



# Christian Encounters *with* Chinese Culture

*Essays on Anglican and Episcopal History in China*

*Edited by Philip L. Wickeri*



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# Chapter 1

## The Protestant Episcopal China Mission and Chinese Society

Edward Yihua XU

Compared with other Protestant missionary societies in China, the Protestant Episcopal China Mission (PECM)—also known as the American Church Mission (ACM)—was noted not so much for the number of its believers but for its prominence within the broader church community and society. Not only did the PECM raise up generations of renowned priests and church workers, it also fostered first-class educators, scholars, professionals, social activists, and even national leaders in modern China. One can say, therefore, that within the PECM there was a plethora of talents unmatched by any other mission body in terms of diversity and impact on the international scene. The PECM has deeply influenced Chinese society through its church, education, and social service programs. It has helped shape the basic pattern and theological characteristics of Chinese Christianity, and it had a direct impact on the modernization of Chinese society. Its influence is incontrovertible and still lingers today.

Given the PECM's illustrious history in China, a significant amount of archival works and other literature has been made public in China and abroad over the last decades. The academic community has also made considerable in-depth studies on the work of the PECM. This chapter will discuss, in broad outline, the ways in which the PECM has embedded itself in Chinese society, including such areas as church education (especially theological education), church-based interpersonal networks, and political participation. These are generally designated as "upper-class embedding" or "top-down embedding." I use the term "embedding" to indicate the ways in which the PECM became part of Chinese social and religious life.

Three topics will be addressed in this chapter:

- 1) Embedding in education: the contribution and status of the PECM in the history of Christian education in China
- 2) Embedding in the church: the shaping of Chinese Christian churches by the PECM
- 3) Embedding in politics: the participation of the PECM in modern Chinese politics, especially the party politics of the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), as well as an analysis of the factors involved in such high-level political participation

The conclusion will briefly review the historical status and legacy of the PECM and its relevance for today. Much of this chapter summarizes and draws conclusions from my earlier research on this period, in works published in both Chinese and English.

### Embedding in Education

The missionary enterprise of the Protestant Episcopal China Mission began, succeeded, and ended with education. In the so-called evangelical trinity of church, school, and hospital, the PECM realized the value of education from the start. However, there were only several “atypical missionaries” who put into practice and established PECM’s initial blueprint for education. One of them was a female missionary educator, Lydia Mary Fay (1804–78), who had a real flair for languages. She came to China when she was forty-six, far older than the average age of twenty-five for Western missionaries just entering the mission field. She served in China for twenty-seven years (1851–78), much longer than the average service duration of five years for PECM missionaries. During these years, she endured loneliness and practiced her own spirit of “three-self”: self-denial, self-discipline, and self-sacrifice. At the same time, she diligently studied Chinese language and culture every day. The level of her sinology was widely praised by both Chinese scholars and missionary sinologists. Fay was considered one of PECM’s leading missionary pioneers, alongside eminent sinologists like Bishop Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky (1831–1906) of the same mission.

When Fay first came to China, she was in charge of a boarding school and the boys’ school in Shanghai set up by the PECM. In 1860, because of the outbreak of the American Civil War, the mission’s funding was cut. As a result, she led her students to the Church Missionary Society. Seven years later, she returned to the original PECM mission. Two years before her death in 1878,

Mary Fay with “her boys.”



she opened another PECM school named Duane Hall, which was the predecessor of St. John’s University.<sup>1</sup>

As the “flagship” for the PECM and the entire Anglican Church in China’s educational efforts, the founding and development of St. John’s University had an indissoluble bond with three other atypical missionaries, Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, Yung King Yen, and Francis Lister Hawks Pott.

Schereschewsky was a Lithuanian Jew. After his conversion to Christianity and immigration to the United States, he became a missionary—he was the first American missionary in Peking (Beijing)—and then bishop of the PECM. He was one of the main advocates, designers, and representatives of missionary education, and he envisioned an institute of higher learning in China, which was regarded as “a new turn” for the Protestant Episcopal Church’s China mission.<sup>2</sup>

Yung King Yen (Yan Yongjing, 1838–98) was one of the earliest Chinese students to study in the United States and one of the initial leaders of Christian education in China. He contributed to the founding of two PECM Christian colleges—Boone University and St. John’s University. In addition, he was one of the first English-speaking PECM Chinese priests, thereby enjoying the same salary as his Western coworkers.<sup>3</sup>

