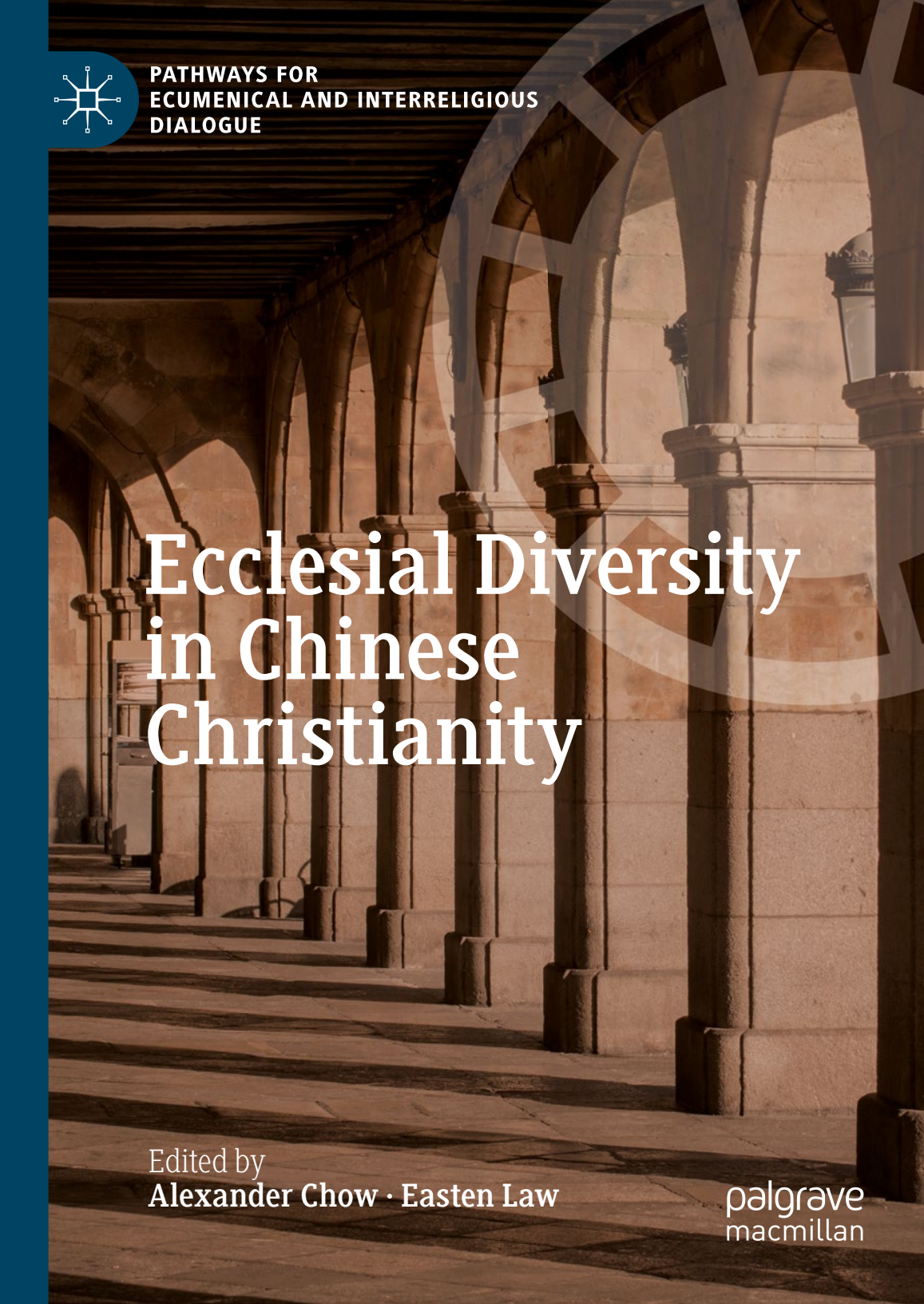
PATHWAYS FOR
ECUMENICAL AND INTERRELIGIOUS
DIALOGUE
Ecclesial Diversity in Chinese Christianity
Edited by
Alexander Chow · Easten Law
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In memory of Gerard Mannion (1970–2019)

