. Dominic. (Guangdong; Guangxi; Manchuria)	MM	American	1921
Mercedarian Missionary Sisters; *Bolisi renci shengmu chuanjiao hui* 伯利斯仁慈聖母傳教會; Mercedarias Misioneras de Bérriz (o de Barcelona); Instituto de Religiosas de Nuestra Señora de la Merced. (Anhui)	MMB	Spanish	1926
Minim Sisters of the Sacred Heart; Minime Suore del Sacro Cuore. (Fujian)	MSC	Italian	1932
Ministers of the Sick (Sisters); *Lingyi xiunühui* 靈醫修女會; Suore Ministre degli Infermi di S. Camillo; Sisters of St. Camillus; Camillian Sisters. (Yunnan)	MI	Italian	1948
Missionary Augustinian Recollect Sisters; *Chongzheng Aosi chuanjiao xiunühui* 重整奧思傳教修女會; Misioneras Agustinas Recoletas de María. (Henan)	MAR	Spanish	1947
Missionary Canonesses of St. Augustine; *Sheng Aosiding chuanjiao nüxiu hui* 聖奧斯定傳教女修會; Canonissae Missionariae a Sancto Augustino; Chanoinesses Missionnaires de Saint-Augustin; Dames Chanoinesses de St Augustin; Kanunnikessen-Missionarissen van Sint Augustinus; Zusters van de Jacht. (Ningxia; Suiyuan; Chahar). Now known as the Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary; Zusters-Missionarissen van het Onbevlekt Hart van Maria 聖母聖心傳教修女會 (ICM). (Inner Mongolia)	CMSA	Belgian	1923

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Foreign Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Missionary Catechists of Mary Immaculate (Paris); Catéchistes Missionnaires de Marie Immaculée. (Guangdong)		French	1890
Missionary Dominican Sisters of the Most Holy Rosary; *Meigui daoming chuanjiao xiunühui* 玫瑰道明傳教修女會; Dominicas Misioneras del Santísimo Rosario; Missionary Dominican Sisters of the Rosary (Pamplona). (Fujian)	OP	Spanish	1932
Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of the Angels; *Tianshen zhi hou chuanjiao nüxiuhui* 天神之后傳教女修會; Congregatio Sororum Missionariarum a Nostra Domina Angelorum; Soeurs Missionnaires de Notre-Dame des Anges. (Guizhou; Guangxi; Guangdong)	MNDA	Canadian	1922
Missionary Sisters of St. Columban; *Sheng Gaolongpang chuanjiao nüxiuhui* 聖高隆龐傳教女修會; Religiosae Missionariae Sancti Columbani; Columban Sisters. (Hubei; Jiangxi; Shanghai)	SSC	Irish	1926
Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception; *Shengmu wuyuanzui chuanjiao nüxiuhui* 聖母無原罪傳教女修會; Sorores Missionariae Immaculatae Conceptionis; Sœurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée Conception. (Guangdong; Hongkong; Manchuria; Jiangsu)	MIC	Canadian	1909
Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God; *Shengmu wuyuan zui chuanjiao xiunühui* 聖母無原罪傳教修女會; Missionsschwestern von der Unbefleckten Empfängnis der Mutter Gottes; Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (SMIC); Sheng Kung Sisters. (Shandong)	SMIC; MSIC	German; American	1932
Missionary Sisters of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus; Sorores Missionariae a SS. Corde Iesu; Missionsschwestern vom Heiligsen Herzen Jesu; Hiltrup Sisters. (Guizhou)	MSC	German	1932
Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Codogno); Sorores Missionales a Sacro Corde Jesu; Missionarie del Sacro Cuore di Gesù 'Santa Francesca Saverio Cabrini'. (Henan)	MSC	Italian	1926

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Foreign Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary; *Yesu Maliya shengxin xiunühui* 耶穌瑪利亞聖心修女會; Congregatio Sororum a Sanctis Cordibus; Soeurs Missionnaires du Sacré-Coeur des Jésus et de Marie; Picpus Sisters; 'Zélatrices'. (Hainan)	SSCC	French	1948
Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit; *Shengshen binü chuanjiao hui* 聖神婢女傳教會; Societas Servarum Spiritus Sancti; Dienerinnen des Heiligen Geistes; Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters; Steyler Missionsschwestern. (Shandong; Henan; Gansu; Qinghai)	SSpS	German	1905
Olivetan Benedictine Sisters; *Eliweidan xiunühui* 阿利味丹修女會; Sorores Benedictinae Olivetane; Olivetanerinnen von Heiligkreuz; Holy Cross Sisters of Cham. (Manchuria)	OSB	Swiss	1931
Order of St. Clare; *Sheng jialanyin xiuhui* 聖佳蘭隱修會; Ordo Sanctae Clarae; Ordo Sancti Francisci Pauperes Clarissae; Poor Clares. (Macao). The nuns of the Macao monastery were disbanded in 1835. Poor Clares came to Taiwan in more recent years.	OSC	Spanish; Portuguese	1634
Polish Union of Ursulines; Unio Romana Ordinis Sanctae Ursulae; prowincja polska Urszulanki Unii Rzymskiej; Unia Rzymska Zakonu św. Urszuli; Ursulines of the Polish Union. (Two communities in Harbin: Eastern or Byzantine-Slavonic Rite [Obrzadek Bizantyjsko-Slowianski]; and until 1937 Latin Rite [Obrzadek Lacinski].). In 1936 the sisters joined the Ursulines of the Roman Union.	OSU	Polish	1928
Religious Missionaries of Saint Dominic; *Sheng Duomingwo xiunühui* 聖多明我修女會; *Sheng Daoming chuanjiao xiunühui* 聖道明傳教修女會; Sorores Congregationis Religiosarum Missionariarum S. Dominici; Religiosas Misioneras de Santo Domingo; Sisterns of St. Dominic. (Fujian; Taiwan)	OP	Spanish	1859
Religious of the Sacred Heart; *Shengxin xiunühui* 聖心修女會; Societas Religiosarum Sanctissimi Cordis Jesu; Société du Sacré-Cœur de Jésus; Society of the Sacred Heart; Dames du Sacré-Coeur; Sacred Heart Sisters. (Shanghai)	RSCJ	French	1926

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Foreign Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Sacramentine Sisters; *Shengti xiunühui* 聖體修女會; Suore Sacramentine di Bergamo. (Henan)		Italian	1939
School Sisters of Notre Dame (Kalocsa); Congregatio Sororum Scholasticarum Pauperum a Nostra Domina; Miasszonyunkról Nevezett Szegény Iskolanővérek (Kalocsa). (Hebei)	CSSK	Hungarian	1926
School Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis (Graz); Congregatio Sororum Scholarum Graecensium a Tertio Ordine Sancti Francisci; Grazer Schulschwestern vom III. Orden des hl. Franziskus; Franziskanerinnen von der Unbefleckten Empfängnis (FIC); Grazer Schulschwestern. (Yunnan)	OSF	Slovenian	1936
School Sisters of the Third Order of St. Augustine; *Aosiding chuanjiao xiunühui* 奧斯定傳教修女會; Sorores Tertiarias S. Augustini de Instructione nuncupatas; Agustinas Terceriarias de la Enseñanza; Augustinian School Sisters; Augstinian Missionary Sisters. (Hunan)	AM	Spanish	1925
Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood; Adoratrices Sanguinis Christi; Sisters of the Precious Blood (Ruma); Adorers of the Blood of Christ. (Shandong)	ASC	American	1933
Sisters Adorers of the Precious Blood; Adoratrices du Précieux Sang. It is a contemplative community of Pontifical right. (Hebei)	APB	American	1924
Sisters of Charity (Cincinnati); *Aide hui* 愛德會; Sorores Caritatis Cincinnatenses; Sisters of Charity of Mount St Joseph. (Hubei)	SC	American	1928
Sisters of Charity of Saint Elizabeth (Convent Station); Convent Station Sisters of Charity; New Jersey Sisters of Charity. (Hunan)	SC	American	1925
Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (Szatmar); *Ren'ai xiunühui* 仁愛修女會 (匈牙利); Kongregácia Milosrdných Sestier Sv. Vincenta-Satmárok. (Hunan)		Hungarian	1934
Sisters of Charity of the Immaculate Conception (Ivrea); Suore di Carità dell'Immacolata Concezione—d'Ivrea; Suore d'Ivrea. (Hunan)	SCIC	Italian	1948

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Foreign Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross; *Leleituo hui* 樂勒脫會; Sorores a Loretto ad Pedem Crucis; Loretto Sisters. (Hubei; Shanghai)	SL	American	1923
Sisters of Mary Most Holy Consoler; Congregazione Suore di Maria Santissima Consolatrice. (Henan)	IMC	Italian	1935
Sisters of Mercy of the Holy Cross (Ingenbohl); *Sheng Shizijia ci'ai xiunühui* 聖十字架賜愛修女會; Congregatio Sororum Tertii Ordinis Sancti Francisci a Sancta Cruce; Sorores a Caritate Sanctae Crucis; Barmherzige Schwestern vom Heiligen Kreuz von Ingenbohl; Ingenbohl Sisters. (Manchuria)	SCSC; CSC	Swiss	1929
Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur (Cincinnati); Notre Dame Sisters. (Hubei)	SNDN	American	1926
Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods; *Zhugu xiunühui* 主顧修女會; Sorores a Providentia de St. Mary-of-the-Woods; Sisters of Provicence. (Henan)	SP	American	1920
Sisters of Providence (Portieux); *Puzhao xiunühui* 普照修女會; Sorores a Divina Providentia; Soeurs de l'Instruction chrétienne dites de la Divine Providence de Portieux; Sisters of Christian Instruction. (Manchuria)	CP	French	1875
Sisters of Social Service; *Shehui fuwu xiunühui* 社會服務修女會; Societas Sororum Socialium (of California). (Shanghai)	SSS	American	1946
Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi; Yaxixi Fangji xiunü hui 亞西西方濟修女會; Sorores Poenitentiae et Caritatis Tertii Ordinis Sancti Francisci; Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi, Third Order Regular of Penance and Charity. (Shandong)	OSF	American	1929
Sisters of St. Francis of the Holy Family; Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Family (Dubuque); Sisters of Mount St. Francis. (Shandong)	OSF	American	1931
Sisters of St. Francis Solano; Sorores Tertiariae Franciscanae a S. Franciscus Solano; Congregatio Sancti Solani; Missionarinnen der Franziskanischen Heidenmission; Solanus Schwestern vom	CSS	German	1929

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Foreign Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Dritten Orden des hl. Franziskus von Assisi; Kongregation der Solanusschwestern; Solano Sisters. (Shanxi)			
Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny; Institutum Sororum a Sancto Josepho vulgo 'de Cluny'; Soeurs de Saint-Joseph de Cluny; Congregation of St. Joseph of Cluny. (Guangdong). The China mission was abandoned in 1870.	SJC	French	1866
Sisters of St. Joseph (Pittsburgh). (Hunan)	CSJ	American	1927
Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres; *Shaerde Sheng Baolu nüxiuhui* 沙爾德聖保綠女修會; Sœurs de Saint-Paul de Chartres; Daughters of Charity of St. Paul. (Hongkong; Hainan; Fujian; Yunnan)	SPC	French	1848
Sisters of the Child Jesus (Paris); Sœurs du St Enfant Jésus; Dames de Saint-Maur; Sœurs noires; Sœurs de l'Instruction Charitable du St Enfant Jésus; Congrégation des Sœurs de l'Enfant Jésus (Dames de Saint-Maur); Ladies of St. Maur; Infant Jesus Sisters. (Manchuria)		French	1936
Sisters of the Divine Saviour; *Jiuzhu xiunühui* 救主修女會; Sorores Divini Salvatoris; Schwestern vom Göttlichen Heiland; Congregazione delle Suore del Divin Salvatore; Salvatorian Sisters. (Fujian)	SDS	German	1925
Sisters of the Good Shepherd; *Shanmu xiunühui* 善牧修女會; Sœurs de Notre-Dame du Bon Pasteur d'Angers; Congrégation de Notre Dame de Charité du Bon Pasteur; Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd; Good Shepherd Sisters. (Shanghai)	RGS	French	1933
Sisters of the Visitation; *Fangjian tongzhenhui* 訪問童貞會; Nippon Seibo Homonkai; Japanese Sisters of the Visitation. (Manchuria)	SV	Japanese	1940?
Ursulines of the Roman Union; *Sheng Wusule Luoma lianhe hui* 聖吳甦樂羅馬聯合會; Unio Romana Ordinis Sanctae Ursulae. (Guangdong)	OSU	international	1922
Ursuline Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (Parma); *Yesu shengxin Wusula chuanjiao hui* 耶穌聖心烏蘇拉傳教會; Orsoline del Sacro Cuore di Parma. (Anhui)	OMSC	Italian	1926

Table 3: Catholic Religious Communities of Chinese Women, pre-1950 (including Associations of Diocesan Right)

Religious Community of Chinese Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	Acronym	est.
Associates of the Sacred Hearts; Associées des Sacrés-Coeurs; est. in Pref. Ap. Hainan (Guangdong—now Hainan province).		1929
Association of Our Lady Of the Way; Pia Societas Virginum-Magistrarum D. N. a Strata; Schwesterngenossenschaft Unserer Lieben Frau vom Wege; est. in Pref. Ap. Kinghsien (Hebei).		1945
Association of St. Claire of Virgin Catechists; Association Ste Claire des Vierges Catéchistes; est. in Vic. Ap. Chefoo [Yantai] (Shandong).		
Augustinian Catechists of Christ the King; Congregatio Indigenae Catechistarum Augustinensium a Christo Rege; est. in Pref. Ap. Kweiteh [Shangqiu] (Henan).		1935
Auxiliaries in the Propagation of the Faith; Helferinnen bei der Verbreitung des heiligen Glaubens; est. in Pref. Ap. Ichowfu [Linyi] (Shandong).		1927
Chinese Sisters of the Immaculate Conception; *Zhonghua wuyuanzui shengmu nüxiuhui* 中國無原罪女修會; est. in Vic. Ap. Canton [Guangzhou] Guangdong).	CIC	1932
Congregation for Christian Doctrine; est. in Pref. Ap. Siangtan (Hunan).		
Congregation of Mary; *Shengmu hui* 聖母會; Congrégation de Marie; est. in Vic. Ap. Ningsia (Ningxia).		
Daughters of Mary; Dochters van Maria; Geestelijke Dochters van Maria; Congrégation des Filles de Marie Immaculée; Daughters of the Immaculate Conception; est. in the Vic. Ap. Jehol (Inner Mongolia/Hebei).		1934
Daughters of Purgatory; *Zhengling hui* 拯靈會; Société des Vierges du Purgatoire; Sisters of Purgatory; est. in Vic. Ap. Ningpo (Zhejiang); subsequently also in Vic. Ap. Taichow (Zhejiang).		1892
Daughters of St. Anne; Filles de Ste Anne; Sœurs de Ste Anne; est. in Vic. Ap. Chungking [Chongqing] (Sichuan).		
Daughters of the Christian Doctrine; *Shengdao zhen nühui* 聖道貞女會; Filles de la Doctrine chrétienne; est. in Vic. Ap. Ningyuan (Sichuan); subsequently also in Vic. Ap. Suifu (Sichuan); Vic. Ap. Kiating (Sichuan).		1913
Daughters of the Sacred Heart (Hangchow); Filles du Sacré-Cœur; Sœurs missionnaires du Sacré-Cœur; est. in Vic. Ap. Hangchow (Zhejiang).		1914
Dominican Sisters (Funing); *Daoming xiunühui* 道明修女會; est. in Vic. Ap. Funing (Fujian). Now active in Taiwan as the Chinese Dominican Sisters (OP).		1932

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Chinese Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**est.**
Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Sorrows; *Shengmu tongku fangji chuanjiao nüxiuhui* 聖母痛苦方濟傳教女修會; Congregatio Sororum Indigenarum a Virgine Perdolente; Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother; Franciscan Sisters of the Sorrowful Virgin; Addolorata Sisters; est. in Vic. Ap. Hengchow (Hunan).		1939
Franciscan Sisters of St. Elizabeth; est. in Vic. Ap. Luanfu (Shanxi); subsequently also in Pref. Ap. Kiangchow (Shanxi) and Pref. Ap. Hungtung (Shanxi).		1929
Franciscan Sisters of the Child Jesus; *Shengying hui* 聖嬰會; Sorores Tertiariae Sti. Francisci a Sancta Infantia; Zusters van de Heilige Kindsheid van de derde orde van Sint-Franciscus; Sœurs Franciscaines de l'Enfant-Jésus; Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Infancy; Catechetical Sisters; est. in Vic. Ap. Ichang (Hubei); subsequently also in Pref. Ap. Shasi (Hubei).		1905
Franciscan Sisters of the Precious Blood; *Baoxue Fangjige xiunühui* 寶血方濟各修女會; est. in Pref. Ap, Hinganfu [Xing'an] (Shaanxi).		
Franciscan Tertiaries of St. Theresa of the Child Jesus; *Jiaojingde* 教經的 (Insegnanti di preghiere); Terziarie Francescane indigene di Santa Teresa del Bambino Gesù; Suore Terziarie Francescane della Santa Infanzia; Franciscan Tertiaries of the Holy Infancy; est. in Vic. Ap. Laohokow (Hubei); subsequently in Pref. Ap. Siangyang (Hubei).		1926
Little Sisters of St. Theresa of the Child Jesus; *Delai xiao meimei hui* 德來小妹妹會; Théresiennes; est. in Vic. Ap. Ankwo (Hebei); subsequently in Pref. Ap. Chowchih (Shaanxi); Vic. Ap. Loyang (Henan).		1929
Little Sisters of the Divine Saviour; *Jiuzhu xiao zimei hui* 救主小姊妹會; Kleine Schwestern des Göttlichen Heilands; est. in Vic. Ap. Shaowu (Fujian).		1936
Missionary Sisters of the Blessed Lucy Yi; est. in Pref. Ap. Yochow (Hunan).		
Oblates Missionaries of Mary; Oblates Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie; est. in Pref. Ap. Iduhsien (Shandong), and several other vicariates.		1931
Oblates of St. Francis; Association of St. Claire of Virgin Catechists; est. in Vic. Ap. Chefoo (Shandong)		1939
Oblates of St. Theresa of the Child Jesus; Oblatinnen der Hl. Theresia vom Kinde Jesu; est. in Pref. Ap. Tsitsikar (Manchuria).		1929

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Chinese Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**est.**
Oblates of the Holy Family (Yenchow); *Shengjia hui* 聖家會; *Shengjia xiannü chuanjiao hui* 聖家獻女傳教會; Congregatio missionalis Oblatorum Sanctae Familiae; Oblatinnen der Heiligen Familie; est. in Vic. Ap. Yenchowfu (Shandong); subsequently in Vic. Ap. Lanchowfu (Gansu); Vic. Ap. Sinyangchow (Henan); Vic. Ap. Tsaochowfu (Shandong); Vic. Ap. Tsingtao (Shandong); Vic. Ap. Yangku (Shandong); Vic. Ap. Pingliang (Gansu); Vic. Ap. Tsinchow (Gansu).	OHF	1910
Paraclete Sisters; *Shengshen anwei hui* 聖神安慰會; Congregatio Spiritus Sti Paracliti; Paraclitines; est. in Vic. Ap. Yungnien (Hebei).		1932
Pious Union of the Christian Doctrine; *Shandao hui* 善道會; Suore della Madonna del Buon Consiglio; Sisters of the Christian Union; est. in Vic. Ap. Hangchungfu (Shaanxi).		1922
Presentation Sisters; *Sheng-Mu xiantang hui* 聖母獻堂會; Congrégation de Présentation B.M.V.; Vierges de la Présentation; Society of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin; Présentandines; est. in Vic. Ap. Kiang-Nan; subsequently in Vic. Ap. Anking (Anhui); Vic. Ap. Haimen (Jiangsu); Vic. Ap. Nanking (Jiangsu); Vic. Ap. Pengpu (Anhui); Vic. Ap. Suchow (Jiangsu); Vic. Ap. Wuhu (Anhui); Vic. Ap. Sienhsien (Hebei).		1869
Providence Sister-Catechists; *Zhugu chuanjiao xiunühui* 主顧傳教修女會; Sisters Catechists of Providence; Society of Catechist Sisters; est. 1929 in Vic. Ap. Kaifengfu (Henan).		1929
Religious of the Christian Doctrine (Yunnanfu); Filles de la Doctrine Chrétienne; Vierges Chinoises (Yunnanfu); est. in Vic. Ap. Yünnanfu (Yunnan).		1908
Religious of the Holy Family; est. in Vic. Ap. Kirin (Manchuria).		
Religious of the Sacred Heart of Mary; *Shengmu shengxin hui* 聖母聖心會 Religieuses du St.-Cœur de Marie; Vierges du St.-Cœur de Marie; Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Mary; est. in Vic. Ap. Kirin (Manchuria); subsequently in Vic. Ap. Moukden (Manchuria).	CSCM	1913
Saint Joseph Good Works Society; *Sheng Ruose shangong hui* 聖若瑟善功會; est. in Vic. Ap. Wuchang (Hubei).		
School Sisters (Chinese); Vierges Institutrices; est. in Vic. Ap. Suiyuan (Inner Mongolia).		1909
School Sisters (Tertiaries of St. Francis); Vierges Institutrices Tertiaires de S. François; Communauté d'Institutrices; Tertiary School Sisters of St. Francis; est. in Vic. Ap. Tatsienlu (Sichuan): (1) Chinese community of women in Kangding (Sichuan); (2) non-Chinese community of women in Cizhong near Weixi (Yunnan).		1903

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Chinese Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**est.**
Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary; *Shengmu shengxin binü hui* 聖母聖心婢女會. (Suiyuan, Inner Mongolia)		1941
Servants of the Sacred Heart (Chungking); *Shengxin tang* 聖心堂; Servantes du Sacré-Cœur de Jésus; est. in Vic. Ap. Chungking (Sichuan); subsequently in Vic. Ap. Shunking (Sichuan).		1910
Servants of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Siwantze); *Yesu Shengxin binü hui* 耶穌聖心婢女會; Servantes du Sacré-Coeur (Siwantze); est. in Vic. Ap. Siwantze (Chahar).		1917
Sister Catechists of Our Lady of Kaying; est. in Vic. Ap. Kaying (Guangdong).		1938
Sister Catechists of the Blessed Virgin Mary; est. in Pref. Ap. Kweilin (Guangxi).		1937
Sisters Announcers of the Lord; *Xianzhuhui* 顯主會; now known as *Xianzhu nüxiuhui* 顯主女修會; Sœurs Annonciatrices du Seigneur, Shiuchow; est. in Vic. Ap. Shiuchow [Shaozhou] (Guangdong).	SAL	1936
Sisters Catechists of the Holy Trinity; Vierges Catéchistes; est. in Vic. Ap. Pakhoi (Guangdong).		1890
Sisters of Charity (Lofao); Sœurs de la Charité; est. in Vic. Ap. Pakhoi (Guandong).		
Sisters of Charity of the Sacred Heart (Wuchow); Sœurs de Charité Sacratissimi Jesu de Wuchow; est. in Pref. Ap. Wuchow (Guangxi).		1936
Sisters of Christian Doctrine; *Zhennü chuan xin jiao shou hui* 貞女傳信教授會; Virgins of the Christian Doctrine; est. in Vic. Ap. Taiyuanfu (Shanxi); subsequently in Pref. Ap. Yutze (Shanxi).		1922
Sisters of Divine Love; *Shen aihui*; Sorores a Divino Amore; Sorores Amoris Spiritualis; Genossenschaft der Schwestern von der Göttlichen Liebe; est. in Pref. Ap. Ichowfu; subsequently in Vic. Ap. Yenchowfu (Shandong).	SAD	
Sisters of Divine Providence; Schwestern von der Göttlichen Vorsehung; est. in Pref. Ap. Sinsiang (Henan).		
Sisters of Our Lady of China; *Zhonghua Sheng-Mu hui* 中華聖母會; Schwestern unserer Lieben Frau von China; Schwestern von der Mutter und Kaiserin Chinas; est. in Pref. Ap. Yangku (Shandong).		1941
Sisters of Our Lady of Good Counsel; *Shengmu shandao hui* 聖母善導會; Vierges de Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil; est. 1907 in Vic. Ap. Nanchang (Jiangxi).		1907
Sisters of Our Lady of Purgatory; *Lianyu zhumu hui* 煉獄主母會; Sœurs de N. D. du Purgatoire; est. 1932 in Vic. Ap. Sienhsien (Hebei).		1932

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Chinese Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	Acronym	est.
Sisters of Our Lady of the Rosary; Sœurs de N.D.-du-Rosaire; Vierges de Notre Dame du Rosaire; est. in Vic. Ap. Szepingkai (Manchuria).		1930
Sisters of St. Anne; *Sheng Yana hui* 聖亞納會; Figlie di Sant' Anna; Daughters of St. Anne; est. in Vic. Ap. Kanchow (Jiangxi); subsequently in Vic. Ap. Kianfu (Jiangxi).		1897
Sisters of St. Joseph (Beijing); *Ruose hui* 若瑟會; Josephines; est. in Vic. Ap. Peking (Hebei); subsequently in Pref. Ap. Shuntehfu (Hebei); Vic. Ap. Tientsin (Hebei); Vic. Ap. Paotingfu (Hebei); Vic. Ap. Suanhwafu (Hebei).		1872
Sisters of St. Joseph (Linqing); *Ruose ren'ai hui* 若瑟仁愛會; est. in Pref. Ap. Lintsing (Shandong).		
Sisters of St. Joseph (Weihui); *Ruose hui* 若瑟會; Josephines; est. in Vic. Ap. Weihweifu (Henan).		1926
Sisters of St. Joseph (Zhengding); *Ruose hui* 若瑟會; Filles de Saint Joseph; Josephines; est. in Vic. Ap. Chengtingfu (Hebei).		1880
Sisters of St. Joseph (Zhengzhou); *Ruose hui* 若瑟會; Suore Giuseppine; Josephines; est. in Vic. Ap. Chengchow (Henan); subsequently in Vic. Ap. Loyang (Henan).		1914
Sisters of St. Theresa of the Child Jesus; Sœurs de Ste Thérèse de l'Enfant-Jésus; est. in Vic. Ap. Haimen (Jiangsu).		1931
Sisters of the Blessed Agatha Lin; est. in Vic. Ap. Lanlong (Guizhou and Guangxi).		
Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Hanyang; est. in Vic. Ap. Hanyang (Hubei).		1939
Sisters of the Holy Family; *Shengjia hui* 聖家會; Vierges de la Sainte-Famille; est. in Vic. Ap. Nanning (Guangxi); subsequently in Vic. Ap. Lanlong (Guizhou and Guangxi).		1903
Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (Canton); Sœurs de l'Immaculée-Conception; Religiose dell'Immaculata Concezione; est. in Vic. Ap. Canton (Guangdong); subsequently in Vic. Ap. Pakhoi (Guangdong—now mostly in Guangxi); Vic. Ap. Kongmoon (Guangdong).		1898
Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (Nanyang); *Shengmu wuyuanzui hui* 聖母無原罪會; est. in Vic. Ap. Nanyang (Henan).		
Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (Yungping); *Shengmu hui* 聖母會; Sœurs de l'Immaculée-Conception; est. in Vic. Ap. Yungpingfu (Hebei).		1901
Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Kongmoon); *Shengmu jiexin hui* 聖母潔心會; Sœurs du Très Pur Cœur de Marie; Congregation of the Most Pure Heart of Mary; est. 1931 in Vic. Ap. Kongmoon (Guangdong); since 1954 in Hongkong.		1931

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Religious Community of Chinese Women (and Chinese province in which the religious institute was present)	**Acronym**	**est.**
Sisters of the Most Holy Virgin of Perpetual Help; *Shengmu yongzhu xiunühui* 聖母永助修女會; Schwestern von der allerheiligsten Jungfrau von der immerwährenden Hilfe; Mariahilfschwestern; est. in Pref. Ap. Sining (Qinghai).		1946
Sisters of the Precious Blood; *Baoxiehui* 寶血會; *Yesu baoxie nüxiuhui* 耶穌寶血女修會; Congregationis Indiginae Sororum Pretiosissimi Sanguinis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi; est. 1922 in Hongkong.	SPB	1922
Sisters of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin; *Xiantang xiunühui* 獻堂修女會; Sœurs de la Présentation de la T. S. V.; Association of the Presentation; est. 1930 in Vicariate Apostolic of Tsining (Suiyuan—now Inner Mongolia).		1930
Sisters of the Sacred Heart; *Shengxin yuan* 聖心院; Sœurs du Sacré-Cœur; est. in Vic. Ap. Kweiyang (Guizhou); subsequently in Vic. Ap. Lanlong (Guizhou and Guangxi).		1915
Sisters of the Sacred Heart (Fushun); est. in Pref. Ap. Fushun (Manchuria).		1939
Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus for the Propagation of the Faith; est. in Pref. Ap. Yihsien (Hebei).		1935
Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Wanhsien); est. in Vic. Ap. Wanhsien (Sichuan).		
Tertiary Franciscan Missionaries of the Immaculate Conception; est. in Vic. Ap. Changsha (Hunan).		1947
Tertiary Franciscan Sisters of the Sacred Heart; *Yesu shengxin zhi fangjige di san xiunühui* 耶穌聖心之方濟各第三修女會; Terziarie Francescane del S. Cuore (Istituto Benedetto XV); Benedict XV Institute; est. in Vic. Ap. Sian; subsequently in Pref. Ap. Sanyüan; Pref. Ap. Tungchow; Pref. Ap. Fengsiang; Pref. Ap. Chowchih. All locations in Shaanxi.		1922
Tertiary Sisters of St. Francis; *Sheng Fangjige di san hui xunmeng yuan* 聖方濟各第三會訓蒙院; *Xunmeng hui* 訓蒙會; Sisters of Christian Doctrine; est. 1911 in Vic. Ap. Hankow (Hubei); Vic. Ap. Wuchang (Hubei); Pref. Ap. Suihsien (Hubei).		1911
Virgins of St. Theresa; Vierges de Ste Thérèse; est. in Vic. Ap. Nanchang (Jiangxi).		

Table 4: Protestant Missionary Societies

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Adullam Rescue Mission (Yunnan)	ARM	American	c. 1919
American Advent Mission Society; *Laifu hui* 來復會; China Advent Mission; American Advent Christian Mission. (Jiangsu; Anhui)	AAM; AACM	American	1898
American Baptist Foreign Mission Society; *Jinli hui* 浸禮會; *Da-Meiguo Jinli hui chaihui* 大美國浸禮會差會. Before 1910 known as American Baptist Missionary Union. (Macau; Hong Kong; Guangdong; Guangxi; Zhejiang; Jiangsu; Sichuan; Hubei)	ABFMS	American	1836
American Baptist Missionary Union; see American Baptist Foreign Mission Society	ABMU	American	1836
American Bible Society; *Meiguo Shengjing hui* 美國聖經會. (Engaged in the distribution of Christian literature throughout China)	ABS	American	1833
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; *Gongli hui* 公理會; *Meibu hui* 美部會; American Board. (Hebei; Shandong; Shanxi; Fujian; Guangdong)	ABCFM	American	1830
American Friends Board of Missions; American Friends Board of Foreign Missions (AFFM); Quakers. (Sichuan)	AFBM	American	1920
American Friends Mission; *Guige hui* 貴格會; Friends Foreign Missionary Society of Ohio Yearly Meeting; Evangelical Friends Mission; Quaker. (Jiangsu)	AFO	American	1887
American Friends Service Committee. (Relief throughout China)	AFSC	American	1940s
American Lutheran Mission (of Shandong); *Zhonghua Xinyi hui* 中華信義會; United Lutheran Church in America, Board of Foreign Missions. (Took over the Shandong field from the Berlin Missionary Society)	ALM; ULC	American	1925
American Presbyterians (North); *Zhanglao hui* (*Mei-Bei*) 長老會 (美北); Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Board of Foreign Missions; American Presbyterian Mission (North). (Guangdong; Hainan; Shanghai; Jiangsu; Anhui; Zhejiang; Shandong; Hebei; Hunan; Yunnan)	PN	American	1844
American Presbyterians (South); *Zhanglao hui* (*Mei-Nan*) 長老會 (美南); Presbyterian Church in the United States, Executive Committee of Foreign Missions. (Jiangsu; Zhejiang; Shandong)	PS	American	1867

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
American Seaman's Friend Society; *Meiguo haiyuan youhao xiehui* 美國海員友好協會. (Guangdong)	ASFS	American	1830
Anglican-Episcopal Church in Japan; *Nippon Seikokai* 日本聖公會. (Taiwan; Manchuria)	NSKK	Japanese	1897
Anna Cheng's Mission. (Shanxi; Hunan)		Norwegian/ Chinese	1899
Apostolic Church–Missionary Movement; *Shitu hui* 使徒會; Apostolic Church Mission. (Hebei; Guizhou)		International	1923
Apostolic Faith Mission; *Shitu xinxin hui* 使徒信心會; Apostolic Faith Missionaries. (Jiangsu; Hebei)	AFM	International	c.1910
Assemblies of God Mission; *Shangdi jiaohui* 上帝教會; *Shenzhao hui* 神召會; General Council of the Assemblies of God; Assemblies of God, Foreign Missons Department of the General Council. (Gansu; Qinghai; Hebei; Zhejiang; Jiangsu; Shanxi; Shandong; Guangxi; Guangdong; Yunnan)	AG	American	1914
Assembly of God–Good News Mission; *Shenzhao hui* 神召會. (Hebei)	AGM	American/ Canadian	1914
Association of Baptists for World Evangelism; *Wanguo Xuandao Jinxin hui* 萬國宣道浸信會. (Guangdong)	ABWE	American	1945
Augustana Synod Mission; *Xinyi hui* 信義會; Board of Foreign Missons of the Augustana Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America (FMAS). (Henan; Hubei)	Aug; ELAug	American	1905
Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions; *Aozhou Zhanglao hui* 澳洲長老會. (Yunnan)	PCA	Australian	
Baptist China Direct Mission; *Zhijie Jinxin hui* 直接浸信會; *Jinxin zili hui* 浸信自立會. (Shandong)	BCDM	American	
Baptist General Conference. (Northern China; Manchuria)	BGC	American	1945
Baptist Missionary Society; *Da-Ying Jinxin hui* 大英浸信會; Particular Baptist Missionary Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen; English Baptist Mission (EBM); since 2000: BMS World Mission. (Shandong; Shanxi; Shaanxi; Jiangsu)	BMS	British	1860
Basel Mission; *Base hui* 巴色會; *Chongzhen hui* 崇真會; Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel; Evangelical Mission Society of Basel. (Hong Kong; Guangdong)	BM	International	1847

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
Berlin Ladies Association for China; *Baling nü shuyuan* 巴陵女書院; Berliner Frauen-Missions-Verein für China. (Hong Kong); 1882 merged into BFM	BFV	German	1851
Berlin Missionary Association for China; *Baling Zhongguo chaihui* 巴陵中國差會; Berlin Missionary Union for China; Berliner Hauptverein für die evangelische Mission in China. (Hong Kong; Guangdong); 1882 absorbed by BMG	BHV	German	1851
Berlin Missionary Society; *Baling Xinyi hui* 巴陵信義會; Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der evangelischen Mission unter den Heiden; Berliner Missionsgesellschaft; Berlin Mission; Berlin I. (Guangdong; Jiangxi; Shandong; Hong Kong)	BMG	German	1882
Berlin Women's Missionary Society; *Baling nü shuyuan* 巴陵女書院; Berliner Frauen-Missionsbund; Berlin Women's Missionary League. (Guangdong; Shandong)	BFM	German	1882
Bethel Mission; *Boteli hui* 伯特利會; Bethel Mission of China. (Hebei; Hong Kong; Guizhou; Jiangsu; Sichuan)	BeM	International	1920
Bethel Pentecostal Assembly; Excecutive Council of Bethel Pentecostal Assembly. (Gansu)	BPA	American	
Bible Christian Mission; *Meidao hui* 美道會; Bible Christian Church Mission; Bible Christian Home and Foreign Missionary Society. Merged into the United Methodist Church in 1907. (Yunnan; Guizhou)	BCM	British	1885
Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society; *Shengjing chaihui* 聖經差會. (Sichuan; Guangxi; Guangdong; Hong Kong)	BCMS	British	1923
Bible Mission Society		American	1904
Bible Presbyterian Church; Independent Board of Presbyterian Foreign Missions. (Shandong; Jiangsu)	BPS	American	1933
Brethren Church, Foreign Missionary Society. (Gansu)	FBC	American	
British and Foreign Bible Society; *Da-Yingguo Shengshu gonghui* 大英國聖書公會. (Jiangsu; several subagencies and depots in other parts of China)	BFBS	British	1812

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
Broadcast Tract Press and Faith Orphanages; *Guangfa yinshu fang* 廣發印書坊; *Dong-Ya Jidujiao daoyou hui* 東亞基督教道友會; Faith Orphanage and Orphanage Tract Press; Kiangsi-Hunan Tract Press; Hunan Faith Mission. (Hunan)	BTP	American	1895
Canadian Church Mission; *Zhonghua Shenggong hui* 中華聖公會; The Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC). (Henan)	CEC	Canadian	1910
Canadian Holiness Movement Mission; *Shengjie hui* 聖潔會; Canadian Holiness Mission; Holiness Movement Church. (Hunan)	CHM	Canadian	1910
Canadian Methodist Mission; *Yingmei hui* 英美會; Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada. (Sichuan)	CMM	Canadian	1925
Canadian Presbyterian Mission; *Kan'ada Changlao hui* 坎阿大長老會; Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC). In 1925, most China missionaries merged into the United Church of Canada, while a minority continued to operate a Canadian Presbyterian Mission in China. (Henan; Macau; Guangdong; Taiwan; Jiangsu; Manchuria)	CPM	Canadian	1871
Chefoo Industrial Mission; *Yantai gongyi hui* 煙台工藝會; McMullan Memorial Mission. (Shandong)	CI	British	1895
China Free Methodist Mission; *Xunli hui* 循理會; General Mission Board of the Free Methodist Church of North America; American Free Methodist Mission. (Henan)	FMA	American	1904
China Inland Mission; *Neidi hui* 內地會. (The CIM or its affiliates were present in all provinces and territories of China except Guangdong, Guangxi, and Fujian. For a list of stations in the other provinces, see *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China*)	CIM	International	1865
China Mennonite Mission Society; *Mengna Fuyin hui* 孟那福音會; Light and Hope Mission; German Mennonite Mission, U.S.A. (Shandong; Henan; Sichuan; Gansu)	CMMS; ChMMS	American	1905
China New Testament Mission; *Xinyue jiaohui* 新約教會. (Guangdong)	CNTM	American	1909
Chinese Evangelization Society; *Zhonghua chuandaohui* 中華傳道會; *Xing Hua hui* 醒華會; Chinese Society for Furthering the Promulgation of the Gospel in China, and Adjacent Countries, by Means of Native Evangelists. (Hong Kong; Zhejiang)	CES	British	1853–1860

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
Christian and Missionary Alliance; *Xuandao hui* 宣道會; International Missionary Alliance (prior to merger in 1897). (Anhui; Hunan; Hubei; Gansu; Qinghai; Guizhou; Sichuan; Jiangsu; Guangxi; Hong Kong; Hebei)	CMA	American	1888
Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion; *Jidu gongtong Shitu Zaixun* 基督公同使徒在郇. (Jiangsu)	CCACZ	American	
Christian Faith Mission; *Fudao Fuyin hui* 輔道福音會. (Guangdong)	CFM	American	
Christian Herald Industrial Mission. (Fujian)	CHIM	American	1908
Christian Missions in Many Lands; *Dixiong hui* 弟兄會; Unconnected; Plymouth Brethren. (Jiangxi; Shandong; Hebei; Liaoning)	CMML	British	1885
Christian Missions to Buddhists in China; *Nanjing Jingfengshan Jidujiao conglin daoyou hui zongyuan* 南京景風山基督教叢林道友會總院; Kristne Buddhistmisjon i de Nordiske Land; Tao Fong Shan Christian Institute. (Jiangsu; Hong Kong)	CMB	Norwegian	1922
Christian Reformed Church Mission; *Guizheng Jidujiao hui* 歸正基督教會. (Jiangsu)	CRC	American	1923
Christians' Mission; *Jidutu gonghui* 基督徒公會. (Zhejiang)	CM	British	1893
Church Missionary Society; *Da-Ying jiaohui* 大英教會; *Yinghang jiaohui* 英行教會; Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East. (Zhejiang; Fujian; Hunan; Guangxi; Sichuan; Hong Kong; Guangdong; Yunnan)	CMS	British	1844
Church of Christ in Japan; Nippon Kirisuto Kyokai; Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai. (Taiwan; Manchuria; Hong Kong)	NKK	Japanese	
Church of England Zenana Mission; Church of England Zenana Missionary Society; *Zhonghua Shenggong hui* (*nübu*) 中華聖公會 (女部). (Fujian; Hunan; Guangxi)	CEZMS	British	1884
Church of God (Cleveland). (Shandong)	CG	American	1923
Church of God Mission (Anderson-Indiana); *Shen de jiaohui* 神的教會; *Shangdi jiaohui* 上帝教會; Church of God (Anderson, Indiana). (Jiangsu; West China)	CGM	American	1910
Church of Scotland Mission; *Sugelan Fuyin hui* 蘇格蘭福音會; Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee. (Hubei; Manchuria)	CSFM	British	1878

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Church of Sweden Mission; *Rui-Hua Xinyi hui* 瑞華信義會; *Xiangbei Rui-Hua Xinyi hui* 湘北瑞華信義會; Svenska Kyrkans Mission; Swedish Church Mission. (Hunan)	SKM	Swedish	1918
Church of the Brethren Mission; *You'ai hui* 友愛會; General Mission Board of the Church of the Brethren (GBB). (Shanxi; Guangdong)	CBM	American	1908
Church of the Nazarene; *Xuansheng hui* 宣聖會; General Missionary Board of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. (Hebei; Shandong)	CN	American	1914
Churches of Christ; *Jidujiao hui* 基督教會. (Hong Kong; Guangdong; Guangxi; Hebei)	CC	American	1925
Churches of Christ in Australia; *Aozhou Jidu hui* 澳洲基督會; *Jidutu hui* 基督徒會; Federal Foreign Missionary Committee of the Churches of Christ in Australia; Australian Churches of Christ, Foreign Mission Board. (Jiangsu; Sichuan)	CCA	Australian	1916
Community of the Transfiguration. (Anhui)	CT	American	1914
Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society; *Meibei Jinxin Xuandao hui* 美北浸信宣道會.	CBFMS	American	1946
Convention of Regular Baptist Churches of British Columbia; *Jia'nada Jinxin hui* 加拿大浸信會; North Manchurian Baptist Mission. (Heilongjiang; Jiangsu)	NMBM	Canadian	1930
Covenant Missionary Society; *Xingdao hui* 行道會; *Bei Xingdao hui* 北行道會; Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America. (Hubei)	CovMS	American	
Cumberland Presbyterian Mission; *Jinbalun Zhanglao hui* 金巴崙長老會; *Genbenlun Zhanglao hui* 根本論長老會 (in Stauffer); Woman's Board of Missions of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church (CPW). (Hunan; Hubei; Guangdong; Hong Kong)	CumPM	American	1897
Danish Missionary Society; *Lude hui (Dan)* 路德會 (丹); *Guandong Jidujiao Xinyi hui* 關東基督教信義會; Danske Missions-Selskab. (Manchuria)	DMS	Danish	1896
Danish Missionary Union; Det Danske Missionsforbund; Mission Covenant Church of Denmark. (Guizhou)	DMU	Danish	1926
Disciples of Christ; *Jidu hui* 基督會; *Jidujiao hui* 基督教會; Foreign Christian Missionary Society/Church of Christ/United Christian Missionary Society/Christian Church (Disciples of Christ); China Christian Mission/Campbellites. (Anhui; Jiangsu; Sichuan)	FMS; UCMS	American	1888