Francis Lister Hawks Pott (1864–1947) was raised in a prominent Episcopalian family in New York City and studied at Columbia University (then Columbia College). When he first came to China, he went to the countryside and settled in a village near Shanghai, where he implemented the “three together” (eat, live, and work together) with local residents. After being assigned to oversee church education, his heart still longed for direct evangelical work. Despite the PECM’s prohibition against marriage between

1. For the life and work of Lydia Mary Fay, see Ian Welch, “Lydia Mary Fay and the Episcopal Church Mission in China,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 36, no. 1 (January 2012): 33–37; 徐以驊：《教育與宗教：作為傳教媒介的聖約翰大學》（珠海：珠海出版社，1999），頁3–5。[Xu Yihua, *Education and Religion: St. John’s University as Evangelizing Agency* (Zhuhai: Zhuhai Press, 1999), 3–5.]
2. For Bishop Schereschewsky’s thought and practice of missionary education in China, see 林美玫：〈施約瑟主教與聖公會華傳教策略的變遷——十九世紀中葉美國基督新教與中國文化的再接觸與對話〉，《東華人文學報》，第4期（2002）：31–79。[Lin Mei-Mei, “Bishop Schereschewsky and the American Church Mission’s Changing Evangelical Strategy in China—The Reengagement and Dialogue of American Protestant Church with Chinese Culture in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” *National Dong Hwa University Journal of Humanity Studies*, no. 4 (2002): 31–79.]
3. For the life and work of Y. K. Yen, see 徐以驊：〈顏永京與聖公會〉，《近代中國》，第10輯，2000年6月，頁193–215。[Xu Yihua, “Y. K. Yen and the American Church Mission,” *Modern China*, no. 10 (June 2000): 193–215]; Edward Yihua Xu, “Westernization and Contextualization: A Study on Three Pioneering Chinese Pastors of the Sheng Kung Hui

Western missionaries and local women, he married Wong Woo-ngoo (Susan N. Wong), the daughter of Huang Guangcai (Wong Kong Chai), PECM's first Chinese priest. Withstanding the temptation to become the PECM bishop for the missionary district of Wuhu (later Anqing), he dedicated his whole life to the development of St. John's University and was widely quoted in discussions of Christian higher education in China. Hawks Pott was truly a pioneer and an outstanding leader of St. John's University.<sup>4</sup>

These four atypical missionaries gave birth to St. John's University, which became famous for teaching in the English medium. Before other Christian colleges in Peking and Nanking (Nanjing) came to fruition, St. John's was the leader in Christian higher education in China and set the standard. However, because of the dwindling strength of the American Protestant Episcopal Church as well as the "the isolation policy" of not registering with the Chinese government, after the mid-1920s it became increasingly difficult for the PECM to maintain the university's growth and development. In fact, within the Wuchang Diocese in Central China, the PECM also had Boone Memorial School (which later became Boone University, jointly supported by several missions). The two church education bases, south and north of the Yangtze River, worked in concert with one another and formed PECM's education circle or educational system.

Elsewhere, I have pointed out that

the Protestant Episcopal China Mission operated a huge church educational system in China, from kindergarten to university, with St. John's University as the core of the system. And St. John's was a church educational subsystem itself, which was composed of several affiliated institutes like St. John's High School, St. Mary's School for Girls and St. John's YMCA School. In addition to these institutes, St. John's University also had an exam-exempted admission system drawing on a few feeder schools, including such well-known church and non-church schools as Mahan School in Yangchow, St. Paul's School in Anking, Soochow Academy, the English Methodist College in Ningpo, Pei Yuan School in Chuan-Chow and the Ming-li School in Shanghai. Thus a "St. John's education circle" was formed in eastern China. . . . [T]he Christian colleges in China all had their own subsidiary or related secondary schools, but St. John's was more than an early starter in operating its education circle. It also enjoyed the shared identity and resources from its church system. Therefore, its influence had a wide range of activities and an enduring existence. This

was how St. John's University obtained educational and social influence far beyond what it originally had.<sup>5</sup>

For the Boone education circle in Central China, we can make almost the same statement. The number of PECM staff in Christian higher education was remarkable, accounting for nearly half of the total number of Episcopal missionaries.<sup>6</sup> The Chinese Anglican-Episcopal Church (Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, CHSKH) also had an impressive staff with respect to education personnel. By 1949, the vast majority of the church, or 75 percent of the salaried staff (1,760 persons), were engaged in the educational work, among them 272 at the university level, 774 in secondary schools, and 714 in primary schools.<sup>7</sup> The large denominational churches in China more or less shared a similar focus on education. In China, the auxiliary works of the missionary societies in education and medicine became the capstone for the entire missionary cause and the stepping-stone for the Christian Church to influence Chinese society.