Acknowledgments

This collection of essays is the first of two volumes of theological and ecclesial reflection based on the tenth annual gathering of the Ecclesiological Investigations International Research Network, hosted in Hong Kong from July 20 to 24, 2016. Gathered under the theme of "Christianity and Religions in China: Past—Present—Future," a global community of scholars met to discuss questions of ecclesiology and interreligious relations in the context of what we now know to be a potent interregnum in Hong Kong's relationship with the People's Republic of China. In 2014, just two years before the conference, Hong Kong's streets were filled with protesters, and multiple parts of the city were occupied. Demands were being made for universal suffrage in the election of the region's chief executive. These events raised numerous questions around how the Chinese church ought to be present and engaged with these increasingly complex geopolitical, social, and cultural challenges.

The Ecclesiological Investigations International Research Network aims to foster a collaborative ecclesiology that continually presses toward an inclusive vision of the church in the world. In that spirit, two of Hong Kong's most prominent clergy offered introductory remarks that set the stage for the 2016 conference. Despite contrasting perspectives regarding church-state relations in the Hong Kong context, words of welcome and theological reflection from both Archbishop Paul Kwong, of the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui (Anglican Communion), and Bishop Michael Yeung, at the time an auxiliary bishop of the Catholic diocese of Hong Kong, signaled the importance of dialogue and bridgebuilding as critical values in the ecclesial tasks of the Chinese churches in particular and the

world church as a whole. Their remarks gave way to a memorable four days of conversation on topics ranging from Sino-Vatican negotiations to protestant ethics and public theology to inter-religious learning among China's diverse faith traditions. We are thankful for their presence and framing of the matters that animate our inquiry and imagination. Archbishop Kwong, in particular, provided significant financial resources to ensure the conference's success.

At that time, few likely anticipated the sociopolitical earthquake that began in Hong Kong during 2019. In light of these recent events, the questions of ecclesial presence and mission explored during the 2016 conference are more pertinent than ever, including the growing diversity of Chinese Christianity's ecclesial landscape. As China's role in the world changes, the visions and structures of churches in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and the broader Chinese diaspora will shift with it. This volume presents a window into some of these changes, bringing together a selection of conference papers with additions that extend the scope of these emerging shifts. We hope and pray this volume will elicit a more robust conversation about Chinese Christian ecclesiology that includes the histories and futures of multiple theological and ecclesial traditions. While none of these essays addresses the challenges facing Hong Kong in this current moment of precarity, there is little doubt that what has and will take place in this contentious region will have profound implications for Chinese Christianity's ecclesial vision. While the church shall forever rest upon the steady foundation of Christ, we must nevertheless be ever mindful of the changing ecologies in which we grow. It is in this spirit that we so intentionally acknowledge the Hong Kong church and its robust theological institutions.

The editors must give a debt of thanks to the leadership, faculty, students, and staff of Minghua Theological College of the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui and the Chinese University of Hong Kong's Chung Chi College for their hospitality and organization. Special thanks are due to Gareth Jones, Ivy Lam, Funny Ng, and Matthew Jones at Minghua College, as well as to Louis Ha and the Centre for Catholic Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. These important institutions of theological education are at the forefront of Chinese ecclesial and interreligious reflection. We lift them up in our prayers as they continue to pursue their missions of training ministers and scholars of the church during an increasingly tumultuous and uncertain time. Gareth Jones greatly strengthened the research network's relationships with host institutions. In addition, we

would also like to thank Rebecca Wong and Stephen Miller of the Hong Kong Mission to Seafarers for their hospitality and organization.

This volume would also not be possible without the leadership of Vladimir Latinovic (Tübingen University), Mark Chapman (Ripon College Cuddesdon), and Martyn Percy (Christ Church, University of Oxford). Each of them played key roles in organizing the 2016 Hong Kong conference. In particular, Mark Chapman helped tremendously in the earliest phases of this volume, editing several essays and providing critical feedback on its organization and direction.