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
Door of Hope and Children's Refuge; *Jiliang suo* 濟良所; Door of Hope Mission. (Jiangsu)	DHM	International	1901
Dutch Pentecostal Missionary Society; Nederlandsch Pinksterzendingsgenootschap. (Yunnan)		Dutch	
Ebenezer Mission; *Jiu'en hui* 救恩會. (Henan)	EbM	American	1907
Elbethel Christian Work. (Hubei)			
Elim Missionary Society; Elim International Missions	EMS	British	
Emmanuel Church of the Foursquare Gospel; *Wanguo Sifang Fuyin hui* 萬國四方福音會. (Jiangsu; Shandong)	ECFG	American	
Emmanuel Medical Mission; *Fudao hui* 傅道會. (Guangxi)	EMM	British	
English Presbyterian Mission; *Da-Ying Zhanglao hui* 大英長老會. (Fujian; Guangdong; Taiwan)	EPM	British	1847
Evangel Mission; *Shengdao hui* 聖道會; Evangelistic Prayer and Missionary Union (EPMU). (Guangdong)	EvM	American	1904
Evangelical Association Mission; *Fuyin hui* 福音會; Evangelical Association of North America; Missionary Society of the Evangelical Association. (Hunan; Guizhou)	EAM	American	1904
Evangelical Church Mission; *Zundao hui* 遵道會; Missionary Society of the Evangelical Church. (Hunan; Guizhou); see also United Evangelical Church Mission	EC	American	1900
Evangelical Congregational Church. (Hunan)		American	1900
Evangelical Lutheran Mission of Missouri and Other States; *Lude jiao* 路德教; *Fuyindao Lude hui* 福音道路德會; Missouri Synod. (Hubei; Sichuan)	ELMo; MELCM	American	1912
Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society for China. (Hubei)	EvLM	American	1913
Evangelical United Brethren Church. (Hunan; Guizhou; Guangdong)	EUB	American	1946
Evangelische Diakonissenanstalt Stuttgart; Evangelical Deaconess Institute. (Hebei)		German	1924
Evangelize China Fellowship; *Zhongguo budao hui* 中國佈道會. (Jiangsu)	ECF	International	1947
Faith and Love Mission; *Xin'ai hui* 信愛會. (Guangxi)	FLM		1921
Faith Fellowship. (Jiangsu)	FF		

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Faith Mission; *Gongxin hui* 公信會. (Anhui)	FaM	American	1901
Finnish Free Missionary Society; *Ziyou hui (Fen)* 自由會 (芬); Fria Missionsförbundet; Suomen Vapaa Lähetys; Free Mission Society. (Jiangxi)	FFC	Finnish	1922
Finnish Missionary Society; *Xiang xibei Xinyi hui* 湘西北信義會; Suomen Lähetysseura; Finska Missionssälskapet; Finland Missionary Society. (Hunan; Hubei)	FMS	Finnish	1901
Finnish Pentecostal Friends Mission; Suomen Helluntaiystävien Ulkolähetys; Finnish Pentecostal Missions. (Shandong)		Finnish	1924
Free Church of Finland Mission; Suomen Vapaa Lähetys. (Jiangxi)	SVL	Finnish	1899
Free Church of Sweden; *Ruidian zili hui* 瑞典自立會. See **Swedish Free Mission**.	FCS	Swedish	
Free Evangelical Assemblies of Norway; De Frie Evangeliske Forsamlingers Misjon; De Frie Evangeliske Forsamlinger i Norge (DFEF). (Hebei; Shanxi)	FEFM	Norwegian	1916
Friedenshort Deaconess Mission; *Nü zhishi hui* 女執事會; Friedenshort Diakonissenmission. (Hong Kong; Guizhou; Yunnan)	FDM	German	1906
Friends Mission (West China); *Gongyi hui* 公誼會; *Gongxin hui* 公信會; Friends Foreign Mission Association (FFMA); later: Friends' Service Council; Quaker Peace and Service; Quakers. (Shaanxi; Hebei; Sichuan)	FSC	British	1886
Fundamentalist Mission; *Yuandao tang* 原道堂. (Jiangsu)	FM		1928
General Baptist Missionary Society; *Yingguo putong jinlihui* 英國普通浸禮會. (Zhejiang)	GBMS	British	1845
General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society; *Tongshan jiaohui* 同善教會; Allgemeiner Evangelisch-Protestantischer Missions-Verein; Ostasien-Mission/East Asia Mission; Weimar Mission. (Shandong)	AEPMV	German/ Swiss	1885
German China Alliance Mission; *Chuan Fuyin hui* 傳福音會; *De-Hua menghui* 德華盟會; Deutsche China-Allianz-Mission; China Alliance Mission; Allianz-Mission Barmen (AMB); Allianz-Mission e.V.; Allianz-China-Mission (ACM). (Zhejiang; Jiangxi)	GCAM	German	1889
German Women's Bible Union; Deutscher Bund der Mädchen-Bibel-Kreise; MBK-Mission; Hotschuan-Mission. (Sichuan)	MBK	German	1925

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
German Women's Missionary Union; *Nü gonghui* 女公會; Deutscher Frauen-Missions-Gebetsbund; Deutscher Frauenmissionsbund (DFMB). (Sichuan)	GWMU	German	1903
Glad Tidings Mission. (Jiangsu)			
Gloryland Mission of China (Jiangsu)			
Gospel Mission; *Mei-Nan jinxin chuandaohui* 美南浸信傳道會; American Gospel Baptist Mission. (Shandong; Anhui; Henan)	GM	American	1893
Grace Evangelical Mission; *Endian hui* 恩典會. (Henan)	GEM	American	1904
Grace Mission. (Zhejiang)	GMC	American	1902
Hauge's Synod Mission; Hauge's Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod; *Hongen hui* 鴻恩會. (Hubei; Henan)	HSM	American	1891
Hebron Mission; *Xibolun hui* 希伯崙會. (Guangdong)	HEB	American	1915
Hephzibah Faith Mission; *Xinle hui* 信樂會; Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association (HFMA). (Inner Mongolia)	HFM	American	1922
Hildesheim Mission to the Blind; *Deguo xi dikan hui* 德國喜迪堪會; Hildesheimer China Blinden-Mission; Deutsche Blindenmission in China. (Hong Kong; Guangdong)	HVBC	German	1890
Home of Onesiphorus; *Onisefei ertong zhi jia* 阿尼色弗兒童之家 (Shandong)		American	1916
Home of the Nazarene; Nazarene Industrial Orphanage. (Jiangsu)	HN	Canadian	1908
Hunan Bible Institute; *Hunan Shengjing xuejiao* 湖南聖經學校; China Department of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles. (Hunan)	BIOLA	American	1917
Independent Evangelical Lutheran Mission; *Xinyi hui* 信義會. (Sichuan)	ELM	Norwegian	1913
Independent Lutheran Mission; *Zili Xinyi hui* 自立信義會. (Henan)	ILM	American	1915
International Institute of China; *Shangxian tang* 尚賢堂; Mission among the Higher Classes in China. (Beijing; Shanghai)	MHCC	American	1897
International Postal Telegraph Christian Association; *Wanguo youdian jidu hui* 萬國郵電基督會. (Jiangsu; Hubei)	IPTCA	British	1907
International Union Mission. (Hunan)		American	1901

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
Japan Apostolic Mission. (Taiwan)		Japanese	
Japan Christian Medical Association; Nihon Kiristosha Ikarenmei. (Anhui; Jiangsu)		Japanese	1939
Japan Free Methodist Church; Nippon Jiyu Mesojisuto Kyodan. (Hebei; Mongolia)		Japanese	1939
Japan Holiness Church; *Riben Shengjiao hui* 日本聖教會; Nippon Sei Kyokai. (Manchuria; Taiwan)	NSK	Japanese	
Kassel Missionary Society; Chinesische Stiftung; Deutsche Chinesische Stiftung; Chinese Foundation. (Hong Kong)	CS	German	1849
Kiel China Mission; Kieler Mission; *Zhanglao jiaohui* 長老教會. (Guangdong)	KCM	German	1899
Korean Methodist Church. (Manchuria)		Korean	
Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Mission; *Yesujiao Fuyin hui* 耶穌福音會; *Zhuozishan Fuyin hui* 卓資山福音會. (Inner Mongolia; Shaanxi)	KMB	American	1922
Liebenzell Mission; *Libenze Xinyi hui* 立本責信義會; Liebenzeller Mission. (Hunan; Guizhou)	LM	German	1900
London Missionary Society; *Lundun hui* 倫敦會. (Hubei; Jiangsu; Fujian; Hebei; Shandong; Hong Kong; Guangdong)	LMS	British	1807
Lund Missionary Society; *Longde budao hui* 隆德佈道會; Lunds Missionssällskap. (Fujian)	LuMS	Swedish	1849
Lungpui Mission. (Guangdong)		American	1906
Lutheran Board of Missions; *Xinyi gongli hui* 信義公里會; Den Lutherske Frikirkes Hedningemission; Lutheran Free Church, Foreign Mission Board; Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church, Board of Missions. (Henan)	LBdM	American	1917
Lutheran Brethren Mission; *Xuandao hui* 選道會; Evangelical Lutheran Norwegian Brethren, Mission Board of; American Lutheran Brethren Mission. (Henan; Hubei)	LBM	American	1902
Lutheran Synod Mission of America; *Guangzhou Xinyi hui* 光州信義會; Norwegian Synod of the American Lutheran Church (in 1955 became Evangelical Lutheran Synod); Norwegian Synod. (Henan)	LSA	American	1912
Lutheran United Mission; *Yu-E Xinyi hui* 豫鄂信義會; Board of Foreign Missions of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. (Henan; Hubei; Hunan)	LUM	American	1894

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
Medical Missionary Society; *Jiaoshi yixue hui* 教士醫學會.	MMS	International	1838
Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities. (Sichuan)		American	1947
Mennonite Brethren Church; *Mengna Jinxin hui* 孟那浸信會; Mennonite Brethren Mission (MBM); Mennonite Brethren (MB); Mennonite Brethren Board of Foreign Missions (now Mennonite Brethren Missions/Services International). (Fujian; Sichuan; Gansu)	MBrC	American	1911
Mennonite Central Committee. (Henan; Hunan; Jiangsu)	MCC	American	1945
Mennonite General Conference Mission; *Meiguo qingjie hui* 美國清潔會; General Conference of the Mennonites of North America. (Hebei; Shaanxi; Sichuan)	MGC	American	1909
Methodist Episcopal Church; *Meiyi meihui* 美以美會; Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEFB); American Methodist Episcopal Mission. (Anhui; Jiangsu; Sichuan; Fujian; Jiangxi; Hebei; Shandong)	MEC	American	1847
Methodist Episcopal Church (South); *Jianli hui* 監理會; Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MES). (Zhejiang; Jiangsu; Manchuria)	MECS	American	1848
Methodist Missionary Society; *Xundao gonghui* 循道公會. (Hebei; Shandong; Henan; Hubei; Yunnan; Zhejiang; Guangdong; Guangxi)	MMS	British	1932
Methodist New Connexion Missionary Society; *Shengdao tang* 聖道堂; *Meiyi meihui (Yingguo)* 美以美會 (英國). Merged into the United Methodist Church in 1907. (Hebei; Shandong)	MNC	British	1858
Methodist Protestant Mission; *Meipu hui* 美普會; *Zhangjiakou Meipu hui* 張家口美普會; Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Protestant Church; Protestant Methodist Church Mission. (Hebei)	MP	American	1909
Metropolitan Presbyterian Mission; *Puyi shuhui* 普益書會; *Zhonghua Puyi shuhui* 中華普益書會. (Jiangsu)	MPM	American	1907
Mid-Yunnan Bethel Mission; *Dianzhong Boteli hui* 滇中伯特利會. (Yunnan)	MYBM	American	1915
Milton Stewart Evangelistic Fund; *Situ budao duiji* 司徒佈道敦寄. (Jiangsu)	SEF		

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Missionary Church Association. (Worked with the Christian and Missionary Alliance; China Mennonite Mission Society)	MCA	American	1891
Mission Help (Velbert); *Feibo Jidujiao hui* 肥柏基督教會; Velbert Missionshilfe. (Jiangsu; Anhui; Henan)	MH	German	1907
Mission to Seamen in Shanghai; Seaman's Mission Shanghai. (Jiangsu)	MS	British	
Morrison Education Society; *Malixun jinian xuexiao* 馬禮遜紀念學校. (Macau; Hong Kong)	MES	International	1835
National Bible Society of Scotland; *Sugelan Shengjing hui* 蘇格蘭聖經會. (Jiangsu; Hubei; Hebei; Sichuan)	NBSS	British	1863
National Holiness Mission; *Tongsheng hui* 通聖會; National Association for the Promotion of Holiness, Missionary Society; Missionary Department for the Promotion of Holiness; National Holiness Missionary Society. (Hebei; Shandong)	NHM	American	1910
Netherlands Bible Society; Nederlandsch Bijbel-Genootschap. (No direct work in China)	NBG	Dutch	
Netherlands Chinese Evangelization Society; (Nederlandsche) Vereeniging ter bevordering des Christendoms onder de Chinezen; Netherlands Society for the Advancement of Christianity among the Chinese. (Jiangsu)		Dutch	1855
Netherlands Missionary Society; *Helan jiaodao hui* 荷蘭教道會; Nederlandsch Zendeling-Genootschap. (Supported K. F. A. Gützlaff's work in China)	NZG	Dutch	
New Tribes Mission. (Yunnan)	NTM	American	1947
North Chihli Mission; *Bei Zhili jiaohui* 北直隸教會; Tsjilimissionen.	NCM	Norwegian	1910
North-West Kiangsi Mission; *Xibei Jiangxi jiaohui* 西北江西教會. (Jiangxi)	NKM	British	1887
Norway's Free Evangelical Mission to the Heathen; *Nuowei Fuyin hui* 挪威福音會; Norges Frie Evangeliske Hedningemisjon; Norges Frie Evangeliske Missionsforbund; Free Evangelical Missionary Union of Norway; Norwegian Evangelical Mission. (Hebei)	NFEM	Norwegian	1916
Norwegian Alliance Mission; *Nuo-Hua menghui* 挪華盟會; Det Norske Misjonsforbund (NMF); Norwegian Mission Union; Norwegian Covenant Mission. (Shaanxi)	NorAM	Norwegian	1900

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission; *Xinyi Zhanglao hui* 信義長老會; Norske Evangelisk Lutherske Frikirkes Kinamisjon; China Mission of the Norwegian Evangelical Free Church; Norwegian Lutheran Free Church. (Shaanxi)	NLF	Norwegian	1918
Norwegian Evangelical Mission. See Fuyin hui (Nuo) 福音會 (挪). (Hebei; Gansu)	NEM	Norwegian	1916
Norwegian Lutheran Mission; *Zhonghua Jidujiao Lude hui* 中華基督教潞德會; Norsk Lutherske Kinamisjonsforbund; Norsk Luthersk Misjonssamband (NLM) (since 1949); Norwegian Lutheran China Mission Association (NMC); Norwegian Lutheran Mission (NLM) (since 1949). (Henan; Hubei; Manchuria)	NLK	Norwegian	1891
Norwegian Mission Alliance; *Xieli gonghui* 協力公會; Norske Misjonsalliance for Nord-Kina; Tsjilimisjonen; Den Norske Misjonsallianse (from 1936); Norwegian Missionary Alliance; Mission Alliance; Chihli Mission; North Chihli Mission. (Hebei; Shanxi; Yunnan)	NMA	Norwegian	1914
Norwegian Mission in China; *Nuowei hui* 挪威會; Det Norske Kinamisjon; Norske Mission i Kina; Evangelisk Orientmisjon (EOM); Norwegian Lutheran China Mission; Norwegian China Committee; Christiania Committee for the Norwegian Mission in China; The Christian Committee of the Norwegian Mission in China. (Shanxi)	NMC	Norwegian	1910
Norwegian Missionary Society; *Nuo Xinyi hui* 挪信義會; Det Norske Misjonsselkskap. (Hunan)	NMS	Norwegian	1902
Norwegian Mongol Mission. (Hebei)	NMM	Norwegian	
Norwegian Tibet Mission; Den Norske Tibetmisjon. (Tibet)	NTM	Norwegian	1938
Oberlin Shansi Memorial Association. (Shanxi; Sichuan)	OSMA	American	1918
Old Baptist Union; International Old Baptist Union. (Jiangsu; Hubei; Hebei; Shandong)	OBU	British	
Order of St. Anne. (Hubei)	OSA	American	1909
Orebro Missionary Society; *Ruidianguo Jinli hui* 瑞典國浸禮會; Örebro Missionsforening; Örebromissionen; Orebro Mission. (Shanxi)	OM	Swedish	1921
Oriental Missionary Society; *Yuandong xuanjiao hui* 遠東宣教會. (Hebei; Jiangsu; Guangdong; Sichuan)	OMS	American	

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Orthodox Presbyterian Mission. (Manchuria; Shandong)	OPC	American	1937
Pacific Coast Missionary Society; *Taipingyang budao hui* 太平洋佈道會, locally: *Shitu xinxin hui* 使徒信心會. (Zhejiang)	PCMS	Canadian	
Pai Hsiang Mission; *Shenhou hui* 神后會. (Hebei)	PHM	Norwegian	1922
Palmetto Missionary Society. (Jiangsu)	PMS	American	
Peniel Chapel Missionary Society.		British	
Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada; Jia'nada shenzhao hui 加拿大神召會 (Guangdong; Hong Kong)	PAC	Canadian	1914
Pentecostal Assemblies of the World; Shijie wuxun jiehui 世界五旬節召會; *Shenzhao hui Fuyin tang* 神召會福音堂. (Shanxi)	PAW	American	1910
Pentecostal Church of God; Pentecostal Assemblies of America; Pentecostal Church of God of America. (Hong Kong)	PCG	American	1916
Pentecostal Holiness Mission; *Shenzhao hui* 神召會; *Beihai Huxunjie Shengjiao hui* 北海互旬節聖教會; General Mission Board of the Pentecostal Holiness Church; Pentecostal Holiness Church (PHC); International Pentecostal Holiness Church (IPHC). (Hong Kong; Guangdong; Guangxi; Zhejiang)	PHM	American	1909
Pentecostal Ministerial Alliance; Pentecostal Church, Inc.	PMA	American	
Pentecostal Missionary Union; *Ying Wuxun hui* 英五旬會; *Wuxunjie hui* 五旬節會; Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great Britain and Ireland. (Yunnan)	PMU	British	1912
Pilgrim Mission of St. Chrischona; Pilgermission St. Chrischona; Chrischonazweig der China Inland Mission; Chrischona Branch, China Inland Mission. (Jiangxi)	PM	Swiss/ German	1896
Pittsburgh Bible Institute; *Pisibao Shengjing xuejiao chaihui* 皮斯堡聖經學校差會; Evangelization Society of the Pittsburgh Bible Institute (TES). (Sichuan)	PBI	American	1922
Pomeranian Mission Association for China; Pommerscher Hauptverein für die evangelische Mission in China. (Jiangsu); 1882 absorbed by BMG	PHV	German	1858

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
Presbyterian Church in Ireland; *Zhanglao hui (Ai)* 長老會 (艾); Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland; Irish Presbyterian Church Mission. (Liaoning)	PCI	Irish	1869
Presbyterian Church in Korea; Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen.	PCK	Korean	1912
Presbyterian Church of New Zealand; *Niuxilan Zhanglao gonghui* 紐西蘭長老公會; New Zealand Presbyterian Mission. (Guangdong)	PCNZ	New Zealand	1901
Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America; *Meiguo Shenggong hui* 美國聖公會; *Meiguo Jidujiao shenggong hui* 美國基督教聖公會; Domestic and Foreign Mission Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church; American Church Mission (ACM). (Anhui; Jiangxi; Hunan; Hubei; Jiangsu)	PEC	American	1835
Protestant Mission Society of Paris; *Faguo Jidujiao hui* 法國基督教會; Société des Missions évangéliques de Paris. The work was discontinued in 1862. (Jiangsu; Shandong)	SMEP	French	1860
Reformed Church in America; *Meiguo Guizheng jiaohui* 美國歸正教會; Reformed Dutch Church. (Fujian)	RCA	American	1842
Reformed Church in the United States; *Da-Mei Fuchu hui* 大美復初會; Evangelical and Reformed Church. (Hunan)	RCUS	American	1901
Reformed Presbyterian Mission; *Meiguo Yuelao hui* 美國約老會; Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America (RPCNA); American Reformed Presbyterian Mission; Covenanters. (Guangdong; Manchuria)	RPC	American	1895
Religious Tract Society; *Lundun Shengjiao shuhui* 倫敦聖教書會; Religious Tract Society for China. (Jiangsu; Hubei)	RTS	British	1844
Rhenish Missionary Society; *Lixian hui* 禮賢會; *Bamian hui* 巴勉會; Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft; Rhenish Mission in China. (Guangdong)	RMG	German	1847
Saalem Mission; *Saleng hui* 撒冷會; Saalem-Lähetys; Finnish Salem Mission; Helsinki Saalem Church. (Manchuria)		Finnish	1929
Salvation Army; *Jiushi hui* 救世會. (Hebei; Shanxi; Shandong; Inner Mongolia; Jiangsu; Guangdong; Hong Kong)	SA	International	1916

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Scandinavian Alliance Mission; *Bei-Mei Rui-Nuo hui* 北美瑞挪會 (as CIM affiliate); *Xietong hui* 協同會 (in Mongolia); Skandinaviska Alliansmissionen; Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America; The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM). (Gansu; Ningxia; Shaanxi; Inner Mongolia)	SAM	American	
Scandinavian Assemblies of God in the United States of America, Canada, and Foreign Lands; Scandinavian Independent Assemblies of God; Independent Assemblies of God. (Guangdong)	SAG	American	
Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission; *Yue-Nan Xinyi hui* 粵南信義會; Schleswig-Holsteinische Evangelisch-Lutherische Missionsgesellschaft zu Breklum; Breklum Mission. (Guangdong; Guangxi)	SHELM	German	1921
Schwenkfelder Church. (Shanxi)		American	1904
Seaman's Floating Bethel.			1850
Seventh-Day Advent Mission; *Jidu fulin anxiri hui* 基督復臨安息日會; Seventh-Day Adventist Church. (Jiangsu; Zhejiang; Hunan; Hubei; Jiangxi; Henan; Shaanxi; Gansu; Manchuria; Hebei; Shandong; Fujian; Guangxi; Guangdong; Sichuan; Yunnan)	SDA	American	1902
Seventh Day Baptist Missionary Society; *Anxiri Jinli hui* 安息日浸禮會. (Jiangsu)	SDB	American	1847
Shanghai Hebrew Mission. (Jiangsu)	SHM		
Shanghai Mission to Ricksha Men and Coolie Class; *Shanghai lifu hui* 上海力夫會. (Jiangsu)	SRM		1913
Shekki Mission for the Blind; Shekki-Blinden-Mission; Chung Kwong School for Blind Girls. (Guangdong)		German	1920
Shouyang Mission. (Shanxi)		British	1892
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.	SPCK	British	1800
Society for Promoting Female Education in the East; Society for Promoting Female Education in China, India and the East; Female Education Society. (Macau; Fujian; Zhejiang; Jiangsu; Hong Kong)	FES	British	1837
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; *Da-Ying Anligan hui* 大英安立甘會; from 1912: *Zhonghua Shenggong hui* (*Hua-Bei*) 中華聖公會(華北); Church of England Mission, North China; United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. (Hebei; Manchuria; Shanxi; Shandong)	SPG	British	1862

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
South Chihli Mission; *Nan-Zhili Fuyin hui* 南直隸福音會. (Hebei; Shandong; Henan)	SCM	American	1896
South China Boat Mission; *Haimian budao hui* 海面佈道會; *Shuishang Fuyin chuan budao hui* 水上福音船佈道會; Oriental Boat Mission. (Guangxi; Guangdong; Hong Kong)	SCBM	American	1909
South China Holiness Mission; *Hua-Nan Shengjie hui* 華南聖潔會. (Guangdong; Hong Kong)	SCHM	American	1903
South China Peniel Holiness Missionary Society; *Bianyili hui* 便以利會; Peniel Missionary Society (PMS); China Peniel Missionary Society. (Hong Kong)	SCPHM	American	1909
South Yunnan Mission; *Nan-Yunnan hui* 南雲南會; *Dian-Nan jiaohui* 滇南教會 (Yunnan)	SYM	Danish	1945
Southern Baptist Convention; *Jinxin hui* 浸信會; Southern Baptists. (Jiangsu; Anhui; Henan; Shandong; Manchuria; Guangxi; Guangdong)	SBC	American	1845
Standard Church of America. (Hunan)	SCA	Canadian	
Swedish Alliance Mission; *Rui-Hua menghui* 瑞華盟會; Svenska Alliansmissionen. (Shanxi; Inner Mongolia)	SwAM	Swedish	1902
Swedish American Mission; *Mei-Ruidan hui* 美瑞丹會; *Rui-Mei hui* 瑞美會; Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika; Swedish Evangelical Free Church of the U.S.A.; Scandinavian American Christian Free Mission; Evangelical Free Church of America (EFCA). (Guangdong; Hong Kong)	SEFC	American	1888
Swedish Baptist Mission; *Rui-Hua Jinxin hui* 瑞華浸信會; Sallskapet Svenska Baptist Missionen; Swedish Baptist Missionary Society. (Shandong)	SwBM	Swedish	1891
Swedish Free Mission; *Ruidian zili hui* 瑞典自立會; *Ruidian Shenzhao hui* 瑞典神召會; Svenska Fria Missionen; Filadelfiaförsamelingen; Philadelphia Society–Pentecostal Assemblies in Sweden; Svensk Pingstmission. (Yunnan; Hebei)	SFM	Swedish	1922
Swedish Holiness Union; *Ruidian Shengjie hui* 瑞典聖潔會; Helgelse Förbundet; Helgelse Förbundet i Nerike. (Shanxi; Sichuan)	HF	Swedish	1890
Swedish Independent Baptist Mission; *Xixin hui* 喜信會; Fribaptistsamfundets Mission; Svenska Fribaptisternas Mission; Svenska Fribaptister; Swedish Free Baptist Society. (Shaanxi)	SIBM	Swedish	1913

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Swedish Mission in China; *Rui-Hua hui* 瑞華會; Svenska Missionen i Kina. (Henan; Shanxi; Shaanxi)	SMC	Swedish	1887
Swedish Missionary Society; *Ruidian xingdao hui* 瑞典行道會; Svenska Missionsförbundet; Swedish Mission Covenant Church; Swedish Mission Union. (Jiangsu; Henan; Hubei; Xinjiang)	SMF	Swedish	1890
Swedish Mongol Mission; *Rui-Meng xuandao hui* 瑞蒙宣道會; Svenska Mongolmissionen. (Inner Mongolia; Mongolia)	SMM	Swedish	1899
Sweet Baptist Mission; *Jichu Jinli hui* 基礎浸禮會; East China Fundamental Baptist Mission. (Zhejiang)	SBM	American	1914
Tibetan Border Mission; Dian-Zang Jidujiao hui 滇藏基督教會; Tibetan-Lisuland Churches of Christ. (Sichuan; Yunnan)	TBM	American	1926
Tibetan Forward Mission. (Gansu; Qinghai)	TFM	Canadian	1922
Tibetan Pioneer Mission.	TPM	International	
Tibetan Tribes Mission; *Zangzu hui* 藏族會. (Gansu)	TTM	British	1924
Tsehchow Mission; *Shenzhao hui* 神召會. (Shanxi)	TSM	British	1903
United Brethren in Christ; *Jidujiao xieji hui* 基督教協基會; Church of the United Brethren in Christ (Old Constitution). (Guangdong; Hong Kong)	UB	American	1932
United Brethren in Christ Mission; *Jidu tongyin hui* 基督同寅會; Foreign Mission Society of the United Brethren in Christ; Church of the United Brethren in Christ (New Constitution/Liberals). (Guangdong)	UBC	American	1853
United Church of Canada; *Jia'nada lianhe hui* 加拿大聯合會. (Henan; Hebei; Jiangsu; Shandong; Guangdong; Sichuan; Manchuria)	UCC	Canadian	1871
United Evangelical Church Mission; *Zundao hui* 遵道會. (Hunan)	UECM	American	1900
United Free Church of Scotland; *Zhanglao hui (Su)* 長老會 (蘇). (Manchuria)	UFS	British	1865
United Free Gospel Mission (UFGM); United Free Gospel and Missionary Society; Union Gospel Mission. (Guangdong)	UFGM	American	

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	Acronym	Nationality	China start
United Methodist Church Mission; *Shengdao gonghui* 聖道公會; United Methodist Missionary Society. (Zhejiang; Hebei; Shandong; Yunnan; Guizhou)	UMC	British	1907
United Methodist Free Church Foreign Mission; Xiewo gonghui 偕我公會; Foreign Mission of the United Methodist Free Churches. Merged into the United Methodist Church in 1907. (Zhejiang)	UMFC	British	1864
United Missionary Society; Mennonite Brethren in Christ. (In connection with the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the China Inland Mission, and the National Holiness Mission)	UMS	American/ Canadian	1898
United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America; *Yu-Nan xinyi hui* 豫南信義會; Forenede norsk-lutherske kirke i Amerika; American Lutheran Mission. (Hubei; Henan)	UNLC	American	1890
United Pentecostal Church; Pentecostal Ministerial Alliance (PMA); Pentecostal Church, Inc. (PCI); Emmanuel's Church in Jesus Christ; Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ; Apostolic Churches of Jesus Christ; Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ (PAJC). (Guangdong; Shanxi)	UPC	American	
United Presbyterian Church of North America. Board of Foreign Missions, United Presbyterian Church of North America. (Guangdong)	UPC	American	1860
United Presbyterian Church of Scotland; *Sugelan Zhanglao hui* 蘇格蘭長老會; Mission Board of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. (Zhejiang; Shandong; Manchuria)	UPCS	British	1865
Vereinigte Missionsfreunde. (Yunnan)	VMF	German	
Wesleyan Methodist Church of America; *Weidao hui* 衛道會; Missionary Society of The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America. (Guizhou)		American	1946
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society; *Da-Ying Xundao hui* 大英循道會; *Xundao hui* 循道會. (Hunan; Hubei; Guangdong)	WMMS	British	1853
Woman's Foreign Missionary Society; *Meiyi meihui (nübu)* 美以美會 (女部); Women's Foreign Missionary Society (Methodist Episcopal Church); Methodist Episcopal Women's Foreign Missionary Society; Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church (auxiliary of). (Anhui; Jiangsu; Sichuan; Fujian; Jiangxi; Hebei; Shandong)	WFMS	American	1871
Woman's Union Mission; *Nü gonghui* 女公會; Woman's Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands. (Hebei; Jiangsu)	WUM	American	1868

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Missionary Society (and Chinese provinces in which the society was present)	**Acronym**	**Nationality**	**China start**
Women's Association for Christian Female Education in Eastern Countries; Frauen-Verein für christliche Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechts im Morgenlande; Morgenländischer Frauenverein; Women's Oriental Union. (Guangdong)	FVM	German	1901
World Evangelical Crusade. (Sichuan)	WEC	International	1940s
World Mission Prayer League; *Shijie xinyi hui* 世界信義會. (Sichuan)	WMPL	American	1945
Yale Foreign Missionary Society; *Yali daxue jiao (Hunan Changsha)* 雅禮大學校 (湖南長沙); 雅礼会 Yale-in-China Association; Yale Mission. (Hunan; Guizhou; Sichuan)	YM	American	1902
Young Men's Christian Association of China; *Zhonghua Jidujiao nan qingnian hui* 中華基督教男青年會. (Fujian; Hebei; Zhejiang; Jiangsu; Hong Kong)	YMCA	International	1885
Young Women's Christian Association of China; *Zhonghua Jidujiao nü qingnian hui* 中華基督教女青年會. (Zhejiang; Jiangsu)	YWCA	International	1890
Yunnan Mission; *Wanboge Xuandao hui* 萬博格宣道會; Deutscher Gemeinschafts-Diakonieverband; Vandsburger Mission; Marburg Mission; Liebenzeller Mission (Marburg Associates). (Yunnan; Hunan)	YM	German	1909

Table 5: Statistics of Protestant Mission Work in China for the Year Ending 1905

Societies	Foreign missionaries						Stations	
	Total Staff				Medical Staff		With Resident Foreign Missionary	Total Number of Stations
	Men	Single Women	Wives	Total Foreign	Men	Women		
British Missionary Societies								
BMS	28	9	18	55	7	1	6	332
BCMS	6	3	5	14	1	1	2	7
CIM *	335	294	220	849	18	1	205	837
CM	–	10	–	10	–	–	1	4
CMS	97	108	70	275	17	3	58	300
SPG	18	7	9	34	1	–	8	23
CSFM	5	5	5	15	2	1	1	13
PCI	15	4	8	27	6	2	10	130
LMS	60	23	48	131	20	11	21	294
MNC	9	1	8	18	4	–	5	97
EPM	43	32	24	99	11	4	11	290
FFMA	11	6	10	27	2	1	5	22
UFS	14	9	12	33	4	3	10	120
UMFC	10	1	6	17	2	–	2	195
WMM	42	12	28	82	7	3	19	80
BFBS	14	–	11	25				
NBSS	7	–	6	13	–	–	–	–
RTS	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Total British	715	524	488	1,727	102	31	364	2,744
British Colonial Missionary Societies								
CMM	13	10	10	33	5	5	4	36
CPM	18	14	7	39	4	2	5	81
PCNZ	2	–	2	4	–	–	1	5
Total Colonial	33	24	19	76	9	7	10	122
American Missionary Societies								
ABS	8	–	7	15	–	–	–	–
ACM	2	4	2	8	–	–	2	9
ABMU	41	15	34	90	7	4	16	240
Bible Mission	2	4	1	7	–	–	1	1
ABCFM	39	32	35	106	8	4	16	200
CCCZ	3	–	3	6	–	–	–	–
CMA	34	21	21	76	–	–	21	60
CPM	4	3	1	8	1	–	2	6
FCM	15	6	14	35	3	–	5	19

Chinese Workers						Chinese Christian Church			
Ordained Pastors	Lay Workers	Bible Women	Hospital Assistants	School Teachers	Total Chinese Staff	Number of Congregations	Baptised Christian Community	Catechumens	Total Christian Community
British Missionary Societies									
–	41	12	8	111	172	–	4,403	–	4,403
–	12	2	–	5	19	–	232	1,214	1,346
18	965	150	5	169	1,287	476	14,078	–	14,078
1	–	–	–	6	7	–	–	–	–
37	389	108	27	477	1,038	–	16,096	2,567	18,663
3	49	3	4	15	74	–	1,138	453	1,691
–	15	1	4	8	32	9	1,187	347	1,534
–	162	17	7	38	224	85	6,443	1,663	8,106
13	242	48	50	161	514	196	14,386	12,385	26,771
–	153	19	4	10	177	97	2,710	1,643	4,353
33	32	13	18	153	249	184	14,197	–	14,197
–	37	7	2	16	62	20	56	753	8,362
2	124	23	6	26	181	75	6,690	1,402	8,362
–	220	11	6	55	292	167	3,883	6,435	10,318
–	142	7	10	59	225	80	3,449	730	4,179
114	2,587	392	151	1,309	4,553	1,389	89,218	29,592	118,810
British Colonial Missionary Societies									
–	12	3	6	14	35	37	302	500	802
–	68	14	6	8	96	54	4,798	647	5,445
–	4	–	–	5	9	4	59	–	59
	84	17	12	27	140	95	5,159	1,147	6,360
American Missionary Societies									
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3	18	3	–	14	38	9	350	215	565
10	173	37	10	55	285	112	4,709	10,800	15,509
–	–	–	–	–	–	1	38	–	38
19	297	45	12	217	590	307	9,573	17,242	26,815
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	75	13	–	18	106	–	1,483	160	1,643
–	2	–	1	1	4	4	25	–	25
–	31	6	3	20	60	–	834	–	834

Table 5 (*cont.*)

Societies	Foreign missionaries						Stations	
	Total Staff				Medical Staff		With Resident Foreign Missionary	Total Number of Stations
	Men	Single Women	Wives	Total Foreign	Men	Women		
FFM	2	6	1	9	1	1	2	6
GM	8	2	7	17	–	–	3	9
HSM	6	3	6	15	1	–	4	12
MEC	67	66	63	196	13	14	30	562
MECS	16	16	16	48	4	2	7	48
PN	112	68	85	265	23	12	28	400
PS	19	15	17	51	4	1	6	42
PEC	40	23	21	84	5	2	11	55
RCA	6	11	5	22	2	1	4	54
RCUS	7	4	7	18	3	1	2	2
RPM	4	2	2	8	1	2	1	1
SAFC	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
SDA	7	5	6	18	4	3	6	10
SDB	2	2	2	6	–	1	2	3
SBC	37	18	33	88	6	–	13	105
SCM	17	19	9	45	–	–	11	20
SAMC	7	3	4	14	1	2	2	7
SELMA	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
UBC	6	2	5	13	2	1	2	14
UEC	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
WUMS	–	6	–	6	–	3	1	3
YM	3	–	1	4	1	–	1	1
YMCA	15	1	14	30	–	–	–	–
Total U.S.A.	526	357	421	1,304	89	54	198	1,888
Continental Missionary Societies								
BM	31	1	16	48	–	–	16	68
BMG	20	5	17	42	–	–	14	202
DMS	7	1	7	15	–	–	–	–
FMS	4	1	2	7	–	–	2	7
NLM	12	7	8	27	–	–	9	19
NMS	7	2	3	12	1	1	4	12
RMG	18	2	12	32	3	–	7	25
SMS	12	4	8	24	–	–	5	12
Unconn.	41	35	32	108	–	–	–	–
Total Cont.	111	23	73	207	5	1	57	345
Educational	17	1	5	23	2		3	3
China Total	1,443	964	1,038	3,445	207	93	632	5,102

Source: *China Centenary Missionary Conference, Held at Shanghai, April 25 to May 8, 1907: Records* (Shanghai: Centenary Conference Committee, 1907), pp. 770–782.

* The statistics are for the CIM (including its North American and Australian members) and its associated missions (Swedish Mission in China; Swedish Holiness Union; Scandinavian China Alliance; Norwegian Mission in China; German China Alliance; Finnish Free Church Mission).

** Note: not all societies supplied information (e.g. Christian Missions in Many Lands).

Chinese Workers						Chinese Christian Church			
Ordained Pastors	Lay Workers	Bible Women	Hospital Assistants	School Teachers	Total Chinese Staff	Number of Congregations	Baptised Christian Community	Catechumens	Total Christian Community
–	4	7	6	7	24	2	117	97	214
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	100	–	100
–	–	–	–	15	15	–	130	–	130
112	1,007	171	45	350	1,685	286	15,216	12,141	27,357
16	38	20	12	89	175	39	1,754	1,515	3,269
31	723	75	50	–	879	139	16,972	–	16,972
1	23	10	27	19	80	–	1,447	1,752	3,199
15	53	25	12	107	212	42	4,821	1,187	6,008
–	86	4	2	–	92	–	1,597	828	2,425
–	–	–	–	7	7	2	70	–	70
–	1	–	1	1	3	1	40	–	40
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	15	3	3	10	31	–	66	–	66
–	–	2	1	9	12	3	65	–	65
14	79	26	5	50	174	54	5,049	–	5,049
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	342	–	342
2	11	6	5	14	38	–	167	150	317
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	8	5	–	14	27	14	235	470	705
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	3	4	3	10	3	136	–	136
223	2.644	461	199	1,020	4,547	1,018	65,336	46,557	111,883
Continental Missionary Societies									
1	109	4	2	87	203	–	8,530	–	8,530
5	181	2	–	77	265	123	7,529	1,076	8,605
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	119	–	119
–	–	–	–	3	3	–	15	–	15
–	29	6	–	5	40	–	204	–	204
–	17	–	–	4	21	–	63	–	63
2	32	–	2	30	66	–	1,488	156	1,644
–	39	5	–	13	57	–	600	–	600
8	407	17	4	219	655	123	18,548	1,232	19,780
			1	8	9				
345	5,722	887	367	2,583	9,904	2,625	178,261	78,528	256,779

Table 6: Catholics in the Qing Empire, 1911

Chinese Province or Territory of the Manchu Qing Empire	Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic (missionary society)	Civil Prefecture 府, Independent Department 直隸州; Independent Subprefecture 直隸廳	Number of Catholics
Zhili 直隸	North Zhili (CM)	Shuntian fu 順天府	63,868
		Tianjin fu 天津府	31,898
		Xuanhua fu 宣化府	18,601
	East Zhili (CM)	Yongping fu 永平府	7,806
		Zunhua zhou 遵化州	3,183
	Central Zhili (CM)	Baoding fu 保定府	72,696
		Yi zhou 易州	965
	Southwest Zhili (CM)	Zhengding fu 正定府	25,600
		Zhao zhou 趙州	24,369
		Shunde fu 順德府	6,529
		Ding zhou 定州	3,712
	Southeast Zhili (SJ)	Hejian fu 河間府	37,724
		Guangping fu 廣平府	20,340
		Daming fu 大名府	10,009
		Ji zhou 冀州	7,077
		Shen zhou 深州	4,296
	East Mongolia (CICM)	Chaoyang fu 朝陽府	11,899
		Chengde fu 承德府 (Rehe 熱河)	10,488
	Total Zhili		**361,060**
Manchuria 東三省	South Manchuria (MEP)	Shengjing 盛京 (Fengtian 奉天)	26,734
	North Manchuria (MEP)	Jilin 吉林	14,821
		Heilongjiang 黑龍江	4,307
	Total Manchuria		**45,862**
Mongolia 蒙古	Central Mongolia (CICM)	Eastern District	10,808
		Central District	11,925
		Western District	7,438
	Western Mongolia (CICM)	Salaqi 薩拉齊 District (Shanxi)	13,000
		Ningtiaoliang 寧條梁 (Shaanxi)	2,600
		Sandaohe 三道河 (Gansu)	3,800
	Total Mongolia		**49,577**

Table 6 (*cont.*)

Chinese Province or Territory of the Manchu Qing Empire	Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic (missionary society)	Civil Prefecture 府, Independent Department 直隸州; Independent Subprefecture 直隸廳	Number of Catholics
Gansu 甘肅	North Gansu (CICM)	Liangzhou fu 涼州府	1,419
		Ganzhou fu 甘州	1,244
		Lanzhou fu 蘭州府	360
		Su zhou 肅州	84
		Xining fu 西甯府	0
		Anxi zhou 安西州	0
	South Gansu (CICM)	Qin zhou 秦州	625
		Qingyang fu 慶陽府	511
		Jing zhou 涇州	233
		Jie zhou 階州	144
		Gongzhang fu 鞏昌府	77
		Pingliang fu 平涼府	0
		Guyuan zhou 固原州	0
	Western Mongolia (CICM)	Ningxia fu 寧夏府	139
	Total Gansu		**4,836**
Xinjiang 新疆	(CICM)	Yili 伊梨地區	300
Shaanxi 陝西	Central Shaanxi (OFM)	Xi'an fu 西安府	14,872
		Fengxiang fu 鳳翔府	8,941
		Qian zhou 乾州	1,835
		Shang zhou 商州	907
		Tongzhou fu 同州府	437
		Bin zhou 邠州	112
	North Shaanxi (OFM)	Fu zhou 鄜州	472
		Yulin fu 榆林府	351
		Suide zhou 綏德州	177
		Yan'an fu 延安府	7
	South Shaanxi (Roman Seminary)	Hanzhong fu 漢中府	12,919
		Xing'an fu 興安府	415
	Total Shaanxi		**41,445**
Shanxi 山西	North Shanxi (OFM)	Taiyuan fu 太原府	14,656
		Fenzhou fu 汾州府	4,096
		Shuoping fu 朔平府	2,163
		Xin zhou 忻州	1,040
		Datong fu 大同府	800

Table 6 (*cont.*)

Chinese Province or Territory of the Manchu Qing Empire	Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic (missionary society)	Civil Prefecture 府, Independent Department 直隸州; Independent Subprefecture 直隸廳	Number of Catholics
		Ningwu fu 甯武府	300
		Pingding zhou 平定州	247
		Dai zhou 代州	180
		Baode zhou 保德州	50
	South Shanxi (OFM)	Lu'an fu 潞安府	11,200
		Pingyang fu 平陽府	2,537
		Zezhou fu 澤州府	1,902
		Huo zhou 霍州	1,305
		Qin zhou 沁州	1,297
		Jiang zhou 絳州	529
		Xi zhou 隰州	261
		Liao zhou 遼州	135
		Puzhou fu 蒲州府	0
		Jie zhou 解州	0
	Total Shanxi		**42,698**
Shandong 山東	North Shandong (OFM)	Ji'nan fu 濟南府	8,121
		Taian fu 泰安府	7,997
		Dongchang fu 東昌府	6,355
		Linqing zhou 臨清州	4,143
		Wuding fu 武定府	3,495
	East Shandong (OFM)	Qingzhou fu 青州府	6,155
		Laizhou fu 萊州府	3,083
		Dengzhou fu 登州府	1,166
	South Shandong (SVD)	Caozhou fu 曹州府	25,392
		Yanzhou fu 兗州府	17,258
		Yizhou fu 沂州府	9,746
		Jining zhou 濟甯州	7,684
		Jiao zhou 膠州 (incl. Qingdao 青島)	3,769
	Total Shandong		**104,790**
Henan 河南	North Henan (MEM)	Zhangde fu 彰德府	4,497
		Weihui fu 衛輝府	2,642
		Huaiqing fu 懷慶府	1,600
	South Henan (MEM)	Nanyang fu 南陽府	9,699

Table 6 (*cont.*)