It was through the education system, the associated health-care system, and the charity system that the PECM achieved a social influence in China that would have been hard to reach merely by direct evangelical activities. This is mainly reflected in the following aspects.

First, as a pioneer in China's higher education, the PECM's education system, along with that of other early missionary societies, "opened the way for higher education in China, made a strong demonstration, provided teachers and accumulated experience, trained leaders and laid the foundation, bridged the division of old and new education and decreased the gap between the Western and Chinese education."<sup>8</sup> Educational embedding afforded the mission a leading role in the direction of China's social development at the superstructure level.

Second, the education system of the PECM helped to change the traditional image of Christianity in China that reflected the aspirations of the socially marginalized populations. Educational work turned Christianity in coastal and urban areas from "the religion of the poor" to "the religion of the rich." This also provided the church with the infrastructure to become embedded in China. In the era of large-scale migration from north to south in global Christianity, Christian schools, especially Christian colleges and universities,

5. 徐以驊主編：《上海聖約翰大學(1879-1952)》(上海：上海人民出版社，2009)，頁102-6。[Xu Yihua, ed. *St. John's University, Shanghai (1879-1952)* (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Press, 2009), 102-6.]

6. Welch, "Lydia Mary Fay and the Episcopal Church Mission in China," 36.

7. 〈1949年全國各教區統計〉，《聖公會報》，第39卷第10期，頁13-14。["Statistics of All Dioceses of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui," *Chinese Churchman* 39, no. 10: 13-14]; Xu Yihua, "St. John's University, Shanghai as an Evangelizing Agency," *Studies in World*

4. 卜筋濟：〈卜筋濟自述〉，《近代中國》，1996年第6輯，頁243-61。[Francis Lister Hawks Pott, "Autobiography of Francis Lister Hawks Pott," *Modern China*, no. 6 (1996): 243-61]; 徐以驊：《卜筋濟自述》，頁261-68。[Xu "Francis Lister Hawks Pott and His Autobiography," *Modern China*, no. 6 (1996): 261-68.]

were not only the center of the transmission of Western culture and civilization but also the chief vehicles for missionary activities.

Third, the education system was more geared toward the development of a myriad of talents, which was one of the most measurable achievements of the Christian movement in China's social modernization process. Christian churches, through their training of personnel, had an impact on "China's social and political improvement." In the words of the St. John's-educated Episcopal priest Dr. Y. Y. Tsu (Zhu Youyu), "it is through her schools and colleges that she exerts the greatest direct influence. She trains the men, and they do the work."<sup>9</sup>

The 1933 edition of *Who's Who in China: Biographies of Chinese Leaders* is a pivotal transcript of the great contribution of Christian colleges, especially the CHSKH's St. John's University and Boone University, in nurturing social leaders in China.<sup>10</sup> Through the universities, the intertwined interpersonal networks and social mobilization pipeline of mutual trust and assistance in the Chinese Christian community promoted the impact of Christianity on the whole society in both tangible and intangible ways.

### Embedding in the Church

When it came to education, the PECM did not take the "low road" in its missionary endeavors. Unlike the China Inland Mission, whose work was located more in China's interior and rural areas, the PECM took the "high road" of urbanization and elite orientation, almost to an extreme. This, to some extent, was related to the threefold order of ministry in the Anglican-Episcopal tradition (deacon, priest, bishop), which was in some ways compatible with the Chinese social customs and bureaucratic rule. A classic example is that in the early years of the Wuchang Diocese, when a local clergyman died, his family used the title "deacon" (會吏, which could be translated as "church official") to glorify the deceased and strike awe in their neighbors.<sup>11</sup>

The urbanization route of the PECM was naturally reflected in the way it developed the church and its mission work in China. The mission first went to South China, then retreated to Southeast Asia, and finally landed in Shanghai. The PECM used Shanghai as a base to develop in other cities, including Peking, Wuchang, and Chefoo (Yantai in Shandong). It established three missionary dioceses along the Yangtze River—the Dioceses of Shanghai, Wuchang (Hankow [Hankou]), and Anqing (Wuhu).