Most importantly, this volume is one of many dedicated to the life and memory of Dr. Gerard Mannion, the founder and leader of the Ecclesiological Investigations International Research Network, who unexpectedly passed in 2019. Mindful of the larger vision of the research network he founded, Gerard believed the blurring of distinctions between philosophy and religion in Asian faith communities had much to teach "post-Enlightenment" Western countries that had "compartmentalized" their faith. For Gerard, the 2016 Hong Kong conference was a long overdue gathering meant to help bring the world church into closer conversation with the often unnoticed riches of Asian Christianity.

Even though I was just a first-year doctoral student at the time, Gerard took the initiative to mentor and involve me in the 2016 conference's planning and the editorial process that brings this volume to press. His passion for building a participatory ecclesiology was not limited to the institutional church. He sought to be just as inclusive in his teaching and scholarship, encouraging curious young minds to contribute as colleagues rather than students. Gerard didn't just teach me about ecclesiology; he challenged me to help steward new conversations on a Chinese ecclesiology that was mindful of China's unique socio-cultural traditions and historical contingencies. I pray that this humble volume honors Gerard's convictions and his charge to me, a modest but hopefully generative introduction to the diversity of Chinese Christianity and the many lessons it contains for the world church.

Praise for *Ecclesial Diversity in Chinese Christianity*

"*Ecclesial Diversity in Chinese Christianity* critically examines China's Christian legacy both inside and out of China's geopolitical margins by convening an impressive array of scholars and disciplines. Prodigiously researched and filled with nuanced insights, this volume brings into sharp focus the historical, theological, and cultural contrasts of a variety of Christian expressions that emerged from and flowed into China's diverse Christianities."

—Anthony E. Clark, *Professor of Chinese History, Whitworth University, and editor of China's Christianity: From Missionary to Indigenous Church (Brill, 2017)*

"Here, highlighted in a single volume, is the glorious if frustrating heterogeneity of modern Chinese Christianity—as it is perceived and conceived by centers of ecclesiastical power in London and the Vatican, or as it morphs into distinct social spaces in ultramodern cities like Shanghai, or as it reinvents itself as ethnic-communal enclaves in Malaysia, Great Britain, and Vancouver. Anyone dissatisfied with the old linear models will welcome this more complex yet more authentic account of Chinese churches. Not to be missed, especially, are the magisterial introduction and the hopeful afterword."

—Sze-kar Wan, *Professor of New Testament, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, USA. He's the author of Romans: Empire and Resistance (T&T Clark, 2021) and co-editor of The Bible and Modern China (Monumenta Serica, 1999)*

Contents

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Ecclesial Diversity and Theology in Chinese Christianity

Alexander Chow

The history of Chinese Christianity is often described by way of eras or waves of foreign missionary activities and indigenous Christian growth. Most volumes cannot ignore the first recorded Christian mission to China from the Church of the East in 635—though this is usually dismissed as "Nestorian" and therefore deemed heretical.[1] The story swiftly traverses a millennium to the Jesuit mission in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with mentions of the erudite missionary-scholar Matteo Ricci (1552–1610). Roman Catholicism would have some success, before eventually being banned by the Chinese Emperor in 1724 due to the Chinese

[1] Sebastian Brock has strongly argued that the so-called Nestorian Church has, in antiquity, preferred to self-describe itself as the "Church of the East." He explains, "The association between the Church of the East and Nestorius is of a very tenuous nature, and to continue to call that church 'Nestorian' is, from a historical point of view, totally misleading and incorrect." Sebastian P. Brock, "The 'Nestorian' Church: A Lamentable Misnomer," *Bulletin of John Rylands Library* 78, no. 3 (1996): 35.