Chinese Province or Territory of the Manchu Qing Empire	Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic (missionary society)	Civil Prefecture 府, Independent Department 直隸州; Independent Subprefecture 直隸廳	Number of Catholics
		Guide fu 歸德府	5,087
		Runing fu 汝甯府	1,745
		Guang zhou 光州	960
		Kaifeng fu 開封府	893
	West Henan (SX)	Xu zhou 許州	2,324
		Ru zho u 汝州	758
		Chenzhou fu 陝州	279
		Henan fu 河南府	176
		Shan zhou 陝州	7
	Total Henan		**30,936**
Hubei 湖北	East Hubei (OFM)	De'an fu 德安府	9,448
		Hanyang fu 漢陽府	8,615
		Anlu fu 安陸府	6,387
		Huangzhou fu 黃州府	3,570
		Wuchang fu 武昌府	2,274
	Northwest Hubei (OFM)	Xiangyang fu 襄陽府	19,078
		Yunyang fu 鄖陽府	1,834
		Jingzhou fu 荊州府	4,801
	Southwest Hubei (OFM)	Yichang fu 宜昌府 and Hefeng *ting* 鶴峯廳	3,644
		Jingmen zhou 荊門州	2,424
	Total Hubei		**65,189**
Hunan 湖南	North Hunan (OESA)	Li zhou 澧州	1,602
		Yuezhou fu 岳州府	1,156
		Changde fu 常德府	750
		Chenzhou fu 辰州府	232
		Nanzhou ting 南州廳	195
		Yongshun fu 永順府	0
		Fenghuang ting 鳳凰廳	0
		Yongsui ting 永綏廳	0
		Qianzhou ting 乾州廳	0
	South Hunan (OFM)	Hengzhou fu 衡州府	6,847
		Yuanzhou fu 沅州府 and Huangzhou ting 晃州廳	1,318
		Changsha fu 長沙府	1,012

Table 6 (*cont.*)

Chinese Province or Territory of the Manchu Qing Empire	Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic (missionary society)	Civil Prefecture 府, Independent Department 直隸州; Independent Subprefecture 直隸廳	Number of Catholics
		Baoqing fu 寶慶府	0
		Jing zhou 靖州	0
		Guiyang zhou 桂陽州	0
		Yongzhou fu 永州府	0
		Chen zhou 郴州	0
	Total Hunan		**13,112**
Jiangxi 江西	North Jiangxi (CM)	Nanchang fu 南昌府	8,135
		Jiujiang fu 九江府	6,217
		Suizhou fu 瑞州府	3,998
		Linjiang fu 臨江府	1,685
		Yuanzhou fu 袁州府	391
		Nankang fu 南康府	200
	East Jiangxi (CM)	Fuzhou fu 撫州府	8,943
		Jianchang fu 建昌府	5,155
		Guangxin fu 廣信府	5,118
		Raozhou fu 饒州府	2,743
	South Jiangxi (CM)	Ji'an fu 吉安府	6,623
		Ganzhou fu 贛州府	3,585
		Nan'an fu 南安府	2,279
		Ningdu zhou 甯都州	351
	Total Jiangxi		**55,423**
Zhejiang 浙江	East Zhejiang (CM)	Wenzhou fu 温州府	6,809
		Ningbo fu 寧波府	4,465
		Dinghai ting 定海廳	2,853
		Taizhou fu 台州府	2,625
		Shaoxing fu 紹興府	2,029
		Chuzhou fu 處州府	1,300
	West Zhejiang (CM)	Jiaxing fu 嘉興府	3,525
		Quzhou fu 衢州府	3,002
		Huzhou fu 湖州府	1,912
		Hangzhou fu 杭州府	1,871
		Jinhua fu 金華府	427
		Yanzhou fu 嚴州府	411
	Total Zhejiang		**31,213**

Table 6 (*cont.*)

Chinese Province or Territory of the Manchu Qing Empire	Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic (missionary society)	Civil Prefecture 府, Independent Department 直隸州; Independent Subprefecture 直隸廳	Number of Catholics
Jiangsu 江蘇	Jiangnan Mission (SJ)	Songjiang fu 松江府	61,901
		Xuzhou fu 徐州府	32,925
		Taicang zhou 太倉州	24,740
		Changzhou fu 常州府	17,281
		Suzhou fu 蘇州府	11,739
		Haimen ting 海門廳	5,144
		Tong zhou 通州	2,879
		Jiangning fu 江寧府	1,162
		Zhenjiang fu 鎮江府	1,153
		Yangzhou fu 揚州府	774
		Hai zhou 海州	550
		Huaian fu 淮安府	195
	Total Jiangsu		**160,280**
Anhui 安徽	Jiangnan Mission (SJ)	Yingzhou fu 潁州府	7,763
		Ningguo fu 甯國府	7,348
		Chizhou fu 池州府	5,459
		Fengyang fu 鳳陽府	4,192
		Anqing fu 安慶府	4,179
		Guangde zhou 廣德州	3,813
		Liuan zhou 六安州	3,252
		Luzhou fu 盧州府	2,363
		Taiping fu 太平府	1,867
		Si zhou 泗州	1,120
		He zhou 和州	989
		Huizhou fu 徽州府	814
		Chu zhou 滁州	73
	Total Anhui		**43,184**
Guizhou 貴州	Guizhou (MEP)	Anshun fu 安順府	7,708
		Guiyang fu 貴陽府	7,346
		Xingyi fu 興義府	5,507
		Zunyi fu 遵義府	4,967
		Sinan fu 思南府	1,342
		Pingyue zhou 平越州	1,135
		Duyun fu 都勻府	913
		Sheqian fu 石阡府	801
		Dading fu 大定府	326

Table 6 (*cont.*)

Chinese Province or Territory of the Manchu Qing Empire	Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic (missionary society)	Civil Prefecture 府, Independent Department 直隸州; Independent Subprefecture 直隸廳	Number of Catholics
		Zhenyuan fu 鎮遠府	125
		Liping fu 黎平府	0
		Sizhou fu 思州府	0
		Tongren fu 銅仁府	0
		Songtao ting 松桃廳	0
	Total Guizhou		**30,072**
Sichuan 四川	Northwest Sichuan (MEP)	Chengdu fu 成都府	14,749
		Tongchuan fu 潼川府	9,994
		Qiong zhou 邛州	7,356
		Shunqing fu 順慶府	3,800
		Mian zhou 綿州	3,230
		Baoning fu 保甯寧府	2,982
		Longan fu 龍安府	2,767
		Songpan ting 松潘廳	47
		Mao zhou 茂州	0
	East Sichuang (MEP)	Chongqing fu 重慶府	20,897
		Suiding fu 綏定府	9,930
		Kuizhou fu 夔州府 and Shizhu *ting* 石砫廳	4,841
		Zhong zhou 忠州	2,989
		Youyang zhou 酉陽州	1,923
	South Sichuan (MEP)	Xuzhou fu 敘州府	8,468
		Jiading fu 嘉定府	6,616
		Lu zhou 瀘州	3,257
		Mei zhou 眉州	2,843
		Zi zhou 資州	2,791
		Yongning zhou 永寧州	1,402
	Kienchang 建長 (MEP)	Ningyuan fu 寧遠府	3,050
	Tibet Mission, etc. (MEP)	Yazhou fu 雅州府	7,091
	Total Sichuan		**118,724**
Yunnan 雲南	Yunnan (MEP)	Zhaotong fu 昭通府	4,855
		Qujing fu 曲靖府	2,251
		Dali fu 大理府	1,400
		Yongbei ting 永北廳	1,140
		Yunnan fu 雲南府	704
		Chuxiong fu 楚雄府	667
		Dongchuan fu 東川府	542

Table 6 (*cont.*)

Chinese Province or Territory of the Manchu Qing Empire	Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic (missionary society)	Civil Prefecture 府, Independent Department 直隸州; Independent Subprefecture 直隸廳	Number of Catholics
		Lin'an fu 臨安府	451
		Guangxi zhou 廣西州	450
		Chengjiang fu 澂江府	430
		Kaihua fu 開化府	271
		Menghua ting 蒙化廳	30
		Shunning fu 順甯府	10
		Jingdong ting 景東廳	0
		Guangnan fu 廣南府	0
		Lijiang fu 麗江府	0
		Wuding zhou 武定州	0
		Puer fu 普洱府	0
		Zhenyuan ting 鎮沅廳	0
		Zhenbianfuyi ting 鎮邊撫彝廳	0
		Yongchang fu 永昌府	0
		Yuanjiang zhou 元江州	0
	Total Yunnan		**13,200**
Fujian 福建	Foochow (OP)	Funing fu 福寧福	25,241
		Fuzhou fu 福州福	15,803
		Xinghua fu 興化福	4,558
		Tingzhou fu 汀州福	966
		Yanping fu 延平府	682
		Jianning fu 建寧府	515
		Shaowu fu 邵武府	460
		Longyan zhou 龍巖州	130
		Yongchun zhou 永春州	42
	Amoy (OP)	Zhangzhou fu 漳州府	3,348
		Quanzhou fu 泉州府	1,405
	Total Fujian		**53,150**
Guangdong 廣東	Guangdong (MEP)	Guangzhou fu 廣州府 (?)	24,000
		Chaozhou fu 潮州府	19,405
		Huizhou fu 惠州府	13,604
		Jiaying zhou 嘉應州	6,156
		Lianzhou fu 廉州府	4,083
		Leizhou fu 雷州府	3,666
		Gaozhou fu 高州府	1,928

Table 6 (*cont.*)

Chinese Province or Territory of the Manchu Qing Empire	Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic (missionary society)	Civil Prefecture 府, Independent Department 直隸州; Independent Subprefecture 直隸廳	Number of Catholics
		Shaozhou fu 韶州府, Lian zhou 連州, Lianshan ting 連山廳	1,257
		Nanxiong zhou 南雄州	1,150
		Qin zhou 欽州	1,112
		Yangjiang zhou 陽江州	898
		Qiongzhou fu 瓊州府 and Ya zhou 崖州	575
		Luoding zhou 羅定州	150
	Macao (Port. *padroado*)	Zhaoqing fu 肇慶府 (?)	2,450
	Total Guangdong		**76,435**
Guangxi 廣西	Guangxi (MEP)	Xunzhou fu 潯州府	1,289
		Sicheng fu 泗城府	1,096
		Liuzhou fu 柳州府	789
		Pingle fu 平樂府	498
		Shangsi ting 上思廳	277
		Guilin fu 桂林府	211
		Nanning fu 南寧府	132
		Longzhou ting 龍州廳	94
		Taiping fu 太平府	88
		Yulin zhou 鬱林州	80
		Bose ting 百色廳	35
		Wuzhou fu 梧州府	15
		Qingyuan fu 慶遠府	0
		Si'en fu 思恩府	0
		Zhen'an fu 鎮安府	0
		Guishun zhou 歸順州	0
	Total Guangxi		**4,449**
		Total Qing Empire	**1,345,635**

Excludes Taiwan (since 1895 part of the Japanese Empire) which remained part of the Vicariate Apostolic of Amoy until 1913.

Figures for Guangdong province include Hongkong (MEM). The Vicariate Apostolic of Hongkong included two districts of Huizhou prefecture: (Guishan xian 歸善縣, 3,000); Haifeng xian 海豐縣, 2,500) and one of Guangzhou prefecture (Xin'an 新安縣, 2,400, of which the colony was formerly a part).

Source: Joseph de Moidrey SJ, *Carte des Préfectures de Chine en 1911 et de leur population crétienne* 中國各府天主教圖 (Shanghai, 1913).

Missiones Catholicae cura S. Congregationis De Propaganda Fide descriptae statistica: data statistica referuntur ad. Vaticanum: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, started with vol. 1 (1886).

Table 7: Roman Catholic Jurisdictions 1924–1946

Amoy [Xiamen], Vicariate Apostolic 廈門代牧區 (1883) (Fujian). Spanish OP.

Anking [Anqing], Vicariate Apostolic 安慶代牧區 (1929) (Anhui); central residence in Anqing (called Huaining 懷寧 in republican China). Spanish SJ.

Ankwo [Anguo], Vicariate Apostolic 安國代牧區 (1929) (Hebei); see also Lihsien. Chinese CM.

Canton [Guangzhou], Vicariate Apostolic 廣東代牧區 (Guangdong). MEP.

Changsha, Vicariate Apostolic 長沙代牧區 (1924) (Hunan). Italian OFM.

Changteh [Changde], Vicariate Apostolic 常德代牧區 (1924) (Hunan). Spanish OSA.

Changtien [Zhangdian], Mission '*sui iuris*' 張店自治區 (1929); Prefecture Apostolic 張店監牧區 (1932) (Shandong); see also Chowtsun. American OFM.

Chaohsien [Zhaoxian], Prefecture Apostolic 趙縣監牧區 (1929); Vicariate Apostolic 趙縣代牧區 (1932) (Hebei); central residence at Biancun, Ningqin *xian* 寧晉縣 邊村. Chinese secular clergy.

Chaotung [Zhaotong], Prefecture Apostolic 昭通監牧區 (1935) (Yunnan). Chinese secular clergy.

Chefoo [Yantai], Vicariate Apostolic 煙台代牧區 (Shandong). French OFM.

Chengchow [Zhengzhou], Vicariate Apostolic 鄭州代牧區 (1924) (Henan); central residence in Zhengzhou (called Zhengxian 鄭縣 in republican China). SX.

Chengtingfu [Zhengding], Vicariate Apostolic 正定府代牧區 (1924) (Hebei). CM.

Chengtu [Chengdu], Vicariate Apostolic 成都代牧區 (1924) (Sichuan). MEP.

Chihfeng [Chifeng], Prefecture Apostolic 赤峯監牧區 (1932) (Manchuria—now Inner Mongolia). Chinese secular clergy.

Chowchih [Zhouzhi], Prefecture Apostolic 盩厔監牧區 (1932) (Shaanxi). Chinese secular clergy.

Chowtsun [Zhoucun], Vicariate Apostolic 周村代牧區 (1937) (Shandong); see also Changtien. American OFM.

Chuchow [Chuzhou], Prefecture Apostolic 處州監牧區 (1931) (from 1937 called Prefecture Apostolic of Lishui 麗水監牧區) (Zhejiang); see also Lishui. SFM.

Chumatien [Zhumadian], Prefecture Apostolic 駐馬店監牧區 (1933); Vicariate Apostolic 駐馬店代牧區 (1944) (Henan). Chinese secular clergy.

Chungking [Chongqing], Vicariate Apostolic 重慶代牧區 (1924) (Sichuan); central residence in Chongqing (called Baxian 巴縣 in republican China). MEP.

Fengsiang [Fengxiang], Prefecture Apostolic 鳳翔監牧區 (1932); Vicariate Apostolic 鳳翔代牧區 (1942) (Shaanxi). Chinese OFM.

Fenyang, Vicariate Apostolic 汾陽代牧區 (1926) (Shanxi). Chinese secular clergy.

Foochow [Fuzhou], Vicariate Apostolic 福州代牧區 (1696) (Fujian); residence at Fuzhou (called Minhou 閩候 in republican China). Spanish OP.

Funing, Vicariate Apostolic 福寧代牧區 (1926) (Fujian); central residence in Sanduao 三都澳. Spanish OP.

Fushun, Prefecture Apostolic 撫順監牧區 (1932); Vicariate Apostolic 撫順代牧區 (1940) (Manchuria). MM.

Haimen, Vicariate Apostolic 海門代牧區 (1926) (Jiangsu). Chinese secular clergy.

Hainan, Mission '*sui iuris*' 海南自治區 (1929); Prefecture Apostolic 海南監牧區 (1936) (formerly Guangdong—now Hainan province); central residence at Haikou 海口. SSCC.

Hanchung [Hanzhong], Vicariate Apostolic 漢中代牧區 (1924) (Shaanxi); central residence in Hanzhong (called Nanzheng 南鄭 in republican China). PIME.

Hangchow [Hangzhou], Vicariate Apostolic 杭州代牧區 (1924) (Zhejiang); central residence in Hangzhou (called Hangxian 杭縣 in republican China). French CM.

Hankow [Hankou], Vicariate Apostolic 漢口代牧區 (1923) (Hubeii); central residence at Hankou (now part of Wuhan 武漢). Italian OFM.

Hanyang, Prefecture Apostolic 漢陽監牧區 (1923); Vicariate Apostolic 漢陽代牧區 (1927) (Hubei); central residence at Hanyang (now part of Wuhan 武漢). SSC.

Harbin 哈爾濱, Apostolic Exarchate, Byzantine Rite (1928) (Manchuria). MIC.

Harbin 哈爾濱, Apostolic Administration 宗座署理區, Latin (or Roman) Rite (1931) (Manchuria). MIC.

Hengchow [Hengyang], Vicariate Apostolic 衡州代牧區 (1930) (Hunan); central residence at Hengyang 衡陽 (formerly called Hengzhou). Italian OFM.

Hinganfu [Xing'an], Prefecture Apostolic 興安府監牧區 (Shaanxi). Central residence at Ankang 安康. Italian OFMConv.

Hongkong [Xianggang], Prefecture Apostolic 香港監牧區 (1841); Vicariate Apostolic 香港代牧區 (1874). PIME.

Hungtung [Hongdong], Prefecture Apostolic 洪洞監牧區 (1932) (Shanxi); temporary central residence in Hanluoyan 韓羅堰. Chinese secular clergy.

Hwangchowfu [Huangzhou], Mission '*sui iuris*' 黃州府自治區 (1929); Prefecture Apostolic 黃州府監牧區 (1932); (in 1936 elevated to Vicariate Apostolic of Kichow 蘄州代牧區) (Hubei); see Kichow. Italian OFM.

Ichang [Yichang], Vicariate Apostolic 宜昌代牧區 (1924) (Hubei). Belgian OFM.

Ichowfu [Yizhou], Vicariate Apostolic 沂州府代牧區 (1937) (Shandong); central residence in Linyi 臨沂 (formerly called Yizhou). German SVD.

Iduhsien [Yidu], Prefecture Apostolic 益都縣監牧區 (1931) (Shandong); central residence in Yidu (formerly called Qingzhou 青州). French OFM.

Ilan [Yilan], Mission '*sui iuris*' 依蘭自治區 (1928) (Manchuria); (from 1934 Mission '*sui iuris*' of Kiamusze 佳木斯監牧區); see also Kiamusze. Austrian OFMCap.

Jehol [Rehe], Vicariate Apostolic 熱河代牧區 (1924) (Rehe province); central residence at Lingyuan 凌源 (now located in Liaoning province). CICM.

Kaifeng, Vicariate Apostolic 開封代牧區 (1924) (Henan). PIME.

Kanchow [Ganzhou], Vicariate Apostolic 贛州代牧區 (1920) (Jiangxi); central residence at Ganxian 贛縣. American CM.

Kaying [Jiaying], Prefecture Apostolic 嘉應監牧區 (1929); Vicariate Apostolic 嘉應代牧區 (1935) (Guangdong); central residence at Meixian 梅縣 (formerly called Jiaying). MM.

Kiamusze [Jiamusi], Mission '*sui iuris*' 佳木斯自治區 (1934); Prefecture Apostolic 佳木斯監牧區 (1940) (Manchuria); see also Ilan. Austrian OFMCap.

Kianfu [Ji'an], Vicariate Apostolic 吉安府代牧區 (1920) (Jiangxi). Italian CM.

Kiangchow [Jiangzhou], Prefecture Apostolic 絳州監牧區 (1936) (Shanxi); central residence in Xinjiang 新絳 (formerly called Jiangzhou). Dutch OFM.

Kiating [Jiading], Vicariate Apostolic 嘉定代牧區 (1938) (Sichuan); central residence at Leshan 樂山 (formerly called Jiading); see also Yachow. Chinese secular clergy.

Kichow [Qizhou], Vicariate Apostolic 蘄州代牧區 (1936) (Hubei); central residence at Qichun 蘄春 (now called Qizhou 蘄州 again); see also Hwangchowfu. Italian OFM.

Kienchangfu, Prefecture Apostolic 建昌府監牧區 (1932); (in 1938 elevated to Vicariate Apostolic of Nancheng) (Jiangxi); see Nancheng. SSC.

Kienow [Jian'ou], Prefecture Apostolic 建甌監牧區 (1938) (Fujian); formerly the Mission '*sui iuris*' of Kienningfu [Jianning] 建寧府自治區 (1932-1938) (Fujian); central residence in Jian'ou (formerly called Jianning). American OP.

Kinghsien [Jingxian], Prefecture Apostolic 景縣監牧區 (1939) (Hebei). Austrian SJ.

Kirin [Jilin], Vicariate Apostolic 吉林代牧區 (1924) (Manchuria). MEP.

Kongmoon [Jiangmen], Prefecture Apostolic 江門監牧區 (1924); Vicariate Apostolic 江門代牧區 (1927) (Guangdong). MM.

Kweilin [Guilin], Prefecture Apostolic 桂林監牧區 (1938) (Guangxi). MM.

Kweiteh [Guide], Prefecture Apostolic 歸德代牧區 (1928); Vicariate Apostolic (1937) (Henan); central residence in Shangqiu 商丘 (formerly called Guide). Spanish ORSA.

Kweiyang [Guiyang], Vicariate Apostolic 貴陽代牧區 (1924) (Guizhou). MEP.

Lanzhoufu, Vicariate Apostolic 蘭州代牧區 (1924) (Gansu); central residence in Lanzhou (called Gaolan 皋蘭 in republican China). German SVD.

Lanlong, Prefecture Apostolic 南龍監牧區 (1922); Vicariate Apostolic 南龍代牧區 (1927) (Guangxi and Guizhou); central residence at Anlong 安龍 (called Nanlong [Lanlong] 南籠 between 1912 and 1932)

Laohokow [Laohekou], Vicariate Apostolic 老河口代牧區 (1924) (Hubei). Italian OFM.

Lichow [Lizhou], Prefecture Apostolic 澧州監牧區 (1931) (Hunan); central residence in Lixian 澧縣. Spanish OSA.

Lihsien [Lixian], Prefecture Apostolic 蠡縣監牧區 (1924); (in 1929 elevated to Vicariate Apostolic of Ankwo) (Hebei); see Ankwo. Chinese CM.

Lintsing [Linqing], Prefecture Apostolic 臨清監牧區 (1931) (Shandong). Chinese secular clergy.

Lintung [Lindong], Prefecture Apostolic 林東監牧區 (1937) (Rehe); central residence at Dayingzi (via Linxi, West Xing'an) 興安西省林西大營子. MEQ.

Lishui, Vicariate Apostolic 麗水代牧區 (1938); formerly called Prefecture Apostolic of Chuchow (Zhejiang). SFM.

Loyang [Luoyang], Prefecture Apostolic 洛陽監牧區 (1929); Vicariate Apostolic 洛陽代牧區 (1935) (Henan). SX.

Luanfu [Lu'an], Vicariate Apostolic] 潞安府代牧區 (1924) (Shanxi); central residence at Changzhi 長治 (formerly called Lu'an). Dutch OFM.

Macau [Aomen], Diocese 澳門教區 (1690/1856). Portuguese SJ.

Moukden [Fengtian], Vicariate Apostolic 奉天代牧區 (1924) (Manchuria); central residence in Shenyang 瀋陽 (formerly called Mukden). MEP.

Nanchang, Vicariate Apostolic 南昌代牧區 (1924) (Jiangxi). French CM.

Nancheng, Vicariate Apostolic 南城代牧區 (1938) (Jiangxi); see also Kienchangfu. SSC.

Nanking [Nanjing], Vicariate Apostolic 南京代牧區 (1922) (Jiangsu). Chinese secular clergy.

Nanning, Vicariate Apostolic 南寧代牧區 (1924) (Guangxi); central residence in Nanning (called Yongning 邕寧 in republican China). MEP.

Nanyang, Vicariate Apostolic 南陽代牧區 (1924) (Henan); central residence at Jinjiagang 靳家崗 near Nanyang. PIME.

Ninghsia [Ningxia], Vicariate Apostolic 寧夏代牧區 (1922) (Ningxia); temporary central residence in Sanshenggong via Longxingchang (Suiyuan) 綏遠隆興長三盛公. CICM.

Ningpo [Ningbo], Vicariate Apostolic 寧波代牧區 (1924) (Zhejiang); central residence in Ningbo (called Yinxian [Ningxian] 鄞縣 in republican China). French CM.

Ningyüanfu, Vicariate Apostolic 寧遠代牧區 (1924) (Sichuan); formerly (1910-1924) called the Vicariate Apostolic of Kienchang [Jianchang] 建昌代牧區; central residence at Xichang 西昌 (formerly Ningyuan). MEP.

Pakhoi [Beihai], Vicariate Apostolic 北海代牧區 (1924) (Guangdong—now much of the former vicariate is in Guangxi province). MEP.

Paoking [Baoqing], Prefecture Apostolic 寶慶監牧區 (1938) (Hunan); central residence at Shaoyang 邵陽 (formerly called Baoqing). Hungarian OFM.

Paotingfu [Baoding], Vicariate Apostolic 保定府代牧區 (1924) (Hebei); central

residence at Baoding (called Qingyuan 清苑 in republican China). Chinese secular clergy.

Peking [Beijing], Vicariate Apostolic 北京代牧區 (1924) (Hebei); central residence in Beijing (called Beiping 北平 in Guomindang China). French CM.

Pengpu [Bengbu], Vicariate Apostolic 蚌埠代牧區 (1929) (Anhui). Italian SJ.

Pingliang, Prefecture Apostolic 平涼監牧區 (1930) (Gansu). Spanish OFMCap.

Puchi [Puqi], Prefecture Apostolic 蒲圻監牧區 (1923) (Hubei). Chinese secular clergy.

Sanyüan, Prefecture Apostolic 三原監牧區 (1931); Vicariate Apostolic 三原代牧區 (1944) (Shaanxi). Italian OFM.

Shanghai, Vicariate Apostolic 上海代牧區 (1933) (Jiangsu); central residence at Xujiahui, Shanghai 上海徐家匯. French SJ.

Shaowu, Mission '*sui iuris*' 邵武自治區 (1929); Prefecture Apostolic 邵武監牧區 (1938) (Fujian). SDS.

Shasi [Shashi], Prefecture Apostolic 沙市監牧區 (1936) (Hubei). American OFM.

Shenchow [Chenzhou], Prefecture Apostolic 辰州監牧區 (1925); Vicariate Apostolic 辰州代牧區(1934) (Hunan); in late 1934 the name was changed to Vicariate Apostolic of Yüanling. American CP.

Shihnan [Shinan], Vicariate Apostolic 施南代牧區 (1938); central residence in Enshi 恩施 (formerly called Shinan). Chinese secular clergy.

Shihtsien [Shiqian], Mission '*sui iuris*' 石阡自治區 (1932); Prefecture Apostolic 石阡監牧區 (1937) (Guizhou). German MSC.

Shiuchow [Shaozhou], Vicariate Apostolic 韶州代牧區 (1920) (Guangdong); Qujiang [Kukong] 曲江 (formerly known as Shaozhou; now called Shaoguan 韶關). Italian SDB.

Shohchow [Shuozhou], Prefecture Apostolic 朔州監牧區 (1926); Vicariate Apostolic 朔州代牧區 (1932) (Shanxi); central residence in Miximazhuang, Shuo *xian* 朔縣米昔馬莊. German OFM.

Shunking [Shunqing], Vicariate Apostolic 順慶代牧區 (1929) (Sichuan); central residence in Nanchong (formerly called Shunqing). Chinese secular clergy.

Shuntehfu [Shunde], Vicariate Apostolic 順德府監牧區 (1933) (Hebei); central residence in Xingtai 邢台 (formerly called Shunde). Polish CM.

Sianfu [Xi'an], Vicariate Apostolic 西安府代牧區 (1924) (Shaanxi); central residence in Xi'an (called Chang'an 長安 in republican China). Italian OFM.

Siangtan [Xiangtan], Prefecture Apostolic 湘潭監牧區 (1937) (Hunan). Italian OFM.

Siangyang [Xiangyang], Prefecture Apostolic 襄陽監牧區 (1936) (Hubei). Chinese secular clergy.

Sienhsien [Xianxian], Vicariate Apostolic 獻縣代牧區 (1924) (Hebei); central residence at Zhangjiazhuang, Xian *xian* 獻縣張家莊. French and Chinese SJ.

Sining [Xining], Prefecture Apostolic 西寧監牧區 (1937) (Qinghai). German SVD.

Sinkiang [Xinjiang], Mission '*sui iuris*' 新疆自治區 (1930); Prefecture Apostolic 新疆監牧區 (1938) (Xinjiang); central residence in Ürümqi 烏魯木齊 [Chin.: Dihua 迪化]; temporarily transferred to Lanzhou 蘭州 (Gansu). German SVD.

Sinsiang [Xinxiang], Prefecture Apostolic 新鄉監牧區 (1936) (Henan). American SVD.

Sinyangchow [Xinyang], Prefecture Apostolic 信陽監牧區 (1927); Vicariate Apostolic 信陽代牧區 (1933) (Henan). German SVD.

Siwantze [Xiwanzi], Vicariate Apostolic 西灣子代牧區 (1924) (Chahar—now in Hebei province). CICM.

Süanhwafu [Xuanhua], Vicariate Apostolic 宣化代牧區 (1926) (Chahar—now in Hebei province). Chinese secular clergy.

Süchow [Xuzhou], Prefecture Apostolic 徐州監牧區 (1931); Vicariate Apostolic 徐州代牧區 (1935) (Jiangsu). Canadian SJ.

Suifu [Xuzhou], Vicariate Apostolic 敘府代牧區 (1924) (Sichuan); central residence in Yibin 宜賓 (formerly called Xuzhou 敘州). MEP.

Suihsien [Suixian], Prefecture Apostolic] 隨縣監牧區 (1937) (Hubei); temporary central residence in Anlu 安陸. Irish OFM.

Suiyüan, Vicariate Apostolic 綏遠代牧區 (1922) (Suiyuan—now Inner Mongolia); central residence at Houhe 厚和 (the former twin cities of Suiyuan 綏遠 and Guihuacheng 歸化城; now called Hohot 呼和活得). CICM.

Swatow [Shantou], Vicariate Apostolic 汕頭代牧區 (1915) (Guangdong). MEP.

Szepingkai [Sipingjie], Prefecture Apostolic 四平街監牧區 (1929); Vicariate Apostolic 四平街代牧區 (1932) (Manchuria). MEQ.

Taichow [Taizhou], Vicariate Apostolic 台州代牧區 (1926) (Zhejiang); central residence at Haimen 海門. Chinese CM.

Taiwan, Prefecture Apostolic 臺灣監牧區 (1913) (until 1945 part of the Japanese Empire); erected in 1913 as Prefecture Apostolic of Formosa. Spanish OP.

Taiyüanfu [Taiyuan], Vicariate Apostolic 太原府代牧區 (1924) (Shanxi); central residence in Taiyuan (called Yangqu 陽曲 in republican China. Italian OFM.

Tali [Dali], Mission '*sui iuris*' 大理自治區 (1929); Prefecture Apostolic 大理監牧區 (1935) (Yunnan). SCJ.

Taming [Daming], Prefecture Apostolic 大名監牧區 (1935) (Hebei). Hungarian SJ.

Tatsienlu [Dajianlu], Vicariate Apostolic 打箭爐代牧區 (1924) (Tibet; western Sichuan, northwestern Yunnan); central residence in Kangding 康定 (formerly called Dajianlu). Note the existence of the province of Xikang 西康 between 1939-1955, encompassing western Sichuan and parts of eastern Tibet, with Kangding as the capital until 1950. MEP.

Tatungfu [Datong], Prefecture Apostolic 大同府監牧區 (1922); Vicariate Apostolic 大同府代牧區 (1932) (Shanxi). CICM.

Tientsin [Tianjin], Vicariate Apostolic 天津代牧區 (1924) (Hebei). French CM.

Tingchow [Dingzhou], Prefecture Apostolic 汀州監牧區 (1923) (Fujian); central residence in Wuping 武平. German OP.

Tsaochowfu [Caozhou], Vicariate Apostolic 曹州府代牧區 (1934) (Shandong); central residence at Heze 菏澤 (formerly called Caozhou). German SVD.

Tsinanfu [Ji'nan], Vicariate Apostolic 濟南代牧區 (1924) (Shandong). German OFM.

Tsinchow [Qinzhou], Vicariate Apostolic 秦州代牧區 (1924); central residence in Tianshui 天水 (formerly called Qinzhou). German OFMCap.

Tsingtao [Qingdao], Prefecture Apostolic 青島監牧區 (1925); Vicariate Apostolic 青島代牧區 (1928) (Shandong). German SVD.

Tsining [Jining], Vicariate Apostolic 集寧代牧區 (1929) (Suiyuan—now Inner Mongolia); central residence in Meiguiyingzi 玫瑰營子. Chinese secular clergy.

Tsitsikar [Qiqihaer], Mission '*sui iuris*' 齊齊哈爾自治區 (1928); Prefecture Apostolic 齊齊哈爾監牧區 (1931) (Manchuria); central residence in Qiqihaer (called Longjiang 龍江 at the time of the Japanese occupation). SMB.

Tungchow [Tongzhou], Mission '*sui iuris*' 同州自治區 (1931); Prefecture Apostolic 同州監牧區 (1935) (Shaanxi); central residence in Dali 大荔 (formerly called Tongzhou). Italian OFM.

Tunki [Tunxi], Prefecture Apostolic 屯溪監牧區 (1937) (Anhui). Spanish CMF.

Wanhsien [Wanxian], Vicariate Apostolic 萬縣代牧區 (1929) (Sichuan). Chinese secular clergy.

Weihaiwei, Mission '*sui iuris*' 威海衛自治區 (1931); Prefecture Apostolic 威海衛監牧區 (1938) (Shandong). French OFM.

Weihweifu [Weihui], Vicariate Apostolic 衛輝府代牧區 (1924) (Henan); central residence in Jixian 汲縣 (formerly called Weihui). PIME.

Wuchang, Prefecture Apostolic 武昌代牧區 (1923); Vicariate Apostolic 武昌代牧區 (1930) (Hubei); central residence at Wuchang (now part of Wuhan 武漢). American OFM.

Wuchow [Wuzhou], Mission '*sui iuris*' 梧州自治區 (1930); Prefecture Apostolic 梧州監牧區 (1934); Vicariate Apostolic 梧州代牧區 (1939) (Guangxi). MM.

Wuhu, Vicariate Apostolic 蕪湖代牧區 (1930) (Anhui). Spanish SJ.

Yachow [Yazhou], Prefecture Apostolic 雅州監牧區 (1929); Vicariate Apostolic 雅州代牧區 (1933) (Sichuan); in 1938 the name was changed to Vicariate Apostolic of Kiating. Chinese secular clergy. Yazhou is now called Ya'an 雅安. Chinese secular clergy.

Yangku [Yanggu], Prefecture Apostolic 陽穀監牧區 (1933); Vicariate Apostolic 陽穀代牧區 (1939) (Shandong); central residence at Poli(zhuang), Yanggu *xian* 陽穀縣坡里莊. Chinese secular clergy.

Yenanfu [Yan'an], Vicariate Apostolic 延安府代牧區 (1924) (Shaanxi); temporary central residence in Yulin 榆林. Spanish OFM.

Yenchowfu [Yanzhou], Vicariate Apostolic 兗州府代牧區 (1925) (Shandong); central residence at Yanzhou (called Ziyang 滋陽 in republican China). German SVD.

Yenki [Yanji], Prefecture Apostolic 延吉監牧區 (1928); Vicariate Apostolic 延吉代牧區 (1937) (Manchuria). OSB St. Ottilien.

Yihsien [Yixian], Mission '*sui iuris*' 易縣自治區 (1929); Prefecture Apostolic 易縣監牧區 (1936) (Hebei). Italian CPS.

Yochow [Yuezhou], Prefecture Apostolic 岳州監牧 (1931) (Hunan); central residence in Yueyang 岳陽 (formerly called Yuezhou). Spanish OSA.

Yüanling, Vicariate Apostolic 沅陵代牧區 (1934) (Hunan); see also Shenchow. American CP.

Yükiang [Yujiang], Vicariate Apostolic 餘江代牧區 (1921) (Jiangxi). American CM.

Yungchowfu [Yongzhou], Prefecture Apostolic 永州府監牧區 (1925) (Hunan); central residence in Lingling 零陵 (formerly called Yongzhou). Austrian OFM.

Yungnian [Yongnian], Prefecture Apostolic 永年監牧區 (1929); Vicariate Apostolic 永年代牧區 (1933) (Hebei); central residence in Zhaojiazhuang, Wei *xian* 威縣趙家莊. Chinese secular clergy.

Yungpingfu [Yongping], Vicariate Apostolic 永平府代牧區 (1924) (Hebei); central residence in Lulong 盧龍 (formerly called Yongping). Dutch CM.

Yünnanfu, Vicariate Apostolic 雲南府代牧區 (1930) (Yunnan); central residence in Kunming 昆明 (formerly called Yunnanfu). MEP.

Yütze [Yuci], Prefecture Apostolic 榆次監牧區 (1932); Vicariate Apostolic 榆次代牧區 (1944) (Shanxi). Italian OFM.

Table 8: Catholics Statistics by Jurisdiction—1940/41 (Arranged by Ecclesiastical Region)

Vicariate 代牧區 (V.A.) or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.) (missionary society)	Adherents		Personnel						Principal Stations
			Foreign			Chinese			
	Catholics 教友	Catechumens 保守	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	
I. Region: Mongolia									
Ningsia V.A. 寧夏 (CICM)	28,044	6,265	37	0	8	23	0	49	37
Siwantze V.A. 西灣子 (CICM)	43,029	2,956	56	0	14	22	0	48	35
Suiyüan V.A. 綏遠 (CICM)	44,484	7,653	57	0	29	25	0	0	45
Tsining V.A. 集寧 (Chin. sec.)	35,120	1,235	4	0	8	49	0	83	31
Total Mongolia	***150,677***	***18,109***	***154***	***0***	***59***	***119***	***0***	***180***	***148***
II. Region: Manchuria									
Chihfeng P.A. 赤峯 (Chin. sec.)	29,355	4,751	4	0	0	33	7	93	22
Fushun V.A. 撫順 (MM)	11,033	1,916	32	2	27	5	0	1	19
Jehol V.A. 熱河 (CICM)	32,246	3,267	55	0	17	17	38	25	37
Kiamusze P.A. 佳木斯 (OFMCap)	3,232	144	8	1	0	0	0	0	3
Kirin V.A. 吉林 (MEP)	32,212	4,549	36	5	24	33	0	48	41
Lintung P.A. 林東 (MEQ)	8,752	370	16	2	7	0	0	0	5
Moukden V.A. 奉天 (MEP)	30,906	1,915	31	4	33	27	0	104	33
Szepingkai V.A. 四平街 (MEQ)	14,924	1,712	44	10	47	0	0	26	14
Tsitsikar P.A. 齊齊哈爾 (SMB)	23,532	1,965	40	0	23	2	0	0	24
Yenki P.A. 延吉 (OSB)	16,330	1,179	23	17	18	6	0	10	16
Harbin Ordinariate 哈爾濱 (MIC)	130	0	6	3	32	0	0	0	1
Total Manchuria	***202,652***	***21,768***	***295***	***44***	***228***	***123***	***45***	***307***	***215***

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Vicariate 代牧區 (V.A.) or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.) (missionary society)	Adherents		Personnel						Principal Stations
			Foreign			Chinese			
	Catholics 教友	Catechumens 保守	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	
III. Region: Hebei									
Ankwo V.A. 安國 (Chinese CM)	34,328	528	2	0	2	24	116	114	16
Chaohsien V.A. 趙縣 (Chin. sec.)	45,635	2,041	0	0	0	39	0	63	20
Chengtingfu V.A. 正定府 (CM)	51,985	2,743	19	1	7	47	50	118	25
Kinghsien P.A. 景縣 (SJ)	33,584	2,656	20	10	3	12	11	2	17
Paotingfu V.A. 保定府 (Chin. sec.)	79,369	850	7	0	8	62	2	81	34
Peking V.A. 北京 (CM)	245,793	1,212	124	19	51	111	41	185	90
Shuntehfu P.A. 順德府 (CM)	21,605	2,646	15	1	8	7	0	21	8
Sienhsien V.A. 獻縣 (SJ)	61,464	13,551	54	5	21	37	20	100	18
Süanhwafu V.A. 宣化府 (Chin. sec.)	36,017	1,951	16	0	0	43	46	34	24
Taming P.A. 大名 (SJ)	43,327	3,391	19	3	20	9	19	11	15
Tientsin V.A. 天津 (CM)	55,647	1,000	23	17	68	34	9	57	26
Yihsien P.A. 易縣 (CPS)	6,490	160	10	1	3	7	0	28	6
Yungnien V.A. 永年 (Chin. sec.)	50,031	2,737	0	0	0	22	0	31	14
Yungpingfu V.A. 永平府 (CM)	35,965	588	25	8	7	16	1	46	15
Total Hebei	***801,240***	***36,054***	***334***	***65***	***198***	***470***	***315***	***1,119***	***328***

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Vicariate 代牧區 (V.A.) or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.) (missionary society)	Adherents		Personnel						Principal Stations
			Foreign			Chinese			
	Catholics 教友	Catechumens 保守	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	
IV. Region: Shandong									
Chefoo V.A. 煙台 (OFM)	12,630	2,249	10	9	48	15	0	19	22
Chowtsun V.A. 周村 (OFM)	29,227	5,410	19	0	20	3	0	8	14
Ichowfu V.A. 沂州 (SVD)	19,425	1,471	30	4	15	0	0	23	15
Iduhsien P.A. 益都縣 (OFM)	12,198	1,346	13	0	4	15	0	19	21
Lintsing P.A. 臨清 (Chin. sec.)	19,970	3,180	6	0	8	26	0	25	18
Tsaochowfu V.A. 曹州府 (SVD)	71,001	14,929	38	0	16	12	0	63	32
Tsinanfu V.A. 濟南府 (OFM)	42,927	5,187	61	14	41	33	1	28	38
Tsingtao V.A. 青島 (SVD)	21,528	2,293	28	1	86	6	4	12	18
Weihaiwei P.A. 威海衛 (OFM)	4,173	460	8	1	17	1	5	5	5
Yangku V.A. 陽穀 (Chin. sec.)	28,981	5,394	4	0	8	15	0	13	10
Yenchowfu V.A. 兗州府 (SVD)	57,114	6,342	64	15	62	13	7	72	37
Total Shandong	***319,174***	***48,261***	***281***	***44***	***325***	***139***	***17***	***287***	***230***
V. Region: Shanxi									
Fenyang V.A. 汾陽 (Chin. sec.)	15,197	2,726	1	0	0	28	4	0	18
Hungtung P.A. 洪洞 (Chin. sec.)	12,015	1,795	0	0	0	21	0	8	12
Kiangchow P.A. 絳州 (OFM)	6,875	2,420	8	0	9	3	0	5	7
Luanfu V.A. 潞安府 (OFM)	29,892	4,156	33	3	20	7	1	18	25
Shohchow V.A. 朔州 (OFM)	11,075	4,719	29	4	11	0	0	0	20
Taiyüanfu V.A. 太原府 (OFM)	38,835	2,777	20	2	11	19	1	5	24
Tatungfu V.A. 大同府 (CICM)	8,003	2,250	36	0	0	2	0	0	17
Yütze P.A. 榆次 (OFM)	15,072	1,950	15	0	0	9	2	33	16
Total Shanxi	***121,782***	***22,793***	***142***	***9***	***51***	***89***	***8***	***69***	***139***

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Vicariate 代牧區 (V.A.) or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.) (missionary society)	Adherents		Personnel						Principal Stations
			Foreign			Chinese			
	Catholics 教友	Catechumens 保守	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	
VI. Region: Shaanxi									
Chowchih P.A. 盩厔 (Chin. sec.)	19,939	2,217	1	0	0	21	30	13	18
Fengsiang P.A. 鳳翔 (Chinese OFM)	7,425	2,164	1	0	0	19	0	6	2
Hanchungfu V.A. 漢中府 (PIME)	17,973	970	21	2	18	8	0	27	17
Hinganfu P.A. 興安府 (OFMConv.)	4,347	2,431	8	2	0	1	0	16	8
Sanyüan P.A. 三原 (OFM)	10,856	1,549	17	1	10	9	0	33	12
Sianfu V.A. 西安府 (OFM)	10,822	3,981	17	0	3	4	0	26	13
Tungchow P.A. 同州 (OFM)	6,083	1,127	16	0	0	3	0	8	10
Yenanfu V.A. 延安府 (OFM)	9,000	0	17	1	0	16	0	0	7
Total Shaanxi	***86,445***	***14,439***	***98***	***6***	***31***	***81***	***30***	***129***	***87***
VII. Region: Gansu, Xinjiang, Qinghai									
Lanchowfu V.A. 蘭州 (SVD)	13,020	2,065	28	11	47	8	0	17	24
Pingliang P.A. 平涼 (OFMCap)	4,736	1,067	14	3	8	3	0	6	11
Sining P.A. 西寧 (SVD) *Qinghai* 青海	3,222	300	8	0	10	1	0	1	7
Sinkiang P.A. 新疆 (SVD)	738	39	5	0	0	0	0	6	6
Tsinchow V.A. 秦州 (OFMCap)	7,125	579	25	5	24	8	0	0	21
Total Gansu etc.	***28,841***	***4,050***	***80***	***19***	***89***	***20***	***0***	***30***	***69***
VIII. Region: Jiangsu									
Haimen V.A. 海門 (Chin. sec.)	37,662	739	0	0	8	33	0	37	28
Nanking V.A. 南京 (Chin. sec.)	32,749	1,430	5	0	5	22	0	4	13