9. 徐以驊：《教育與宗教：作為傳教媒介的聖約翰大學》，頁227-28。[Xu, *Education and Religion: St. John's University as a Missionary Intermediary*, 227-28.]

10. According to this edition of *Who's Who in China*, St. John's University and Boone University



Figure 8 General map of China showing CHSKH dioceses. Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Archives.

With regard to the urbanization-oriented missionary route, the PECM was more strategically located than most of the dioceses built by the British and Canadian Anglican churches. The missionary fields of the entire Anglican Church were also better located strategically than those of many other missions

politics. The PECM's strategic vision of focusing on coastal, urban, and geopolitical centers made it one of the most urbanized Christian missions in China, and so it became a church with great social visibility.

Given their mission priority on education, the PECM also took the high road when it came to their design of theological schools. One of their original intentions in the development of Christian schools and colleges was to promote theological education. For instance, mission authorities and St. John's University considered its theological department as "the pillar of the school" and "the crown of the whole work."<sup>12</sup> The theological department later followed Bishop William Boone Jr., who was then in charge of the whole China mission, and moved to Wuchang. This action alone revealed the status of the theological department as the center of the work of the university.

The PECM founded the theological departments of St. John's University and Boone University, teaching mainly in English, and the Central Theological School, which taught mainly in Chinese. These three theological institutes demonstrated how the mission put its emphasis on advanced theological education. Before 1949, according to the actual level of education, Christian theological institutions were divided into three types:

- 1) Graduate schools of theology (e.g., School of Religion, Yenching University), which mainly recruited college and university graduates
- 2) Theological colleges or seminaries (e.g., Nanking Theological Seminary), which mainly recruited high school graduates
- 3) Theological training schools (e.g., Fujian Theological Seminary), which mainly enrolled junior high school graduates

Although the theological departments of St. John's University and Boone University belonged to the second-level seminaries, their five-year academic structure, combining a bachelor's degree and a theology degree, was quite similar to the theological education model of British universities or dissenting academies, emphasizing the combination of liberal arts education and theology. The principal investigator of Christian theological education in China, Professor S. Stanley Smith of Nanking Theological Seminary, considered this academic structure the most suitable theological education model for the reality of the Chinese church.<sup>13</sup> The theological institutions of the PECM system

12. 徐以驊主編：《上海聖約翰大學(1879-1952)》，頁97。[Xu, *St. John's University, Shanghai (1879-1952)*, 97.]

13. For research on the history, education system, and classification of Protestant theological education in China, see 徐以驊：《中國基督教教育史論》(桂林：廣西師範大學出版社，2010)，頁71-95。[Xu Yihua, *Essays on History of Christian Education in China* (Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press, 2010), 71-95]; 徐以驊，〈教會大學與神學教育〉(福州：福建教育出版社，1999)。[Xu Yihua, *Christian Colleges and Theological Education in*

played a pivotal role in the development of advanced theological education (both the graduate schools of theology and theological seminaries) in China.

In the late nineteenth century and the first twenty years of the twentieth century, the theological departments of St. John's University and Boone University saw their best days. This was due to their great vision, high admission standards, and teaching in the English medium. The two theological institutions coordinated with each other, representing the highest level of Protestant theological education in China.

In the early 1920s, the Yenching University School of Religion came from behind to become the first graduate school of theology in China. In both professional training and academic research, it outshined St. John's and Boone, declaring the advent of the "Yenching era" in Protestant theological education in China.

In the late 1920s, a meteoric rise of the North China Theological Seminary, known as the Chinese Christian fundamentalist stronghold, came to the fore. As a conservative theological institution with solid grassroots support, the seminary attracted many students. Meanwhile, Nanking Theological Seminary was also ready to boom, pursuing development with a "consistent and conservative" theological posture. If it were not for the Japanese invasion of North China in the 1930s, which led to the southward migration and severe downturn of the North China Theological Seminary, there would have been a "tripod complexion" of Protestant theological education. Respectively, the left, middle, and right factions of Chinese Christianity would have been represented by the Yenching, Nanking, and North China theological seminaries.

In the mid-1930s, the Wendal estate, a large endowment from the United States, made Nanking Theological Seminary the top location for theological education in China. Until the CCP came to power, Nanking Theological Seminary, as a leading theological institution, set the pattern and pace for Protestant theological education, along with several other institutions (Yenching University School of Religion, China Baptist Theological Seminary, Canton Union Theological College, West China Union University School of Religion, Cheeloo School of Theology, and Central Theological School).<sup>14</sup>

The overall trend in the development of Protestant theological education in China was the gradual weakening of the theological departments (and schools of religion) of Christian colleges and the gradual strengthening of free-standing theological seminaries. At the same time, this meant a gradual flourishing of the theological institutes cosponsored by several denominations and the decline of the theological institutes supported by a single denomination.