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rites controversy. The attention then turns to Protestant developments, in the nineteenth century from Robert Morrison (1782–1834) and the first Protestant translation of the Bible, through the Opium Wars (1839–1842, 1856–1860) and the Boxer Rebellion, before turning to the twentieth-century life, death, and resurrection of the Chinese church.

Such a telling of history is limited in a number of ways. It simplistically presumes that these three major branches of Christianity began and ended their work in China in separate periods, somewhat isolated from one another. But this has not always been the case. We may consider Li Zhizao (李之藻, 1565/71–1630), the Chinese Catholic who was one of the first to recognize the significance of the eighth-century stele discovered in Xi'an as the earliest evidence for the religion of the Jesuits in China.[2] By the nineteenth century, while Robert Morrison was applauded for producing the first Protestant translation of the New Testament, it was largely based on an earlier Catholic translation from the Latin Vulgate produced by Jean Basset (1662–1707) of the Paris Foreign Missions Society (Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris).[3] We also cannot forget the nineteenth-century debate around the "term question," whereby James Legge (1815–1897) based part of his rationale for why he saw *Shangdi* 上帝 as the preferred name for God by relying on the seventeenth-century incarnation of the debate, chiefly between Jesuits and Dominicans in China.[4] These are but a few examples which highlight how those who had come before—despite differences across the ecclesial and theological diversity—serve as inspiration for the continued development of Chinese Christianity.

Another limitation of a periodization that focuses on waves of frontier missions and Christian growth is the suggestion that only one form of Chinese Christianity existed at any given time. If we consider the period after the Opium Wars, missionaries from every major branch of Christianity

[2] Li Zhizao 李之藻, "Du 'Jingjiao bei' shuhou" 讀《景教碑》書後 [Postscript to the "Church of the East Stele"], in *Mingmo Tianzhujiao sanzhushi wenjianzhu: Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizao, Yang Tingyun lunjiao wenji* 明末天主教三柱石文箋注: 徐光啟, 李之藻, 楊廷筠論教文集 [Catholic Documents of Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizao, Yang Tingyun: An Exposition of Three Great Ming Thinkers in China], edited by Li Tiangang 李天綱 (Hong Kong: Logos and Pneuma, 2007), 188–92.

[3] Christopher Daily, *Robert Morrison and the Protestant Plan for China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 132–140.

[4] James Legge, *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* (Hongkong: Hongkong Register, 1852), 129–39.

flooded into the country—Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox. Due in part to their numbers, conflicts between missionaries were chiefly between Protestants and Roman Catholics, whereby the former regarded "Popery" and "Romanism" as anathema and the latter saw Protestants as doing no more than "tossing Bibles from shipside upon the beach."[5] Linguistically, the three branches eventually adopted three separate names for their form of Christianity: *Jidu jiao* 基督教 ("Christ teaching" or Protestantism), *Tianzhu jiao* 天主教 ("Heavenly Lord teaching" or Catholicism), and *Dongzheng jiao* 東正教 ("Eastern Orthodox teaching" or Orthodoxy).[6] Even to this day, the three are treated by the Chinese government as three separate religions, with only the first two having officially sanctioned national entities.

The ecclesial diversity, however, has not always translated to diversity in the theology or the practice of Chinese Christians. Themes such as nationalism, modernity, paternalism, and independency were alive in the early twentieth century, as much as they continue to be alive later in the early twenty-first century. Chinese Christians of every stripe have needed to wrestle with what it means to be both "Chinese" and "Christian," a tension Andrew Walls identifies throughout time and space as one between the "indigenizing" principle and the "pilgrim" principle.[7] While ecclesial diversity has been quite prominent throughout the history of Chinese Christianity, common concerns have brought rise to some convergence across the spectrum of Chinese Christians—although never to the full ecumenical ideal of "visible unity."[8]

[5] Jean-Paul Wiest, "Roman Catholic Perceptions of British and American Protestant Missionaries (1807–1920)," *Journal of Cultural Interaction in East Asia* 6 (2015): 22.