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Vicariate 代牧區 (V.A.) or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.) (missionary society)	Adherents		Personnel						Principal Stations
			Foreign			Chinese			
	Catholics 教友	Catechumens 保守	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	
Shanghai V.A. 上海 (SJ)	140,704	8,423	113	136	312	111	67	366	67
Süchow V.A. 徐州 (SJ)	83,949	24,306	31	7	7	7	0	41	21
Total Jiangsu	***295,064***	***34,898***	***149***	***143***	***332***	***173***	***67***	***448***	***129***
IX. Region: Anhui									
Anking V.A. 安慶 (SJ)	27,537	12,570	39	14	8	5	1	44	24
Pengpu V.A. 蚌埠 (SJ)	53,108	19,839	31	5	13	4	0	55	19
Tunki P.A. 屯溪 (CMF)	1,921	1,156	10	2	0	0	1	0	7
Wuhu V.A. 蕪湖 (SJ)	39,688	24,150	53	18	15	5	2	41	24
Total Anhui	***122,254***	***57,715***	***133***	***39***	***36***	***14***	***4***	***140***	***74***
X. Region: Henan									
Chengchow V.A. 鄭州 (SX)	21,595	3,120	19	2	16	11	0	77	15
Chumatien P.A. 駐馬店 (Chin. sec.)	15,375	8,349	0	0	4	18	0	0	12
Kaifengfu V.A. 開封府 (PIME)	18,022	7,218	29	3	34	10	0	43	21
Kweiteh V.A. 歸德 (ORSA)	9,382	3,864	15	1	5	1	0	23	11
Loyang V.A. 洛陽 (SX)	9,646	1,203	22	4	7	0	0	21	9
Nanyang V.A. 南陽 (PIME)	22,041	7,400	26	3	9	0	0	31	13
Sinsiang P.A. 新鄉 (SVD)	15,229	5,266	14	3	6	1	0	2	10
Sinyangchow V.A. 信陽州 (SVD)	11,767	4,873	33	9	20	0	1	41	15
Weihweifu V.A. 衛輝府 (PIME)	44,967	3,217	32	0	10	12	0	35	23
Total Henan	***168,024***	***44,510***	***190***	***25***	***111***	***53***	***1***	***273***	***129***

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Vicariate 代牧區 (V.A.) or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.) (missionary society)	Adherents		Personnel						Principal Stations
			Foreign			Chinese			
	Catholics 教友	Catechumens 保守	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	
XI. Region: Sichuan									
Chengtu V.A. 成都 (MEP)	38,525	1,373	20	0	30	44	0	45	53
Chungking V.A. 重慶 (MEP)	41,275	823	25	2	14	60	3	82	55
Kiating V.A. 嘉定 (Chin. sec.)	13,784	175	0	0	4	24	0	1	16
Ningyüanfu V.A. 甯遠府 (MEP)	13,003	3,000	18	0	15	18	0	36	19
Shunking V.A. 順慶 (Chin. sec.)	18,553	763	7	0	0	23	0	19	15
Suifu V.A. 叙府 [叙州府] (MEP)	26,702	1,500	23	0	8	37	0	40	33
Tatsienlu V.A. 打箭爐 (MEP), incl. *Xikang* 西康 & *Tibet* 西藏	5,145	125	20	4	11	8	0	8	18
Wanhsien V.A. 萬縣 (Chin. sec.)	21,393	602	0	0	11	42	0	7	25
Total Sichuan	***178,380***	***8,361***	***113***	***6***	***93***	***256***	***3***	***238***	***234***
XII. Region: Hubei									
Hankow V.A. 漢口 (OFM)	32,176	41,359	41	12	77	17	4	78	29
Hanyang V.A. 漢陽 (SSC)	55,770	5,063	42	3	11	4	0	29	26
Ichang V.A. 宜昌 (OFM)	17,200	2,032	35	2	23	5	0	60	26
Kichow V.A. 蘄州(OFM)	14,794	4,390	21	0	5	0	0	6	15
Laohokow V.A. 老河口 (OFM)	19,194	8,226	17	3	15	10	0	42	16
Puchi P.A. 蒲圻 (Chin. sec.)	4,531	520	0	0	1	10	0	7	8
Shasi P.A. 沙市 (OFM)	8,139	5,444	17	2	3	1	0	14	13
Shihnan V.A. 施南 (Chin. sec.)	7,846	1,379	4	0	0	10	0	24	14
Siangyang P.A. 襄陽 (Chin. sec)	21,220	18,657	2	0	4	21	0	40	17

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Vicariate 代牧區 (V.A.) or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.) (missionary society)	Adherents		Personnel						Principal Stations
			Foreign			Chinese			
	Catholics 教友	Catechumens 保守	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	
Suihsien P.A. 隨縣 (OFM)	8,123	3,924	15	0	0	3	0	8	8
Wuchang V.A. 武昌 (OFM)	12,898	5,131	20	0	52	3	1	25	14
Total Hubei	***201,891***	***96,125***	***214***	***22***	***191***	***84***	***5***	***333***	***186***
XIII. Region: Hunan									
Changsha V.A. 長沙 (OFM)	9,426	1,801	13	0	7	1	0	8	10
Changteh V.A. 常德 (OESA)	6,306	959	9	0	3	2	0	4	6
Hengchow V.A. 衡州 (OFM)	23,865	2,054	19	0	4	16	0	22	17
Lichow P.A. 澧州 (OESA)	6,034	595	8	0	3	3	0	3	8
Paoking P.A. 寶慶 (OFM)	1,868	684	6	3	6	0	0	0	3
Siangtan P.A. 湘潭 (OFM)	5,253	1,118	8	0	0	1	0	0	9
Yochow P.A. 岳州 (OESA)	9,252	3,508	7	1	3	1	0	7	5
Yüanling V.A. 沅陵 (CP)	4,023	6,945	33	0	15	0	0	3	15
Yungchowfu P.A. 永州府 (OFM)	8,981	511	10	0	19	2	0	0	10
Total Hunan	***75,008***	***18,175***	***113***	***4***	***60***	***26***	***0***	***47***	***83***
XIV. Region: Jiangxi									
Kanchow V.A. 贛州 (CM)	17,863	846	22	0	6	15	0	38	18
Kianfu V.A. 吉安府 (CM)	23,981	2,000	12	1	5	12	0	22	16
Nanchang V.A. 南昌 (CM)	34,230	0	15	0	10	25	0	25	23
Nancheng V.A. 南城 (SSC)	9,093	1,650	25	0	7	3	0	0	13

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Vicariate 代牧區 (V.A.) or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.) (missionary society)	Adherents		Personnel						Principal Stations
			Foreign			Chinese			
	Catholics 教友	Catechumens 保守	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	
Yükiang V.A. 餘江 (CM)	26,826	5,670	24	0	5	32	0	2	28
Total Jiangxi	***111,993***	***10,166***	***98***	***1***	***34***	***87***	***0***	***87***	***98***
XV. Region: Zhejiang									
Hangchow V.A. 杭州 (CM)	35,049	5,755	11	0	16	45	0	86	27
Lishui P.A. 麗水 (SFM)	6,250	1,182	38	0	9	6	0	0	13
Ningpo V.A. 寧波 (CM)	52,199	9,613	28	1	20	52	4	100	29
Taichow V.A. 台州 (Chinese CM)	7,874	1,097	0	0	0	18	0	11	7
Total Zhejiang	***101,372***	***17,647***	***77***	***1***	***45***	***121***	***4***	***197***	***76***
XVI. Region: Fujian									
Amoy V.A. 廈門 (OP)	15,316	1,103	18	0	10	15	0	0	27
Foochow V.A. 福州 (OP)	36,463	0	25	2	22	19	0	0	30
Funing V.A. 福寧 (OP)	29,725	2,598	18	0	13	14	0	5	20
Kienow P.A. 建甌 (OP)	1,211	480	7	1	6	0	0	0	5
Shaowu P.A. 邵武 (SDS)	4,678	5,483	18	3	11	0	0	5	10
Tingchow P.A. 汀州 (OP)	3,587	1,120	23	6	19	1	0	2	10
Total Fujian	***90,980***	***10,784***	***109***	***12***	***81***	***49***	***0***	***12***	***102***
XVII. Region: Guangdong									
Canton V.A. 廣州 (MEP)	16,366	522	17	0	36	38	0	77	44
Hainan P.A. 海南 (CSSCC)	2,991	226	14	0	2	0	0	25	9

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Vicariate 代牧區 (V.A.) or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.) (missionary society)	Adherents		Personnel						Principal Stations
			Foreign			Chinese			
	Catholics 教友	Catechumens 保守	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	
Hongkong V.A. 香港 (PIME)	38,894	2,030	109	49	215	21	2	204	44
Kaying V.A. 嘉應 (MM)	18,924	1,208	32	0	15	7	0	0	25
Kongmoon V.A. 江門 (MM)	10,760	438	28	4	8	3	0	10	20
Macao Diocese 澳門教區	14,635	5,156	62	17	93	24	2	36	23
Pakhoi V.A. 北海 (MEP)	15,328	933	15	0	8	10	0	70	17
Shuichow V.A. 韶州 (SDB)	5,357	126	15	0	7	2	0	11	16
Swatow V.A. 汕頭 (MEP)	32,070	0	18	0	11	29	0	3	27
Total Guangdong	***155,325***	***10,639***	***310***	***70***	***395***	***134***	***4***	***436***	***225***
XVIII. Region: Guangxi									
Kweilin [Guilin] P.A. 桂林 (MM)	2,656	320	16	0	6	0	0	0	6
Nanning V.A. 南寧 (MEP)	8,505	1,514	17	0	9	10	0	41	17
Wuchow V.A. 梧州 (MM)	10,398	753	21	0	7	3	0	6	10
Total Guangxi	***21,559***	***2,587***	***54***	***0***	***22***	***13***	***0***	***47***	***33***
XIX. Region: Guizhou									
Kweiyang V.A. 貴陽 (MEP)	22,971	402	20	0	15	41	0	27	31
Lanlong V.A. 南龍 (MEP)	11,482	12,207	16	0	5	11	0	10	18
Shihtsien P.A. 石阡 (MSC)	5,098	2,067	21	3	8	3	0	0	16
Total Guizhou	***39,551***	***14,676***	***57***	***3***	***28***	***55***	***0***	***37***	***65***

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Vicariate 代牧區 (V.A.) or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.) (missionary society)	Adherents		Personnel						Principal Stations
			Foreign			Chinese			
	Catholics 教友	Catechumens 保守	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	Priests 司鐸	Brothers 修士	Sisters 修女	
XX. Region: Yunnan									
Chaotung P.A. 昭通 (Chin. sec. clergy)	6,354	760	1	0	4	10	0	0	8
Tali P.A. 大理 (SCJ)	5,038	11,941	17	3	10	2	0	10	16
Yünnanfu V.A. 雲南府 (MEP)	11,440	3,477	30	4	34	14	1	46	25
Total Yunnan	***22,832***	***16,178***	***48***	***7***	***48***	***26***	***1***	***56***	***49***
TOTAL FOR CHINA	3,295,044	507,935	3,049	520	2,457	2,132	504	4,472	2,699

Source: *Les Missions de Chine*. Seizième Année (1940–1941), Beijing: Lazaristes du Pétang, 1942.
Note that this source does not provide data for Taiwan, because the island was part of the Japanese Empire between 1895–1945. Also excluded is the territory of Guandong *zhou* 關東州 (i.e. the Dalian region in southern Manchuria), a Japanese leasehold since 1905.

Table 9: Heads of Catholics Jurisdictions—1949/50: Archbishops, Bishops and Prefects Apostolic (Arranged by Ecclesiastical Province)

Diocese 主教區 or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.)	Appointee	Chinese Name	Congregational affiliation of Head	Birth	Consecration of Bishop or Appointment of Head	Type	Died
I. Province: Mongolia							
Suiyuan 綏遠	Morel, Louis	穆清海	CICM	1880	1938	archbishop	1971
Ningxia 寧夏	Van Melckebeke, Carlo	王守禮	CICM	1898	1946	bishop	1980
Jining 集寧	Fan Heng'an, Joseph	樊恒安	sec.	1882	1933	bishop	1975
Xiwanzi 西灣子	De Smedt, Leo	石德懋	CICM	1881	1932	bishop	1951
	Zhang Kexing, Melchior	張克興	sec.	1914	1949	bishop	1988
II. Province: Manchuria							
Moukden 奉天 [Shenyang 瀋陽]	Pi Shushi, Ignatius	皮漱石	sec.	1898	1949	archbishop	1978
Fushun 撫順	McCormack, Joseph Patrick	葛懷仁	MM	1883	1946	vicar capitular	1974
Jilin 吉林	Gaspais, Auguste	高德惠	MEP	1884	1921	bishop	1952
Rehe 熱河	Oste, Jozef (敖思德)	德化隆	CICM	1893	1948	bishop	1971
Sipingjie 四平街	Lapierre, Louis-Adelmar	石俊聲	MEQ	1880	1932	bishop	1952
Yanji 延吉	Breher, Theodor	白化東	OSB	1889	1937	bishop	1950
Yingkou 營口 §	Vérineux, André	費聲遠	MEP	1897	1949	bishop	1983
Chihfeng [Chifeng] P.A. 赤峯	Shi Yongzhen, Fabianus	師永禎	sec.		1949 ♦	ap. administrator	
Kiamusze [Jiamusi] P.A. 佳木斯	Hintringer, Hermenegild	興光啓	OFMCap	1905	1940	prefect apostolic	1983
Lintung [Lindong] P.A. 林東	Prévost, Gustave	趙亞明	MEQ	1914	1946	prefect apostolic	2005
Tsitsikar [Qiqihaer] P.A. 齊齊哈爾	Hugentobler, Paul	胡幹普	SMB	1893	1934	prefect apostolic	1976
Harbin Apostolic Exarchate 哈爾濱	Cikoto [Tsikoto], Andrei	郝高德	MIC	1891	1939	ap. administrator	1952

Table 9 (*cont.*)

Diocese 主教區 or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.)	Appointee	Chinese Name	Congregational affiliation of Head	Birth	Consecration of Bishop or Appointment of Head	Type	Died
III. Province: Hebei							
Beijing 北京	Tian Gengxin, Thomas	田耕莘	SVD	1890	1939	archbishop	1967
Anguo 安國	Wang Zengyi, Joannes-Baptista	王增義	CM	1883	1938	bishop	1951
Baoding 保定	Zhang Bide, Joannes	張弼德	sec.	–		ap. administrator	–
Daming 大名	Lischerong, Gáspár	隆其化	SJ	1889	1947	ap. administrator	1972
Jingxian 景縣	Brellinger, Leopold	凌安爛	SJ	1893	1947	bishop	1967
Shunde 順德	Krause, Ignacy	葛樂才	CM	1896	1944	bishop	1984
Tianjin 天津	de Vienne, Jean	文貴斌	CM	1877	1915	bishop	1957
Xianxian 獻縣	Zhao Zhensheng, Franciscus-X.	趙振聲	SJ	1894	1938	bishop	1968
Xuanhua 宣化	Wang Muduo, Petrus	王木鐸	sec.	1904	1948	bishop	1959
Yongnian 永年	Cui Shouxun, Joseph	崔守恂	sec.	1877	1933	bishop	1953
Yongping 永平	Herrijgers, Jan	和毓華	CM	1901	1948	vicar capitular	
Zhaoxian 趙縣	Zhang Bide, Joannes	張弼德	sec.	1883	1932	bishop	1976
Zhengding 正定	Chen Shiming, Job	陳啓明	CM	1891	1939	bishop	1959
Yihsien [Yixian] P.A. 易縣	Martina, Tarcisio	馬迪儒	CPS	1887	1936	prefect apostolic	1961
IV. Province: Shandong							
Ji'nan 濟南	Jarre, Cyrillus	楊恩賚	OFM	1879	1929	archbishop	1952
Caozhou 曹州	Hoowarts, Franz	何方濟	SVD	1878	1935	bishop	1954
Chefoo [Yantai] 煙台	Durand, Prosper	杜安坤	OFM	1885	1946	bishop	1972
Qingdao 青島	Olbert, August	吳伯祿	SVD	1895	1948	bishop	1964

Table 9 (*cont.*)

Diocese 主教區 or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.)	Appointee	Chinese Name	Congregational affiliation of Head	Birth	Consecration of Bishop or Appointment of Head	Type	Died
Yanggu 陽穀	Niu Huiqing, Thomas	牛會卿	sec.	1895	1943	bishop	1973
Yanzhou 兗州	Schu, Theodor	舒德祿	SVD	1892	11937	bishop	1965
Yizhou 沂州	Weber, Karl	萬賓來	SVD	1886	1938	bishop	1970
Zhoucun 周村	Pinger, Ambrose	楊光被	OFM	1897	1937	bishop	1988
Iduhsien [Yiduxian] P.A. 益都縣	Digard, Alexandre †	狄嘉略	OFM	1891	1938	prefect apostolic	1969
Lintsing [Linqing] P.A. 臨清	Li Gaichen, Joseph	李蓋臣	sec.	1889	1940	prefect apostolic	1948
	Li Benliang, Paulus	李本良	sec.		1949	prefect apostolic	1981
Weihaiwei P.A. 威海衛	Quint, Edouard Gabriel	甘霖	OFM	1905	1950	prefect apostolic	1994
V. Province: Shanxi							
Taiyuan 太原	Capozi, Luca	李路嘉	OFM	1899	1940	archbishop	1991
Datong 大同	Vanderstraeten, Frans	路達天	CICM	1901		vicar capitular	1967
Fenyang 汾陽	Lei Zhenxia, Simon	雷震霞	sec.	1915	1949	bishop	1970
Lu'an 潞安	Kramer, Constantinus	康濟民	OFM	1903	1946	bishop	1998
Shuozhou 朔州	Häring, Edgar	俞廣仁	OFM	1894	1933	bishop	1971
Yuci 榆次	Focaccia, Ermenegildo	富濟才	OFM	1886	1944	bishop	1953
Hungtung [Hongdong] P.A. 洪洞	Han Tingbi, Franciscus	韓廷弼	sec.	1909	1949	pro-prefect ap.	1991
Kiangchow [Jiangzhou] P.A. 絳州	Pessers, Quintinus	孔昭明	OFM	1896	1936	prefect apostolic	1983
VI. Province: Shaanxi							
Xi'an 西安	Vanni, Pacifico Giulio	萬九樓	OFM	1893	1932	archbishop	1967
Fengxiang 鳳翔	Wang Daonan, Silvester	王道南	OFM	1892	1942	bishop	1949

Table 9 (*cont.*)

Diocese 主教區 or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.)	Appointee	Chinese Name	Congregational affiliation of Head	Birth	Consecration of Bishop or Appointment of Head	Type	Died
Hanzhong 漢中	Maggi, Giuseppe	孟守道	PIME	1898	1949	bishop	1963
Sanyuan 三原	Pasini, Fulgenzio	班錫宜	OFM	1897	1944	bishop	1985
Yan'an 延安	Ibáñez y Aparicio, Celestino ♠	易興化	OFM	1873	1911	bishop	1951
Chowchih [Zhouzhi] P.A. 盩厔	Gao Zheng-yi, Joannes	高正一	sec.	1900	1941	prefect apostolic	1951
Hingan [Xing'an] P.A. 興安 [= Ankang]	Maleddu, Pietro	馬驥篤	OMFConv		1948	prefect apostolic	1983
Tungchow [Tongzhou] P.A. 同州	Moretti, Pietro	穆繼文	OFM	1888	1935	prefect apostolic	1970
VII. Province: Gansu							
Lanzhou 蘭州	Buddenbrock, Theodor	濮登博	SVD	1878	1925	archbishop	1959
Qinzhou 秦州	Grimm, Gratian (Peter)	甘維道	OFMCap	1901	1949	bishop	1972
Pingliang P.A. 平涼	Larrañaga Lasa, Ignacio G.	高金鑑	OFMCap	1892	1930	prefect apostolic	1975
Sining [Xining] P.A. 西寧, *Qinghai*	Haberstroh, Hieronymus	夏思德	SVD	1893	1937	prefect apostolic	1961
Sinkiang [Xinjiang] P.A. 新疆	Loy, Ferdinand	盧裴德	SVD	1892	1938	prefect apostolic	1970
VIII. Province: Jiangsu							
Nanjing 南京	Yu Bin [Yupin], Paulus	于斌	sec.	1901	1936	archibishop	1978
Haimen 海門	Zhu Kaimin, Simon	朱開敏	SJ	1868	1926	bishop	1960
Shanghai 上海	Henry, Yves	姚續唐	SJ	1880	1848	vicar capitular	1963
Suzhou 蘇州 *	Gong Pinmei, Ignatius	龔品梅	sec.	1900	1949	bishop	2000
Xuzhou 徐州 (SJ)	Côté, Philippe	郃軼歐	SJ	1895	1935	bishop	1970
Haichow P.A. 海州 ** *Yangchow* P.A. 揚州 ***	Lacretelle, Fernand	格壽平	SJ	1902	1950	ap. administrator	1983

Table 9 (*cont.*)

Diocese 主教區 or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.)	Appointee	Chinese Name	Congregational affiliation of Head	Birth	Consecration of Bishop or Appointment of Head	Type	Died
IX. Province: Anhui							
Anqing 安慶	Melendro Gutiérrez, Federico	梅耿光	SJ	1889	1930	archbishop	1978
Bengbu 蚌埠	Cassini, Cipriano	趙信義	SJ	1894	1937	bishop	1951
Wuhu 蕪湖	Arámburu Urquiola, Zenón	蒲盧	SJ	1879	1936	bishop	1969
Tunki [Tunxi] P.A. 屯溪	Fogued y Gil, José	扶直義	CMF	1885	1937	prefect apostolic	1954
X. Province: Henan							
Kaifeng 開封	Pollio, Gaetano	楊霖	PIME	1911	1947	archbishop	1991
Guide 歸德	Quintanilla Manzanares, Arturo	貴達義	ORSA	1904	1950	bishop	1970
Luoyang 洛陽	Bassi, Assuero Teogano	巴友仁	SX	1887	1935	bishop	1970
Nanyang 南陽	Massa, Pietro	梅嶺南	PIME	1895	1938	bishop	1978
Weihui 衛輝	Civelli, Mario	祁濟衆	PIME	1890	1935	bishop	1966
Xinyang 信陽	Kalwey, Theodor	康涵義	SVD	1898	1949	vicar capitular	1981
Zhengzhou 鄭州	Tissot, Faustino M.	丁玉守	SX	1901	1946	bishop	1991
Zhumadian 駐馬店	Yuan Kezhi, Joseph	袁克治	sec.	1898	1945	bishop	1969
Sinsiang [Xinxiang] P.A. 新鄉	Megan, Thomas	米幹	SVD	1899	1936	prefect apostolic	1951
XI. Province: Sichuan							
Chongqing 重慶	Jantzen, Louis-Gabriel-Xavier	尙惟善	MEP	1885	1926	archbishop	1953

Table 9 (*cont.*)

Diocese 主教區 or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.)	Appointee	Chinese Name	Congregational affiliation of Head	Birth	Consecration of Bishop or Appointment of Head	Type	Died
Chengdu 成都	Pinault, Henri-Marie-Ernest-Désiré	彭道傳	MEP	1904	1949	bishop	1987
Jiading 嘉定	Deng Jizhou, Paulus	鄧及洲	sec.	1905	1949	bishop	1990
Kangding 康定, incl. Xikang 西康 & Tibet 西藏	Valentin, Pierre-Sylvain	華郎廷	MEP	1880	1927	bishop	1962
Ningyuan 甯遠	Baudry, Stanislas	包明揚	MEP	1887	1927	bishop	1954
Shunqing 順慶	Wang Wencheng, Paulus	王文成	sec.	1881	1930	ap. administrator	1961
Wanxian 萬縣	Duan Yinming, Matthias	段蔭明	sec.	1908	1949	bishop	2001
Xufu 叙府 [Yibin]	Boisguérin, René	林茂德	MEP	1901	1946	bishop	1998
XII. Province: Hubei							
Hankow 漢口	Rosà, Maurizio	羅錦章	OFM	1888	1946	archbishop	1961
Hanyang 漢陽	Galvin, Edward J.	高爾文	SSC	1882	1927	bishop	1956
Laohekou 老河口	Ferroni, Alfonso Maria	費樂理	OFM	1892	1932	bishop	1966
Qizhou 藍州	Ceol, Ferruccio	邱先覺	OFM	1911	1948	bishop	1990
Shinan 施南 [= Enshi]	Gubbels, Noël	顧學德	OFM	–		ap. administrator	–
Wuchang 武昌	Kowalski, Rembert	郭時濟	OFM	1884	1911	bishop	1970
Yichang 宜昌	Gubbels, Noël	顧學德	OFM	1874	1930	bishop	1950
Puchi [Puqi] P.A. 蒲圻	Li Dao-nan, Joseph	李道南		1902	1949	prefect apostolic	1973
Shasi [Shashi] P.A. 沙市	Dillon, Julius	狄隆	OFM	1897	1936	prefect apostolic	1961
Siangyang [Xiangyang] P.A. 襄陽	Yi Xuanhua, Franciscus	易宣化	sec.	1900	1936	prefect apostolic	1974
Suihsien [Suixian] P.A. 隨縣	Connaughton, Maurice	龔成德	OFM	1889	1937	prefect apostolic	1967

Table 9 (*cont.*)

Diocese 主教區 or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.)	Appointee	Chinese Name	Congregational affiliation of Head	Birth	Consecration of Bishop or Appointment of Head	Type	Died
XIII. Province: Hunan							
Changsha 長沙	Lacchio, Petronio	藍澤民	OFM	1901	1940	archbishop	1976
Changde 常德	Herrero Garrote, Gerardo F.	王德純	OESA	1885	1940	bishop	1965
Hengyang 衡陽 [Hengzhou]	Palazzi, Raffaele Angelo	柏長青	OFM	1886	1928	bishop	1961
Yuanling 沅陵	O'Gara, Cuthbert	歐克瀾	CP	1886	1934	bishop	1968
Lichow [Lizhou] P.A. 澧州	Martínez, Hipólito	馬國珍	OESA	1882	1932	prefect apostolic	1963
Paoking [Baoqing] P.A. 寶慶	Lombos, László [Ladislaus]	龍博義	OFM	1887	1938	prefect apostolic	1963
Siangtan [Xiangtan] P.A. 湘潭	Calzolari, Pacifico	佳索理	OFM	1896	1938	prefect apostolic	1965
Yochow P.A. 岳州 [Yueyang]	de la Calle Fontecha, Angel	高鳳翔	OESA	1886	1932	prefect apostolic	1955
Yungchow [Yongzhou] P.A. 永州	Kurz, Blasius Sigisbald	顧光照	OFM	1894	1939	prefect apostolic	1973
XIV. Province: Jiangxi							
Nanchang 南昌	Zhou Jishi, Joseph	周濟世	CM	1892	1931	archbishop	1972
Ganzhou 贛州	O'Shea, John A.	和若望	CM	1887	1928	bishop	1969
Ji'an 吉安府	Mignani, Gaetano	梅雅誼	CM	1882	1929	bishop	1973
Nancheng 南城	Cleary, Patrick	利伯高	SSC	1886	1939	bishop	1970
Yujiang 餘江	Quinn, William Charles	光一辛	CM	1905	1940	bishop	1960

Table 9 (*cont.*)

Diocese 主教區 or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.)	Appointee	Chinese Name	Congregational affiliation of Head	Birth	Consecration of Bishop or Appointment of Head	Type	Died
XV. Province: Zhejiang							
Hangzhou 杭州	Deymier, Jean-Joseph	梅占魁	CM	1886	1937	archbishop	1956
Lishui 麗水	Turner, Kenneth Roderick	譚爾敦	SFM	1905	1948	bishop	1983
Ningpo 寧波	Defebvre, André	戴安德	CM	1886	1927	bishop	1967
Taizhou 台州	Hu Joshan, Joseph	胡若山	CM	1881	1926	bishop	1962
Yongjia 永嘉 [Wenzhou 溫州] +	Defebvre, André	戴安德	CM	–	1950	ap. administrator	–
XVI. Province: Fujian							
Fuzhou [Foochow] 福州	Labrador Fraile, Teodoro	趙炳文	OP	1888	1926	archbishop	1980
Funing 福寧	Niu Huiqing, Thomas	牛會卿	sec.	–	1948	ap. administrator	–
Tingzhou 汀州	Lesinski, Johann Werner	雷辛基	OP	1904	1947	bishop	1963
Xiamen 廈門	Velasco Díaz, Juan Bautista	茅中砥	OP	1911	1948	bishop	1985
Kienow [Jian'ou] P.A. 建甌	Curran, Paul Adam	谷原真	OP	1889	1948	prefect apostolic	1953
Shaowu P.A. 邵武	König, Inigo Maximilian	王峻德	SDS	1904	1930	prefect apostolic	1964
Formosa P.A. [*Taiwan* 台灣]	Arregui y Yparaguirre, José	陳若瑟	OP	1903	1948	prefect apostolic	1961
XVII. Province: Guangdong							
Guangzhou [Canton] 廣州	Deswazières, Gustave-Joseph	祝福	MEP	–	1947	ap. administrator	–
Beihai [Pakhoi] 北海	Deswazières, Gustave-Joseph	祝福	MEP	1882	1940	bishop	1959

Table 9 (*cont.*)

Diocese 主教區 or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.)	Appointee	Chinese Name	Congregational affiliation of Head	Birth	Consecration of Bishop or Appointment of Head	Type	Died
Hongkong 香港	Valtorta, Enrico	恩理覺	PIME	1883	1926	bishop	1951
	Bianchi, Lorenzo	白英奇	PIME	1899	1949	coadjutor bishop	1983
Jiangmen [Kongmoon] 江門	Paschang, Adolph	柏增	MM	1895	1937	bishop	1968
Jiaying 嘉應	Ford, Francis Xavier	福爾德	MM	1892	1935	bishop	1952
Macao [Aomen] 澳門	Ramalho, João de Deus	羅若望	SJ	1890	1942	bishop (*padroado*)	1958
Shantou [Swatow] 汕頭	Vogel, Charles	和敬謙	MEP	1878	1935	bishop	1958
Shaozhou [Shuichow] 韶州	Arduino, Michele Alberto	歐彌額	SDB	1909	1948	bishop	1972
Hainan P.A. 海南	Desperben, Dominique	德文斌	SSCC	1898	1939	prefect apostolic	1980
XVIII. Province: Guangxi							
Nanning 南寧	Albouy, Paulin-Joseph-Justin	沈士杰	MEP	1880	1931	archbishop	1954
Wuzhou 梧州	Donaghy, Frederick Anthony	唐汝琪	MM	1903	1939	bishop	1988
Kweilin [Guilin] P.A. 桂林	Romaniello, John Angelo	羅民勞	MM	1900	1938	prefect apostolic	1985
XIX. Province: Guizhou							
Guiyang 貴陽	Larrart, Jean	藍士謙	MEP	1884	1933	archbishop	1966
Anlong 安龍 [Lanlong]	Carlo, Alexandre-François-M.	賈祿	MEP	1881	1927	bishop	1952
Shihtsien [Shiqian] P.A. 石阡	Buchholz, Matthias	包美德	MSC	1903	1937	prefect apostolic	1991

Table 9 (*cont.*)

Diocese 主教區 or Prefecture Apostolic 監牧區 (P.A.)	Appointee	Chinese Name	Congregational affiliation of Head	Birth	Consecration of Bishop or Appointment of Head	Type	Died
XX. Province: Yunnan							
Kunming 昆明	Derouineau, Alexandre	德爲能	MEP	1898	1945	archbishop	1973
Dali 大理	Lacoste, Lucien-Bernard	鄭紹基	SCJ	1905	1949	bishop	1989
Chaotung [Zhaotong] P.A. 昭通	Kerec, Jožef	紀勵志	SDB	1892	1939	ap. administrator	1974

§ Yingkou Diocese was erected on 14 July 1949 and entrusted to the Foreign Missions Society of Paris.
♦ The Prefecture Apostolic of Chihfeng was elevated to diocese on 21 April 1949. The prefect apostolic, Lucas Zhao Qinghua 趙慶化, died in 1949 and Fabianus Shi Yongzhen was appointed apostolic administrator of the new diocese.
† Mons. Digard had been in Europe since 1947 and his resignation was accepted in Rome in 1949. The secular priest Joannes Yang Fengshu was named prefect apostolic in 1951. The latter may have been apostolic administrator since 1949.
♠ Ibáñez resigned on 21 January 1949 and returned to Europe in April 1949.
* Suzhou Diocese was erected on 9 June 1949, with Ignatius Gong Pinmei [Kung Pin-mei] appointed bishop. On 15 July 1950 Bishop (later Cardinal) Gong became bishop of Shanghai and apostolic administrator of Suzhou.
** Prefecture Apostolic of Haichow [Haizhou] was erected on 9 June 1949 and entrusted to the care of Jesuits of the Paris Province. It was not until 13 April 1950 that Archbishop Antonio Riberi, the papal internuncio to China, appointed Fernand Lacretelle SJ apostolic administrator.
*** The Prefecture Apostolic of Yangchow was formally erected on 18 July 1949 and entrusted to Jesuits of the California Province. In addition to the Yangzhou area, the Ricci High School and the Sacred Heart Church in Nanjing formed part of this jurisdiction. Paul W. O'Brien SJ 殷保祿 (1908–) was superior of the California Yangzhou Mission at this time. Eugene E. Fahy 費濟時 SJ (1911–1996) was appointed Prefect Apostolic on 9 February 1951 and installed in that office on 4 April 1951.
+ The Diocese of Yongjia [i.e. Wenzhou] was erected on 3 March 1949. Bishop André-Jean-François Defebvre CM 戴安德 of Ningbo was appointed Apostolic Administrator of the new diocese in August 1949.
Source: *Annuaire de L'Eglise catholique en Chine* 中華全國教務統計 *1950. Statistique de l'année (juillet 1948–juin 1949). Etat des Missions de Chine au 1 juillet 1949. 45e Année* (Shanghai: Imprimerie de T'ou-sè-wè, May 1950).

Table 10: Statistics of Protestant Missions and Churches in China, ca. 1950

Church or Mission	Nationality	Places of Worship	Communicants or Full Members	Total Christian Community		Staff					
				1938	Latest available, c. 1950	Ordained		Laymen		Women	
						For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.
CHINA (exluding Taiwan and Manchuria)											
American Advent Missionary Society	Am.	*12*	*923*	923	*923*	2	1	–	–	5	–
American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society	Am.	246	16,903	–	16,903	17	42	11	117	76	43
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	Am.	91	6,462	–	11,941	29	24	15	–	73	659
Apostolic Church Missionary Movement	Brit.	10	–	–	500	8	6	–	12	1	3
Assemblies of God	Am.	137	–	–	7,500	79	–	64	71	–	–
Assemblies of God in Great Britain & Ireland	Brit.	20	3,000	–	3,500	–	–	9	18	15	1
Association of Baptists for World Evangelism	Am.	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	3	–
Basel Mission	Swiss & German	150	8,882	19,845	19,442	17				22	
Bethel Mission	Chin.	–	600	600	600	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bethel Mission of China	Am.	9	400	2,000	3,000	1	11	–	50	–	50
Canadian Holiness Mission	Canadian	5	350	–	1,100	–	–	5	6	–	–
Chefoo Industrial Mission	Chin.	1	*571*	571	*571*	–	–	–	–	–	–
China Inland Mission (**1**)	Int'l	*3,484*	*89,665*	89,665	*89,665*	34	68	477	1,048	74	300
China Mennonite Mission Society	Am.	–	*1,150*	1,150	*1,150*	–	–	–	–	–	–
Chinese Home Missionary Society	Chin.	22	4,000	1,027	12,000	–	7	–	17	–	4

Table 10 (*cont.*)

Church or Mission	Nationality	Places of Worship	Communicants or Full Members	Total Christian Community		Staff					
				1938	Latest available, c. 1950	Ordained		Laymen		Women	
						For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.
Christian and Missionary Alliance	Am.	172	7,313	7,318	10,371	–	–	98	161	–	–
Christian Missions in Many Lands	Brit.	–	–	–	–	–	–	36	–	53	–
Christian Missions to Buddhists in China	Norw.	4	100	100	193	5	2	–	8	6	3
Christian Reformed Church Mission	Am.	10	80	67	100	4	–	10	–	4	–
Church of Christ in China (*Zhonghua Jidu jiaohui*) (**2**)		2,842	166,660	125,498	500,000	91	547	121	1,437	176	–
Church of God Missionary Board	Am.	5	220	170	337	6	15	1	–	1	1
Church of Sweden Mission	Swed.	8	270	–	416	5	2	1	4	7	–
Church of the Brethren	Am.	*21*	*2,364*	2,814	*2,814*	–	–	11	–	20	–
Church of the Nazarene	Am.	*78*	*1,530*	3,073	*3,073*	6	–	–	–	9	–
Conservative Baptists	Am.	–	–	–	–	8	–	1	–	12	–
Cumberland Presbyterian Church	Am.	1	200	1,405	600	1	–	–	–	–	–
East China Fundamental Baptist Mission		22	1,600	850	3,000	3	3	–	15	3	15
Elim Missionary Society	Brit.	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Evangelical and Reformed Church	Am.	44	2,279	–	2,454	10	8	–	33	14	–
Evangelical Free Church of America	Am.	10	1,250	915	3,800	4	3	–	18	8	14
Evangelical Lutheran Church	Am.	110	11,183	–	33,500	26	20	2	80	47	61
Evangelical Lutheran Mission of Missouri	Am.	49	859	2,875	6,029	17	6	–	53	17	12
Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America	Am.	40	2,000	–	3,000	10	9	–	19	11	12

Table 10 (*cont.*)

Church or Mission	Nationality	Places of Worship	Communicants or Full Members	Total Christian Community		Staff					
				1938	Latest available, c. 1950	Ordained		Laymen		Women	
						For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.
Free Methodist Church of North America	Am.	*45*	*739*	5,258	*5,258*	5	–	1	–	17	–
Friends Foreign Missionary Society, Ohio Yearly Meeting	Am.	22	1,001	971	1,600	6	3	–	22	2	10
Hebron Mission	Am.	1	*593*	593	*593*	–	–	–	6	1	–
Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association	Am.	1	25	–	75	–	–	–	–	–	–
Holy Catholic Church of China (*Zhonghua Shenggong hui*) (**3**)		737	31,651	73,535	66,651	43	278	21	446	134	447
Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions	Am.	1	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	1	–
International Church of Foursquare Gospel	Am.	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Lutheran Church of China (*Zhonghua Xinyi hui*) (**4**)		*656*	*21,853*	39,372	*39,372*	62	46	9	206	106	96
Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities	Am.	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	4	–
Mennonite Brethren Church of North America	Am.	10	500	–	1,500	4	–	–	–	7	–
Mennonite General Conference Mission	Am.	64	2,273	2,149	5,000	8	5	1	45	14	26
Methodist Church	Am.	577	58,832	104,582	90,334	49	393	25	233	74	–
Methodist Missionary Society	Brit.	670	41,192	56,650	55,800	50	87	13	118	36	47
Metropolitan Presbyterian Mission		–	*47*	47	*47*	–	–	–	–	–	–

Table 10 (*cont.*)

Church or Mission	Nationality	Places of Worship	Communicants or Full Members	Total Christian Community		Staff					
				1938	Latest available, c. 1950	Ordained		Laymen		Women	
						For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.
Mid-Yunnan Bethel Mission		*12*	*376*	976	976	–	–	–	–	–	–
National Holiness Missionary Society	Am.	1	160	12,000	400	4	4	–	10	6	3
New Tribes Mission	Am.	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	–
North China Congregational Church (*Huabei Gongli hui*) (**5**)	Chin.	–	–	18,382	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Norwegian Alliance Mission	Norw.	43	1,094	302	3,300	9	6	–	16	6	12
Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission	Norw.	7	176	54	207	6	–	–	9	10	5
Norwegian Lutheran Mission	Norw.	76	4,169	7,025	7,398	16	10	–	♥ 93	24	–
Orebro Missionary Society	Swed.	6	*301*	301	*301*	9	–	–	17	13	–
Oriental Missionary Society	Am.	60	–	–	–	15	15	–	60	13	5
Peniel Chapel Missionary Society	Brit.	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–
Peniel Missionary Society	Am.	7	900	1,600	*1,600*	–	–	–	–	–	–
Presbyterian Church in the United States [South]	Am.	465	15,397	–	34,820	27	42	9	165	58	110
Presbyterian Church in the United States of America [North]	Am.	–	–	–	–	80	143	50	282	207	162
Protestant Episcopal Church	Am.	–	–	–	–	12	96	1	28	46	55
Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America	Am.	*15*	*585*	1,070	*1,070*	2	–	–	–	5	–
Rhenish Missionary Society	Germ.	*26*	*1,969*	3,576	*3,576*	8	–	–	–	8	–
Salvation Army	Brit.	46	–	–	–	–	–	* 175	–	–	–

Table 10 (*cont.*)

Church or Mission	Nationality	Places of Worship	Communicants or Full Members	Total Christian Community		Staff					
				1938	Latest available, c. 1950	Ordained		Laymen		Women	
						For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.
Seventh-Day Adventists	Am.	501	18,395	15,982	55,200	–	–	69	438	–	–
Seventh-Day Baptist Missionary Society	Am.	2	*331*	871	*871*	–	–	2	–	1	–
South China Boat Mission	Am.	*8*	*250*	250	*250*	4	–	–	–	15	–
Southern Baptist Convention	Am.	670	70,346	40,784	211,000	43	94	10	311	121	196
Swedish Baptist Mission	Swed.	94	5,012	4,204	15,000	6	4	–	42	11	26
Swedish Free Mission (Filadelfia)	Swed.	3	1,539	–	4,700	–	–	† 83	–	–	–
Swedish Independent Baptist Mission	Swed.	3	410	335	410	3	7	–	–	3	3
Swedish Mission in China	Swed.	60	12,000	–	36,000	8	–	–	–	25	–
Swedish Missionary Society	Swed.	41	3,324	3,042	3,500	15	13	–	18	20	5
Swedish Mongol Missions	Swed.	6	70	60	200	4	–	–	–	10	–
Tsehchow Mission		6	*360*	406	*406*	–	–	–	–	–	–
United Christian Missionary Society	Am.	71	3,065	–	9,200	–	–	† 36	‡ 226	–	–
United Free Gospel & Missionary Society	Am.	*19*	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	6	–
United Lutheran Church in America	Am.	74	2,614	–	6,076	8	4	–	52	13	8
University of Shanghai		*3*	*135*	396	*396*	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wesleyan Methodist Church of America	Am.	1	–	–	–	2	–	‡ 8	–	2	–
Women's Union Missionary Society of North America	Am.	1	–	–	200	–	–	–	–	4	–
Total China (exluding Taiwan and Manchuria)		12,726	623,506	672,752	1,401,777	899	2,024	1,362	6,028	1,682	2,396

Table 10 (*cont.*)

Church or Mission	Nationality	Places of Worship	Communicants or Full Members	Total Christian Community		Staff					
				1938	Latest available, c. 1950	Ordained		Laymen		Women	
						For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.
TAIWAN (Formosa) (6)											
Christian Missions in Many Lands	Brit.	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–
Presbyterian Church in Formosa		76	10,132	19,391	37,172	4	56	–	43	3	–
Sevent-Day Adventists	Am.	1	4	4	50	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total Taiwan		77	10,136	19,395	37,222	4	56	1	43	4	–
MANCHURIA											
Assemblies of God	Am.	15	450	–	1,175	5	4	–	‡ 36	1	–
China Inland Mission (7)	Int'l	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Christian Missions in Many Lands	Brit.	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	–	8	–
Church of Christ in Manchuria (8)		246	27,791	38,132	40,023	–	–	–	–	–	–
Church of Scotland	Brit.	♦	♦	♦	♦	7	26	11	107	29	93
Convention of Regular Baptists of B.C.	Canadian	*6*	*134*	–	409	–	–	–	–	–	–
Danish Missionary Society	Danish	♦	♦	♦	♦	15	11	7	45	31	55
Korean Methodist Church	Korean	*33*	*1,519*	3,797	*3,797*	–	–	–	–	–	–
Methodist Church ♣	Am.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Norwegian Lutheran Mission	Norw.	–	*336*	579	*579*	–	–	–	–	–	–
Presbyterian Church in Canada	Canadian	46	3,829	4,255	*4,255*	–	9	–	47	–	14
Presbyterian Church in Ireland	Brit.	♦	♦	♦	♦	13	31	2	432	7	6
Seventh Day Adventists	Am.	38	1,551	2,020	4,700	–	–	† 6	‡ 57	–	–

Table 10 (*cont.*)

Church or Mission	Nationality	Places of Worship	Communicants or Full Members	Total Christian Community		Staff					
				1938	Latest available, c. 1950	Ordained		Laymen		Women	
						For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.	For.	Chin.
Total Manchuria		384	35,610	49,192	54,938	40	81	32	724	76	168
TOTAL CHINA (incl. Taiwan and Manchuria		13,187	669,252	741,339	1,493,937	943	2,161	1,395	6,795	1,762	2,564

(1) China Inland Mission—co-operating Missions include: Swedish Mission in China; Holiness Mission, Sweden; Swedish Alliance Mission; Norwegian Mission in China; Norwegian Mission Union; China Alliance Mission of Barmen; Liebenzell Mission; German Women's Missionary Union; Friedenshort Deaconess Mission; Free Missionary Society, Finland; Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America; Vandsburger Mission; Evangelical Congregational Church.