Although inferior to the graduate schools of theology with regard to admission levels and the number of students, the two theological institutes of the PECM, especially St. John's, still represented an extremely elitist route

to theological education. This was because of their teaching in the English medium and the highly select group of students and staff they recruited. They at one time enjoyed a strong reputation in the Christian community but failed to carry on. The eventual exit of this route from the stage of history about half a century later demonstrated the two above-mentioned major trends. However, the long-standing policy of sending English-educated Chinese clergy to study abroad and the establishment of the Central Theological School (which merged with the theological department of St. John's University and Bawn Memorial Women's Theological Seminary in 1946) directly under the CHSKH partly filled the vacancy left by the closing of its English theological institutes. In this way, the CHSKH priests remained the most impressive and well-educated group in the Chinese Protestant churches.

Being the earliest to set up English-teaching theological institutes, based upon the model of British theological education, the PECM had large numbers of successful church workers among their graduates. The ecclesiastical structure of Anglicanism as well as the large-scale education, health-care, and charity institutions of the church provided its well-trained clergy and church workers with shelter, a sense of purpose, and opportunities to serve.

According to the statistics, up until the late 1950s there were eleven St. John's graduates (mainly from the theological department) consecrated as bishops of the CHSKH, including T. K. Shen (Shen Zigao), Y. Y. Tsu, Kimber H. K. Teng (Deng Shukun), Mao Keh-ts'ung (Mao Kezhong), K. H. Ting (Ding Guangxun), and Tsen Chien-yeh (Zheng Jianye).<sup>15</sup>

Based on the memories of the former president of the China Christian Council (CCC), Reverend Cao Shengjie, eleven of the approximately forty students of the Central Theological School during its revived existence (1946–52) later served as national and provincial church leaders:

Shen Yifan—the second and third CCC vice president and the third CCC secretary-general

Deng Fucun—the fifth to seventh vice president of Three-Self Patriotic Movement of the Protestant Churches in China (TSPM) and the sixth TSPM secretary-general

Sun Xipei—the fourth to fifth CCC vice president

Xiang Jianhua—the fourth to fifth CCC vice president

Cao Shengjie—the first and second CCC secretary-general, the third and fourth CCC vice president, and the fifth CCC president

Haolian Zhaoxuan—president of the TSPM and CCC in Henan Province

Du Guangyan—president of the TSPM in Guizhou Province

Cheng Zhuping—president of CCC in Shanghai

He Fengde—president of CCC in Tianjin

Chen Bentao—vice president of the TSPM in Jiangxi Province  
Yu Mingjian—vice secretary-general of the TSPM in Shanghai

Many of these, including Haolian Zhaoxuan, Shen Yifan, Deng Fucun, and Sun Xipei, were former members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and its Standing Committee (Cao Shengjie). Reverend Cao attributed this to the "openness of Anglican theological thought" and "the depth of the spiritual pursuit and dedication to the church."<sup>16</sup> However, this was probably more related to the practice of church-state relations and the structure and geographic layout of the Sheng Kung Hui in China.

In addition to training a significant number of clergy, the PECM also cultivated a number of famous lay leaders and church workers among its believers. When it came to the educational and medical work of the CHSKH, there were notables too numerous to mention. In the study of Christian theology and philosophy of twentieth-century China, we have the famous "Zhao in the North" (T. C. Chao, or Zhao Zichen) and "Wei in the South" (Francis C. M. Wei, or Wei Zhuomin), as well as two well-known Christian scholars in China's modern history, Xu Qian and Wu Leichuan. The latter two were both from the CHSKH and achieved the rank of *Jinshi* (successful candidate) in the highest imperial examination in the late Qing dynasty.