[6] It is informative that the conventional translation of "Christianity" into Chinese is *Jidu jiao*—the term for Protestantism. An alternative term for Protestantism is *Xin jiao* 新教 ("New teaching"), but this is rarely used unless one is distinguishing Protestantism from Catholicism. Some scholars have attempted to introduce a new term, *Jidu zongjiao* 基督宗教 ("Christ religion") as a generic term for Christianity, but this has not yet been taken up at the popular level.

[7] Andrew F. Walls, "The Gospel as Prisoner and Liberator of Culture," in *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996), 3–15.

[8] Some of what follows is related to a previously published article, but significantly expanded from its Protestant focus and adapted for the purposes of this volume. See Alexander Chow, "Protestant Ecumenism and Theology in China Since Edinburgh 1910," *Missiology: An International Review* 42, no. 2 (2014): 167–80.

Foreign Missionaries and Building the Chinese Church

In the 1840s, the first of a series of unequal treaties was signed between the Chinese Empire and foreign powers. With most of these treaties coming to an end only with the conclusion of World War II, in Chinese discourse, this period is often termed the "century of national humiliation" (*bainian guochi* 百年國恥).[9] Christian missionaries, however, benefited from these treaties, which mandated extraterritoriality rights and the ability for foreigners to build churches, schools, and missionary residences.[10] Prior to the signing of the Treaty of Nanking (or Treaty of Nanjing; 1842), Protestant missionaries had limited access to the Chinese mainland. Robert Morrison was based in Canton (Guangzhou) under the auspices of the British East India Company,[11] and other missionaries of the London Missionary Society like William Milne (1785–1822) and Walter Medhurst (1796–1857) were working in the so-called Ultra-Ganges Mission, based in Southeast Asia. The 1842 Anglo-Chinese treaty changed this, allowing Medhurst to move the mission's press to Shanghai. Two years later, the Franco-Chinese Treaty of Whampoa (or Treaty of Huangpu; 1844) opened up opportunities for Catholic missionaries to return to China and to reclaim church properties which existed prior to the 1724 prohibition of Catholicism. Russia followed suit in the Treaty of Tientsin (or Treaty of Tianjin; 1858), which included a clause that guaranteed the freedom to propagate Eastern Orthodoxy, given that the Russian negotiator "was convinced that the British and French resolved to transform China into a Protestant and Catholic country."[12] We do not have the space

[9] For a discussion of how this has shaped China's national consciousness, see Wang Zheng, *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

[10] Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 47–8.

[11] In Canton, the Thirteen Factories was the sole legal site for Western trade prior to the Opium Wars. During that time, the few Protestant missionaries in Canton were beneficiaries of various trading companies. Along with Morrison, another notable missionary based in Canton was the American Congregationalist Elijah C. Bridgman, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, arriving in 1830 with the support of the American trading company, Olyphant & Co. See Michael C. Lazich, *E. C. Bridgman (1801–1861), American's First Missionary to China* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2000).

[12] Alexander Lomanov, "Russian Orthodox Church," in *Handbook of Christianity in China: Volume Two, 1800 to the Present*, edited by R. G. Tiedemann (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 201.

to discuss the erroneous "religious cases" (*jiao'an* 教案)[13] or the Boxer Rebellion.[14] But it is no wonder that Chinese Christians were—and still often are—seen as running dogs of imperialism.

By the early twentieth century, with the rise of nationalism and antiforeignism leading into the May Fourth and Anti-Christian movements, relations between Chinese and foreign Christians became increasingly tense. For Protestants, it would be Cheng Jingyi (1881–1939) at the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh who would set the stage, declaring:

> [Chinese Christians] hope to see, in the near future, a united Christian Church without any denominational distinctions. This may seem somewhat peculiar to some of you, but, friends, do not forget to view us from our standpoint, and if you fail to do that, the Chinese will remain always as a mysterious people to you! … Speaking generally, denominationalism has never interested the Chinese mind. He finds no delight in it, but sometimes he suffers for it![15]