(2) Church of Christ in China (*Zhonghua Jidujiao hui* 中華基督教會): Presbyterian Church of Australia—Board of Missions; Presbyterian Ckhurch in New Zealand—Foreign Missions Committee; Baptist Missionary Society; Church of Scotland—Foreign Missions Committee; London Missionary Society; Presbyterian Church of England—Foreign Missions Committee; Presbyterian Church in the United States, Executive Committee; Evangelical and Reformed Church—Board of International Missions; Reformed Church in America—Board of Foreign Mission; Evangelical United Brethren Church—Department of World Mission; United Church of Canada—Board of Foreign Missions; Presbyterian Church of Korea—General Assembly.

(3) Holy Catholic Church of China (*Zhonghua Shenggong hui* 中華聖公會): Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society; Church of England Zenana Missionary Society; Church Missionary Society; Church of England in Canada Missionary Society; Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.—Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

(4) Lutheran Church of China (*Zhonghua Xinyi hui* 中華信義會): Berlin Missionary Society; Norwegian Missionary Society; Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission; Finnish Missionary Society; Church of Sweden Mission; Augustana Synod—Board of Foreign Missions; Lutheran Board of Missions; Evangelical Lutheran Church—Board of Foreign Missions; United Lutheran Church in America—Board of Foreign Missions.

(5) North China Congregational Church (*Huabei Gongli hui* 華北公理會): composed of those churches, growing from the work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which did not enter the Church of Christ in China.
(6) Figures shown under Church of Christ in Manchuria.
(7) Includes work of the Japan Apostolic Mission; Japan Holiness Church (*Nippon Sei Kyōkai* 日本聖教會); United Church of Christ in Japan (*Nippon Kirisuto Kyōdan* 日本基督教団).
(8) Includes the work of the United Church of Christ in Japan (*Nippon Kirisuto Kyōdan* 日本基督教団); Japan Holiness Church (*Nippon Sei Kyōkai* 日本聖教會); Presbyterian Church of Korea; Assemblies of God; Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions; Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Russian and Eastern European Mission; Southern Baptist Convention; United Church of Canada.

* Total number of officers, Chinese and foreign.
† Total number of foreign workers.
‡ Total number of Chinese workers.
♦ Figures shown under Church of Christ in Manchuria.
♣ Figures included under Methodist Church in China.
♥ Total number of Chinese lay men and women workers.

INDEX OF PERSONS (QING, REPUBLICAN, PRC)

Abeel, David 85, 139–140, 142, 155
Abel-Rémusat, Jean-Pierre 742 n. 2
Adam, James 725–726
Adeodato di Sant' Agostino 215
Aitchison, William 156–157
Alabaster, Chaloner 311
Albrand, Étienne-Raymond 232
Alcock, J. Rutherford 311–313
Aldersey, Mary Ann 161, 273
Aleksej (Alexander Nikolaevich Vinogradov) 205–206
Aleksij I, patriarch 827–828
Alexander I (tsar) 194–195, 197
Alimonda, Gaetano 573, 574 n. 7
Allegra, Gabriele Maria 803
Allen, Roland 775 n. 19
Allen, Young John 23–24, 183, 188, 271, 897
Amfilohij (Lutovinov) 208
Anderson, Rufus 143, 299 n. 49
Anzer, Johann Baptist 339
Apollos (archimandrite) 194
Appleton, C. Floyd 539
Ati, Ruth (Mrs. Zeng Laishun) 254 n. 16
Avraamij (Chasovnikov) 558
Avvakum (Dmitrij Chestnoj) 197–198, 204

Bai Zenglin, Simon 832
Baldwin, Caleb Cook 156
Ball, Richard 77
Bao Zhecai (Bao Huafu) 266
Barratt, Thomas Ball 543 n. 20, 550
Barrett, David 883, 884 n. 4
Bartoccetti, Vittorio 584
Basset, Jean 361 n. 2, 362 n. 5
Bayard, Thomas Francis 329 n. 131
Bellonet, Claude-Henri de 313
Benedict XV 564, 566, 576, 579, 580 n. 35, 581
Benedict XVI 857, 858 n. 25
Berg, Magna 550
Berntsen, Bernt 550–551
Berthemy, Jules-François-Gustave 300
Bianchi, Lorenzo 796
Bichurin, Nikita Yakovlevich (Iakinf) 193–194
Bing Xin (Hsieh Wan-ying 630, 901
Blumhardt, Christoph 752
Boddy, Alexander Alfred 543 n. 20, 549
Bonney, Samuel William 155
Boone, William Jones 163, 175, 366
Borgniet, André 125
Bosshardt, Rudolf Alfred 660
Boynton, Charles Luther 467, 485
Bray, Géraud 572
Bridgman, Elijah Coleman 29, 40, 81, 133, 139, 147, 150, 156, 175, 249, 284, 298, 363 n. 6, 439, 742
Bridgman, James Granger 40, 155
Broomhall, Alfred James 78, 745 n. 9
Brown, Samuel Robbins 149, 253
Brueyre, Benjamin 59
Buchman, Frank Nathan Daniel 600
Buck, John Lossing 350, 547, 548 n. 30
Buck, Pearl Sydenstricker 429, 547 n. 29, 745
Bull, Lilian 77
Burdon, John Shaw 156, 178 n. 6
Burns, William Chalmers 161, 162 n. 67, 163, 185

Cai Kui 618
Cai Yuanpei 683, 898
Cao Guiying, Agnes 223
Carey, William 283
Carl, Katharine Augusta 737
Carstairs, Douglas 315
Castro e Moura, João de França 129
Chalmers, John 743 n. 6, 757
Chalmers, Thomas 406 n. 3, 749
Chang Fu, Sergij 556–557, 560–561
Chang Ming 218
Chang Xifu See Chang Fu
Chang Xiji See Chang Fu
Chang Yangji, Mitrofan 205, 556
Chapdelaine, Auguste 223
Chappotin de Neuville, Hélène Marie Philippine 71
Che Jinguang (Chë̀a Kam Kwong) 251, 409 n. 13
Che Jinjiang 251 n. 9
Chen Chonggui (Marcus Cheng) 625, 672, 705
Chen Duxiu 629, 636, 901 n. 28

Chen Guodi, Aloysius 583
Chen Mengnan 272
Chen Shaobai 274
Chen Xingu 266
Chen Yisheng 715
Chen Yuandu, Luke 738
Cheng Hede, Odoricus 582
Cheng Jingyi 615, 621 n. 8, 671
Chernykh, Viktor 832
Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) 710
Chipingsou 265
Chu Shao Ngan 272
Ci Ako 136
Clarke, George William 78
Clet, François-Régis 127, 219
Clinton, Bill 882
Cobbold, Robert Henry 160
Colledge, Thomas Richardson 439
Collins, Judson Dwight 160
Colombel, Auguste M. 125
Combs, Lucinda L. (also Coombs) 442
Conforti, Emmanuele 120–121
Corbett, Hunter 307 n. 70, 323
Cortnova, Giovanni Battista 121
Costantini, Celso Benigno Luigi 67, 238 n. 2, 519–520, 565–566, 579, 581–582, 734, 736, 738
Cotta, Antoine 517–518, 577–579
Courcy, comte de 223
Couvreur, Séraphin 743 n. 6, 747–755
Crawford, Martha Foster 189, 270
Crawford, Tarleton Perry 159, 178, 188–190, 270
Cui Tongyue 274
Cupis, Lucia 527
Curzon, Lord (George Curzon) 326
Cushing, Caleb 150

Dai Wenguang 249
Daniil (Sivillov) 196
Daoguang Emperor 118, 221–222
Darby, John Nelson 287
De Besi, Ludovico 67
De Moerloose, Alfons 733
Dean, William 166
Delamarre, Louis-Charles 299–300
Delaplace, Louis-Gabriel 589
Denby, Charles 326–330
Deng Xiaoping 799, 814, 870
Deng Yinnan 274
Deng Yuzhi (Cora Deng) 618, 634–635
Denn, Paul 51
Dennys, Nicholas Belfield 42
Ding Guangxun (K. H. Ting) 715, 854, 878, 886 n. 12, 904
Ding Limei 600, 614
Ding Shujing 618
Dixon, Stanley H. 769 n. 5
Dobson, James 883
Dodd, Albert Baldwin 540
Doolittle, Justus 156, 167, 169
Doré, Henri 755–756
Doty, Elihu 155
Du Ensheng, Pinna 829
Du Lifu, Alexander 832–834
Du Likun, Ioann 832
Du Runchen, Feodor (Simeon) 828–829
DuBose, Hampden Coit 358
Dubs, Homer Hasenpflug 755, 758
Dudgeon, John 356 n. 4
Dufresse, Gabriel-Taurin 115, 217–218
Dunn, John George 331
Dyer, Maria Jane (1st Mrs. J. H. Taylor) 186

Eddy, G. Sherwood 600–601, 618, 777 n. 24
Edkins, Joseph 178
Eitel, Ernst Johann 42, 757
Elgqvist, Anders 703
Elizaveta Fedorovna, grand duchess 558
Elliot, Captain Charles 148
Estève, François 59, 122 n. 23
Evans, John 166

Faber, Ernst 63, 178, 743 n. 6, 755
Faivre, Jean-Ferdinand 121 n. 20
Fan Xueyan, Peter Joseph 818
Fan Zhihai, Innokentij 208, 553
Fasselt, Odila 594
Fast, Carl Josef 703
Faurie, Louis-Simon 309 n. 76, 588
Feng Yunshan 375, 379–380
Feng Yuxiang 625
Feofilakt (Kiselevskij) 198
Figurovskij, Ivan Appolonovich (Innokentij) 208, 553, 829
Flavian (Nikolai Goredetskij) 205–206, 208
Florens, Jean-Louis 115
Fogolla, Francesco 150
Folke, Erik 73, 703
Forbin-Janson, Charles-Eugène de 67, 280, 428
Fournier, Pierre 587
Franson, Fredrik 85, 317, 538
Fraser, James 722–723, 724 n. 19, 725–726
Freinademetz, Josef 100

French, John Booth 157

Gabet, Joseph 127–128
Gabriel, Dorothy (3rd Mrs. Gützlaff) 284 n. 18
Gain, Léopold 655
Galvin, Edward J. 734 n. 2
Gamble, William 29
Gao Shiliang 450, 631
Gao Zi (Dorothy Kao) 87
Garnier, Henri 584
Genähr, Ferdinand 256, 271
Gennaro, Graziano 582
Gennevoise, André-Félix-Chrysostome-Joseph 315
Gérard, Auguste 301
Gillespie, William 153
Gleyo, Jean-François 225
Goddard, Josiah 166
Goforth, Jonathan 540, 600
Goforth, Rosalind 600 n. 3
Golovkin, Iurii Aleksandrovich 193
Goodrich, L. Carrington 757–758
Goshkevich, Iosif Antonovich 200
Gotteland, Claude 59, 122 n. 23
Gough, Frederick Foster 186 n. 30
Gouvea, Alexandre de 215, 230
Grassi, Gregorio 50
Graves, Rosewell Hobart 159
Gregory XVI 280–281, 347
Gresnigt, Adelbert 734
Griffith, Margaret Jane (Mrs. G. John) 183
Gu Weijun (V. K. Wellington Koo) 619
Guébriant, Jean-Baptiste-Marie Budes de 579–580
Guillemin, Philippe-François-Zépherin 223, 240 n. 6
Guislain, Jean-Joseph 226
Guo Moruo 630–631
Gurij (Grigorij Platonovich Karpov) 202
Gützlaff, Karl Friedrich August 27, 30, 62, 65, 74, 77, 101, 142–143, 164 n. 73, 175, 185, 249, 284–285, 354, 363 n. 6, 378, 410 n. 17, 426, 437, 702, 814

Hall, Henrietta (1st Mrs. J. L. Shuck) 147, 159
Hamberg, Theodor 249, 270, 378, 386, 702, 703 n. 2
Hamel, Thomas-Julien-Charles 115, 225
Hamilton, Sophia Acland (Mrs. Doolittle) 156
Hammond, Edward 313
Han, Joseph 128–129
Han Fuqu 659
Hao Gengsheng 87
Happer, Andrew Patton 157
Harrison, Eleanor 77
Hartford, Mable C. 328
Hartwell, Jessie Boardman 189, 270
Hayes, Watson McMillan 540
Hayward, Victor Evelyn W. 769 n. 5
He Endi 271
He Futang (Ho Fuk-tong) 268
He Guanghu 842
He Jinshan 22, 252, 266, 268, 272, 365, 367
He Qi 739
He Qin (Ho Kai), Sir 252
He Runyang 268
He Xiu 377 n. 30
Heeren, John J. 659
Henninghaus, Augustin 579, 591, 593–594
Henriques, Domingos-José de Santo Estêvam 121, 122 n. 23
Hill, David 75, 183, 268
Hirschberg, Henry Julius 152
Ho Tsun-sheen 268
Hoang, Pierre [Huang Bolu] 22
Hobson, Benjamin 24, 152, 154, 439, 443 n. 29, 444
Holmes, James Landrum 189 n. 44
Holmes, Sallie J. 189
Hong Ren'gan 250 n. 7, 375, 376 n. 29, 378–379, 386–387, 390, 702
Hong Xiuquan 142 n. 17, 249, 250, 270, 365, 371, 378–379, 621, 702, 894–895
Hong Ye (William Hung) 616
Hope, Eliza 77
Hormon, André d' 26
Hosie, Sir Alexander 359
Hoste, Dixon Edward 540
Houlding, Horace William 550
How Qua (Wu Bingjian) 440 n. 17
Howard, Leonora Annetta (Mrs. A. King) 442
Hu Juying 273
Hu Nanting 274
Hu Ruoshan, Josephus 583
Hu Shi 636, 898
Huang Entong 21
Huang Jiting 274
Huang Kuan (Wong Fun) 253, 273
Huang Pinsan (Huang Xin) 265, 270
Huang Sheng (Wong Shing) 254
Huang Weishi 270
Huang Yunsun 266

Huc, Évariste-Régis 127–128
Hudson, Thomas Hall 169
Hughes, Ernest R. 755
Hughes, Jennie V. 623
Hummel, Arthur 758
Hunnex, Charles E. 539
Hunnex, William Anthony 539
Hunter, Stephen 318 n. 98
Huonder, Anton 575–576

Ignatiev, Nikolai Pavlovich 201–202
Imbert, Laurent 225
Inard, Henri 87
Innokentij (Ivan Appolonovich Figurovskij) 208, 553, 555 n. 4, 829, 831
Ioakim (Shishkovskij) 197
Ioann (Mikhail Maksimovich) 561–562, 826
Iona (Pokrovskij) 558
Isaija (Polikin) 203–206, 208

Jacquinot de Besange, Robert 661
Jaffray, Robert Alexander 861
Jänicke, Johannes 142
Janssen, Arnold 72, 591
Jariquot, Marie Pauline 59, 67
Jenkins, Benjamin 160
Ji Chun, Mitrofan See Chang Yangji
Ji Wang 724
Ji Zhiwen (Andrew Gih) 624, 861
Ji, Mitrofan See Chang Yangji
Jia Yuming 625, 901
Jiang Falin 255, 270
Jiang Jiaoren 255
Jiang Zemin 628, 883
Jiaqing Emperor 3, 215, 218, 221, 224, 233, 235, 291
Jin Yunmei 273
Jing Dianying 622, 853
John Paul II 789, 799 n. 27, 818, 856
John, Griffith 183, 265 n. 5
Johnson, Stephen 155
Johnston, James 161
Joly, Léon 575, 577
Joset, Theodore 7, 67
Jung, Carl G. 754

Kamenskij, Pavel Ivanovich (arch. Petr) 195
Kang Aide (Kang Cheng; Ida Kahn) 273
Kang Youwei 753
Kao, Dorothy (Gao Zi) 87
Ke Bonian (pseud. Li Chunfan) 628
Kepler, Asher Raymond 534
Kerr, John Glasgow 157, 440, 443 n. 29
Khrushchev, Nikita 831
King, Alexander 442
King, Leonora Howard 442
Kirill (Vladimir Mikhajlovich Gundjaev) 834–835
Kirillov, Porfirij 198
Kleczkowski, Michel-Alexandre 301
Kong Xiangxi (H. H. Kung) 85, 619
Koxinga 133
Kraft, George 720 n. 7
Ku Hung-ming (Gu Hongming) 753
Kuhn, Isobel Miller 745
Kung, Joseph M. C. 883
Kwan, Dr. 440
Kwok Pui-lan 909

Lagrené, Marie-Melchior-Joseph-Théodose de 118
Lagrené, Théodose de 222, 297
Lai Xinglian 248 n. 2
Laidlaw, William 134
Lambert de la Motte, Pierre 58
Lamiot, François-Marie 226
Lantrua, Francesco Maria 127
Lao Naixuan 753
Lassar, Johannes 362 n. 3
Laughton, Richard Frederick 311
Lavaissière, Pierre 121 n. 20, 123
Lay, George Tradescant 147
Lebbe, Vincent-Frédéric-Marie 468, 471, 517–519, 522, 577–578, 584, 663–664
Lechler, Mrs. 255
Lechler, Rudolf 162, 249, 252, 255, 270
Ledóchowski, Wlodimir 581
Lee Chi Chung, Archie 908 n. 44
Legashev, Anto Mikhailovich 198
Legge, James 151–152, 166 n. 77, 167, 169, 250–252, 268, 273, 362 n. 5, 365–367, 386, 406 n. 5, 743 n. 6, 747, 748–755, 893
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm 742 n. 2
Leisk, Mary Ann 161
Leo XIII 564
Leont'evskij, Zakhar F. 196
Li, Andreas (Li Ande) 216
Li Cheng'en 270
Li Chuwen 885 n. 10
Li Di 22
Li Duolin 115 n. 2
Li Feigan (Pa Chin) 630
Li Fengci, Mikhail 829
Li Hongzhang 15, 187, 253–254, 273, 301 n. 53, 331, 358, 442, 564

Li Jingfang 374–375
Li Lisan 634
Li Mangui 87
Li, Nikita 829
Li Runchi 266
Li Shangshou (Witness Lee) 861
Li Shizeng 683
Li Xiucheng 380, 382
Li Xunyi, Nikolaj 561, 832
Li Zhenggao 248 n. 2, 250 n. 7, 269, 375, 389 n. 68
Liang De (see Liang Jinde)
Liang Fa 22, 29, 140–141, 144, 147, 248, 249, 363, 365, 373, 376, 378, 389–390, 894
Liang Jinde 249
Liang Zhuchen 266
Lin Hu 274
Lin Yutang 684
Lin Zexu 149, 249
Lin Zhao, Agatha 232
Lin Zhipeng 632
Lindsay, Hugh Hamilton 154
Ling Qilian (Ling Kai lin) 256
Liu Bingzhang 327
Liu Changxing 266
Liu Enhou, Leonid 832
Liu Jing'an 274
Liu, Matthaeus 232
Liu, Simon 737
Liu Tingfang (Timothy T. T. Lew) 616
Liu Xiaofeng 842–844, 846, 907
Liu Zhenying (Brother Yun) 862
Lo Yu Shan 272
Lobscheid, Wilhelm 256
Lockhart, William 75, 149, 439
Loh Kwan 265
Low, Frederick F. 310
Lowrie, Walter 364 n. 9
Lu Bohong (Joseph Lo Pa-hong) 519, 566
Lu Haodong 274
Lu Hongnian, Johannes Evangelista 739
Lu Tingmei, Hieronymus 233
Lu Zhengxiang (Lou Tseng Tsiang, Dom Pierre-Célestin) 519
Luo, Ioann 829
Luo, Matthias 229
Luo Wenzao, Gregorius (Gregorio Lopez) 820

Ma Min 449–450, 632
Ma Xiangbo 644, 681
MacGowan, Daniel Jerome 163, 440, 444
Mackay, George Leslie 57
Mandello, Giambattista da 121
Mangin, León-Ignace 51
Mao Delu, Falalei 829
Mao Dun 902
Mao Zedong 634, 710–711, 713, 794, 853, 868, 876, 895
Marchini, Giovanni Battista 344
Maresca, Francesco Saverio 124, 587
Marshman, Joshua 362 n. 3
Martiliat, Joachim-Enjobert de 228
Martin, William Alexander Parsons 156, 158, 167, 298, 406 n. 3, 681, 685, 744, 749, 896
Mateer, Calvin Wilson 190, 267
Matheson, Donald 358
Mathews, Robert Henry 757
McCartee, Divie Bethune 158
McClatchie, Thomas 160
McCosh, James 406 n. 3, 750
McGrath, W. Aedan 568–569, 850 n. 9
Medhurst, Walter Henry (1796–1857) 28, 146, 152, 154, 169, 362
Medhurst, Walter Henry (1822–1885) 312
Mefodij (Mafrikij Lvovich Gerasimov) 559
Mennie, Mabel Beatrice (Mrs. A. B. Dodd) 540
Méritens, Eugène-Herman, baron de 299
Meßner, Theresia 592
Meyer, Bernard Francis 738
Milne, William 28, 30, 136–137, 141, 175, 248, 361, 373, 389, 896
Milne, William Charles 28, 152, 169, 896
Moody, Dwight Lyman 287
Moon, Charlotte 'Lottie' Digges 188–190, 411 n. 22
Morel, Louis 580
Morrison, Eliza 138
Morrison, John Robert 284 n. 18, 363 n. 6
Morrison, Robert 27–29, 75, 133–142, 144–145, 152, 165, 175, 247–248, 283, 361–362, 363 n. 6, 373, 742, 794, 820, 892–894
Morton, Mary (1st Mrs. Robert Morrison) 135
Mott, John Raleigh 54, 82, 469, 600–602, 669, 777 n. 24
Moule, Arthur Evans 77
Moule, George Evans 77
Moule, Walter Stephen 540
Mouly, Joseph-Martial 22, 128–130, 221, 227

Moÿe, Jean-Martin 225–226, 231
Muirhead, William 154, 169, 896
Müller, Friedrich Max 152, 407 n. 6, 747

Napier, William John (9th Lord Napier) 145
Napoleon III 564
Nestor (Nikolai Aleksandrovich Anisimov) 826
Neumann, Karl Friedrich 164 n. 73
Nevius, Helen Sanford Coan 420
Nevius, John Livingston 158, 190, 267, 418–425
New Way-seng (Mrs.) 87
Newell, Maria (1st Mrs. Gützlaff) 142
Ng Tse-ming, Peter (Wu Ziming) 631
Ni Tuosheng (Ni Shuzu; Watchman Nee) 615, 621, 853, 877, 900, 902, 905
Nicholas I (tsar), 197
Nie Jigan 87
Nikolaj (Ivan Dmitrijevich Kasatkin) 205
Nikolaj (Petr Stefanovich Adoratskij) 205–206
Nordquelle, Erik Andersen 550

O'Connor, Sir Nicholas 327
Olyphant, David Washington Cincinnatus 139, 146

Paley, William 406 n. 3
Palladij (Pyotr Ivanovich Kafarov) 199–201, 203–205
Pallu, François 58
Pang, Paul 798
Parker, Peter 145–146, 150, 158, 429–430, 438–440, 443 n. 30
Parker, William 185
Paton, David MacDonald 766 n. 1, 769 n. 5, 775, 851
Paul, Jonathan 543 n. 20
Pei Junmin, Paul 858 n. 25
Peng Guangyu 412 n. 23
Perboyre, Jean-Gabriel 126–127, 219, 234
Pereira de Miranda, José Joaquim, Sr. 123
Peter, William Wesley 491
Pethrus, Lewi 543 n. 20
Philosinensis 437, 438 n. 8
Pielke, Heinrich 546 n. 26
Pires Pereira, Gaetano 197, 226
Pius VII 72, 280
Pius IX 48
Pius X 566, 592 n. 13
Pius XII 565, 852
Planchet, Jean-Marie 51, 214, 341
Pobedonostsev, Konstantin Petrovich 554
Pohlman, William John 155
Polhill, Cecil Henry 549
Polhill-Turner, Cecil 549
Polikarp (Tugarinov) 198–199
Pollard, Samuel 721, 725–726, 728
Porter, Lucius 616
Pott, Francis Lister Hawks 685
Prémare, Joseph-Henri-Marie de 363 n. 6
Prince Gong (Yixin) 309 n. 76, 408
Putiatin, Efimii Vasil'evich 201

Qing Youzhen 271
Qishan 128
Qiying 118, 222, 249
Qu Fengchi 272, 274

Raimondi, Giovanni Timoleone 69
Rankin, Henry Van Vleck 170
Rankin, Milledge Theron 604 n. 20
Raux, Nicolas-Joseph 214, 226
Rawlinson, Frank Joseph 544–545
Reed, William Bradford 298
Reichelt, Karl Ludvig 548
Reid, Gilbert 178, 466
Reid, Thomas 749
Reifsnyder, Elizabeth 82
Ren Chengyuan (Nying Ts-Kying) 269
Ren Naicheng 269
Renaud, Rosario 33, 39
Reynaud, Paul-Marie 578
Riberi, Antonio 523, 565, 568–569, 850 n. 8, 872
Ricci, Matteo 121, 564, 744, 793
Richard, Timothy 23, 178, 183, 186–188, 271, 429, 681–682, 685
Rigaud, Jean-François 309
Ripa, Matteo 69, 225
Roberts, Issachar Jacox 86, 159, 285 n. 20, 378–379, 383, 389
Robertson, C. H. (Clarence Hovey) 491
Rochechouart, Julien de 309
Rocquette, André Yacinthe 26
Rong Hong (Yung Wing) 254, 272
Roothan, Jan 129 n. 44
Ross, John 725
Rossum, Willem Marinus van 577, 579, 581
Röttger, Eberhard Hermann 286 n. 22
Ruggieri, Michele 564

Russell, William Armstrong 160–161

Saint-Martin, Jean-Didier de 231
Santini, Luca 660
Schereschewsky, Samuel Isaac 206
Schmidlin, Josef 228, 241 n. 9, 575
Schneider, Matthias 546 n. 26
Schnusenberg, Alphons 481
Scofield, George H. 539
Scott, Elizabeth Alden (Mrs. J. C. Stam) 660
Scudder, Martyn 443
Selmer, Caroline 155
Serafini, Domenico 577
Sergei Mikhailovich, grand duke 558
Sergej (Stragorodskij) 560
Shanahan, Cormac (John) 522
Shao Lizi 644
Sheffield, Devello Zelotes 323 n. 111
Shen Bangyan 123 n. 25
Shen Jinglun, Matthaeus (Sequeira) 123
Shen Jingwei 123 n. 25
Shen Tilan 715
Shen Tsising 184
Shen Zixing 266
Shen Ziyu 123 n. 25
Shi Jianru 274
Shi Jinghuan 449, 632, 685
Shi Meiyu (Mary Stone) 273, 623
Shu Qingchun (Lao She) 630
Shuang, Antonij (Yao Baoshun) 829
Shuck, Jehu Lewis 86, 147, 159, 169, 285 n. 20
Sica, Luigi Maria 125, 587
Simeon (Du Runchen) 828–831
Simon (Sergej Andreevich Vinogradov) 559–560, 831
Simpson, Albert Benjamin 83, 538, 694
Simpson, William Wallace 548–549
Smith, Arthur Henderson 420
Smith, George (1815–1871) 160–161
Snow, Edgar 710
Sofronij (Gribovskij) 193
Somerset, duke of (Edward Adolphus Seymour) 312
Song Ailing 619
Song Juren 274
Song Qingling 272
Song Shangjie (John Sung) 624, 670
Soothill, William E. 187 n. 37, 271 n. 18, 755, 757
Speer, William 157
Spellman, cardinal Francis 796
Squire, Edward Burnard 160

St. John the Wonderworker 561
Stalin, Josef 831, 867
Stam, John Cornelius 660
Staunton, Sir George 135
Stephenson, John Whiteford 186
Stevens, Edwin 141, 144, 146–148, 373
Stewart, Dugald 749
Stritmatter, Andrew 442 n. 26
Stronach, John 153
Stuart, John Leighton 406 n. 5, 616, 685, 714, 769
Sun Dezhen, Melchior 582
Sun Yatsen (Sun Yixian; Sun Zhongshan) 271–272, 274

Talmage, John Van Nest 85, 155
Tang Yi 842
Tao Xingzhi 684
Tatarinov, Aleksandr Alekseevich 200
Taylor, Birdwood Van Someren 441
Taylor, Charles 86, 160
Taylor, James Hudson 76, 163, 177, 185–186, 286, 313, 317 n. 93, 320, 411, 703, 745, 897
Thurston, Matilda 87
Tian Gengxin, Thomas 565
Tracy, Ira 143–144, 148
Trenchant, Pierre 115
Triora, Giovanni da 127
Tse A-ko 136

Umpierres, Raffale 67

Van Dijk, Leo 738
Van Genechten, Edmond 738
Van Melckebeke, Carlo 798
Vanneufville, Gaston 578
Vasil'ev, Vasilij Pavlovich 199, 206
Vasilij (Shuang) 829–830
Vautrin, Wilhelmina (Minnie) 545, 546 n. 25, 661
Velasco Díaz, Juan Bautista 798
Veniamin (Morachevich) 196–198
Venn, Henry 774
Verhaeghen, Theotimus 50
Viktor (Leonid Viktorovich Svyatin) 558, 560–563, 826–830
Vilsterman, Theodor 592

Wagner, Maria Margarethe 546–547
Waldenström, Paul Peter 705
Walsh, James E. 795
Wang Chonghui 256
Wang Jiude 271
Wang Laijun 186 n. 30

Wang Mingdao 624, 670, 812, 853, 877, 901, 905
Wang Qianru 271 n. 17
Wang Suda, Georges 739
Wang Tao 249–250, 254, 273, 365
Wang Weifan 842
Wang Wenheng, Pavel 208, 553
Wang Yuanshen 256, 271
Wang Yuchu (Wang Yuk Cho) 271
Wang Yulin, Anikita 832
Wang Zai 624, 861
Wang Zei (Leland Wang) 861
Wang Zhengting 619
Wang, Anna
Wanstall, Mary (2nd Mrs. Gützlaff) 164
Ward, John Elliott 156, 158
Warner, Daniel S. 288
Watchmen Nee (Ni Tuosheng) 615, 621, 853, 877, 900, 902, 905
Wei Baoluo (Wei Enbo; Paul Wei) 621
Welton, William 441
Wen Qingxi (Wen Jincong) 272
White, Hugh Watt 540
White, Moses Clark 160
Wieger, Léon 743 n. 6, 755–757
Wilberforce, William 138
Wilhelm, Richard 63, 748–749, 751–755
Williams, Samuel Wells 40, 143–144, 147, 155, 167, 169, 298, 310, 757
Williamson, Alexander 23, 267, 315
Wilson, Robert 184
Winnes, Philipp 249
Wu Chuzhao 270
Wu, Daisy 87
Wu Guosheng, Petrus 229–230
Wu Hanchi 274
Wu Jingxiong, John (John C. H. Wu) 523
Wu Leichuan 616, 898–899, 902
Wu Xiru 274
Wu Yaozong (Y. T. Wu) 618, 648, 714, 811, 872, 877, 899
Wu Yifang 87, 450, 616, 684
Wu Zhiquan, Stefan 832
Wylie, Alexander 23, 144 n. 22, 154 n. 47, 155 n. 48, 157 nn. 51–53, 160 n. 61, 161 n. 63, 169 n. 80, 367 n. 18, 411 n. 19, 441 n. 20

Xi Shengmo (Xi Zizhi; Pastor Hsi) 268, 739
Xian Qian 630
Xianfeng Emperor 224, 383
Xiao Chaogui 380
Xiao Ke 660
Xie Shoukang (Hsieh Shou-Kang) 521
Xie Xi'en (Wuzhenzi) 265
Xie Zhiwei (Daniel C. W. Tse) 632
Xu Baoqian (P. C. Hsu) 616
Xu Dexin 115 n. 2
Xu Dishan (Lo Huasheng) 630
Xu Fuguang 270
Xu Guangqi, Paulus 121
Xue, Matthaeus (Xue Madou) 129, 221, 226–227 n. 36

Yan Fu 365 n. 13, 681
Yan Huiqing (W. W. Yen) 619
Yan Yangchu (James Yen) 618
Yang Ji, Mitrofan See Chang Yangji 205 n. 20, 553, 556
Yang Jiantang 266
Yang Quyun 274
Yang Xiucheng (Yang Lingzhao; Quanweizi) 266
Yang Xiuqing 380, 385
Yao Shuanglin, Ignatij 829
Yates, Matthew Tyson 159, 270
Ye Hanzhang (Iap Hancheong) 272
Ye Huangsha (widow of Jiang Jiaoren) 255
Ye Xiaowen 835
Yen, James (Yan Yangchu) 491, 618, 634
Yeo, Khiok-khng (K. K. Yeo) 909
Yin Ziheng 274
Yong Sam Tak 135
Yongzheng Emperor 306, 408
Young, James Hume 162
Yrjölä, Toimi Leonard 509
Yu Cidu (Dora Yu) 614, 622
Yu Dafu 630–631
Yu Dawei 87
Yu Guozhen 620, 672
Yu Rizhang (David Z. T. Yui) 617
Yuan, Annie 232
Yuan Yongjing 270, 274
Yubin, Paulus (Yu-Pin) 565, 803
Yudin, Pavel Fyodorovich 831
Yun, Abel 135

Zanin, Mario 520–521
Zeng Baosun 87, 617
Zeng Biguang 309
Zeng Guofan 15, 87, 312, 617
Zeng Hengzhong 273
Zeng Jifen 87
Zeng Jihong 87
Zeng Jize 87
Zeng Laishun (Chan Laisun) 254 n. 16, 273

Zeng Rusheng 631
Zha Shijie (James Cha Shih-chieh) 247, 601 n. 8, 607, 632
Zhang Boling 620, 621 n. 8
Zhang Dapeng, Joseph 229–230, 232
Zhang Ding (Zhifeizi) 265
Zhang Fuxing (Tsang Fuk Ming) 252
Zhang Jumin, Nikolaj 829
Zhang Kaiyuan 450, 631, 685
Zhang, Osiya 206
Zhang Shijiang, John Baptist 788
Zhang Xianyong 842
Zhang Yunfa 270
Zhang Zhengming (Beda Chang) 852
Zhang Zhiliang, Evaristus 567
Zhao Huaiyi, Philippus 582–583
Zhao Junying (Calvin Chao) 861
Zhao Rong, Augustinus 226
Zhao Shiguang (Timothy Dzao) 861
Zhao Shuren (Lu Hsun) 628, 630
Zhao Zichen (T. C. Chao) 615, 899
Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga) 133
Zheng Mao (or Chang Mao) 272
Zheng Shiliang 274
Zheng Yuren 265
Zhong Huaide 803 n. 33
Zhong Rongguang 274, 771 n. 8
Zhou Enlai 633, 714, 871, 873, 886, 903
Zhou Shungui 266
Zhu Kaimin, Simon 583
Zhu Shide, Franciscus Xaverius 812
Zhu Shipu, Grigorij 832
Zhu Yuanzhang 388
Zhu Xi 748, 750
Zhu Xingzhou (Muyizi) 265
Zhuo Xinping 840, 860 n. 27
Zuo Doushan 274
Zuo Zongtang 15, 187

INDEX OF AUTHORS

Adamek, Piotr 205 n. 20, 835
Adcock, Cynthia Letts 502
Addinal, Peter 415
Adoratskij, Petr Stefanovich 205–206, 209
Aho, Ilma Ruth 103
Aikman, David 823, 881, 888, 906 n. 38, 910
Alderson, M. Julian 501
Aleksandrov, Boris G. 209, 563
Allen, Catherine B. 190
Allen, Roland 775, 780
Alonso, Carlos 500
Alvheim, K. 507
Ambros, Rust 496
Anderson, Allan 542, 551, 855 n. 18, 864–865, 888–889
Anderson, David L. 310 n. 79, 332
Anderson, Gerald H. 95, 109, 170, 415, 445, 625
Andrews-Minehan, Bridie J. 697 n. 15, 700
Appavou, Brigitte 99, 112
Arens, Bernard 96, 495
Arndt, Edward J. 504
Aubin, Françoise 733, 740
Austin, Alvyn 102, 177 n. 4, 190, 275, 313, 360, 426, 607
Avvacum (D. S. Chestnoj) 197

Bacon, René 498
Baker, Kevin 209, 554 n. 1, 563
Baker, Richard Terrill 104
Balme, Harold 445
Banno, Masataka 92, 415
Bao Guizhen 510
Bao Jingjing 678
Bao Zunpen 649
Barclay, Wade Crawford 104
Barnes, Linda L. 445
Barnett, Eugene E. 634 n. 15, 637, 714 n. 23, 715
Barnett, Suzanne Wilson xv, 141, 142 n. 18, 148 n. 33, 156 n. 49, 170–172, 257, 392, 679
Barrett, David C. 883, 884 n. 4
Barriquand, François 361 n. 2, 369
Bartlett, Beatrice S. 6
Bartlett, Samuel Colcord 267 n. 10, 268 n. 11, 275
Bastid, Marianne 629 n. 3, 638, 689
Batalden, Stephen 102, 277, 369–370
Bates, M. Searle 601 n. 5, 606 n. 29, 607–608
Bauer, Gary L. 884 n. 6
Bauer, Wolfgang 377 n. 30, 392
Bautz, Friedrich Wilhelm 109
Bautz, Traugott 109
Bays, Daniel H. xv, 95, 108, 141 n. 13, 170, 235, 241 n. 8, 245, 257, 332, 392, 399, 403, 415, 434, 306, 541 n. 17, 551, 602 n. 10, 608, 613, 618 n. 6, 625, 633 n. 14, 638, 643, 649, 669, 676–678, 688, 706, 715, 808, 815 n. 6, 823, 864, 910
Beacham, A., Jr. 507
Beal, Samuel 414
Bear, James Edwin, Jr. 101
Bebbington, D. W. 282 n. 12, 289
Becker, Emile 242 n. 14, 245
Beckman, Erik Richard 509
Beckmann, Johannes 119 n. 15, 130, 227 n. 37, 235, 242 n. 11, 245, 426, 585
Beeching, Jack 415
Beets, Henry 503
Bello, David Anthony 355 n. 3, 360
Benedict XVI 857, 858 n. 25, 864
Bennett, Adrian Arthur 23–24, 188, 190, 392, 688
Benson, Linda K. 513
Bentley, William Preston 109, 247, 256 n. 19, 257
Berger, Placidus 496
Bernard-Maître, Henri 238, 239 n. 5, 243 n. 16, 245
Beyreuther, Erich 282 n. 13, 289
Bickley, Gillian 160 n. 62, 170
Bieler, Stacey 273 n. 20, 275, 277, 511, 688, 846–847
Bierbaum, Max 584 n. 50, 585, 590 nn. 8–9, 599
Bierchane, Joseph 740
Blakeley, Gerald 189 n. 42, 191
Block, Irving 745 n. 10, 760

Blouin, Francis X., Jr. 69
Blunden, Caroline 730
Boardman, Eugene P. 257, 259, 392, 395
Boetzinger, Vera 332
Boguljubov, Mikhail Nikolaevič 209
Bohr, P. Richard 136 n. 3, 170, 190, 257, 295, 332, 371, 392
Bokeshaning 108
Bolshakoff, Serge 209
Bonk, Jonathan J. 772 n. 13, 773, 780
Bonn, Alfred 106, 256 n. 19, 257
Bonwick, Gerald William 723 n. 17, 732
Boone, Muriel 105, 163 n. 71, 170
Boone, William Jones 163, 175, 366, 368
Boorman, Howard L. 257, 511, 626
Bornemann, Fritz 100, 596 n. 27, 599, 739 n. 15, 740
Borthwick, Sally 629 n. 3, 638
Bortone, Fernando 97, 497
Bower, John Z. 443 n. 29, 445, 700
Bowman, Ellen 510
Boyd, R. H. 105
Boynton, Charles Dozier 467, 513, 552
Boynton, Charles Luther 467, 485, 513, 552
Bradshaw, Sue 244 n. 18, 245, 527 n. 4, 531, 595
Brandewie, Ernest 565 n. 4, 570
Brandt, Käte 504
Bratlie, J. 506
Breslin, Thomas A. 649
Bresner, Lisa 760
Bridgman, Elijah Coleman 29, 40, 81, 133, 139, 147, 150, 155–156, 167 n. 79, 170–172, 175, 249, 282, 284, 290, 296 n. 43, 297 n. 44, 298, 363, 439, 445, 742, 760, 762
Bridgman, Eliza Gillett 139 n. 10, 170
Britton, Roswell Sessoms 37, 250
Brook, Timothy 607 n. 33, 608, 663 n. 22, 675 n. 15, 676
Broomhall, Alfred James 78, 102, 190, 286 n. 23, 289, 332, 373 n. 11, 392, 415, 745 n. 9, 760
Broomhall, Marshall 110, 275, 369, 730
Brouillon, Nicolas 245
Brown, G. Thompson 101, 551, 676, 789
Brown, Henry J. 506
Brown, Margaret H. 102, 107
Bruce, Gustav Marius 104
Brundin, Gunnar 503
Bryan, Ferrebee Catharine 159 n. 60, 170
Buch, Kirsten Berggreen 504
Buchman, Frank N. D. 600, 608
Buck, David D. 641 n. 4, 649
Buck, John Lossing 350, 352, 547–548, 551
Buck, Pearl S. 429, 547 n. 29, 552, 745, 760–762
Buck, Peter 636 n. 25, 638
Bullock, Mary Brown 633 n. 13, 638, 700
Bülow, Marie von 504
Bundy, David 550 n. 36, 551, 676, 706
Burns, Islay 170, 185 n. 29, 191
Burt, Ernest Whitby 332
Bush, Charles P. 157 n. 50, 171
Bush, Richard C. 810, 823, 871, 881, 888
Butterfield, Fox 711 n. 11, 715
Butturini, Giuseppe 495

Cadbury, Willam Warder 158 n. 54, 171
Callahan, Paul E. 604 n. 19, 605 n. 22, 608
Callery, Joseph Marie 392
Campbell, Joseph E. 507
Campbell, William 133 n. 1, 171
Camps, Arnulf 98, 115, 126 n. 36, 130, 499
Canfield, Carolyn L. 760
Cann, Kathleen 102, 277, 369–370
Cannone, Domenico 99
Canton, William 102, 267 n. 9, 275, 363, 369
Carbonneau, Robert E. 497, 516, 524, 715
Carlson, Ellsworth C. 101, 275, 350, 352, 398, 403
Carpenter, Joel A. 674 n. 13, 676–677
Cary, William Walter 506
Cary-Elwes, Columba 219, 235
Casero, Russell L. 113
Casselman, Arthur Vale 106
Cassey, John Willam 332
Cattell, Catherine DeVol 502
Caulfield, Caspar 497
Cawardine, Richard 392
Cerasa, Nicola 98, 499
Ch'ü T'ung-tsu 295
Cha, James S. C. [see also Zha Shijie] 450