The PECM Chinese clergy and church workers were part of the so-called Sino-Western Protestant establishment or the Indigenization Movement. Even the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry gave them much credit, commenting that, as a whole, they "would compare not unfavorably with" their counterparts in the United States.<sup>17</sup> In addition, they were part of the worldwide Christian Ecumenical Movement. As a significant group devoting themselves to the study of Christian theology and philosophy, they were forerunners in the nascent state of the "reverse missionary" trend. They became known as Chinese Christian leaders, scholars, and even statesmen who came to the fore in the international stage of Christianity to promote the Chinese church and Chinese religious thought in the West, thus presenting Chinese culture to the international academic "altar."<sup>18</sup> Indeed, in the early 1950s these were important factors allowing Chinese Christianity to attain an equal footing with Chinese

16. 曹聖潔：〈在中央神學院和聖約翰大學求學〉，《世紀》，2012年第4期，頁18。[Cao Shengjie, "My Education at Central Theological School and St. John's University," *Century*, no. 4 (2012): 18.]

17. Xu Yihua, "Chapter One: Christian Colleges and Theological Education—From Core to Periphery," in *Changing Paradigms of Christian Higher Education in China (1888–1950)*, ed. Peter Tze Ming Ng et al. (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), 83–85.

18. 徐以驊：〈從韋卓民看中國基督教會的歷史和現狀〉，徐以驊、張慶熊主編，《基督教學術》(第九輯)(上海：上海三聯書店，2011)，頁152–55。[Xu Yihua, "Some Reflections



traditional religions and even to do slightly better than other religions in terms of its relationship with the newly established Communist government.<sup>19</sup>

### Embedding in Politics

From a political point of view, the modern development of Christianity in China was full of twists and turns. The basic trajectory was roughly from the periphery to the center and then back to the periphery. In other words, Christianity in China first turned from an objectively revolutionary force outside the political system into a reforming and conservative force within the system. Eventually, it became a social force with only a symbolic political role on the edge of the system. Of course, this is a generalization about the overall trend in which there were many counterexamples and other variables.

The key events in China in the first half of the twentieth century were the Nationalist Revolution of 1911, the Northern Expedition, the KMT-CCP split, the War of Resistance against Japan, and the victory of the CCP in 1949. All of these affected the basic social and political status of Christianity in China, independent of the Christians' direct political involvement. With respect to the latter, there were variations in geographical region, period, and personal background. In general, in the nineteenth century and up until the 1911 Revolution, Christianity was rather revolutionary, but afterward, when it was more or less within the KMT political system, it tended to become more conservative. Christianity in China as a whole in the 1920s and 1930s was politically prudent, yet individual Christians would sometimes participate in radical, or even extreme, political activities.

The Christian missionary movement in China shifted from being a fringe, even revolutionary, movement to becoming a part of the power establishment at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> To some extent in the nineteenth century, Western missionaries contributed to the decline of Chinese traditions. Various institutional entities propelled changes that eventually coalesced into a wide-ranging social revolution. The development of cultural and social revolution in China in the twentieth century, however, weakened the position and role of the existing missionary institutions as a force for social change.

The missionary movement tended to become conservative because of its various vested social interests. When it came to the movement's political leanings, Professor Timothy Tingfang Lew (Liu Tingfang, 1891–1947) of the

Yenching University School of Religion made it clear that Western missionaries were “seeking the favor of those in power at any given time so that missionary activities could be carried out and that they could seek the opportunities for missionary preaching. Thus, it was not easy to develop a Chinese political reform movement in the jurisdiction of a church, because it was under the control of Western missionaries. Sometimes the missionaries would provide asylum and protection for Christians [involved in political activity], but they had never officially sponsored revolutionary movements.”<sup>21</sup> The missionary movement in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century in China did not preach “the gospel of liberation.” It bore a heavy cross for being closely identified with Western powers, and only during the War of Resistance against Japan (1937–45) did it partly get out of this awkward position.<sup>22</sup>

Before the Revolution of 1911, a typical example of the PECM's “institutional” participation in Chinese modern politics was its involvement with the activities of the Rizhi Society, the organization that first plotted the Revolution of 1911. Founded by an early student of the theological department at St. John's University, the Reverend Huang Chi-t'ing, it was also known as the Xingzhong Society, Huaxing Society, and Guangfu Society. The Rizhi Society was originally the name of the newspaper reading room in Wuchang, established by the Wuchang Diocese of the PECM in 1901.