In seven minutes, Cheng captured the sentiments of many Chinese Protestants of his day: China needs a unified church—run by the Chinese and freed from the confusion of foreign denominationalism. In contrast to other branches of Christianity, Protestantism has the challenge of having a proliferation of denominations. Were Chinese Protestants to be baptized by immersion or by sprinkling? Should they have worship services on Sunday or Saturday? Should they use *Shangdi* 上帝 or *shen* 神 to speak about God?[16] The Western Protestant theological and ecclesial diversity

[13] See Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963); Thoralf Klein, "The Missionary as Devil: Anti-Missionary Demonology in China, 1860–1930," in *Europe as the Other: External Perspectives on European Christianity*, edited by Judith Becker and Brian Stanley (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2014), 119–148.

[14] See Joseph Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987); Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 69–95.

[15] World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission VIII: Cooperation and the Promotion of Unity* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1910), 196.

[16] The "term question" remained unresolved when the Mandarin Union Version of the Bible was published in 1919, which had two editions: the *Shangdi* edition and the *shen* edition, differing only by the term used for God in the text. The *shen* edition added an extra

was being translated into the Chinese context, leading to a confusing reality.

In subsequent years, Cheng's aspirations were met in part through the creation of supra-denominational coalitions like the National Christian Council and the Church of Christ in China. However, these groups still maintained representation from Chinese and foreign leadership, and were seen as the first step in a process whereby Chinese churches could eventually develop into independent entities embracing the Venn–Anderson three-self formula, of being a self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting church.[17] Many foreign denominations and mission organizations had difficulty with this transition towards independence and continued to maintain control of the Chinese churches. Prominent coalition leaders such as T. C. Chao (Zhao Zichen 趙紫宸, 1888–1979) and David Z. T. Yui (Yu Rizhang 余日章, 1882–1936) focused on challenging the intellectual underpinnings of Christianity, rejecting its Western chaff of "unscientific" doctrines like the Trinity and the resurrection and speaking of social reconstruction and national salvation. Others formed federations independent of Sino-foreign alliances, such as Yu Guozhen's (俞國楨, 1852–1932) Shanghai-based China Independent Protestant Church, or denomination-like movements such as the True Jesus Church, the Jesus Family, and the Assembly Hall (or "Little Flock"), and indigenous mission movements such as the Bethel Worldwide Evangelistic Band.[18] In contrast to the earlier coalitions, the vast majority of these latter groups tended to be theologically conservative and borrowed largely from pietist, dispensational, and Pentecostal traditions. However, Daniel Bays points out that "these early manifestations of independent Chinese Protestantism were

space beside the single-character term *shen*, to accommodate for the typesetting difference with the two-character term *Shangdi*.

[17] Daniel H. Bays, "The growth of independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937," in *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, edited by Daniel H. Bays (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 308.

The three-self formula was a Protestant missiological strategy promoted in the nineteenth century by Henry Venn (1796–1873) of the Church Missionary Society and Rufus Anderson (1796–1880) of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. See Wilbert R. Shenk, "Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn: A Special Relationship?" *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 5, no. 4 (October 1981): 168–172.

[18] Bays, "The growth of independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937," 307–16. Daniel H. Bays, "Leading Protestant Individuals," in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, edited by Tiedemann, 620–5.

not particularly anti-missionary in motive or action."[19] Their emphasis, nonetheless, was to drive the efforts of building the Chinese church. Overall, this was a period when pressures inside and outside of China were forcing important changes.

Whereas Catholics and Orthodox do not have the same denominational splitting of hairs, there were likewise clear desires to be separate from foreign control. With regard to Orthodox developments, the 1858 treaty shifted the church's focus from the Russian diaspora to evangelizing the Chinese. However, the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution added complexities, given the new wave of Russian refugees flooding into China. Disputes arose over whether mission properties were owned by the church or by the USSR, and later over which canonical jurisdiction the Chinese parishes were under, the Moscow Church or the Church Abroad.[20] When another Russian was appointed as head of the Beijing Mission in 1931, the oldest Chinese priest at the time, Sergij Chang Fu (常福), contested this appointment and appealed to the Chinese Nationalist government for his own appointment. According to one commentator:

> 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.[21]

Regretfully, the Mission needed to contend with competing interests in building a Chinese church and addressing the needs of Russian refugees. While the Chinese government eventually formally appointed Sergij as head of the Mission, this was made untenable due to the resistance of Russian clergy.