Chalmers, John 743 n. 6, 757, 760–761
Chan Kim-kwong 21, 451, 650, 784, 810, 823, 867, 871 n. 9, 872 n. 11, 875 n. 15, 876 n. 16, 881, 888, 910
Chan Sin-wai 910
Chan, A. 736 n. 7, 740
Chan, Hok-lam 387 nn. 61, 63, 392
Chan, K. S. Kylie 8
Chang Hsin-Pao 149 n. 38, 171
Chang, Ning J. 655 n. 5, 666
Chao, Jonathan T'ien-en [Zhao Tian'en] 94, 602 n. 9, 608, 649
Chao, Samuel Hsiang-en 158 n. 56, 171, 426
Charbonnier, Jean 96, 110, 117, 128, 130, 214, 223 n. 27, 227 n. 36, 235, 240, 241 n. 8, 245, 495, 785, 846
Charles, Robert 289
Charter, Vernon 740
Chen Cunfu 107, 846
Chen Duxiu 629, 636–637, 901
Chen Fangzhong 332
Chen, John Shujie 740
Chen Kailkel (Chen Kaike) 209–210, 213
Chen, Kaiyi 696, 700,
Chen Renbing 672 n. 9, 676
Chen Renhua 511
Chen Xuelin 254 n. 14, 257
Chen Yingwu 449
Chen Yinkun 332
Chen Zhiping 332
Cheng, Marcus (Chen Chonggui) 625, 672, 705, 707
Cheng, W. K. 415
Chester, Ruth M. 691
Cheung, David 154 n. 44, 171, 261, 275–276, 402 n. 24, 403, 426, 551
Cheung, Siu-woo 731
Cheung, Yuet-wah 700
Cheza, Maurice 575 n. 14, 577 n. 20, 585
Chi, Madeleine 86, 500, 678
Chiang Nan-hsiang 646 n. 27, 648
Chiang, Yung-chen 688
Chng, David K. Y. 284, 289
Choa, G. H. 257, 276, 434, 700
Choi, Lewis 809
Choi Young-woong 508
Chong Yau-yuk 910
Choong Chee-Pang 910
Chow Tse-tsung 636 n. 24, 638, 645, 649
Christensen, Torben 415
Chu Ping-yi 11
Chu Shu-Teh, Francis Xavier 812 n. 2, 823
Chu, Clayton H. 94, 453
Chung, Mary Keng Mun 608
Claesson, Anna Maria 332
Clark, Charles Allen 426
Clarke, Prescott 37, 391
Clements, Charles Everleigh 505
Cliff, Norman Howard 626
Clifford, Nicholas R. 649
Codispoti, Paul 491
Cody, Jeffrey W. 740
Coe, John L. 688
Cohen, Paul A. xiii, 93, 191, 238, 245, 250, 257, 276, 302, 304, 318, 319 n. 99, 327, 332, 343, 393, 396 n. 3, 403, 415, 524–525, 640, 649, 651, 910
Cohn, Norman 393
Cole, James H. 2, 493
Cole, Lois 846
Collis, Maurice 171
Colomban, Eudore de 240 n. 6, 245
Colombel, Augustin-M. 97, 112, 125
Comaroff, Jean xi
Comaroff, John L. xi
Combaluzier, Fernand 596 n. 30, 599
Conforti, Guido Maria 497
Conn, Peter J. 745 n. 10, 761
Conrad, Christa 333
Constable, Nicole 256–257, 276, 372 n. 7, 379 n. 39, 393, 636 n. 22, 638
Corbett, Charles Hodge 688
Corbett, P. Scott 606 n. 31, 608
Cordier, Henri 36, 92, 300, 309 n. 76, 333, 352, 761
Costantini, Celso 67, 238 n. 2, 245, 474, 519 n. 11, 525, 565–566, 579, 581–582, 585, 734, 740–741
Coughlin, Margaret Morgan 393
Cousins, George 761
Covell, Ralph R. 119 n. 16, 120, 130, 158 n. 57, 415, 503, 636 n. 22, 638, 688, 717, 731, 761
Crabtree, Loren W. 157 n. 51, 171
Crapez, Henri 243 n. 17, 245, 585
Creusen, Joseph 597 n. 32, 599
Criveller, Gianni 333
Cross, Whitney 143 n. 20, 171
Crouch, Archie 35, 55, 80, 247 n. 2, 450, 465, 467, 470, 482, 525, 606 n. 32, 608, 808
Crumpacker, Frank H. 503
Curwen, C. A. 391, 395
Curzon, George Nathaniel 333

D'Elia, Pascal M. 225 n. 31, 235, 519 n. 9, 585
Dagenais, Ferdinand 24
Dai Weiliang (W. E. Taylor) 600, 608, 777 n. 24, 780
Dai Xuanzhi 642, 649
Daniëls, Hyacinth 99
Danielson, Hjalmar 106, 509
Davis, Herbert 508
Dawson, Christopher 731
Dawson, Raymond 415
Day, Peter 96, 495
De Jong, Gerald F. 105
Dean, Britten 329, 333
Dean, John 102, 277, 369–370
Dean, William 166, 171
DeBernardi, Jean 740
Degros, Maurice 61
Dehergne, Joseph 735 n. 4, 741
Dehlin, Harald Stele 507
Deke Erh 741
Delacroix, Simon 214 n. 2, 235
Denby, Charles 326, 328, 330, 332–333
Deneubourg, Colette 335, 531
Deng Zhaoming 855 n. 18, 864, 888
Denisov, Petr Vladimirovich 210
Desloges, Gisèle 498
Destombes, Paul 225 n. 32, 235
DeVol, Charles E. 502
Di Deman 108
Di Giovanni, Francesca 69
Diamond, Norma 636 n. 22, 727, 731
Diesen, Ingulf 506
Dieter, Melvin 289
Digan, Parig 789 n. 1
Dikötter, Frank 355 n. 3, 360, 415, 445
Dindinger, Johannes 36, 94, 111, 452, 511
Ding Fang 846
Ding Guangxun 715, 854, 859, 865, 878, 886 n. 12, 904, 910, 912
Dirlik, Arif xii
Ditmanson, Frederik 505
Dixon, Stanley H. 769 n. 5, 772, 780
Doezema, William R. 371 n. 5, 378 n. 36, 393
Domínguez, Joaquín M. 112
Dong Renda 510
Donnelly, Daniel 570
Doré, Henri 755–756, 761
Doubrovskaia, Dina V. 210
Drake, Fred 148 n. 33, 171
Drescher, Lutz 104
Drevet, Richard 279 n. 4, 289
Dreyer, June Teufel 719 n. 3, 731
Dries, Angelyn 529 n. 7, 531, 658 n. 9, 666
Drucker, Alison R. 635, 639
Du Jidong 108
Du Passage, Henri 98
Duara, Prasenjit 524–525
DuBois, Thomas David 308 n. 74, 333
Dubs, Homer Hasenpflug 755, 758, 761
Dudgeon, John 356 n. 4, 360
Dudink, Adrian 11
Duffy, Joan R. 491
Dujardin, Carine 98, 126 n. 37, 130, 499
Dunch, Ryan Fisk xii, 31, 349 n. 157, 352, 444–445, 613 n. 3, 626, 655 n. 3, 666, 672 n. 8, 676, 689, 823, 864, 881–882, 887 n. 14, 888
Dunn, David 106
Dunn, Emily C. 855 n. 20, 864, 888

Eber, Irene 259, 277, 369, 892 n. 6, 907, 908 n. 43, 910
Ebertshäuser, Georg 764
Eckart, Wolfgang Uwe 700
Edwards, Dwight W. 689
Egan, Susan Chan 626
Eijt, Josepha Maria Antonia 497
Eilert, Håkon 548 n. 31, 551
Eitel, Ernst Johann 42, 413 n. 24, 414, 757, 761, 765
Elliston, Eric Shaftesbury 439 n. 15, 445
Elman, Benjamin A. 22 n. 1, 444 n. 33, 445, 700
Elvin, Mark 730
Entenmann, Robert E. 216, 231 n. 43, 235, 240, 241 n. 8, 245
Epp, Margaret 502
Eriksen, Th. 507
Esherick, Joseph W. 5, 338 n. 140, 339 n. 141, 343, 400 nn. 19–20, 403, 641 n. 5, 642, 649, 783

Faber, Ernst 63, 178, 743 n. 6, 755, 761–763
Faber, Tobias 741
Fairbank, John K. xv, 92–94, 141 n. 13, 142 n. 18, 148 n. 33, 154 n. 46, 156 n. 49, 170–172, 210, 257, 295, 306 n. 67, 332–333, 335–336, 392–393, 396 n. 3, 403, 415–416, 493, 601 n. 5, 608, 611, 632 n. 9, 638, 641 n. 5, 649–650, 667, 677, 679, 891 n. 1, 910

Fällman, Fredrik 702, 906 n. 37, 907 n. 39, 911
Fang Hao 109, 224, 235, 524–525
Fang Yan 449–450
Fang, Chaoying 758 n. 43, 762
Fatica, Michele 70
Fay, Peter Ward 149 n. 38, 171, 354 n. 1, 360
Fenn, William Purviance 608, 683 n. 5, 689–690
Ferguson, Mary E. 693 n. 4, 700
Fernandez, Gil G. 509
Fernandez, Pablo 98
Ferreux, Octave 97, 512, 589 n. 6, 599
Feuerwerker, Albert 493
Fiedler, Klaus 289, 318 n. 96, 333, 536 n. 10, 551
Findlay, George Gillanders 107
Fischer, Edward 498
Fisher, Benjamin Louis 171
Fisher, Daniel W. 190 n. 47, 191
Fitzgerald, Charles P. 780
Fleckner, Johannes 570
Fleming, Peter Joseph 497
Fletcher, Joseph 210
Flynt, Wayne 189 n. 42, 191, 410 n. 18, 415
Forsyth, Robert Coventry 110
Forsythe, Sidney A. 319 n. 99, 333
Foskett, Mary F. 891 n. 3, 911, 913
Foster, Lovelace Savidge 189 n. 42, 191
Franz, Andreas 104, 317 n. 94, 333, 538 n. 11, 551
Fraser, James Outram 722–723, 724 n. 19, 725–726, 731
Freytag, Justus 509
Freytag, Mirjam 333
Froholt, Asbjørn 504
Fu, Lo-shu 3
Fulton, Austin 103

Gain, Léopold 655, 667
Gálik, Marián 908 n. 43, 911
Gallimore, Arthur Raymond 101, 163 n. 70, 171
Gao Shengjie 611
Gao Shiliang 450, 631
Gao Wangzhi 648 n. 30, 715, 812 n. 1, 823
Gao, Xiongya 762
Gao Zhennong 188 n. 39, 192
Garbero, Pietro 497
Garnier, Henri 584–585
Garrett, Shirley Stone 510, 605 n. 25, 609
Gasero, Russell L. 113
Gee, Donald 508
Geisert, Bradley Kent 503
Gennevoise, André-Félix-Chrysostome-Joseph 315, 333
Gentili, Tommaso Maria 98
Gervais, Émile 498
Getz, Dagmar K. 450
Gih, Andres [see also Ji Zhiwen] 624, 626, 861
Gilbert, Lela 889
Gilkey, Langdon 606 n. 31, 609
Gilley, Sheridan 95, 289–290
Giovagnoli, Agostino 99–100, 333, 578 n. 28, 585
Giovanneschi, Emilio 498
Girardot, Norman J. 124 n. 27, 131, 152 n. 39, 171, 406 n. 5, 407 n. 6, 415, 747 n. 15, 762
Giroud, Frédéric 496
Giunipero, Elisa 99–100, 333
Gladney, Dru 717 n. 2, 731
Glanzer, Perry L. 884 n. 5, 885 n. 9
Glazik, Josef 48, 210
Glüer, Winfried 762, 900 n. 23, 911
Goddard, Francis Wayland 166 n. 76, 171
Goffart, Paul 578 n. 26, 585
Goforth, Rosalind 600 n. 3, 609
Golder, Morris E. 507
González, José Maria 36, 94, 98, 111, 453, 499
Goodall, Norman 104
Goodridge, Luther Carrington 757–758, 762
Goodwin, John 95
Gordon, Leonard H. D. 92
Gorissen, Bert 660 n. 14, 667
Gottschang, Thomas Richard 293 n. 39, 295
Gourdon, François-Marie-Joseph 110, 115 n. 2, 131, 225 n. 34, 235
Grady, Gregory 516 n. 2, 519 n. 8, 525
Graham, Gael 689
Grant, W. Harvey 102, 106
Gratuze, Gaston 333, 346 n. 153, 352
Graves, Rosewell Hobart 159, 171
Gray, G. F. S. 105
Gregg, Alice 609
Gregory, J. S. 391, 393
Gresnigt, Adelbert 734–735
Griffith, Valerie 264 n. 3, 276

Griffith, William Elliot 149 n. 36, 172
Gronewold, Sue Ellen 429 n. 4, 434, 504
Groot, Jan Jacob Maria de 306 n. 65, 333, 371 n. 4, 393, 413 n. 24, 415
Grosse-Aschhoff, Angelus Francis J. 118 n. 13, 131, 297 n. 45, 333
Grundmann, Christoffer H. 146 n. 30, 172, 437 n. 3, 439 n. 12, 440 nn. 17, 18, 445, 692 n. 1, 700
Grypma, Sonya 696 n. 12, 700
Gu Changshen 96, 112, 173, 220, 235, 413, 415, 689, 702 n. 1, 707, 804 n. 35, 809
Gu Weiying [see also Ku Wei-ying] 99, 111
Gu Xuejia 524, 525
Guan Jiazheng 108
Gubbels, Noël 98, 225 n. 33, 234 n. 47, 235, 992
Guennou, Jean 99
Guignet, Chris 333
Guissard, Polyeucte 496
Gulbrandsen, Parley 506
Gulick, Edward V. 146 n. 29, 172, 438 n. 9, 440, 445
Guo Hong 333, 346 n. 153, 352
Gutterres, Antonella Marie 500
Gützlaff, Karl Friedrich August (Charles) 27, 30, 62, 65, 74, 77–78, 101, 142–143, 148, 161, 164, 167–169, 172, 175, 185, 249, 252, 256, 284–285, 286 n. 22, 289, 354, 363 nn. 6, 8, 365 n. 12, 378, 410 n. 17, 426, 437–438, 446, 702–703, 894, 949
Guyon, B. 570

Haar, Barend J. ter 306 n. 66, 387 nn. 61, 63, 393, 441–442, 446
Hagelia, Hallvard 506
Hahn, Ferdinand 104
Hamberg, Theodor 249, 250 n. 7, 252, 255, 257, 270, 372 n. 8, 374 n. 20, 376 n. 28, 378, 379 n. 40, 386, 391, 702–703, 707
Hambye, E. R. 719 n. 5, 731
Hamilton, William 762, 764
Hamrin, Carol Lee 275, 277, 390 n. 78, 393, 511, 725 n. 21, 825, 864–865, 881, 888
Han Junxue 107, 727 n. 27, 731
Hanan, Patrick 22 n. 2
Hancock, Christopher 172, 742 n. 3, 762
Hanson, Eric O. 124 n. 27, 125 n. 33, 126 n. 35, 131, 240 n. 6, 245
Hao Yen-p'ing 6
Hao Yingda 650
Harbakk, Ernst 502
Hardwick, Charles 414
Harrell, Stevan 387 n. 60, 393, 731
Harris, Harriet A. 287 n. 26, 288 n. 31, 290, 541 n. 15, 551
Harrison, Brian 166 n. 75, 172, 252 n. 11, 258
Harrison, Henrietta 68, 343, 428 n. 2, 434
Harrison, Robert T. 505
Hartwich, Richard 100, 418 n. 3, 426, 498, 529 n. 9, 531, 592 n. 16, 593 n. 17, 594 nn. 20–21
Harvey, Thomas A. 864, 888
Hattaway, Paul 110, 717 n. 1, 731, 862 n. 30, 864, 906 nn. 35–36, 911, 913
Hayford, Charles 634
Hayford, Charles W. 94, 605, 609, 626, 634 n. 17, 638
Hayhoe, Ruth 629 n. 3, 633 n. 13, 638, 644 n. 18, 650, 681, 682 n. 4, 683 n. 6, 689, 690
Hayward, Victor E. W. 769 n. 5, 776 n. 23, 780
He Guanghu 842, 846
He Jinshan 22, 252, 258, 266, 268 n. 12, 272, 274–275, 365, 367–368, 763
He Xiaoxia 449
Hedley, John 105
Heeren, John J. 659, 667
Heimann, Mary 290
Heimbucher, Max Josef 97, 495
Heininger, Janet E. 606 n. 27, 609
Held, Helenis 234 n. 49, 235
Helliwell, David 27, 896 n. 11
Henderson, John B. 911
Hertslet, Edward 44, 334
Hertslet, Godfrey Edward Proctor 44–45, 334
Hevia, James L. 343
Hewat, Elizabeth Glendinning Kirkwood 103
Hewitt, Gordon 102
Heyndrickx, Jeroom 68, 435, 524–525, 598 n. 33, 599, 644 n. 18, 650–651
Hills, Margaret T. 363 n. 8, 369
Himle, Thorstein 104
Hinton, William 647 n. 29, 650
Hirsch, Klaus 762, 764
Hjelm-Larsen, Harald 507

Ho Ping-ti 293 n. 40, 295, 335
Ho, Clara Wing-chung 276
Ho, Herbert Hoi-lap [He Kaili] 453, 609, 636 n. 23, 638
Hocken, Peter 549 n. 33, 551
Hocking, William Ernest 674 n. 14, 676
Hodous, Lewis 650, 763
Hoffmann, Rainer 92
Holmio, Armas K. E. 103
Honey, David B. 751 n. 22, 762
Honig, Emily 618 n. 6, 635, 673 n. 11, 676
Hood, George A. 103, 163 n. 69, 172, 348 n. 157, 352, 665 n. 24, 667, 775 n. 22, 778 n. 28, 780
Hosie, Alexander 359, 360
Hsia, C. T. 630 n. 5, 638
Hsing, Chün [see also Xing Jun] 510, 605 n. 25, 609, 627
Hsü, David 29
Hsu, Francis L. K. 637 n. 26, 638
Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. 219, 236, 641 n. 5, 650
Hu, Hua-ling 551, 661 n. 18, 667
Hu Sheng 640 n. 1, 650
Hu Shouwei 450
Hu Weiqing 678
Hu Ying 273 n. 22, 276
Huang, Hanzhu 29
Huang Junjie 911
Huang Kuan 253, 273, 275
Huang Peiwei 449
Huang, Xiaojuan 122 nn. 23–24, 124 n. 29, 129 n. 44, 131, 236
Huang Xinxian 450
Huang Yi-long 11
Huang Yongxiang 450
Hubrecht, Alphonse 243 n. 15, 246, 457
Hughes, Ernest Richard 755, 762
Hui, Edwin 846
Hullen, Antoon 592 n. 14, 599
Hultvall, John 106, 704, 707
Hummel, Arthur W. 109, 758
Hunter, Alan 648 n. 30, 650, 810, 812 n. 2, 814 n. 4, 816 n. 7, 823, 875 n. 15, 876 n. 16, 877 n. 18, 881, 888
Hunter, Jane 181 n. 17, 182 n. 21, 191, 319 n. 102, 334, 609, 626, 635 n. 19, 638, 689
Huonder, Anton 573 nn. 4, 6, 575–576, 585
Hutchison, William R. 373 n. 13, 393, 415, 669 n. 2, 676
Hutten, Kurt 852 n. 14, 864
Hyatt, Irwin T., Jr. 180 n. 13, 182 n. 22, 187 n. 37, 188 nn. 40–41, 189 nn. 42–43, 190 n. 47, 191, 276, 320 n. 103, 322 n. 109, 327 n. 125, 334, 411, 416, 434

Iakinf 193–195, 210
Innocent (archimandrite) 210
Ipatova, Aida Semenovna 195 n. 6, 210
Irick, Robert L. 28
Israel, John 646 nn. 26–27, 650
Ivanovskij, A. 204 n. 18, 205 n. 19, 206 n. 21, 208 n. 23, 210

Jacobson, Emil 706 n. 11, 707
Jan, Michel 128 n. 40, 131
Janku, Andrea 323, 334
Jansen, Elwyn George 508
Janzen, Abraham Ewell 506
Jeens, Christopher 77
Jen, Stanislaus 499
Jen, Yu-wen [see also Jian Youwen] 247, 258, 371 n. 5, 376 n. 26, 377 nn. 30–31, 393
Jenkins, Philip 891 n. 2, 911
Ji Zhiwen 624, 626, 861
Jian Bozan 18
Jian Youwen 252 n. 10, 276, 393, 702 n. 1, 707
Jiang Bingzheng 371 n. 1, 393
Jiang Xiuli 108
Johannesson, Jan-Endy 510
Johnson, Kurt Eric 492
Johnston, James 161 n. 66, 172, 191
Johnston, Tess 741
Joly, Léon 575, 585
Jones, Francis P. 877 n. 18, 881
Jones, Mary Hoxie 158 n. 54, 171
Jones, Susan Mann 295
Jonson, Jonas 536 n. 9, 552
Jonsson, Fredrik 106, 704 n. 6, 705 n. 7, 707
Jörgensen, Helle 331 n. 137, 334
Junkin, Nettie DuBose 358 n. 7, 360
Jurkevich, A. G. 210

Kamachi, Noriko 92
Kang Zhijie xv, 107, 234 n. 47, 236, 403, 660 n. 15, 667
Kang, Wi Jo 731
Kårbrant, Sven 706 n. 11, 707
Kasinec, Edward 210
Kaspar, Adelhard 496
Ke Bonian (Li Chunfan) 628, 637

Keen, Rosemary 77
Keller, Charles A. 601 n. 8, 609
Kelly, Donald P. 633 n. 14, 673 n. 11, 677, 679
Kempgen, Wilhelm 106
Kendall, R. Elliott 722 n. 11, 728 n. 31, 731
Kepping, Ksenia B. 209, 563
Kervyn, Louis-Marie 242 n. 12, 243 n. 17, 246, 418 n. 3, 426
Kessler, Lawrence D. 350 n. 157, 352, 398 n. 10, 400 n. 17, 401, 403, 609, 651, 677
Kilbourne, Edwin W. 507
Kilen, Juline R. 505
Kim Hwal-young 508
Kindopp, Jason 390 n. 78, 393, 825, 864–865, 881, 888
King, Frank H. H. 37
King, Gail 25
King, Marjorie 320 n. 103, 334
Kinnear, Angus 626
Kleeman, Terry F. 387 n. 60, 393
Klein, Thoralf 101, 142 n. 18, 172–173, 258, 286 n. 22, 290–291, 325 n. 120, 331 n. 137, 334
Konrad, Dagmar 319 n. 100, 334
Koo, Vi Kyuin Wellington 298 n. 47, 299 n. 50, 300 n. 51, 334, 348 n. 155, 352, 619
Kowalsky, Nikolaus 36, 66, 94, 111, 452, 511
Kramers, R. P. 893 n. 8, 911
Ku Pao-ku 786, 793 n. 4, 797 n. 20, 798 n. 23, 808 n. 5, 809
Ku T'ing-ch'ang 467
Ku Wei-ying [see also Gu Weiying] 111, 336–337, 343, 398 n. 12, 404
Kuan, Jeffrey Kah-Jin 911, 913
Kuepers, J. J. A. M. 100
Kuhn, Isobel 723 n. 16, 745, 760, 762
Kuhn, Philip A. 295, 393
Kupfer, Kristin 856 n. 21, 888
Kwok Pui-lan 320 n. 103, 334, 626, 909, 911

La Fargue, Thomas E. 254 n. 15, 258, 276, 689
La Servière, Joseph de 97, 122, 123 n. 25, 124 n. 27, 131, 234 n. 48, 236, 240 n. 6, 243 n. 17, 246, 587 n. 1, 588 nn. 3–4, 595, 599
Laamann, Lars P. 215 n. 5, 236, 291 n. 34, 295, 355 n. 3, 360, 445
Łaciak, Jadwiga 499
Lackner, Michael 148 n. 33, 172, 277, 370, 892 n. 7, 911
Ladany, Laszlo 888
Lai, John Tsz Pang 25, 896 n. 12, 911
Lam Wing-Hung [see also Lin Ronghong] 601 n. 4, 604 nn. 14–15, 609, 648 n. 31, 650, 911
Lam, Anthony S. K. 585, 789, 823–824, 864
Lambert, Anthony 810
Lambert, Tony 789, 791, 811, 815 n. 5, 824, 864, 879 n. 19, 881
Lamberton, Mary 689
Lamkin, Adrian, Jr. 505
Lanahan, Mary Francesca 501
Lang, Olga 630 n. 5, 638
Lange, Vitalis 98, 596 n. 28, 599
Lapidus, Ira M. 292 n. 38, 295
Lapwood, Nancy 769 n. 4, 781
Lapwood, Ralph 769 n. 4, 781
Lasch, Christopher 405 n. 2, 408 n. 8, 416
Latourette, Kenneth Scott 96, 179 n. 8, 180 nn. 11–12, 182 n. 18, 186 n. 33, 191, 214, 236, 238 nn. 2–3, 239 nn. 4–5, 246, 365 n. 13, 369, 396, 397 nn. 4–6, 398 n. 7, 400 nn. 16, 20, 403, 408 n. 9, 410 n. 15, 411 nn. 21–22, 413 n. 26, 416, 418 n. 2, 426, 523, 525, 600 n. 1, 604 n. 19, 608–609, 775, 781, 794 n. 9, 809
Lau, Joseph S. M. 630 n. 5, 637
Lau, Stephen 809
Laufer, Berthold 741
Launay, Adrien 99, 110, 112, 216 n. 7, 217 n. 9, 230 n. 41, 233 n. 45, 236, 512, 589 n. 5, 599, 719 n. 4, 731
Launay, Marcel 99
Lautenschlager, Stanton 710 n. 7, 712 n. 14, 715
Lawrence, Una Roberts 188 n. 41, 191
Lazich, Michael C. 139 n. 10, 148 n. 33, 172, 282 n. 12, 284 n. 17, 290, 296 n. 43, 297 n. 44, 298 n. 48, 299 n. 49, 354 n. 1, 360, 439 n. 13, 446, 742 n. 4, 762
Lazzarotto, Angelo 99, 117, 118 n. 11, 131, 333, 554 n. 1, 851 n. 9, 864
Lease, Gary 290
Lebeau, Yann 751 n. 21, 762
Leclercq, Jacques 663 n. 23, 667
Ledóchowski, Wlodimir 581, 585

Lee Chee-kong [see also Li Zhigang] 638
Lee Chi Chung, Archie 908 n. 44, 911
Lee Chi-fang 250, 258, 276
Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei 163 n. 69, 172, 334–335, 352, 403, 824, 864
Lee, Lily Xiao Hong 276
Lee, Stephen Bun Sang 881
Lee Sui-ming 450
Legge, Helen E. 251 n. 9, 258
Legge, James 151–152, 166, 169, 171, 173, 251 n. 9, 252 n. 10, 258, 259, 268, 273, 274 n. 24, 275–276, 362, 365, 368–369, 386, 394, 406, 414–416, 743 n. 6, 747, 749, 759–760, 762–765, 893
Lei Libo [Leopold Leeb] 689
Leonard, Jane Kate 148 n. 33, 154 n. 46, 172, 334
Leong Sow-Theng 393
Leong, Karen J. 762
Leung, Angela Ki Che 700
Leung, Beatrice 598 n. 33, 599, 795 n. 14, 799 n. 27, 802 n. 31, 824, 852, 855 n. 19, 864
Leung, Cécile 335, 531
Leung Chung Yan 284 n. 18, 290
Leung Ka-lun 648 n. 30, 650, 824, 888, 900 n. 26
Leung Kit Fun, Beatrice 598 n. 33, 599, 793, 795 n. 14, 799 n. 27, 802 n. 31, 809, 824, 852, 855 n. 19, 864, 888
Leung Yuen-Sang, Philip [Liang Yuansheng] xvi, 258, 448, 450, 626, 667, 689, 690, 824, 861 n. 28, 864
Leutner, Mechthild 334, 753 n. 27, 762
Levang, Joseph H. 505
Levenson, Joseph R. 381 n. 45, 387 n. 62, 388 n. 64, 393
Levering, Miriam L. 335
Li Chucai 689
Li Dezheng 449
Li Guiling 797 n. 21, 809
Li Guocheng 646 n. 27, 650
Li Li 678
Li Minghui 911
Li Pingye 846
Li Qiong 449
Li Shang-Jen 441 n. 22, 446, 700
Li Shu 642 n. 8, 650
Li Shuangqing 525
Li Weihan 869 n. 6, 881
Li Yongpu 452
Li Younin 689
Li Zhigang 247, 254 n. 15, 258, 450, 603 n. 14, 609, 636 nn. 22–23, 638
Lian, Xi 550, 552, 620 n. 7, 626, 674 nn. 13–14, 677
Liang Fa (Liang Afa) 22, 29, 140–141, 144, 147, 248–249, 257, 363, 365, 368, 373, 376, 378, 389, 390–392, 894
Liang Jialin 102, 824
Liang Shouhua 601 n. 6, 609
Liang Zhuchen 266, 275
Liao Kuang-sheng 640, 650
Liao Yizhong 641 n. 7, 650
Lievens, Sara 31 n. 4, 57, 335, 343, 524, 531, 691, 715
Lin Man-houng 294 n. 42, 295
Lin Mei-mei 105
Lin Ronghong 601 n. 4, 604 n. 14, 609, 626
Lin Zhiping 426, 631 n. 6, 632 n. 8, 638, 650, 911
Lindén, Martin 106, 703 n. 4, 704 n. 5, 707
Lindley, Augustus F. 371, 383, 394
Ling Yuming 631 n. 6, 639
Ling, Oi Ki 667, 781
Ling, Samuel D. 610, 650, 847
Littell, John B. 394
Littell-Lamb, Elizabeth A. 510
Litzinger, Charles A. 17, 307, 335, 398 n. 11, 399 n. 14, 403
Liu Dingyin 107, 719 n. 5, 722 n. 11, 731
Liu Guoping 327 n. 125, 335
Liu Haiyan 633 n. 12, 639
Liu Jiafeng 659 n. 11, 667, 678, 689
Liu Jiezhen 602 n. 10, 606 n. 29, 610
Liu Jixi 510
Liu, Judith 633 n. 14, 673 n. 11, 677, 679
Liu, Kwang-Ching xiii, 28, 94, 191, 292 n. 35, 295, 335, 375 n. 25, 392, 394, 404, 610, 715
Liu Tianlu 107–108, 336, 338 n. 139, 343, 627, 643 n. 15, 651, 689
Liu Xiaofeng 842–844, 846–847, 907, 912
Liu Xinyong 604 n. 15, 610, 645, 650
Liu Yanzhen 690
Liu Yiling 626
Liu Yusheng 224, 236
Lo Hsianglin 258
Lo Hui-min 47
Lo Lung-kwong 912
Loane, Marcus L. 102
Lodén, Torbjörn 703 n. 3, 707
Lodwick, Kathleen L. 42, 112, 354, 358 n. 6, 360, 413 n. 25, 415–416, 428, 453

Loh, I-Jin 892 n. 5
Lomanov, Alexander V. 193, 553, 826, 832 n. 7, 835
Lopez, Donald S., Jr. 912
Lora, Erminio 290
Loup, Robert 496
Louvet, Louis-Eugène 214, 236
Lovett, Richard 104
Lowe, C. H. 93
Löwental, Rudolf 467
Lowrie, Walter 364 n. 9, 368
Lozada, Eriberto P., Jr. 865
Lü Shiqiang 16, 305 n. 64, 335, 640 n. 1, 641 n. 6, 648, 650, 804 n. 35, 809
Lu Suping 552
Lu Yao 18, 642 n. 10, 650
Lu Yongling 689–690
Lu, Luke Pei-yuan 626
Lucas, AnElissa 633 n. 13, 639
Luo Gang 793 n. 1, 794 n. 7, 796 n. 17, 809
Luo, Matteo 499
Luo Xianglin 250, 253, 256 n. 19, 258
Luo Yong 385 n. 55, 391
Luo Yu 107
Luo Zhufeng 714 n. 22, 715, 888
Luoto, Valtter 508
Lutterbeck, Deborah 882 n. 1
Lutz, Jessie G. xiv, 172, 258–259, 276, 290, 394, 434, 610, 639, 650–651, 667, 677, 679, 690, 781, 865, 912
Lutz, Rolland Ray xiv, 247, 259, 269 n. 15, 276, 394, 636 n. 22, 639

Ma Changlin 11, 449
Ma Jia 912
Ma Kezheng 610
Ma Min 449–450, 607 n. 36, 610, 632, 639
Ma Yin 719 n. 3, 731
Ma Zhao 93
Macauley, Melissa 335
MacGillivray, Donald 23, 53, 175 n. 1, 180 n. 14, 182 n. 18, 191, 469, 613 n. 2, 626, 739 n. 16
MacMurray, John Van Antwerp 45, 326 n. 122, 335
Madsen, Richard P. 282 n. 11, 290, 335, 824–825, 854 n. 16, 856, 865, 889
Mahieu, B. 62
Mahoney, Irene 501
Mair, Victor H. 409 n. 13, 416
Malatesta, Edward 450, 644 n. 18, 651, 763
Malcolm, Elizabeth L. 41, 743 n. 5, 762
Malek, Roman 119 n. 14, 131, 259, 369, 390 n. 74, 392, 394, 434, 679, 900 n. 23, 912
Mallory, Walter H. 293 n. 40, 296
Manion, Patricia Jean 500–501
Marchant, Leslie Ronald 74, 248 n. 2
Margiotti, Fortunato 116 n. 4, 131, 218 n. 11
Marshall, Paul A. 889
Martin, W. A. P. 158, 180 n. 10, 298, 406 n. 3, 681, 685, 688, 690, 744, 749, 761, 896
Masson, Joseph 525, 570, 847
Mathews, Robert Henry 757
Matson, Peter 103, 504
Matthews, Harold Shepard 101
Maxwell, Grant 500, 520 n. 12, 525
Maxwell, James Laidlaw 441 n. 22, 446
McAleavy, Henry 250, 259
McAllister, Susan Fleming 318 n. 97, 335
McClard, Melissa 884 n. 6
McCloskey, Pat 98, 126 n. 36, 130, 499
McCoog, Thomas M. 72
McCosh, James 406 n. 3, 416, 750, 762
McGavran, Donald A. 724, 731
McGee, Gary B. 542 n. 19, 549 nn. 32–33, 552
McGrath, W. Aedan 568, 570, 850 n. 9, 865
McGrath, William C. 500
McInnis, Donald E. 714 n. 22, 715, 801 n. 29, 869 n. 5, 874 n. 14, 877 n. 18, 881, 887 nn. 13–14, 888
McLeod, Judith A. 107
McMullen, Michael 185 n. 29, 191
McMurry, Francis P. 503
McNeur, George Hunter 248 n. 3, 259, 373 n. 9, 391, 508
Meadows, Thomas Taylor 394
Medhurst, Walter Henry 28, 142, 146, 152, 154, 169, 172, 175, 250, 274, 284 n. 18, 312, 362–366, 368
Melancon, Glenn 145 n. 26, 149 n. 38, 172
Mende, Erling 369
Menegon, Eugenio xv, 17, 231 n. 43, 236
Meng Guoxiang 606 n. 32, 610
Menke, Willibrord 501
Mensaert, Georgius 119 n. 14, 131
Menz, Kilian 111, 238 n. 1, 246, 512
Merwin, Wallace 535 n. 7, 552, 604 n. 19, 610, 671 n. 6, 677
Metzler, Josef 36, 49, 65–67, 94, 111, 116 nn. 3–4, 131, 218 n. 11, 236, 281

n. 8, 290, 344 n. 152, 353, 452, 494, 511, 572 n. 2, 573 n. 5, 574, 582 nn. 42–43, 583 n. 45, 586, 590 n. 8, 599
Meyer, Richard H. 504
Miao, Chester S. 434
Michael, Franz 15, 391, 394
Mikhailov, A. F. 193 n. 2, 198, 210
Miller, Stuart Creighton xii, 311 n. 81, 335
Miller, Thomas William 507
Milne, William 28, 30, 136–138, 141, 152, 169–170, 172–173, 175, 248, 361, 362 n. 3, 369, 373, 389, 392, 896
Minamiki, George 361 n. 1, 369
Minden, Karen 633 n. 13, 684 n. 9, 685, 690, 701
Ming 722 n. 14, 732
Minnich, Herbert Spenser 503
Miotk, Andrzej 576 n. 19, 578 n. 28, 579 n. 31, 586
Mirot, Albert 62
Mitchell, Peter 450
Mjasnikov, Vladimir S. 211
Modén, K. A. 106, 509
Moidrey, Joseph de 110, 596 n. 30, 599, 970
Montgomery, Robert 728, 732
Moreau, A. Scott 96
Moreau, Theresa Marie 851 n. 9, 865
Morelli, Alfonso 245 n. 21, 246
Morra, Luciano 343
Morrison, Eliza A. 134 n. 2, 173
Morrison, Robert 27–29, 75, 96, 112, 133–134, 137 n. 4, 139–140, 145, 152, 165, 172–173, 175, 247–248, 283–284, 290, 361, 363 n. 6, 368, 373, 394, 742, 762–763, 794, 820, 892
Morse, Hosea Ballou 153, 173
Motte, Joseph 234 n. 47, 236, 795 n. 15, 797 n. 20, 798 n. 25, 809
Moussay, Gérard 95, 99, 112
Možarovskij, Apollon 195 n. 5, 210
Muehlenbein, Wibora 496
Müller, Wolfgang 279 n. 3, 290
Mungello, D. E. 44, 124 n. 30, 131, 230 n. 42, 236, 280 n. 5, 290, 361 n. 1, 369, 428 n. 3, 434, 742 n. 1, 763, 856 n. 22, 865
Munro, Robin 887 n. 15, 889
Muramatsu, Yuji 387 n. 60, 394
Murray, Dian H. 394
Myers, James T. 647 n. 29, 651, 789, 865
Naish, Emily 74, 77, 248 n. 2, 259
Najarian, Nishan J. 425 n. 28, 427
Nance, W. B. 690
Naquin, Susan 293 n. 41, 296, 306, 335, 387 n. 60, 394
Nee, Watchman 615, 621, 624, 626–627, 675, 824, 861, 864, 877, 900, 911–912
Negodaeff-Tomsik, Margaret 442 n. 27, 446
Neill, Stephen 95, 417 n. 1, 427
Neils, Patricia 142, 172, 610
Nesterova, Elena 210
Nevius, Helen Sanford Coan 190 n. 46, 322 n. 110, 335, 420
Nevius, John Livingston 158, 171, 189, 190 n. 46, 191, 267, 322 n. 110, 335, 418, 426–427
Newbegin, Leslie 417 n. 1, 427
Ng Lee Ming 605, 610
Ng, Peter Tse Ming [Wu Ziming] xvi, 631, 639
Niu Pinghan 20, 353
Noll, Ray R. 48, 369
Norton, Hugo Wilbert 509

O'Connor, Daniel 106
O'Neill, Charles E. 112
Öberg, Otto 706 n. 11, 707
Öberg, Torgny 509
Oblau, Claudia 720 n. 8, 732
Ocko, Jonathan K. 296
Olsen, Rolv 548 n. 31, 552, 677
Ónodi, M. Kőfalviné 500
Overmyer, Daniel L. 394
Ownby, David 394

Padelford, Norman J. 335
Pagano, Sergio 69
Paik, George 723 n. 17, 732
Pakenham-Walsh, William Sandford 247, 259, 275
Palatre, Gabriel 435
Palmaer, Georg 707
Park, Wiliam Hector 360
Parker, J. Fred 503
Parker, Peter 145, 146 n. 29, 150, 158, 170, 172, 429, 438–440, 443 n. 30, 445–446
Parkes, H. 360
Parry, Albert 210
Pas, Julian F. 889
Pasut, Ursula 504

Paton, David Macdonald 766 n. 1, 769 n. 5, 772 n. 11, 775, 781, 851, 865
Patterson, James Alan 669 n. 2, 677
Pearce, Thomas W. 763
Pelliccia, Guerrino 95, 596 n. 30, 599
Pendergast, Mary Carita 500
Peng Guangyu (Pung Kwang Yu) 412 n. 23, 415
Peng Lesan (Pang Lok Sam) 256 n. 18, 259
Pepper, Suzanne 647 n. 28, 651
Perry, Elizabeth J. 393–394
Petersen, Stephen L. 467
Pfister, Lauren F. 152 n. 39, 173, 191, 259, 268 n. 12, 276–277, 369, 394, 416, 742, 753 n. 26, 763
Philip, Robert 173, 373 n. 10, 392
Phillips, Clifton Jackson 173, 394, 669 n. 1, 677
Pierre, Jeanne 217 n. 8, 237
Piolet, J.-B. 218 n. 12, 237
Planchet, Jean-Marie 51, 98, 128 n. 40, 131–132, 214, 237, 245 n. 22, 246, 343, 460, 512
Politi, Giancarlo 110, 865
Pollard, David E. 910
Pollard, Samuel 721, 725, 731–732
Pollock, John C. 186 n. 31, 191
Pomper, Miles A. 882 n. 1
Porterfield, Amanda 446
Pott, F. L. Hawks 685, 690
Pozdnyaev, Dionisij 554 n. 1, 561 n. 13, 563, 826 n. 1, 836
Price, Frank Wilson 434
Princell, Josephine 106, 509
Prip-Møller, Johannes 741
Prisco, Slavatore, III 335
Pruden, George B. 394
Pullapilly, Cyriac K. 653 n. 1, 667
Purcell, Victor 642 n. 14, 651
Pycke, Nestor 100

Qi Sihe 414
Qin Hao 449
Qin Heping 107, 727, 729, 732
Qu Shipei 449
Quale, Gladys Robina 319 n. 99, 335
Quattrocchi, Paolino Beltrame 499

Rabe, Valentin H. 677
Raibaud, Martine 679
Ramsey, Robert S. 732
Rankin, Mary Backus 323, 335–336, 343
Rankin, Milledge Theron 604 n. 20, 610
Rassigna, Mario 500
Rawlinson, Frank Joseph 469, 544–545, 552, 603 n. 12, 610, 613 n. 2, 626
Rawlinson, John Lang 545 n. 24, 552
Rawski, Evelyn S. 416, 679
Rebollar, Blanco 496
Reed, James 610
Reed, James Eldon ix
Reichelt, Karl Ludvig 503, 548, 551–552, 677
Reid, Thomas 749, 762–763
Reilly, Thomas H. 394
Reinders, Eric 290, 416
Reiswitz, Ursula von 504
Ren Lijian 449
Renaud, Rosario 33, 39, 97, 497
Renner, Frumentius 496,
Renshaw, Michelle 697, 701
Renson, Raymon 56, 99, 526 n. 1, 531
Rhoads, Edward J. M. 254 n. 16, 273 n. 23, 277
Ricard, Bruno 61
Ricci, Giovanni 51, 98, 110
Richard, Timothy 23, 178, 183, 186–188, 190–192, 271, 277, 295, 332, 429, 435, 681–682, 685, 690
Richards, Louis Napier 336
Ride, Lindsay 173, 373 n. 12, 394
Rigby, Richard W. 651
Riisager, Filip 502
Ristaino, Marcia R. 667
Rivinius, Karl Josef 69 n. 6, 336, 667, 679
Robb, Alice Elizabeth 508
Robeck, Cecil M., Jr. 552
Robert, Dana Lee 191, 240 n. 7, 246, 336, 529 n. 7, 531, 670 n. 3, 677, 690
Robinson, Lewis S. 629–630, 639
Robson, William 184 n. 26, 192
Rocca, Giancarlo 95, 596 n. 30, 599
Rommerskirchen, Johannes 36, 94, 111, 452, 494, 511
Ronning, Talbert Rorem 104
Rose, John 107
Roselli, Giuseppina 69
Rosenkranz, Gerhard 766 n. 1, 775 n. 21, 781
Ross, Heidi A. 633 n. 14, 677, 679
Rossoni, Maria 100

Rowe, David Nelson 14
Rowley, Ethel 698 n. 17, 701
Ruan Renze 188 n. 39, 192
Rubinstein, Murray A. xv, 133, 134 n. 2, 173, 290, 360, 395
Rudolph, Willy 506
Rule, Paul x, 31
Rumyantseva, Marina 836
Ryan, Thomas 797 n. 18, 809