In 1902, Huang was sent by Bishop J. Addison Ingle (1867–1903) to Changsha, Hunan Province, to start a new mission station. There, he also set up a newspaper reading room for the Rizhi Society. Many famous revolutionaries such as Huang Keqiang, Song Jiaoren, and Chen Tianhua became its members. In fact, in the fall of 1904, when the Qing government was searching for Huang Keqiang, it was Huang Chi-t'ing who personally sent him out of Changsha in the church's sedan chair. When saying goodbye, Huang Chi-t'ing asked Huang Keqiang to send him a telegram with the character “Xing” so that he could confirm his safe arrival in Shanghai. This is the origin of how Huang Keqiang eventually received his more famous name, Huang Xing.<sup>23</sup> Huang Xing

21. 劉廷芳：〈中國基督教愛國主義評議〉，《生命》，第4卷第8期，頁4。[Timothy Tingfang Lew, “Some Comments on the Christian Patriotism in China,” *Life* 4, no. 8: 4.]

22. 徐以驊：《教育與宗教：作為傳教媒介的聖約翰大學》，頁220–21。[Xu, *Education and Religion: St. John's University as a Missionary Intermediary*, 220–21.]

23. For the Rizhi Society's revolutionary activities and its relationship with the Sheng Kung Hui, see 湖北省圖書館編：《辛亥革命武昌首義史料輯錄》（北京：北京書目文獻出版社，1981）。[Hubei Provincial Library (ed.), *Selected Historical Materials of Wuchang Uprising in the Revolution of 1911* (Beijing: Beijing Library Press, 1981)]; 賀覺非：《辛亥武昌首義人物傳》（第1卷）（北京：北京中華書局，1982），頁1–71。[He Juefei, *Biographical Sketches of Revolutionaries of Wuchang Uprising in the Revolution of 1911* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1982), 1: 1–71]; 賀覺非、馮天瑜：《辛亥武昌首義史》（湖北：湖北人民出版社，1986），頁74–81。[He Juefei and Feng Tianyu, *History of Wuchang Uprising*

19. Seven religious leaders attended the first plenary meeting of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference held in Beijing from September 21 to 30, 1949. Among them, four were Christians (Wu Yaozhong, Zhang Xueyan, T. C. Chao, and Deng Yuzhi), two were Buddhists (Zhao Puchu and Lu Zan), and one was a Muslim (Ma Jian). Mr. Liu Liangmo,

was Dr. Sun Yat-sen's confidant and his second-in-command for the Revolution of 1911.

After Huang Chi-t'ing went to Changsha, the Wuchang Rizhi Society was led by two other early students of the theological department of St. John's, the Reverend Hu Lang-t'ing and Mr. Liu Fan-hou. At that time, the Rizhi Society was located in the Church of Our Savior, where Hu worked.

In early 1906, Hu Lang-t'ing assisted two Mandarin teachers of the theological department of Boone University, Liu Ching-an and Cao Yabo, to transform the Rizhi Society into an anti-Qing secret society. As a result the Rizhi Society, relocated to St. Joseph Chapel, quickly turned from a mission station into a hub for revolutionary forces within the two provinces of Hunan and Hubei.<sup>24</sup> It was here that one of the CCP leaders, Dong Biwu, accepted the new ideas on the Chinese Enlightenment.

On January 13, 1907, a leak from informants led to "the Arrest of 1906" of nine people, including Liu Ching-an, Hu Lang-t'ing, Huang Chi-t'ing, Yu Rizhang, and others were also wanted by the Qing government. Despite this, the Rizhi Society was considered to be one of the organizations that instigated the Wuchang Uprising in the Revolution of 1911.

Logan H. Roots (1870–1945), who followed Ingle as bishop of the Wuchang Diocese, proved to be Christianity in China's man of the hour. His bishopric extended from 1904 to 1938. Not only was he a celebrity in both Chinese and Western societies in Wuhan, but he also played a certain role in the party politics between the KMT and the CCP. Roots and the Wuchang Diocese once came forward to rescue the arrested Christian members of the Rizhi Society, causing the governor of Hu-Guang, Zhang Zhidong, to be more scrupulous in carrying out further raids and repression against the Christians involved in the Rizhi Society. After Chiang Kai-shek launched the April 12 Incident of 1927, the CCP dignitary Zhou Enlai sought refuge in the bishop's residence in Hankow. Roots admitted him, and they formed a friendship.