The Catholic story was no less complex.[22] Due to the various Franco-Chinese treaties of the late nineteenth century, Catholic missionaries were

[19] Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 97.

[20] Alexander Lomanov, "Russian Orthodox Church," in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, edited by Tiedemann, 558–61. For a broader discussion of the Russian Orthodox diaspora after the Bolshevik Revolution, see Ciprian Burlacioiu, "Russian Orthodox Diaspora as a Global Religion after 1918," *Studies in World Christianity* 24, no. 1 (April 2018): 4–24.

[21] Lomanov, "Russian Orthodox Church," 560.

[22] For much of this history, see Ernest P. Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony: China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

permitted in China under the auspices of the French. However, various conflicts came to the foreground in the Laoxikai Incident (1916–1917), when the French colonial government attempted to extend the French Concession in Tianjin southward towards Laoxikai, in part to build a new cathedral in the region.[23] Catholic missionaries Vincent Lebbe (1877–1940) and Antoine Cotta (1872–1957) jointly organized the Society for Safeguarding the Nation's Territory and Sovereignty to protest the extension. But this was contested by the French ambassador and other foreign clergymen. Lebbe and Cotta petitioned the Holy See, as did some forty lay Chinese Catholics of Tianjin. The watershed moment came in November 1919, a few months after the May Fourth movement of that same year, when Pope Benedict XV (r. 1914–1922) promulgated *Maximum illud* which offered a paradigm shift in global mission work, underscoring the need for missionaries to learn the local languages and cultures, to raise up local clergy, and to sever ties with imperialism, because the "Catholic Church is not an intruder in any country; nor is she alien to any people."[24] The implications of *Maximum illud* were followed through by Benedict XV's successor, Pope Pius XI (r. 1922–1939). In 1922, he appointed Celso Constantini (1876–1958) the first Apostolic Delegate to China, who convened the First Council of China (1924) to bring about reform in the Catholic Church in China. By 1926, Pius XI consecrated six new Chinese bishops. This was monumental, given that it was nearly two and a half centuries since the first and only other Chinese bishop was consecrated in 1685, Luo Wenzao (羅文藻, 1616–1691).

The early decades of the twentieth century have been described as the "Golden Age" of missions in China.[25] But it also provided the conditions for the growth of the indigenous Chinese church. To a large extent, the preexisting ecclesial diversity was highlighted through proxy debates with

[23] Chen Songchuan. "Shame on You! Competing Narratives of the Nation in the Laoxikai Incident and the Tianjin Anti-French Campaign, 1916–1917," *Twentieth-Century China* 37, no. 2 (2012): 121–38.

[24] Benedict XV, "Apostolic Letter *Maximum Illud* of the Supreme Pontiff Benedict XV to the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic World on the Propagation of the Faith Throughout the World," November 30, 1919, http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/en/apost_letters/documents/hf_ben-xv_apl_19191130_maximum-illud.html.

As Ernest Young notes, "Though China was not singled out, it was evident to those who had been following developments that China was the primary case in mind." Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony*, 200.

[25] See Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, Ch. 5.

origins outside of China. For Protestants, this was mainly between its multiplicity of denominations; for all three, the debates involved a competition of national interests. As we have seen, Chinese Christians were not simply passive recipients of these debates. Furthermore, many could be seen as missionaries in their own right, creating their own mission societies or "evangelistic bands," travelling throughout China and East and Southeast Asia to spread the gospel. Others were catapulted onto the international stage, from the reception of the spiritual writings of Watchman Nee (Ni Tuosheng 倪柝聲, 1903–1972) and John C. H. Wu (Wu Jingxiong 吳經熊, 1899–1986), to T. C. Chao's 1948 election as one of the six presidents of the World Council of Churches. While the course of the first half of the twentieth century was towards greater autonomy for Chinese Christians, this would radically change with the end of World War II and the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949.