Saarilahti, Toivo 103
Salavert, Annie 95
Salvaing, Bernard 281 n. 10, 290
San Román, Miguel Ángel 231 n. 43, 237
Sasaki Masaya 642 n. 10, 651
Satō Kimihiko 108, 327 n. 125, 336
Sauberzweig Schmidt, Gabriel 101, 164 n. 72, 173
Saunders, Kate 813 n. 3, 825
Sauret, Alain 68, 280 n. 5, 428 n. 2, 435
Schiffrin, Harold Z. 601 n. 6, 611
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr. xii, 305 n. 63, 336, 416
Schlyter, Herman 142 n. 18, 173, 703 nn. 2–3, 707
Schmid, Edgar 105
Schmidlin, Josef [Joseph] 228, 237, 241 n. 9, 246, 575, 584 n. 48, 586
Schrecker, John 641 n. 5, 651
Schubert, Renata 501
Schulte, Gisela 505
Schütte, Johannes 716, 850 n. 8, 865
Schwartz, Benjamin I. 651
Scott, Charles Perry 336
Scott, Roderick 690
Seide, Gernot 563
Seitz, Jonathan A. 173, 418 n. 2, 427
Service, Grace 674 n. 13, 677
Service, John S. 677
Seton, Rosemary 74, 77, 248 n. 2, 259
Shai, Aron 849 n. 5, 865
Shao Pengwen 644 n. 19, 650
Shavit, David 511
Shaw Yu-ming [Shao Yuming] 610, 670 n. 4, 677, 793, 798 n. 22, 809
Shek, Richard 392, 394
Shemo, Connie 273 n. 21, 277, 696 n. 10, 701
Shen Derong 714 n. 24, 715 n. 25, 716
Shen Tongsheng 360
Shen Yifan 602 n. 10, 611
Shen Zuji 385 n. 55, 391
Shen, Joseph Stephen 105
Shepherd, John R. 396 n. 3, 403
Shi Jinghua 639
Shi Jinghuan 449, 632, 632 n. 10, 685, 690
Shih, Vincent C. Y. 395
Shu Ning 847
Shu Qingchun [Lao She] 630, 637
Shu Xincheng 644 n. 19, 649
Shulman, Frank Joseph 92, 93
Sibree, James 113, 152 n. 41, 153 n. 43
Siegfried, Regina 500
Sigerist, Henry E. 436, 446
Simionati, Rita 290
Skachkov, Petr Emel'ianovich 93
Skinner, George William 93, 351, 353
Sköld, Eva 707
Smalley, Martha Lund 87–88, 105, 450, 489–491
Smith, Arthur Henderson 420, 427
Smith, Carl T. 8, 247, 249, 252 nn. 10–11, 253 nn. 13–14, 259, 277, 288 n. 29, 395
Smith, George (bishop) 160–161, 170, 173
Smith, John W. V. 290
Snow, Edgar 630 n. 5, 638, 710
So Kwan-wai 259, 386 n. 59, 395
Soetens, Claude 243 n. 16, 246, 468–469, 471, 495, 525, 575, 578 n. 24, 586
Sohier, Albert 469, 578 n. 26, 585
Sollenberger, Howard 503
Solvoll, Arnulf 506
Song, Choan-Seng 376 n. 29, 395
Song Haojie 97
Song, Ignazio 121 n. 21, 122 n. 23, 131
Song Shangjie 624, 626, 670
Soothill, William Edward 192, 271 n. 18, 277, 755, 757, 763–764
Sovik, Arne 611
Speer, Robert E. 158 n. 55, 173
Spelman, Douglas G. 366 n. 14, 369
Spence, Jonathan D. 142, 173, 251 n. 8, 259, 371 n. 6, 373 n. 14, 395, 641, 651, 894, 912
Spillett, Hubert W. 25, 370, 416, 776 n. 23, 781
Spinelli, Mario 501
Sprenger, Arnold 847
St. Sure, Donald F. 48, 369
Standaert, Nicolas xvii, 11, 21, 109, 847

Stanley, Brian 95, 101, 282 n. 14, 288–290, 336, 416, 706, 779, 779 n. 30, 781
Stanley, John R. 693, 701
Starr, Chloë 370, 891 n. 2, 894 n. 9, 896 n. 13, 912
Stauffer, Milton Theobald 140 n. 11, 192, 501, 611
Stefanowska, A. D. 276
Stegmaier, Ortrud 591 n. 12, 596, 599
Steiger, George Nye 317 n. 92, 336, 348 n. 156, 353, 642, 651
Steinhilber, Wilhelm 505
Stenström, Gösta 707
Stirling, Nora 547 n. 29, 552
Stock, Eugene 102, 178 n. 6, 182 n. 19, 192
Stocking, George W. 405 n. 1, 406 n. 5, 416
Strandenaes, Thor 277, 361 n. 2, 362 n. 4, 370, 893 n. 8, 894 n. 9, 912
Strauss, Julia C. 848 n. 1, 865
Streit, Robert 36, 94, 111, 452, 511, 524
Stross, Randall E. 547 n. 29, 552
Stursberg, Peter 886 n. 11, 889
Su Lidan 108
Su Weizhi 108, 338 n. 139, 343
Suelflow, Roy Arthur 504
Sun Haiying 449
Sun Lixin 416
Sun Maoxue 741
Sunquist, Scott W. 95
Swanson, Herb xii
Sweeten, Alan Richard 301 n. 54, 336, 350 n. 157, 353, 396, 398 n. 12, 404,
Swerts, Lorry 741
Swisher, Earl 14
Sylvestre, André 127 n. 38
Synan, Vinson 508
Syrdal, Rolf 104, 505
Szto, Peter Paul 699 n. 21, 701

Tchang [Zhang], Evariste 566 n. 7, 567 n. 9, 570
T'ien, Ju-k'ang 723 n. 16, 727, 728 nn. 29, 32, 729, 730 n. 39, 732, 885 n. 10
Taggart, David Raymond 508
Tan Qixiang 20, 347 n. 154, 353
Tan, Chester C. 641 n. 5, 651
Tan, Xing [see Liu Xiaofeng]
Tang Qing 96, 153 n. 43, 173, 310 n. 78
Tang, Christopher (Tang Qing) 96, 605 n. 25, 611
Tang Ruiyu 336
Tang Yi 842, 846–847
Tang, Edmond 120 n. 18, 131, 825, 855 n. 18, 20, 864–865, 888–889
Tao Feiya xvi, 107, 258, 336, 449, 623 n. 9, 626–627, 643, 651, 667, 691, 708
Tatarinov, Aleksandr 200, 211
Taveirne, Patrick 99, 278 n. 1, 279, 280 n. 6, 281, 290, 324 n. 117, 336, 348 n. 157, 353, 418 n. 3, 427, 596 n. 29, 599
Taylor, Charles Elisha 86, 160, 173
Taylor, Geraldine (Mrs. Howard Taylor) 192, 275
Taylor, Howard 192, 269 n. 13, 275, 732
Taylor, Louise Marion 93
Taylor, Mendell 503
Teixeira, Manuel 94, 100, 529, 531
Teng Ssu-yü 93, 248 n. 3, 371 n. 1, 386 n. 58, 388 n. 66, 395
TengYuan Chung 378 n. 36, 395
Thevenet, Jacqueline 128 n. 40, 132
Thiel, Franz Josef 741
Thiry, Ignace 498
Thoburn, Helen 469, 626
Thomas, A. (pseud. Jean-Marie Planchet) 98, 132, 214, 237
Thompson, Henry Paget 106
Thompson, James C., Jr. 605 n. 26, 611, 659 n. 11, 667
Thompson, R. Wardlaw 192
Thompson, Roger R. 336, 343, 404
Thurston, Lawrence 87, 691
Ticozzi, Sergio 519 n. 11, 525, 734 n. 3, 741
Tiedemann, Gerhard 173, 286 n. 22, 291
Tiedemann, R. G. 55, 108, 115 n. 1, 212, 223 n. 26, 232 n. 44, 237, 240 n. 7, 244 n. 19, 246, 281 n. 9, 291, 325 n. 119, 336–337, 343, 395, 398 n. 12, 404, 436, 469, 526, 531–532, 552, 571, 587, 599, 642–643, 651, 656 n. 6, 657 n. 8, 661 n. 17, 667, 678–679, 692
Timmer, Odoricus 98
Ting, K. H. [see also Ding Guangxun]
Tobar, Jérôme 52
Torbet, Robert G. 100
Torjesen, Edvard Paul xiv, 317 n. 94, 337, 538 n. 11, 552
Towery, Britt E., Jr. 886 n. 11, 889
Tragella, Giovanni Battista 99, 495
Treadgold, Donald W. 395, 611
Tschudi, Aadel Brun 507

Tsien Tsuen-hsuin 93, 636 n. 25, 639
Tucker, Sara W. 440 n. 16, 446, 696 n. 10, 701
Turner, William Henry 508, 994

Uhalley, Stephen, Jr. 109, 210, 291, 335, 679, 731, 823–825, 847, 864–865

Vala, Carsten T. 825, 889
Vámos, Péter 497
Van Damme, Daniel 111, 512
Van den Brandt, Joseph 36, 111, 123 nn. 25–26, 129 n. 45, 227 n. 36, 512, 518 n. 6, 519 n. 7
Van Genechten, Edmond 738, 741
Van Hecken, Joseph L. 734 n. 1, 741
Van Hecken, Jozef 234 n. 49, 237
Van Putten, J. Dyke 691
Vandenberge, Peter N. 113
Vanysacker, Dries 56, 696 n. 9, 701
Varg, Paul A. 337, 410 n. 15, 416, 601, 606 n. 30, 607 n. 38, 611, 658 n. 10, 667
Vasil'eva, Svetlana Anatol'evna 209
Vaughn, Carol Ann 189 n. 42, 192
Vautrin, Minnie 545–546, 551–552, 661, 667
Verhelst, Daniël 99–100
Vérinaud, Jean 244 n. 18, 246
Vermander, Benoît 717 n. 2, 732
Veselovskii, Nikolaj Ivanovich 211
Villanyi, Andreas 581 n. 38, 586
Villarroel, Fidel 499, 527 n. 2, 531
Vittinghoff, Natascha 148 n. 33, 172, 277, 370, 892 n. 7, 911
Vohra, Ranbir 630 n. 5, 639
Voreland, Asbjørn 507

Wagner, Rudolf G. 372, 395
Wagner, Vivian 783
Wakeman, Frederic, Jr. 149 n. 38, 153, 173, 292 n. 37, 295–296, 375 n. 25, 395, 408 n. 11, 416
Waldenström, Peter 705, 707
Waldron, Arthur 631 nn. 6–7, 633 nn. 13–14, 639, 645–646, 651–652, 691
Waley-Cohen, Joanna 234 n. 46, 237
Wallace, L. Ethel 691
Walls, Andrew F. 416, 699 n. 19, 701, 745, 764
Walmsley, Lewis C. 691
Walravens, Hartmut 24, 211, 764
Walter, Gonsvalvus 499
Wan Yiu-chuen 450
Wang Aiju 679
Wang, Austin 568, 570
Wang Cheng-Chih 866
Wang Chengmian 611, 627, 648 n. 31, 651
Wang Chi-chen 630 n. 5, 638
Wang, Dong 337, 685, 691
Wang, Enoch 911
Wang Ermin 640 n. 1, 651
Wang, Hsiu-yun 701
Wang Hui 764, 925
Wang Jiwu 602 n. 10, 611
Wang, Joseph 570
Wang Lixin xiii, 320 n. 106, 337, 912
Wang Mingdao 624, 626–627, 662 n. 21, 668, 670, 812, 853, 864, 877, 888–889, 901, 905, 911
Wang Niankun 647 n. 28, 651
Wang Peng 912
Wang, Peter Chen-main 146 n. 30, 172, 343, 434–435, 437 n. 3, 445, 600, 627, 691, 700, 824–825
Wang Qingcheng 376 n. 29, 380 n. 41, 392, 395
Wang Qisheng 449
Wang Renyuan 449
Wang Shu 847
Wang, Stephen 889
Wang Tao 249–250, 254, 259–260, 273, 275, 277, 365
Wang Tsi-chang 644 n. 19, 649
Wang Weifan 842, 846–847
Wang Xianqian 4
Wang Xiaopeng 450
Wang, Xiao-qing 825
Wang Xipeng 627
Wang Xue 107
Wang Yousan 221–222, 237
Wang Zhongmao 337
Wang Zhongmin 374 n. 19, 392
Warner, Torsten 741
Wasserstrom, Jeffrey N. 644 n. 19, 645–646, 652
Watson, Jean 660 n. 16, 667
Weber, Jacques 333, 337
Weber, Timothy P. 288 n. 27, 291
Wehrle, Edmund S. 327 nn. 123–124, 126, 337, 467
Wei Tsing-sing, Louis 132, 222 n. 24, 237, 238 n. 3, 246, 300, 337, 353, 564 n. 2, 586
Wei Zhuowen 771 n. 8, 781
Weir, Andrew 611

Weir, Jack 105
Welch, Holmes 871 n. 10, 881
Weller, Robert 371 n. 4, 380 n. 42, 381 n. 44, 395
Welzel, Margarete 504
Wesselmann, Alfred 286 n. 22, 291
West, Andrew C. 27
West, Philip 606 n. 28, 611, 616 n. 5, 627, 685, 691, 741
White, Edith Aldersey 161 n. 64, 174
Whitefield, Douglas Brent 24, 192
Whitehead, James D. 124 n. 27, 131, 610–611
Whitehouse, John Owen 113
Whyte, Bob 96, 118, 126 n. 36, 524–525, 789, 811, 825
Wickeri, Janice 860 n. 26, 865, 894 n. 9, 905 n. 32, 912
Wickeri, Philip L. 648 n. 30, 652, 838, 846, 855 n. 17, 860 n. 26, 865–866, 877 n. 18, 879 n. 19, 881, 889, 905 nn. 32–33, 912
Wieger, Léon 743 n. 6, 755–757, 764
Wiens, Abraham K. 505
Wiens, Frank J. 506
Wiens, Gertrude 505
Wiest, Jean-Paul 120, 131, 238, 240, 241 n. 8, 246, 301 n. 56, 325 n. 119, 337, 400 n. 18, 404, 450, 458, 498, 520 n. 12, 524–525, 679, 691, 738 nn. 12, 14, 741, 825
Wiles, Sue 276
Wilkinson, Endymion Porter 1–4
Wilkinson, John 443 nn. 30–31, 446
Willeke, Bernward H. 98, 120 n. 19, 126 n. 36, 130, 132, 499
Williams, C. Peter 440 n. 19, 441 n. 21, 446
Williams, F. E. C. 723 n. 17, 732
Williams, Frederick Wells 144 n. 21, 174, 311 n. 80, 337
Williamson, Henry Raymond 101, 772 n. 12, 781
Wilmet, Louis 498
Winsen, Gerard van 127 n. 38, 132
Wippermann, Dorothea 748 n. 17, 764
Wiśniewski, Tomasz 563
Withers, John Lovelle, II 384 n. 54, 395
Wittberg, Patricia 598 n. 33, 599
Witzøe, Ivar M. 506
Wojciechowsicz, Michal 496
Wolf, Ann Colette 501
Wong Chiu-chung 450
Wong Man Kong, Timothy 250 n. 6, 259, 271 n. 17, 277, 370, 765, 892 n. 7
Wong, Tak Hing 732
Wood, Robert D. 507
Wu Chao Kwang 611
Wu Cun 603 n. 14, 611
Wu Guoqiang 511
Wu Kunming 719 n. 4, 732
Wu Mu 644 n. 19, 652
Wu Xiaoxin xvi, 11, 81, 259, 482, 495
Wu Yixiong 41, 174, 743 n. 5, 765
Wu, Yi-Li 444, 446
Wurth, Elmer 789, 809
Wylie, Alexander 23, 27, 75, 95, 112, 136 n. 3, 142 nn. 17–18, 144 n. 22, 152 n. 40, 154 n. 47, 155 n. 48, 157 n. 51–53, 158 n. 55, 159 n. 58, 160 nn. 61–62, 161 n. 63, 169 n. 80, 174, 367 n. 18, 379 n. 38, 411 nn. 18, 20, 765
Wyman, Judith 337

Xi Bizhen 337, 450
Xia Chuntao 371 n. 3, 395
Xian Zi'en 781
Xiao Feng 794 n. 11, 809
Xiao Qian 630, 638
Xiao Yaohui 107
Xie Bizhen 337, 450
Xie Cheng 108
Xie Longyi 912
Xin Ping 250, 260, 277
Xing Fuzeng 627
Xing Jun 510, 609, 627, 639
Xiong Guocai 107
Xu Bingsan 510–511
Xu, Edward Yihua 449, 690–691, 881
Xu Hui 450
Xu Yihua 449, 881
Xu, Xiaoqun 668

Yamamori Tetsunao 825
Yamamoto, Sumiko 92, 96, 643 n. 16, 652
Yamamoto, Tatsuro 643 n. 16, 652
Yan Siguang 633 n. 12, 639
Yan Sijiu 728 n. 30, 732
Yang, C. K. 849, 866
Yang Fenggang 825
Yang Hong 11
Yang Huilin 847
Yang Jiamin 644 n. 19, 649
Yang, Joshua C. 502

Yang Jubin 911
Yang Kaijia 771 n. 8, 781
Yang Tianhong 604 n. 15, 611, 640, 645, 652
Yang Xuezheng 511
Yao, Kevin Xiyi 540, 552, 605 n. 21, 612, 677, 693 n. 6, 701
Yap, Pao Ming 395
Ye Renchang 639
Ye Wa 5, 783
Yee, Check-Hung 509
Yeh Wen-hsin 652, 691
Yeo, K. K. 909, 913
Yeung, Daniel H. N. 847
Yieh, John 891, 913
Yin Wenjuan 679
Ying Fuk-tsang [*see* also Xing Fuzeng]
Yip Ka-che 604 n. 15, 612, 652, 655 n. 5, 668, 677
Yoshido Tora 744 n. 8, 765
Youbin 897 n. 16
Young, Graham 732
Yu Jiaju 644 n. 19, 649
Yu Yuliang 511
Yu, Anthony C. 866
Yü, Ying-Shih 28
Yuan Fanglai 627
Yuan Tung-li 93
Yue Feng 211, 561 n. 14, 563, 765, 833 n. 8, 836
Yuen Sau-Mei, Teresa 98
Yun Daiying 708 n. 1, 716
Yun, Brother 862, 911, 913
Yung Wing (Rong Hong) 254, 258, 260, 272, 273 n. 23, 275, 277
Yvan, Melchior 382 n. 47, 392

Zaccarini, M. Cristina 696 n. 10, 701
Zavarella, Salvatore 127 n. 39, 132
Zeng Baosun 87, 617, 627
Zeng Jusheng 449–450, 690
Zermatten, Maurice 496
Zetzsche, Jost Oliver 167 n. 78, 174–175, 179 n. 7, 184 n. 27, 192, 202 n. 14, 211, 265 n. 5, 277, 370, 892 nn. 5–6, 913
Zha, James Shijie 110, 247, 248 n. 3, 250, 256, 260, 277, 601 n. 8, 607, 612, 625, 627, 632, 675 n. 15, 677, 861 n. 29, 866
Zhang Daonin 252 n. 12, 260
Zhang Hailin 277
Zhang Hongying 108
Zhang Kaiyuan 109, 450, 631, 639, 652, 661 n. 18, 668, 685, 691
Zhang Li 219 n. 14, 237
Zhang Liping 449–450
Zhang Mengbai 449
Zhang Qinshi 649
Zhang Sui 211, 561 n. 14, 563, 828 n. 2, 832 n. 6, 836
Zhang Tan 722 n. 11, 729 n. 37, 730, 732
Zhang Xianqing 679
Zhang Yufa 451, 689
Zhang Ze 218, 237
Zhang Zhigang 847
Zhao Qing 644, 652
Zhao, Qingyuan 111, 570
Zhen Cheng 696 n. 12, 701
Zheng, Yangwen 360
Zhong Rongguang 274, 771 n. 8, 781
Zhou Junfu 109–110
Zhou Xiufen 97
Zhou Xun 355 n. 3, 360, 445
Zhu Feng 679, 691
Zhu Weizheng 685, 690–691
Zhuo Xinping 840, 847, 860 n. 27, 866
Zöllner, Reinhard 142 n. 18, 172–173, 290–291
Zou Mingde 174
Zürcher, Erik 384 n. 54, 395
Zurndorfer, Harriet 93

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

It should be noted that the tables in the Appendix have been excluded from the Index of Subjects. It would not have been practical to list the more than 470 missionary bodies, especially since most of them had two or more alternative names. Readers looking for a specific missionary organisation should consult the appropriate tables of Catholic and/or Protestant missionary societies in the Appendix.

Abandoned children 67, 428–429
Academia Sinica
  Institute of History and Philology 6
  Institute of Modern History 7, 16, 642 n. 8
Act of Canonical Communion 835
Ad Sinarum Gentes 852, 879
Adventists 670
Agrarian Reform Law 848–849
Agrarian Revolutionary War (1927–36) 709
Albazinians 193–196, 199–201, 212, 553, 558, 832–833
Alice Memorial Hospital 252
All-China Inter-religion Association 522
American Board 81, 84–85, 88, 133, 139, 142–148, 149 n. 36, 150, 153–156, 161, 176, 267, 273, 285 n. 20, 323, 326, 420, 438, 440, 534–535, 545, 619, 671, 742
American Catholic Relief Service 796
American Church Mission 84, 163, 176, 535
American diplomats and missionaries 84, 138, 284, 363 n. 6, 439, 545, 601 n. 5, 662, 680, 712, 742, 744 n. 8, 892
American Medical Missionary Society, Chicago 443
American School Kikungshan 680
American Vincentians 38, 59, 70, 119, 127, 278, 341, 399, 401 n. 21, 477, 484, 794
Amherst embassy 137
Amity Foundation 720 n. 8, 801
Amnesty International 884
Amoy Plan 553
Amoy See Xiamen
Ancestor veneration 249
Anglican Church 30, 147, 619
Anglican Communion in China 535
Anglican Missionary District of Shaanxi (Chinese clergy) 535
Anglo-Chinese College, Melaka 166
Anhui 59, 72, 81, 119, 176, 214, 234, 309, 345, 540, 545, 547, 655, 815, 862
Annunciation of the Theotokos 555
Anqing, Anhui 309
Anshun, Guizhou 721, 723
Anti-Chinese riots at Rock Springs 329 n. 131, 643
Anti-Christian conflict 305, 307
Anti-Christian Movement 266, 604, 628, 640–641, 643–644, 645 n. 21, 646, 655, 708, 768
Anti-Communism 714, 796
Anti-Communist Union of North China 562
Anti-footbinding movements 271
Anti-foreignism 264, 340, 640
Anti-Japanese United Front See Second United Front
Anti-Japanese War (1937–45) 545, 565, 661, 663–664, 699, 711, 713, 768
Anti-missionary conflict 303, 308
Anti-Opium League 358
Anti-Opium Society (Great Britain) 271
Anti-Rightist Campaign 625, 853, 873
Apostolic Delegate 67, 519, 565–566, 579, 582–583
Apostolic Internuncio 523, 568
Archives de Zikawei 11
Archives
  Austria 471
  Belgium 56, 471
  Canada 57, 472
  China 6
  Denmark 473
  Finland 58, 473
  France 58, 473

Germany 62, 473
Hongkong 7
Ireland 76, 474
Italy 474
Netherlands 477
New Zealand 477
Norway 477
Poland 478
Russia 212
Slovakia 479
Spain 479
Sweden 479
Switzerland 480
Taiwan 481
United Kingdom 481
United States 481
Vatican 68
Ark Church, Beijing 906
Arrow War (*see* Opium War, second)
Article VI, Sino-French Beijing Convention 299–300, 304, 346
Assembly Hall (Little Flock) 602, 621
Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China 489
Augustinians 70, 73, 474, 479
Aurora University 10, 517, 569, 644, 696 n. 9
Autonomous churches 723, 855, 882, 885, 903–906, 910
Catholic 723
Protestant 723
Auxiliatrices 527, 588
Azusa Street revival 550

Back to Jerusalem Movement 862, 906
Bai ethnic minority 718
Baihua 636
Banditry 293, 308, 656, 659–660, 662
Bangkok 142, 166
Baoding, vicariate apostolic 973
Baptism 121, 179, 202–203, 208–209, 217, 228–229, 231, 233, 252, 254, 262, 268–270, 280, 287, 341, 364, 376, 379, 383, 386, 396, 401–402, 417–420, 424–425, 428, 543, 549, 557, 621, 695, 730, 827, 834
Baptists 150, 158–159, 166, 179, 285 n. 20, 772 n. 12
Batang *si*, Sichuan (*tusi* system) 346
Beaterio de Santa Catalina, Manila 527
Beatification 49, 51, 115 n. 2
Beiguan (Northern Yard) 553, 829
Beihai (Pakhoi), Guangdong 441
Beijing 1–6, 9–10, 12–13, 15–20, 26, 36, 51, 59–61, 71, 115, 119, 128–130, 134, 136–137, 156–158, 167, 175–176, 193–203, 205, 207, 212–215, 219–224, 225 n. 33, 226, 230, 241, 244 n. 18, 261, 299, 300 n. 51, 301, 303–304, 309, 311, 312 n. 83, 328–331, 339, 346–347, 383, 442, 449, 452, 456–457, 460, 466–467, 516 n. 1, 520, 550, 553–556, 558–560, 562, 565, 573 n. 5, 580 n. 32, 589, 601 n. 7, 615–616, 619, 621, 624, 632, 642, 645, 683–684, 708 nn. 1–2, 710 nn. 8–9, 713 n. 16, 723, 733, 735–738, 744 n. 7, 752, 785, 788, 792, 795, 797, 800 n. 29, 803, 818–819, 826–827, 829–834, 839–843, 845, 856–857, 862–863, 869 n. 5, 872, 877, 879, 883 n. 2, 886 n. 11, 895, 898, 902 n. 29, 906
Beijing Conventions (1860) 261
Beijing Municipal Archives 9
Beitang (North Church or St. Saviour Church) 129, 221, 226, 733
Belgian Friars Minor 57
Bendi (Cantonese) 63, 372, 376, 381
Berlin Foundling Home 255–256
Berlin Missionary Institute 142
Berthemy Convention 300–301
Bethel bands 624
Bethel Mission 540, 624
Bethesda (or Berlin) Foundling Home 62
Bible 31, 136, 143, 169–170, 180, 184, 248–249, 251, 262, 265–267, 283, 318, 361, 362 n. 3, 363, 365 n. 12, 366, 367, 378, 381, 386–388, 420–421, 432, 437, 539, 566, 568, 634–636, 654, 721, 813, 817, 820, 878, 890–896, 897, 899–900, 902–909
Bible interpretation, conservative preachers 900, 903
Bible interpretation, liberal scholars 898, 900, 903–905
Bible interpretation, non-Christian writers 266, 901
Bible interpretation, Overseas Chinese scholars 908
Bible Presbyterian Church 540
Bible Seminary for Women (Shanghai) 688
Bible societies 180–181, 266, 363 n. 8, 364, 366–367
Bible Teachers Training School (for women) 688
Bible translations 892
Bible translations into minority languages 720 n. 8, 721, 723, 725, 729 n. 35

Bible translations
  Delegates' Committee 365–366, 414
  Medhurst-Gützlaff 363 nn. 7–8, 378, 894
  Morrison-Milne 362, 363 n. 8, 364, 373, 376, 378
  Peking Version 179
  Schereschewsky 206
  Union version 894 n. 9, 897, 902
Bible Union of China 539, 670
Bible women 253, 256, 261–264, 267, 420
Bibliographies
  Catholic mission society 96, 495
  general 36, 452
  Protestant mission societies 502
Bibliotheca Missionum 37, 524
Bibliothèque asiatique, MEP, Paris 58, 494
Big Sword Society 338
Biographies
  Catholic 109–112, 511–512
  Protestant 461, 501, 513
Blagoveshchenskaja Church, Harbin 555
Bolshevism 711
Boluo, Guangdong 409 n. 13
Boone University 448
Bouyei ethnic minority 718
Boxer indemnities 517
Boxer Movement 18, 338–340, 554 n. 1, 641, 653, 706
Boxer Movement bibliographies 108
Boxer Protocol 328
Boxer Uprising 1, 18, 49, 51, 84, 92, 196, 239, 295, 309, 327, 338–339, 341, 359, 447, 451, 516, 553, 554 n. 1, 574, 600, 613, 615, 640–641, 642 nn. 11, 14, 643, 653, 674, 751–752, 831
Bridge projects 803
British diplomats and missionaries 327 n. 123
Brothers of Mercy of Trier 695
Buddhism 188, 198, 203, 422, 712, 718–720, 728 n. 30, 778, 815, 868, 871, 892
Buddhist studies 200
Buji (Pukak), Guangdong 255
Bureau of Astronomy, Beijing 214

Calvinists 285
Cambridge Seven 540, 549
Camillians 696
Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries 848
Campus Crusade for Christ 820
Campus ministry movement 820
Canadian Aid to China Committee 567
Canonisation 49, 127, 230, 856
Canossian Daughters of Charity 70, 321, 527
Canton (Guangzhou) 9, 40, 63, 66, 90–91, 127, 133, 135–136, 138–145, 147–150, 152–160, 162, 165–167, 169, 222, 240 n. 6, 244 n. 18, 253, 268, 283, 284 n. 18, 344, 354, 363 n. 6, 364 n. 10, 429–430, 438 n. 9, 439 n. 14, 440, 579, 674, 696 n. 10, 699 n. 21, 733
Canton Christian College 643
Canton Hospital Medical School 253–254
Canton Union Theological College 687
Cantonese (*Bendi*) people 63, 135–136, 144, 146–147, 161, 284 n. 18, 372, 643, 907
Cantonese Christians 144, 146
Cantonese language 742, 907
Capuchin friars 471, 474, 479
Cardinal Kung Foundation 883, 885 n. 9
Carl T. Smith collection 8
Cassini, French warship 59
Catechisms 156, 194, 196, 198, 202, 207, 228, 361, 389, 419–420, 424, 561 n. 14, 566, 572, 654, 738, 778, 891, 896
Catechists 116–117, 196, 214, 216–217, 224, 227–231, 235, 238, 240–242, 244, 261–262, 267, 402, 441, 517, 521, 526, 556, 566–567, 588, 591, 593
Catechumens 126, 228, 230, 232, 401, 418 n. 3, 419, 589
Catholic Action 519, 566–568
Catholic Central Bureau 224 n. 29, 568
Catholic communities 115, 117–119, 122, 128, 130, 214, 217, 221, 223–224, 233, 238 n. 1, 526, 591, 818, 854 n. 16, 879
Catholic jurisdictions 347, 665
Catholic Literature Commission 568
Catholic missions in China 1845 344, 528
Catholic nuns 321
Catholic revival 278, 856 n. 23
Catholic Seminaries 26
  Beijing Major Seminary 857
  Central and South China Seminary 857

China Catholic Institute of Philosophy and Theology 857
Hankou Diocesan Seminary 857
Hebei Catholic Major Seminary 857
Heilongjiang Diocesan Seminary 857
Holy Spirit Seminary 858
Inner Mongolia Seminary 857
Saint Joseph Seminary, Jilin 857
Shaanxi Major Seminary 857
Shanxi Montecorvino Seminary 857
Shenyang Seminary 857
Sheshan Seminary 858
South-West Major Seminary 857
Tianjin Major Seminary 857
Catholic sisters 516 n. 2, 598 n. 33, 699
Catholic Student Mission Crusade, U.S.A. 521
Catholic Youth movement 852
Catholic-Protestant tensions 736
Central China College 686
Central China Mission, LMS 177, 184
Central China University 448
Centre for the Study of Christianity in Asia 29–30, 778
Chahar [Chahaer] 850, 862
Changsha 127, 186, 272, 396, 398, 771 n. 10
Chayuangou (or Mopanshan), Hubei 234, 660
Chefoo (Zhifu) 71, 90–91, 187, 261, 307 n. 70, 323 n. 115, 424, 458, 546, 680
Chefoo Convention 261
Chefoo Schools 76, 680
Cheloo School of Theology 687
Cheloo University 686
Chengdu 11, 16, 19, 79, 217 n. 9, 218, 219 n. 14, 225, 396, 448, 617, 683, 686, 771 n. 10, 841, 886 n. 10
China Centenary Missionary Conference 53, 320 n. 104, 442 n. 28, 532, 613
China Christian Colleges 449, 491, 648 n. 31
China Christian Council 26, 785, 790, 839–840, 854, 878, 885
China Christian Democratic Research Institute 715
China Christian Educational Association 532
China Continuation Committee 54, 397 n. 4, 534, 545, 602
China Famine Relief Fund 180
China for Christ Movement 603
China Inland Mission 603
China Medical Board 486, 693, 698
China Medical Missionary Association 180, 443, 532
China Proper 128, 292, 345, 351, 532, 720
China-United States agricultural mission 548
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 18, 642 n. 8, 644 n. 19, 839
Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church 834
Chinese Bishop's Conference 817
Chinese bishops 281, 518–519, 575, 583, 822, 828–829
Chinese Board of Education 643
Chinese Catholic Church Affairs Committee 817
Chinese Catholic Cultural Association 522
Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association 788, 800, 811, 817, 852–853, 872
Chinese Christian Student Association 491
Chinese Christian Union 620
Chinese Christians 7, 18–19, 29, 31, 51, 120, 124, 126, 222, 239, 247, 249 n. 4, 252 nn. 10–11, 253 n. 13, 254 n. 14, 255, 256 n. 19, 257, 265, 274, 295, 297–298, 304, 314, 339, 389 n. 68, 391, 398 n. 12, 410–411, 433, 465, 567, 578, 600–602, 604–605, 607, 613, 619, 625, 630, 643, 647–648, 654, 657, 659–660, 662–664, 669–671, 675, 684, 711–715, 735, 766–767, 770–774, 778–780, 786, 789, 801, 812, 820, 822–823, 861–862, 873, 897, 904–905, 915
Chinese Church Coordination Center of World Evangelism 822
Chinese churches 533–536, 601 n. 8, 604, 606–607, 629, 648, 658, 669, 672, 767, 810–811, 815, 817, 820–823, 837, 853, 891, 896–897, 904–906
self-governing 418, 594, 620, 648, 774, 830
self-propagating 648, 774
self-supporting 418, 423, 430, 576, 602, 620, 624, 648, 658, 726, 774
Chinese Civil War (1946–1950) 647 n. 28, 713
Chinese Classics 184, 233, 242, 250, 269, 273, 367, 368 n. 20, 747, 748, 891, 893, 899, 909
Chinese clergy 116–117, 121, 126, 209, 226, 243, 518, 520, 536, 549, 553, 563,

571, 573–575, 578, 580–583, 795, 797, 827–828, 830, 879
Chinese collaborators 22, 746–747
Chinese Communist Party (CCP) 634, 646–647, 708, 794 n. 11, 810, 837, 848, 868, 869 n. 4, 874, 886, 901
Chinese Diaspora 283, 788
Chinese dress 128, 318, 530
Chinese Educational Commission to the U.S. 254, 273
Chinese Evangelistic Association in Guangzhou-Zhaoqing 272
Chinese evangelists (Protestant) 164, 247, 257, 363, 365, 424, 430, 624, 861
Chinese Evangelization Society 185
Chinese for Christ 861
Chinese Foreign Missionary Union 861
Chinese histories of Christianity 642, 648 n. 31
Chinese Home Missionary Society 603
Chinese Independent Protestant Church 619–620
Chinese Industrial Cooperatives 489
Chinese Labour Corps 491
Chinese language studies 140, 205, 407 n. 6
Chinese lay evangelists 121
Chinese Memorandum 313, 320
Chinese Mission to Lepers 699
Chinese nationalism 433, 545, 578, 630, 641, 648, 674
Chinese Orthodox Christian Brotherhood 561
Chinese Orthodox Church 208, 827–828, 830, 835
Chinese Orthodox Church, Taiwan 835
Chinese Orthodox martyrs 556, 834
Chinese patriotic churches
  Catholic 867
  Protestant 867
Chinese primary sources 284 n. 9, 783
  Annalistic sources 2
  Archival sources 2, 5
  Late Qing 447
  Post-1950 783
  Republican 783
Chinese Recorder 42, 179, 359, 367 n. 19, 407 n. 7, 466, 600 n. 1, 661 n. 19, 743
Chinese Repository 40, 141, 143–145, 148–149 n. 38, 284, 364, 366, 437, 438 n. 8, 743
Chinese secular clergy 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976
Chinese Soviet Land Law 709
Chinese Soviet Republic 660, 709
Chinese Student Volunteer Movement for the Ministry 614
Chinese Students Christian Association in North America 489
Chinese traditional medicine 198
Chinese Union 78, 164, 249, 252, 255, 286, 702–703
Chongqiantang (Shung Him church) 256
Chongqing 9, 61, 79, 90–91, 115, 217, 229, 522, 529, 625, 664, 862–863
Chongqing Municipal Archives 9
Chongqing Theological Seminary 625
Christ's younger brother 379
Christian architecture 741
Christian art 738
Christian colleges 432, 449–450, 489, 605, 631, 683, 686, 771
Christian culture 406, 908
Christian Fundamentals League for China 465, 540
Christian Literature Society for China 23, 455, 468
Christian Mission to Buddhists 548
Christian Nationals Evangelism Commission 791
Christian Occupation of China 603
Christian Tabernacle, Beijing 624
Christian Union in China 140
Christianity and modernisation 845
Christianity Fever 875
Christianity in Contemporary China Clippings Database 787
Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui 30, 535
Chungchi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong 842
Church of All Holy Martyrs, Beijing 556, 558, 831
Church of Christ in China 489, 533–535, 539, 543, 615, 671, 774, 853
Church of England 24, 76–77, 151, 283, 424, 441, 534–535
Church of God (Adventist) 550, 551 n. 39
Church of God Faith Mission 550
Church of the East ('Nestorian' Christianity) 720
Church of Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Sankeshu 832
Churches Together in Britain and Ireland 791
Circuit intendant (*daotai*) 345, 665

Clergy
  regular 225
  secular 578, 582, 584
Collegio dei Cinesi 69
Collegium Sinicum 69
Colporteurs 164, 248, 261, 265–267
Comity agreements 180, 345, 774
Commissio Synodalis 520
Commission for Uniformity (Catholic) 568
Common Programme (1950) 869
Commonsense philosophy 749
Communicants 186, 397, 543, 774, 778
Communist base areas 712
Communist border regions 664
Communist guerrilla zones 664
Communist guerrillas 662–663
Communist revolution 619, 635, 600, 714, 766, 778, 895
Communists 517, 522–523, 527, 607, 617–619, 625, 629, 633–635, 641, 646–648, 660, 662–664, 673–676, 684, 708, 710–714, 766–770, 778–779, 811, 819–820, 826–827, 831, 850, 852–853, 867–869, 874–875, 880, 883, 898, 903–904
Community conflict 129 n. 44
Conferences, Protestant missionaries 53, 179–80, 532, 534, 535, 549, 602, 603, 613, 615, 669, 670, 671
Confucianism (Ruism; *Rujiao*) 402, 412 n. 23
Confucius (Kong Fuzi) 249, 372, 375, 408, 779
Congregation of the Holy Family of Jesus Christ 69, 124
Congregation of the Mission *See* Lazarists
Congregational churches 85, 533–534, 538, 545, 548
Congregationalists 749
Contemplative apostolate 321
Contemplative nuns 529, 805, 806, 924, 925, 928, 929
Continental missionaries 151
Conversion 1, 125, 134–135, 139–140, 145, 160, 164, 185, 195, 202, 219, 229–230, 239–240, 242, 247, 250, 251 n. 9, 255, 268, 283, 285, 287–288, 291, 305–308, 317, 320, 322–324, 339, 348, 373–374, 378, 397, 399–402, 417–418, 425, 426, 526, 578, 587, 624, 630 n. 5, 634, 674, 678, 693, 723, 729 n. 35, 768, 769, 777, 813, 827, 829, 897
Conversion motives 324, 426
Conversion strategies 285, 339, 426
Council for World Mission (LMS) 26, 29, 75, 83, 254 n. 14
Council of Presbyterian Churches 533
Court of Colonial Affairs (*Lifanyuan*) 346
Crowther Centre Library, CMS, Oxford 536
Cuernavaca conference xv
Cult of the relics of saints 279
Cultural accommodation 697
Cultural imperialism 134, 320 n. 106, 673, 686, 804 n. 35
Cultural Revolution 384, 523, 597, 633, 648, 799, 803, 813, 832, 837, 839, 841, 845, 853, 859, 870, 873–874, 879, 885 n. 10, 887, 903–904
Culture Christians 841–843
Customary law 300

Dai ethnic minority 226 n. 35, 835
Danshui Presbyterian Bible School 724
Daoguang reign 13–15, 224, 233
Daoism 778, 892
Datong, Shanxi 706
Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul 59, 119, 130, 321, 527, 589
Deaconess School, Philadelphia 546
Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines 327
December 9th Movement 631
Delegate General, Order of Friars Minor 481
Delegates version 154, 365, 892
Deng Xiaoping reform era 799, 814
Dengzhou (now Penglai) 188
Denunciation campaigns 853
Difangzhi See Local histories
Dingxian Rural Reconstruction Experiment 619
Dingxian, Hebei 619
Diocesan sisterhoods, Catholic 7
Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Area 720
Directório católico de Macau 785
Disciples of the Lord 735
Dispensaries 239, 241, 264–265, 442, 444, 528–529, 589, 654, 695–696
Disruption, Scottish Presbyterianism 533
Dissenters 749
Divine healing 436, 694
Divine Word missionaries *See* Steyl missions
Divino Redemptoris 521
Document 19 874, 876
Dominicans (OP)

American 494, 972
German 975
Spanish 71, 279, 797, 971, 975
Dominican sisters (OP)
American 924
Chinese 805, 932
Spanish 806, 807, 927, 928
Swiss 924
Dong ethnic minority 718
Dongding'an village 556
Donglü, Hebei 737
Dong-Xiyang kao meiyue tongjizhuan 284
Door of Hope 319, 429
Dormition Church (Uspenskaya), Beijing 196, 202, 555, 831
Drung ethnic minority 718
Dunhuang style 738
Dutch Reformed Church in the U.S.A. 155, 176
Duyun, Guizhou 229
Dynastic decline 291, 293, 340

East Asian Exarchate 826–827, 829
East India Company 133, 135, 361, 439
Eastern Lightning 855
Eastern Turkestan 345, 347
Ecclesiastical regions, Catholic 349
Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York 177, 288
Ecumenical Patriarchate 835
Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society 443
Edinburgh Missionary Conference 53, 55, 494, 532, 534, 603, 615, 671 *See also* World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh
Educational Association of China 179–180
Educational Rights Campaign 631
Eight Trigrams Uprising 293
End-time teachings 816
England 134, 137, 152, 154, 160, 183, 185–186, 312, 533, 568, 617, 737
Enlightenment rationalism 282
Ethnic minorities 489, 726
Evangelical revivals 134, 282
Evangelism
direct 168, 436
extensive 426
indirect 730
intensive 418, 426
Evangelize China Fellowship 624, 861
Examinations, civil service 250, 372, 384
Extensive mission strategy 287, 536
Extraterritoriality 119, 153, 175, 520, 643, 803
Eye hospitals 698

Faith healing 380, 436, 816, 876
Faith-mission principle 177, 185, 288–289, 318, 538
Family Research Council 884
Famine relief 35, 322–323, 429, 539, 628, 770
Female infanticide 216, 428 n. 3
Fengshui (geomancy) 413
Fengtian 347
Fenyang, vicariate apostolic 583
Ferdinand Verbiest Institute 31 n. 4, 792
Feuding 293, 308
Filadelfia Church, Stockholm 480
Filipina Dominican sisters 527
First Historical Archives of China 6, 12–13, 16–19
First Vatican Council 564, 572
First World War 63, 560, 564, 576, 754
Five-Anti Campaign 848
Focus on the Family 883
Footbinding 181
Foreign Missions of Paris 119
Formosa 57, 76, 345
Foshan (Fatshan) 272
Foundation for Theological Education in South East Asia 786
Four Big Families 710
Four Modernisations 854
France 26, 38, 44–45, 58–60, 62, 67, 69, 72, 117, 119 n. 15, 125, 221 n. 19, 222, 278–281, 295–296, 311, 330–331, 428, 450, 473, 491, 517–518, 527, 564, 579 n. 31, 580, 588, 619
Franciscan Sisters of Luxemburg 695
Franciscan Sisters of the Child Jesus 598
Franciscans (OFM)
American 459, 971, 974, 976
Austrian 976
Belgian 57, 598, 972
Chinese 971
Dutch 972, 973
French 971, 972, 975
German 50, 974, 975
Hungarian 973
Irish 455, 975
Italian 215, 582, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975
Spanish 976
Free China 664

French Concession, Shanghai 560
French diplomats and missionaries 300–301
French Jesuits 11, 33, 122, 221, 580, 655, 683
French protectorate 60, 120, 238–239, 243, 301, 330, 581
French Revolution 71–72, 215, 220, 278, 405
Friars Minor *See* Franciscans
Friends of Moslems 466
Fu Jen Catholic University (*Furen*) 449
Fujian 9, 39, 71, 73, 115, 126, 162, 176, 190 n. 48, 214, 231 n. 43, 241, 272, 317 n. 95, 327, 345, 397–398, 401, 402 n. 24, 441, 450, 527, 529, 535, 613 n. 3, 624, 631, 672, 703, 798, 820, 862–863
Fujian Provincial Archives 9
Fukien Christian University 450
Fundamentalism 287 n. 26, 288 n. 31, 541 n. 15, 861 n. 28
Fundamentalist-modernist controversy 539, 670 n. 4
Funerals 121, 256, 307, 383
Fuzhou 9, 41, 61, 79, 90, 150, 155–156, 160–161, 267, 296, 345, 364 n. 10, 367 n. 18, 396, 398, 441, 527, 613 n. 3, 615, 622, 624, 672, 703

Gang of Four 870, 874
Gansu 56, 83, 85, 127, 176, 345–346, 549, 666, 695, 734, 736, 739 n. 17, 862
Gao Shan minorities 717 n. 1, 718
General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in China 533–534, 539–540, 547, 721, 723
General College MEP
  Ayutthaya 225
  Penang 137, 225, 242
Gentry (*see also* literati) 31, 168, 249, 251, 303, 305, 314, 351–352, 396–398, 401, 409, 412, 600, 640, 776, 895
Geopolitical marginality 352
Gérard Convention 301 n. 54
German diplomats and missionaries 366 n. 17
German Institute for Medical Mission 443
German missionaries 366 n. 17
  repatriation 658
German protectorate 339
Germany 44–45, 58, 62–63, 142 n. 18, 146 n. 30, 164 n. 73, 186, 282, 283 n. 16, 295, 331, 338–339, 443, 473–474, 528, 543, 547–548, 696, 752–753, 801, 813, 898
Ginling College 449, 546, 616
Girls' schools 190, 231, 253, 263–264
Global China Center 791
God Worshippers Society 379
Good Words to Admonish the Age 249, 373, 894
Gospel Mission 189, 485
Gospel of Luke, Miao translation 723, 725–726
Gospel of Mark, Sediq translation 417, 726
Great Famine, North China 187, 292
Great Leap Forward 686, 795, 853, 873
Gregorian plainchant 739
Gripsholm (ship) 521
Guangdong 7, 9–10, 32, 57–58, 62, 74, 81, 119, 136, 162–164, 169, 176, 190 n. 48, 214, 219, 222, 248, 251, 253, 255, 268–269, 271–272, 317 n. 95, 345, 372, 375–376, 394, 400, 702, 862
Guangdong Provincial Archives 9–10
Guangxi 13, 58, 176, 214, 222–223, 317 n. 95, 345, 372, 375–376, 379, 383–384, 388, 535, 719
Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region 863
Guangzhou (Canton) 9, 133, 283, 344, 364 n. 10
Guangzhou Peasant Training Institute 656
Guangzhou uprising (1895) 272
Guanlubu, Hua *xian* 371, 375–376
Guide to the Catholic Church in China 785
Guiyang, Guizhou 230, 232, 396
Guizhou 58, 176, 214, 219, 226, 228–230, 232, 242, 293, 309, 345–346, 400 n. 20, 588, 660, 717, 719, 721–722, 730, 862
Gulangyu 155
Guling, Jiangxi 556
Gunboat diplomacy 313, 317, 327
Guomindang (GMD; KMT) 522, 560, 562, 619, 646–647, 659, 663, 666, 673–675, 710, 766–767, 797, 811, 826, 834, 862
Guomindang puppet government 664
Guoyu 167
Gutian-Huashan case 327–328

Hackett Medical College for Women 694
Haimen, vicariate apostolic 556, 583

Hainan 81, 176, 214, 467
Hakka 74, 163, 248 n. 2, 249, 252–253, 255, 269–270, 371–372, 375–376, 378–382, 387, 389, 635, 703
Hakka church 252, 270
Hakka dictionary 249
Hangchow Christian College 687
Hangzhou 12, 90, 269, 441, 556, 616, 840
Hangzhou University 450, 631, 684, 840
Hani ethnic minority 226 n. 35, 719
Hankou 90–91, 127, 176, 184, 300 n. 51, 535, 555–556, 569, 573 n. 5, 705, 729 n. 37, 862
Hanyang 12, 569, 734 n. 2
Harbin 540, 555, 557–558, 562, 826–827, 831–832, 862
Harbin Apostolic Administration 972
Harbin Exarchate, Byzantine Rite 972
Harmonious society 860
Hautes Etudes Industrielles et Commerciales 682
Health care 71, 437, 528, 696 n. 9
Heavenly Capital (Tianjing = Nanjing) 383–384, 386
Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace 378, 381, 894
Heavenly Soldiers Fraternal Army 391 n. 79
Hebei 72, 76, 81, 176, 397–398, 480, 529, 582, 619, 666, 711 n. 12, 788, 815, 862
Heilongjiang 193, 347, 723, 832, 862
Henan 70, 73, 176, 214, 226, 293, 345, 528, 535–536, 540, 556, 680, 704, 815, 850 n. 9, 862, 906
Heterodoxy 216, 305–306, 327 n. 124, 352, 374, 409, 640
Hinayana Buddhism 718
Hokkien speakers 284 n. 18
Hoklo speakers (Chaozhou prefecture) 162–163
Holiness movement 287, 538–539
Holy Family 69, 124, 225, 279, 487, 591, 594–595, 598
Holy Protection Convent, Beijing 555
Holy See 68, 129, 281, 302, 336, 520, 524, 564, 571, 577, 579–581, 590, 798, 800 n. 28, 801, 818, 822, 852 n. 14, 857
Holy Spirit Study Centre 789, 792
Holy Theophany Church, Shanghai 555, 560
Hong Kong (Hongkong) 5, 7–8, 14, 20, 42, 49, 62, 65–66, 69–70, 72, 74, 91, 119, 150–153, 156, 159, 161–164, 166, 169, 222, 251–252, 254–256, 268, 270, 272–273, 310, 344, 363–364, 373 n. 12, 378, 386, 481, 527, 548, 564–565, 597–598, 624, 632, 702, 735, 743, 747, 783–785, 787–788, 790–792, 793 n. 6, 794–798, 801–803, 812, 817, 819–823, 835, 837–838, 840, 843, 859–861, 876, 885 n. 10, 904
Hong Kong Baptist University, Archives on the History of Christianity in China 7
Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives 7, 784
Hong Kong Catholic Directory 785
Hong Kong College of Medicine 252
Hong Kong Government Records Service 8
Hong Kong Legislative Council 252
Hospital Sisters of St. Francis 528, 695
Hospitals 42, 86, 150–151, 184, 263, 386, 429–431, 441–442, 444, 528, 530, 592, 647, 654, 657, 674, 693, 696–698, 704, 850–851
House churches 423, 719, 816, 854–855, 876, 904
Hoxton Academy 134
Hsiang-Ya Medical College 694
Hualian, Taiwan 721
Huaren xuandao tang 272
Hubei Provincial Archives 10
Huguang (Hunan & Hubei) 228, 345
Huizhang 121–122, 227
Human Rights in China 884
Human Rights Watch/Asia 884, 885 n. 8
Hunan 58, 81, 85, 126–127, 176, 328, 345, 382, 539, 548, 862
Hundred Days' Reforms 338
Hwa Nan College 687
Hymnology 739
Hymns 204, 269, 420, 424, 739

Ichang, vicariate apostolic 598
Iconography 282, 737
Immaculate Heart of Mary 56, 234 n. 49, 279, 794, 799
Imperialism 635, 641, 645, 708, 767, 804, 810–811, 850
Inculturation 521, 733, 739, 771
Indemnities 555, 643
Independent Chinese churches 620, 623
Independent missionaries 478, 541

Indigenous sisterhoods 590
Indusco 489
Inner Mongolia 56–57, 128, 234 n. 49, 338, 346, 348 n. 157, 418 n. 3, 696 n. 9, 596, 666, 832 , 863
Institute for Religious Research, Shanghai 839
Institute for Religious Studies, Nanjing University 839, 842
Institute for the Study of World Religions 839–840, 842
Institute of Pacific Relations 618
Intensive mission strategy 287, 536
Interdenominational activities 180–181, 317, 408, 447, 545, 670
International Medical Missionary Society 443
International Missionary Council Meeting, Jerusalem 618
International Religious Freedom Act 882
International Technological, Educational and Cultural Exchange 801
Internuncio 570, 850 n. 8
Invulnerability rituals 338
Islam 719–720, 728 n. 30, 871
Italians 733
Italy 44, 70–71, 225, 302
Itinerant evangelism 418

Jacquinot Safe Zone 661
Japanese 92, 108, 208, 294, 512, 514, 521–522, 528, 545–546, 547, 555 n. 4, 558, 560, 562, 567, 569, 606, 624, 629, 643, 646, 661–662, 666, 675, 710–712, 721, 724, 726, 752, 778, 797, 812, 869, 902
Jesuits (SJ)
  Austrian 972
  Canadian 497, 975
  Chinese 974
  French 974
  Hungarian 497, 975
  Italian 497, 974
  Portuguese 973
  Spanish 971, 976
Jesus Family 602, 622
Jesus opium 357
Jiangnan 33, 39, 122–126, 241, 244, 588
Jiangsu 33, 59, 72, 81–82, 119, 176, 214, 312, 345, 397–398, 401, 448, 539, 556, 583, 655, 787, 813, 862
Jiangsu Provincial Archives 10
Jiangxi 126, 176, 226, 244 n. 18, 320, 345, 398–399, 402–403, 556, 572, 623, 660, 862
Jiangyin, Jiangsu 398, 401, 411 n. 22
Jiaoan 34, 60, 199, 326
Jiaohui xinbao 23, 247, 265, 270
Jiaozhou Bay 18
Jiaqing reign 224, 235
Jidu jiao xiii
Jidu xinjiao xiii, xviii
Jidu zongjiao xiii, xvii
Jigongshan, Henan 536
Jilin 347, 723, 862
Jimo, Shandong 323
Jing ethnic minority 718
Jingfengshan, Nanjing 548
Jingpo ethnic minority 719
Jintian village, Guangdong 381
Jiujiang, Jiangxi 442 n. 26, 623
Josephines 589
Juye Incident 18

Kaifeng, Henan 556
Kalgan (Zhangjiakou) 209, 666
Kashgar 704, 720
Kashgaria 293
Kazan University 199
Keswick Convention 287
Keswick Higher Life Movement 542
Khotan 704
Kianghuai Synod, Church of Christ in China 534 n. 5
Kiang-Nan (*see* Jiangnan)
Kiangnan Arsenal and School 254
Kiaochow leased territory 18
Kidnapping 441–442
Korea 44, 49, 65, 89, 116 n. 3, 124 n. 27, 218 n. 11, 233, 240 n. 6, 327 n. 123, 418, 425, 534, 614, 647, 718, 723, 725, 879
Korean ethnic minority 226 n. 35
Korean War (1950–3) 647, 794, 848
Kuling American School 680
Kunming Carmel 529

Lahu ethnic minority 718
Lammermuir (ship) 317 n. 93
Language tutors 248–249
Lanzhou, Gansu 695
Laoxikai Affair 518, 580
Latin studies 571–572
Lawsuits / litigation 120, 309, 422, 559
Lay leaders (*huizhang*) 116–117, 220, 402, 419, 424
Laymen's Inquiry of Foreign Missions 674
Lazarists (CM)
  American 972

Chinese 971, 975, 976
Dutch 976
French 971, 973
Italian 972
Polish 974
League of Christian Churches 539
Legion of Mary 523, 568, 852
Leprosy 441, 699
Lester Chinese Hospital (Shantung Road Hospital), Shanghai 439 n. 15
Lhasa 128, 719
Li River, Hunan 58
Liang-Guang 118, 345
Liaoning 18, 76, 723, 832, 858, 862
Libraries
Bibliotheca Zi-KaWei (Xujiahui Library) 25
Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon 26
Bodleian Library, Oxford 27, 896
British Library 26–27, 361
Chinese Memorial Library, Leuven 26
East China (Huadong) Theological Seminary 26
Harvard-Yenching Library 28
Library of Congress 29, 758
National Library of Australia 29
Pontificia Università Urbaniana, Biblioteca 26
Ricci Institute, San Francisco 16, 29, 86
School of Oriental and African Studies 27, 75, 680
Shanghai Library 25
Sinologisch Instituut, Leiden 27
Union Theological Seminary, New York 28, 82, 618
Wellcome Library 24
Yale Divinity School 87–88, 490
Lifanyuan (Court of Colonial Affairs) 346
Life Fellowship (*Shengmingshe*) 616
Lilang, Guangdong 255
Ling Liang Worldwide Evangelistic Association 861
Lingnan University 450, 643
Lisu ethnic minority 718
Literati 187, 229, 266, 305–306
Little Brothers of St. John the Baptist 471, 518
Little Flock (Assembly Hall) 621, 671, 673 n. 10, 816, 861
Little Sisters of St. Theresa of the Child Jesus 471, 518
Lixian, prefecture apostolic 582
Localisation xv
Lolo 226
Lombard Seminary for Foreign Missions 70
Long March 520, 660
Longping, Guizhou 229–230, 232
Longqi, Yunnan 225
Loochoo Naval Mission 77
Lord Amherst (ship) 154
Luoranggou, Sichuan 225
Luoyang, Henan 704
Luquan, Yunnan 722
Lutheran Board of Publication 536
Lutheran Church of China 536, 671
Synods 537
Lutheran Theological Seminary 536, 548
Lutherans 283 n. 16
Luzhou (now Hefei), Anhui 545

Macao 5, 8, 59, 66, 115, 119, 122 n. 23, 123, 126–128, 135–136, 140, 142, 147, 149–150, 152, 157, 165, 214–215, 221, 225–226, 240, 270, 283, 344, 347, 354, 457–458, 527, 529, 784–785, 788, 819–820
Macao Historical Archives 8
Macartney Mission 215
Macau 119 n. 14, 304 n. 59, 529 n. 8, 793 n. 6, 794–798, 802
Macroregions 351
Mainline denominations 286, 543, 656, 671, 851, 853
Manchu 44, 128, 195–196, 200, 219, 234, 338, 345, 381–382, 386, 538, 555, 653–654, 665–666, 717–718
Manchu studies 193
Manchukuo 2, 562, 666
Manchuria 2, 58, 76, 78, 90–91, 176, 180, 233, 244, 338, 345–346, 408–409, 468, 527, 557, 559, 562, 597, 600 n. 1, 664, 666, 675
Manchurian revival 600 n. 3
Mandarin 135, 166–167, 169–170, 184, 219, 251 n. 9, 433, 726, 907
Maonan ethnic minority 718
Maritime Zhili, vicariate apostolic 577
Martyrdom 49, 127, 220, 409, 817, 819, 880, 884
Martyrs' Memorial Hall, Shanghai 54
Marxism 708, 844, 875–876
Maryknoll Sisters 485, 493, 529 n. 7, 802
Mass Education Movement 605, 619, 634
Maximum Illud 469, 471, 519, 564, 576 n. 19, 577–581, 583

May Fourth Incident 655
May Fourth Movement 433, 520, 603, 604 n. 16, 636 n. 24, 645, 898
May Thirtieth Movement 631, 644 n. 19, 674
Mazu (goddess) 819, 863
Medical Mission Institute, Würzburg 696
Medical missionaries 152, 185, 355, 438, 440–444, 633 n. 13, 692–693, 697–699
  women 623
Medical Missionary Association, London 443
Medical Missionary Auxiliary, BMS 692
Medical Missionary Society 146, 148, 152, 180 n. 12, 273, 284, 431, 438–440, 443
Melaka (Malacca) 151, 166
Mengjiang United Autonomous Government 666
Mennonites 483, 485
Methodism 287, 533
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
  Fujian Conference 53, 84, 89, 159, 161, 176, 534
Methodists 57, 159, 533, 671
Miao ethnic minority 293
  Flowery Miao 721–22
  Great Flowery Miao 721
Miao rebellion 293
Millenarianism 399, 722 n. 11, 729 n. 36
Millerite movement 550
Mingxian School, Taigu 619
Miraculous medals 279
Mission civilisatrice 281
Mission hospitals 264, 429, 431, 442, 444, 528, 657, 692, 695, 697–698, 700
Mission regulations, Berlin Missionary Society 32
Mission schools 241, 253, 263–264, 432–433, 629, 644, 654, 678, 709, 713–714, 768, 771, 796
Mission stations 58, 165, 176–178, 184, 242, 261, 269, 289, 310, 320, 529, 591–594, 657, 661–662, 664, 695, 698 n. 17, 699
Mission study journals 43
Mission to Lepers 481, 485, 699
Missionaries
  agricultural 35, 350, 547–548, 605, 642, 853
  conservatives 693, 906
  educational 35, 42, 125, 166, 177, 180, 184, 190, 253, 254 n. 16, 261, 264, 266, 273, 288, 318, 400, 413, 522–523, 532, 545, 556–557, 584, 606, 623, 629, 643, 647, 654, 671–672
  fundamentalists 540, 605
  medical 24–25, 42, 58, 86, 146, 148–149, 152, 163, 167, 175 n. 1, 180, 182, 185, 265, 273, 284, 288, 318 n. 98, 355, 356 n. 4, 431, 436–444, 532, 623, 633 n. 13, 692–693, 695–697, 699
  modernists 605, 670, 693, 768
  progressives 768
  unordained (lay missionaries) 261, 318, 420, 670
Missionary cases 16, 34, 60, 302–303, 309, 316, 318 n. 98, 325, 327 n. 125, 330, 341, 641 n. 6
Missionary exodus 851
Missionary intervention 309, 657 n. 8, 661
Missionary publications 27, 29, 303, 409, 600, 636 n. 23, 896
Missionary-scholars 26, 205, 742–747, 748 n. 17, 749, 751, 754–755, 757–758
Missions and commerce 330, 384, 439, 619
Modernism 539, 670, 897–898
Mongol studies 74, 85, 128, 198, 324, 388
Mongolia 56–57, 83, 127–129, 195–196, 221, 226, 234 n. 49, 338, 345–346, 348 n. 157, 418 n. 3, 526 n. 1, 555, 569, 596, 666, 696 n. 9, 718, 720, 832, 863
Moody Bible Institute 670
Mopanshan, Hubei 234
Moral Rearmament 600 n. 2
Morrison Education Society 148, 284
Moscow Patriarchate 561–562, 792, 827, 829–830, 832, 835
Most-favoured nation clause 119
Mukden (or Fengtianfu, now Shenyang) 91, 347
Mukden Incident 666
Mukden Medical College 694
Mulao ethnic minority 718
Muping (now Baoxing) Seminary, Sichuan 225
Muslim rebellions 293

Nanchang, Jiangxi 396, 398, 623
Nanjing 10, 59, 71, 86, 91, 115, 117, 119, 121–124, 134, 149–151, 184, 197, 214–215, 222, 296, 312, 345, 347, 383, 385, 387–388, 390, 448–449, 459, 466, 546, 548, 560–561, 565, 616–617, 655, 658, 661, 664, 683–684, 714, 768, 777, 786–787, 839, 842, 862, 878, 894–895
Nanjing Decade 658
Nanjing Municipal Archives 10
Nanjing Union Theological Seminary 842
Nanjing University 839
Nankai University 620
Nanking Massacre Project 514
Nanking Safety Zone 661
Nanking Theological Seminary 787
Nanking, Diocese of 59, 72, 564
Nantang (South Church) 129, 589
Nanyang (Southeast Asia) 138, 147, 166, 169, 861
Nanyang budaotuan 861
Naples 66, 69, 118 n. 11, 124, 214, 225, 243, 573
Napoleonic Wars 71–72, 215, 278, 282
National Camp Meeting Association 538
National Christian Conference, 1922 469, 603 n. 12, 615, 669–671, 877
National Christian Council of China 467, 469, 485, 534, 603, 604 n. 19–20, 606 n. 29, 678 n. 1, 688, 709 n. 6, 714
National Committee for the Compilation of Qing History 5
National Palace Museum 6
Native clergy 120, 225, 242, 281, 575–577, 579, 581, 583–585
Native helpers 267
Natural disasters 774
Neophytes 203, 306, 341, 399, 594
Nestorians 636, 718, 720
Nevius Plan 418, 419 n. 5, 425 n. 27
New Culture Movement 644–645, 868, 901
New Life Movement 605, 659, 710, 768
New Thought Tide 777
Nian Rebellion 293
Ningbo 12, 59, 61, 78, 119 n. 15, 150, 156, 158, 160–161, 163, 169 n. 80, 176, 185–186, 296, 364 nn. 9–10, 367 n. 18, 440–44`1, 527, 556, 578 n. 26
Ninglingxian, Henan 556
Ningxia 548, 666, 798, 862–863
Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region 863
Ningxiang, Hunan 548
Nonconformists 855
Nondenominational societies 629
North China American School 680
North China Christian Rural Service Union 535
North China Kung Li Hui 534, 545
North China Theological Seminary 539
North Street Church, Dengzhou 270
Northern Expedition 520, 548, 646, 656, 659, 674
Northwest Spirit Movement 862
Norwegian missions 320, 478, 507, 514, 538, 548
Novitiates 527
Nu ethnic minority 718, 722
Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture 720, 722
Nuns and sisters 528–529
Nursing 86, 546, 633, 696 nn. 11–12, 698

Oberlin-Shanxi Memorial Association 619
Oblates of the Holy Family 591, 594–595, 598
Occupied China 606–607, 662, 664, 853
Office for the Promotion of the Overseas Chinese Apostolate 798
Officers' Moral Endeavour Association 605
Official documents, publications 45, 91, 136
Old Catholics 229, 739
Old Testament 184, 206, 369, 384, 386, 726
Open Brethren 288, 461, 538
Ophthalmic hospital, Macao 438 n. 9
Opium 148–149, 181, 220, 251, 268, 285, 294, 311, 354–360, 374, 376, 384–384, 425, 428, 431, 437, 441, 728, 770, 838
Opium refuges 42, 264, 269, 357, 428, 431, 699
Opium traders 143, 285
Opium War, first 81, 133, 149, 154, 168, 219, 283, 286, 294, 296, 298, 375
Opium War, second 170, 201, 223, 294, 297, 408
Oral history projects 19
Order of Friars Minor *See* Franciscans
Order of Preachers *See* Dominicans

Orphanages 42, 125, 239, 304, 314, 321, 428–429, 567, 587, 591–592, 595–596, 647, 654, 850
Orthodox Christians 194, 554, 557, 832
Orthodox churches in China 829
Orthodox Metropolitanate of Hong Kong 790, 835
Orthodox Presbyterian Church 540
Our Lady of China 737
Our Lady of Consolation Monastery 573
Outer Mongolia 666
Outstations 184, 261–262, 264, 418–420, 423–424
Overseas Chinese 147, 165, 624, 698 n. 18, 787–788, 795, 798, 799 n. 27, 801, 804, 813, 819–823, 904, 906, 908
Overseas Missionary Fellowship 75–76, 82
Oxford Group 600 n. 2

Pacific War 522, 662, 664, 711
Padroado 59, 71–72, 115, 119, 121, 123, 129, 214, 225–226, 347, 564, 589
Papal documents 789
Partners International 791
Patriarch of Constantinople 835
Patriotic churches 810, 855, 867
Pearl Harbor 521, 606
Peiping Theological Seminary 687
Peking Apologetic Group 603
Peking Union Medical College 486, 693
Peking, Diocese of 828
Penang 137, 225, 242
Pennsylvania Medical School 694
Pentecostals 670, 695
People's Republic of China 5, 417, 565, 597, 628, 640–641, 647, 717, 719, 783–784, 789, 791, 793, 798, 819, 854 n. 16, 856 n. 21, 857 n. 24, 869, 883, 884 n. 7
Periodicals
  Catholic 37, 457–458
  Chinese 29, 37, 740 n. 19
  Protestant 40, 465, 467
Persecutions 115–117, 127, 196, 214, 222, 225, 233, 235, 291, 341–342, 396, 903, 907
Pescadores 863
Philippines 39, 40, 70–73, 217 n. 9, 359, 455, 527, 564, 619, 798, 820, 826, 861
Photography archive 114, 515
Pilgrimages 279
Pilgrim's Progress 162, 737, 896
Pingdu, Shandong 189–190
Plenary Council (or National Synod) of China, Catholic 565, 583
Plum Flower Boxers 338
Plymouth Brethren 287 n. 26, 288, 538, 544
Pokrovskaya Church (Svyato-Pokrovskaya), Harbin 832
Poli, Shandong 529, 591
Pollard script 722, 726
Pontifical Society of the Holy Children 280
Poor Clare nuns 529
Port Arthur 554
Portugal 8, 44, 122 n. 23, 123, 302, 529
Postmillennialism 282, 287–288, 407 n. 8, 436, 538
Praesidia, Legion of Mary 569
Preaching 151, 161–162, 168, 183–184, 187, 190, 256, 262–264, 266, 268, 286, 288, 299, 355, 378, 408 n. 8, 419, 423, 441, 671, 692–693, 722, 729 n. 34, 730, 737, 779
Prefectures apostolic 56, 116, 347, 516, 522, 565, 583–584, 665, 793–794
Premillennialism 287, 622
Presbyterian Church of Taiwan 721
Presbyterians
  American (North) 81, 176, 418, 440, 534, 540, 546
  American (South) 81, 176, 358
  Canadian 176, 941
  Canadian ('continuing') 540, 941
  English 161–163, 176, 180, 185
  Irish 76, 176, 180
  Korean 508, 534
  New Zealand 477
  Scottish 134, 176, 318 n. 98, 533, 749
Présentandines 125, 588, 595
Press apostolate 459
Printers 146, 164, 248
Printing presses 151
Privilege of precedence 582
Procura, Propaganda Fide 66
Procuration houses 344
Procurators 67, 344
Propaganda Fide 48, 65–67, 121–122, 129, 231, 239 n. 5, 242, 244, 280, 302, 344–345, 347, 517, 564, 572, 574–575, 577, 582, 588, 590, 592, 594 n. 19, 738

Property disputes 300, 305
Protestant (TSPM) Seminaries and Bible Schools 858
Public Security Bureau 794
Puqi, prefecture apostolic 582
Putonghua 167, 284 n. 18

Qing dependencies 346
Qing Empire 94, 200, 278–279, 283, 285, 293–294, 317, 320, 329, 332, 344–348, 408, 470, 538, 653, 665, 752
Qingdao 10, 91, 528–529, 540, 591–592, 672, 752, 862
Qingdao Municipal Archives 10
Qinghai 666, 686, 813, 862
Qinghai Medical College 686
Qingzhou (now Yidu) 187
Quanzhou mission hospital 272

Raoping district 163
Recovery Movement (Local Church) 861
Recovery of Educational Sovereignty Movement 655
Red Guards 795, 813, 832, 854, 873–874
Reform and Opening 837, 839, 845
Refugee work 521, 796
Regional synods, Catholic 49
Rehe (Jehol) 666
Religious Affairs Bureau 794 n. 11, 829, 871, 885 n. 10, 886 n. 12
Religious freedom 601, 644–645, 708, 710, 712, 720, 855, 869, 871, 878, 882–885, 887, 903
Religious protectorates 57, 58, 240 n. 7, 301–302, 309, 324 n. 118, 330–331
Religious tract societies 178 n. 5
Rennie Mill, Hong Kong 797
Renzitang 736
Republic of China 523, 562, 613, 665–666, 769, 786, 818, 863
Republican China 447, 451, 453, 470, 532, 544, 601, 620, 648 n. 31, 754, 897
Rerum Ecclesiae 519, 583
Revolutionaries (1911) 274, 390, 593 n. 18, 637, 660, 663, 711
Riau 142, 284 n. 18, 286 n. 22
Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History 16, 29, 48, 86
Rice Christians 322, 341, 557, 630, 773, 777
Rockefeller Foundation 692–693, 697–698
Rosary 279
Royal patronage 67
Ruijin, Jiangxi 660
Ruist (Confucian) 365, 746
Rural evangelism 396, 401–402
Rural reconstruction 605, 659, 710, 768
Russian émigrés 558, 828
Russian Hostel (*Eluosiguan*) 193
Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 199
Russian Orthodox Church 212, 557, 826, 867
Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia 558, 561, 835
  Holy Synod 833–834
  Patriarch 833
Russian Orthodox nuns 555
Russian sinology 193–194
Russian Spiritual Mission 193, 209, 212, 553–554, 792
Russian Spiritual Mission and Catholic property 197–198

Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples 798
Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith 7, 58, 67, 122, 217, 280
Sacred Congregation of Religious 597
Sacred Edict 408, 409 n. 13
Sacred Heart of Jesus 279
Sacred Treasury 380, 384
Sai Ying Pun, Hongkong 270
Saint Peter and Paul Orthodox parish, Hongkong 835
Sanctification 287, 903
Sankeshu cemetery, Harbin 832
Scandinavian Independent Baptist Union 73
Scapulars 279
Scheut Fathers 56–57, 234 n. 49, 794, 799
School and Textbook Series Committee 179–180
Scotland 53, 78, 153, 156, 161, 181, 274 n. 24, 533, 568
Scottish realism 406 n. 3
Scramble for concessions 295, 331
Second Coming of Christ 282, 287, 670
Second Great Awakening 143, 282, 373
Second Historical Archives of China 448, 631 n. 6
Second United Front 663
Second Vatican Council 799

Second World War 546, 562, 696, 744, 861
Secret sects 306, 642
Sediq ethnic minority 721, 724, 726, 727 n. 24, 728 n. 32, 730
Select Committee 135–137, 147
Seminaries 225, 243, 304, 572–573, 579, 605, 625, 628, 672, 787, 801, 817–818, 822, 827, 834, 858, 878–879, 885, 903–904, 907
ShaanGanNing Border Region 711–712
Shaanxi 73, 79, 85, 127, 176, 345, 655, 661, 704, 815, 862
Shaling village, Pingdu *zhou* 190
Shandong 10, 19–20, 60, 62, 71–72, 76, 81, 122, 158, 176, 180, 187–190, 214, 223, 238 n. 1, 270–271, 293, 322–323, 338–339, 345, 348, 350 n. 157, 397, 398 n. 12, 400, 418, 528–529, 535, 539–540, 547, 591, 594–595, 598, 614, 621–622, 655, 657, 659, 665, 672, 680, 693, 697, 713, 862, 898
Shangchuan Island 793 n. 3
Shangdi 207, 365–367, 376, 750, 892
Shanghai 4, 10, 22, 25, 33, 39–40, 53, 58, 61, 76, 84, 125, 150, 154–156, 159–160, 163, 177, 179, 183, 185, 188, 208, 221, 250, 270–271, 273, 296, 320 n. 104, 321, 344, 359, 364, 367 n. 20, 386, 414, 429, 449, 452, 520, 527, 529, 532–536, 539, 550, 554–556, 558, 560–562, 566–567, 569, 583, 616, 620, 623, 628, 644 n. 19, 661, 672, 682–683, 695, 705 n. 8, 710, 733–734, 793, 812, 820, 826–828, 832, 841, 852, 862–863, 877, 879
Shanghai American School 680
Shanghai Baptist College 647
Shanghai Municipal Archives 10–11, 449
Shanghai Polytechnic Institute & Reading Room 274, 681
Shangzhu 893
Shantou (Swatow) 162
Shantung Christian University 686
School of Medicine 694
Shanxi 51, 73, 84, 120, 176, 180, 187–188, 268, 310, 322, 326, 338, 345, 357 n. 5, 573 n. 5, 583, 619, 704, 843
Shanxi University 682
Shenching Medical School 694
Shengmuyuan 588
Shenjing (or Fengtian) 347
Sheshan ('Zosè'), Shanghai 733
Shimenkan, Guizhou 721
Shouters (or Yellers) 855
Siam (now Thailand) 214, 225
Sichuan Medical College 686
Sichuan Provincial Archives 11
Sichuan riots (1895) 327
Sichuan Synod 49, 65, 229, 232
Silver shortage 294
Singapore 30, 76, 82, 89, 144, 154, 166, 249, 273, 785, 798, 821–822
Sinicisation 117, 409, 736, 738
Sinocentric culturalism 305
Sino-Foreign Protestant Establishment 613, 617, 672–673
Sino-French War (1884–85) 294, 330
Sino-Japanese War (1894–5) 294, 331
Sinology 194, 212, 705, 742, 754–755, 757–758, 893
Sino-Russian Treaty, 1858 201
Sino-Soviet Treaty (1924) 826
Sino-Vatican relations 818
Sino-Western relations 3, 170
Sinsiang, Prefecture Apostolic 528
Sisters of Social Service 793
Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres 321, 527, 529
Sixth Army Group 660
Siyefu Palace, Beijing 555
Social gospel 390, 545, 633, 693
Socialist Education Movement 853, 878
Socialist Youth Corps 645
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China 147, 284
Society for the Propagation of the Faith 38, 59, 67
Society of the Holy Childhood 67–68, 428, 528
Södermalms Fria Församling 480
Songjiang, Jiangsu 123–124
Soochow University 449, 615
South China Mission 81, 145–147
South Korean evangelists 723
South Shandong, vicariate apostolic 72, 331, 339, 346, 579, 591
Southeast Asia 135, 137–138, 140–141, 143, 147, 154–155, 165–168, 283, 436, 624, 790, 795, 798, 819, 822, 835, 860–861
Southeast Zhili, vicariate apostolic 33, 51, 242, 580–581
Southern Baptists 159, 188–189, 411 n. 22, 544
Southwest Zhili, vicariate apostolic 244, 589

Soviet Union (USSR) 659, 709, 867
Spain 44, 71–72, 302, 479, 527
Spirit baptism 543
Spirit Boxers 338, 642
Spirit possession 391 n. 79, 695
Sremski Karlovici 558, 560
Sretenskaya Church (Hypapante or Candlemas) 196
Sretenskaya Theological Academy 835
St. Ignatius Church, Xujiahui 733
St. John's University 10, 271, 647, 683, 685
St. Nikolaj Church, Shanghai 556, 833
St. Serafim Church, Beijing 833
State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA) 835, 871
Stations of the Cross 279, 736
Steyl missionaries 40, 339, 657
Steyl missions (SVD)
American 974
German 972, 973, 974, 975, 976
Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions 490, 614, 669
Studium Biblicum 803 n. 32
Study Group on Orthodox Affairs in China 792
Süanhwafu [Xuanhua], vicariate apostolic 583
Subversive sects 216, 223, 233, 306
Suiyuan 666, 862
Suzhou (Nanhsuchou), Anhui 547
Jiangsu 123, 250, 269, 273, 449, 547, 614, 616
Svenska Missionskyrkan 74
Swedish Covenant Mission 625, 672
Swedish Holiness Mission 73, 320, 704, 706
Swedish Independent Baptist Mission 73
Swedish missions 73–74, 320, 538, 702–704
Swedish Pentecostal missionaries 480
Synod Abroad, Russian Orthodox Church 558–560

Taibei 6–7, 803, 862
Taigu, Shanxi 84, 619
Taiping Bible 384
Taiping Christianity 250 n. 7, 371
Taiping kings 384
Taiping land system 384
Taiping Rebellion 30, 125, 175, 185, 223, 234, 293, 371, 390, 641, 702, 894
Taiping theocracy 388
Taiwan 1, 6–7, 14, 39, 46, 57, 76, 89, 133, 163, 345, 400 n. 20, 451, 481, 540, 565, 597–598, 617, 621, 631, 641, 718, 721, 724, 726, 728 n. 32, 730, 783–788, 794–795, 797–798, 802–803, 818, 820–823, 835, 837–838, 843, 859–861, 863, 879
Taiwan Catholic Church Directory 786
Taiyuan 187–188
Taizhou, vicariate apostolic 556, 583
Tao Fong Shan Christian Study Centre 548
Taozhou, Gansu 549
Taroko ethnic minority See Sediq
Ten Commandments 268, 372, 374, 378–382, 385, 387, 419, 894, 909
Tengxian, Shandong 539
Term question 178–181, 361, 364, 366, 892–893, 895
Territorial settings 344, 665, 862
Theological issues 669
Thistle Mountain 375–377, 379–381
Three Grades of Servants Church 855
Three-Anti Campaign 848
Three-Self Patriotic Movement 26, 618, 671, 705, 785, 800, 811, 852, 873, 885, 899, 903
Tianjin 1, 130, 134, 176, 209, 271, 396, 554, 556, 561, 580, 621, 682, 738, 827, 862, 863
Tianjin Massacre 310, 314, 412
Tianjin Municipal Archives 12
Tianjin, vicariate apostolic 558, 577
Tianzhu 207, 222, 361, 893
Tibet 127–128, 345–347, 481, 549, 555, 666, 718–719, 720 n. 7, 862, 875
Tibetan language studies 198
Tibetans 718–719, 720 n. 8, 722
To Tsai Church (*Daoji huitang*) 271–272
Toleration of Christianity 299
Tract distribution 145, 251, 267
Tracts 29, 136–137, 141, 143–144, 146–147, 156–157, 161–162, 164, 169, 183, 198, 200, 251, 266, 362, 376, 421, 423
Translations, Bible 156, 170, 179–180, 184, 272, 361, 413, 615, 729 n. 35, 803 n. 32, 892–893, 897 n. 16
Translations, New Testament 202, 367 n. 18
Translations, Orthodox religious texts 196, 200, 202
Translations, Western science texts 24, 253, 444 n. 33, 600

Trappist monastery 849
Treaties and conventions 1, 44, 175, 261
Treaties of Tianjin (1858) 175, 201, 261, 298
Treaty of Kiakhta 193
Treaty of Nanjing (Britain) 117, 149–151, 895
Treaty of Shimonoseki 295
Treaty of the Bogue (1843) 296
Treaty of Wangxia (USA) 150
Treaty of Whampoa (France) 223
Treaty ports 119, 150–151, 154–155, 156 n. 49, 165–166, 168–169, 175–176, 248, 253, 296–297, 310–311, 321–322, 326, 398, 403, 412, 430, 529, 591, 628, 637, 772, 849
Treaty rights 297, 304–305, 311, 313, 316, 325, 412
Treaty system 48, 119, 168, 243, 656
Tridentine liturgy 818
True Jesus Church 550, 602, 621, 671, 673 n. 10, 675, 862
Tsinanfu, vicariate apostolic 596
Tsinku University 688
Tujia ethnic minority 718

Ultra Ganges Missions (LMS) 136, 137 n. 4, 138
Ultramontanism 280
Underground churches 800, 885
Unequal treaties 1, 16, 117, 127, 134, 149, 220, 238–239, 297, 316, 517, 767, 771
Union Chapel (Hop Yat Church), Hongkong 252
United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia 490, 514
United Church of Canada 57, 102, 106–107, 463, 533–534, 696
United Front Work Department 872
United Service to China 488–489
Université Franco-Chinoise 683
University of Shanghai 687
Unofficial churches 800
Unregistered churches 825, 854, 876
Uspenskaya Church (Dormition Church), Beijing 208

Va ethnic minority 719
Vicariates apostolic 59, 71–72, 115, 119, 129, 242–243, 279, 347, 564–565, 572–573, 584, 589
Vichy France 662
Vincentians *See* Lazarists
Virgins of the Presentation 244, 588
Virgins of the Sacred Heart of Mary 244, 597
Virgins, institute of 125, 217, 224, 230–233, 241, 321, 526, 587, 597
Visitor Apostolic, Catholic missions 579

Wales 183, 185–186
Wanguo gongbao 23–24, 187, 247, 266, 270, 892 n. 7, 897
Wangzhuang, Yishui *xian*, Shandong 529
War Relief Services, National Catholic Welfare Conference of the U.S. 567
Warlords 517, 520, 593 n. 18, 654, 666, 898
Washington Conference, 1921–22 617
Weixian, Shandong 693, 697
Wenli style 167, 265, 636
West China Union University 79, 448, 450, 466, 683–684, 686
West China University College of Religion 688
West China University, College of Medicine and Dentistry 694
Western colonialism xi
Western learning 264, 274, 305, 572, 643, 653–654
Western primary sources, Late Qing 31
Western primary sources, post-1950 790
Western primary sources, Republican China 452–453
Western science and technology 24, 600
Westernisation 735, 777, 846
Whampoa (Huangpu) 135, 140, 222–223, 296
White Lotus Rebellion 293
White Lotus Teachings (*Bailianjiao*) 216, 229, 306 n. 66
Woman's Christian Medical College 86
Women
  Chinese Catholic religious communities 244 n. 19, 321, 460, 496, 587, 589–590, 598
Women missionaries 105, 181, 189, 191, 264, 271, 334, 411, 609, 626, 638, 689, 696, 795
Women's Christian Temperance Movement 320 n. 103
Woodblock carvers 248
World Christian Student Association 898

World Council of Churches 616, 801–802
World Missionary Conference, Continuation Committee 53–55, 82, 462, 532, 534
World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 54, 82, 494, 532, 534, 615, 671
World Religious Congress, Chicago 412 n. 23
World Student Christian Federation 491
Wuchang, Hubei 12, 126, 219, 225 n. 33, 234, 345, 382, 459, 569, 633 n. 14, 686
Wuding, Yunnan 721–722,
Wuhan Municipal Archives 12
Wuhua, Guangdong 252

Xenophobia 264, 658
Xiamen (Amoy) 79, 90–91, 150, 153, 296, 364 n. 10, 798
Xi'an Incident 521, 710, 768
Xi'an, Shaanxi 127, 704, 862
Xianshuigu, Zhili 577 n. 21
Xianxian, Hebei 72, 529
Xianxian, Zhili 72
Xiaobajiazi near Changchun 233
Xikang 666, 862
Xin River ('women's river'), Jiangxi 320
Xin'an (Sinon) district 7, 249
Xinjiang 21, 74, 233, 234 n. 46, 293, 347, 451, 659, 660 n. 14, 704, 718, 720, 784, 813, 827, 832–833, 863, 875
Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region 863
Xinxiang, Henan 528
Xiping, Shanxi 706
Xitian [Kisen], Fujian 529
Xiwanzi 128–129, 221, 227
Xuanhua, Zhili 226, 735
Xujiahui (Zikawei) 11, 21, 25, 72, 97, 587, 733, 751 n. 21
Xuzhou (now Yibin, Sichuan) 225
Xuzhou, Jiangsu 33, 655

Yale-in-China 448
Yan'an, Shaanxi 521, 522, 660, 664, 712, 713 n. 19, 848, 869
Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture 723
Yangihissar 704
Yangjiaping, Zhili 573, 849, 850 n. 6
Yangzhou Case (1868) 312–313
Yangzi Delta 154
Yangzi Valley riots (1891) 327
Yanjing University See Yenching University
Yantai (Chefoo) 71, 76, 90–91, 187, 189 n. 44, 311–312, 424, 458, 546, 680
Yanzao, Guangdong 162, 163 n. 69
Yanzhou, Shandong 346, 591, 657
Yao ethnic minority 376, 380
Yarkand 704
Yenching (Yanjing) University 449, 467, 606 n. 28, 615, 616 n. 5, 619, 630, 632 n. 11, 647, 684 n. 8, 736, 898–899
Yenching Christian Fellowship 632
Yenching School of Religion 687
Yi ethnic minority 718
Yifang Girls' Collegiate School 617
Yihequan 19, 308 n. 73, 410 n. 15
Yihetuan 18–19, 338, 338 n. 139, 410, 554 n. 1, 558, 641 n. 4, 642 n. 9, 834
Yijing (Book of Changes) 748, 753
Yili region, Xinjiang 233
Yishibao 518
Yixian (now Yicheng), Shandong 546
Yizhou (now Linyi), Shandong 346, 546
YMCA 54, 450, 491, 510, 605, 613–614, 616–618, 620, 628–629, 633, 634 n. 16, 635 n. 21, 644 n. 19, 647, 672–673, 674 n. 13, 714, 853, 877, 899
Yongan (now Mengshan), Guangxi 381–382
Yonghe Lama Temple (Yonghegong) 554
Young China Party 646
Young scholars' symposia xvi
Yuncheng, Shanxi 704
Yunnan 20–21, 58, 176, 214, 225–226, 228, 293, 345–346, 350, 451, 481, 696, 717–722, 726–728, 730, 813, 815, 843, 862
Youyang, Sichuan 309
YWCA 480, 492, 613, 617–618, 623, 633–635, 672, 853, 877

Zang ethnic minority 718
Zenana movement 181
Zhalan ('Shala') cemetery 733
Zhangdian, Shandong 528
Zhangjiakou (Kalgan) 209, 666
Zhaocheng, Shandong 539
Zhaotong, Yunnan 696, 721, 722 n. 11, 723
Zhejiang 12, 59, 77–78, 81–82, 119 n. 15, 156, 170, 176, 226, 244 n. 18, 269, 397, 518, 535, 556, 578, 583, 615–616, 684, 840, 862

Zhejiang Provincial Archives 12
Zhejiang, vicariate apostolic 578
Zhengding, Zhili 244 n. 18, 550, 589
Zhenjiang, Jiangsu 90, 539
Zhili (now Hebei) 19, 33, 51, 59, 72, 76, 81, 97, 112, 129, 176, 214–215, 226–227, 242, 244, 293, 306–308, 310, 338, 345, 397–398, 550, 556, 573, 577, 580–583, 589, 657, 665–666
Zhili-Fengtian War 657
Zhoucun, Shandong 528
Zhuozhou, Zhili 556
Zhuang ethnic minority 376, 703, 718
Zhujiazhai, Shandong 271
Zikawei 11, 21–22, 25, 33, 39, 122 n. 22, 234 n. 48, 240 n. 6
Zongli Yamen 7, 16–17, 60, 300–303, 309 n. 76, 313–315, 317, 329, 346, 348, 402, 408, 412
Zunyi, Guizhou 229, 309