New China, New World, New Churches

The beginning of the second half of the twentieth century was a tenuous time for Christians in China. Along with the founding of a new state, the situation became much more complicated when the United States and the young PRC engaged one another in military skirmishes in the Taiwan Strait and on the Korean Peninsula, the latter due to the Korean War (1950–1953). For many, Christianity's survival depended on asserting the church's independence from Western powers.

A Protestant delegation led by Y. T. Wu (Wu Yaozong 吳耀宗, 1893–1979), a former YMCA administrator, went to Beijing in May 1950 to meet with Premier Zhou Enlai and other communist officials. They produced the so-called Christian Manifesto which underscored the three-self formula and rejected any partnership with foreign missionaries and nations—although the only country named was the United States.[26] In early 1951, this would be accompanied by the infamous Denunciation Movement, aimed to weed out any links with imperialism. Though the first targets were foreign missionaries, Chinese Protestants were eventually

[26] The full name of the document was the "Direction of Endeavor for Chinese Christianity in the Construction of New China." An English translation of the document can be found in Wallace C. Merwin and Francis P. Jones, eds., *Documents of the Three-Self Movement: Source Materials for the Study of the Protestant Church in Communist China* (New York: NCC USA, 1963), 19–20.

chided about their loyalties and treated as traitors, much like the earlier Boxer Rebellion. By May 1951, the "Preparatory Council of the China Christian Resist-America Help-Korea Three-Self Reform Movement" was formed (clearly named to address concerns related to the Korean War), which eventually developed into the core leadership of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) in 1954 with Wu at its helm. These uniting efforts had such a strong political undertone that key TSPM leaders were accused of being secret members of the communist party, and initiatives like the Christian Manifesto and the TSPM were believed to have been invented by Zhou Enlai himself.[27] This would have lasting effects on how some Chinese Protestants would perceive the TSPM during the 1950s and 1960s and after it was reinstated in the 1980s.

In a famous case, the self-proclaimed fundamentalist Wang Mingdao (王明道, 1900–1991) refused to join the TSPM and lambasted its members as the "unbelieving faction" (*buxin pai* 不信派) made up of modernists.[28] K. H. Ting (Ding Guangxun 丁光訓, 1915–2012), a protégé of Y. T. Wu, responded by describing Wang as "filled with hatred for China" and implored, "If we are all in favor of anti-imperialism and patriotism, why can we not [be] united?"[29] Wang, borrowing from the North American fundamentalist–modernist debate, believed unity was impossible due to the theological incompatibility he had with the group.[30] For Ting, unity was more a matter of agreeing to certain sociopolitical beliefs. Wang would subsequently be imprisoned on charges of being a counter-revolutionary. A similar fate would be in store for others like Watchman Nee, Jing Dianying (敬奠瀛, 1890–1957), and T.C. Chao. The line was drawn: join the patriotic movement or risk persecution and imprisonment.

While plans for the Protestant TSPM were underway, Chinese Catholics would follow the pattern of their Protestant compatriots. By November 1950, within a few months of the Protestant "Christian Manifesto," a Chinese Catholic priest in Guangyuan of Sichuan province gathered some 500 signatures around the "Manifesto on Independence and Reform,"

[27] Philip L. Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1988), 130.

[28] Wang Mingdao, "We, Because of Faith," in *Documents of the Three-Self Movement*, 99–106.

[29] K. H. Ting, *No Longer Strangers: Selected Writings of K. H. Ting*, edited by Raymond L. Whitehead (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1989), 145.

[30] Ironically, a number of the TSPM leaders like Jia Yuming (賈玉銘, 1880–1964) and Marcus Cheng (Chen Chonggui 陳崇桂, 1884–1964) were theological conservatives.