After the Lugou Bridge Incident (or the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, 1937), the Anti-Japanese National United Front was founded by the CCP and the KMT. Zhou Enlai, Dong Biwu, Qin Bangxian, and other Chinese Communist

of 1911," *Tian Feng* (October 1989): 16–20]; 〈黃吉亭會長升受聖職40週年紀念感恩禮拜自述〉,《聖公會報》, 1934年4月15日, 頁16–20。["The Rev. Huang Chi-t'ing's Speech at the Commemorating Service Celebrating the Fortieth Anniversary of His Ordination," *Chinese Churchman* (April 15, 1934): 16–20]; L. H. Roots, "Annual Report of the Bishop of the Missionary District of Hankow," in *The Annual Report of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 1905–1906* (New York, 1906), 196–203; 徐以驊:《教育與宗教: 作為傳教媒介的聖約翰大學》, 頁276–77。[Xu, *Education and Religion: St. John's University as a Missionary Intermediary*, 276–77.]

leaders were dispatched to Hankow from December 1937 to October 1938, leading the CCP's Yangtze River Bureau and the Wuhan Office of the Eighth Route Army. During this period, these senior leaders of the CCP were all frequent visitors to the bishop's residence.

In April 1938, Bishop Roots was about to retire and return to the United States. Zhou Enlai, Qin Bangxian, and other CCP dignitaries hosted a farewell dinner party for him and his family in the roof garden of the Eighth Route Army Office in Hankow. Zhou Enlai also handwrote two scrolls for him as a gift, reading, "Internal disunity dissolves at the threat of external invasion," and "To clarion call their vocal chords they bend, seeking the happy response of a friend." When the bishop left Wuhan on April 19, 1938, the South China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee released his farewell speech, "Bishop Roots's Parting Words to Consolidate the United Front," through the *Xinhua Daily*.<sup>25</sup> Zhou Enlai also wrote down the Chinese poem, translated here from the *Book of Songs* (Xiaoya, "Logging") in the bishop's diary:

I hear the woodchopper's blows resounding,  
And the hills with clear bird-calls abounding;

From the dark valley below, forth they fly,  
Lighting on tree-top high against the sky;

To clarion call their vocal chords they bend,  
Seeking the happy response of a friend.

Just as the birds with deep instinct of choice,  
Seek the clear notes of a friend's well-known voice;

May it not be that man, banishing strife,  
Will in true friendship find the fuller life;

The God—all the gods—will lend listening ear,  
And send to man the gift of peace so dear.

Frank R. Millican of the American Presbyterian Mission translated the poem into English and published it with the original text in the seventieth volume (April 1939) of *The Chinese Recorder*, adding the title "World Brotherhood."<sup>26</sup> During his stay in Wuhan Bishop Roots was also close to the KMT leadership, including T. V. Soong (Song Ziwen), H. H. Kung (Kong Xiangxi), Zhang Qun, Wang Ch'ung-hui (Wang Chonghui), Feng Yu-hsiang (Feng Yuxiang), and K. C. Wu (Wu Guozhen). Clearly, the War of Resistance against Japan created the conditions by which the bishop could practice his proficient political balancing

25 胡耀明:《基督教美國聖公會在武漢》(1)·(2)·(3)·(4)·(5)[Hu Liuming, "The

skills as well as assist the Christian Church in identifying with the Chinese movement for national salvation.

Under the Japanese imperialist aggression, Western missionaries from other “imperialist countries” also identified with the Chinese people. Together they may be seen as victims of the war. Many anti-Japanese national salvation efforts of the Christian Church were widely praised by historians and even by the Chinese Communists. Be they Western churches or Chinese churches, their close cooperation with the government and the KMT, as the ruling party, was still the main aspect of their political participation. Only when the KMT-CCP struggles had given way to civil war would the Christian Church gain more latitude in choosing sides between the KMT and the CCP.

In general, because of their similar educational backgrounds, personal experiences, political views, and religious beliefs, the CHSKH clergy and senior church workers were closer to the KMT, especially in the early years. Earlier, in 1918, when Dr. Sun Yat-sen secluded himself in Shanghai to write his English book, *The International Development of China*, he invited the CHSKH's Y. Y. Tsu, David Yu, and T. Z. Koo, among others, to his apartment every week for discussions on how to write his book.<sup>27</sup> The coastal and urban locations and geopolitical layout of the PECC, to some extent, put it at center stage in China's politics. Chinese priests and members of the CHSKH also maintained a variety of connections with the CCP, but these were not as extensive as the more public relationships with the KMT.

During the Nanchang Uprising, He Long's headquarters was located in the CHSKH's Hong Dao Church (St. Matthew's Church), where Liu Bing-kang, another graduate of St. John's theological department, was rector. When T. K. Shen was the bishop of the Missionary Diocese of Shensi, he came to know Zhou Enlai through a St. John's alumnus, Chung K'e-t'oh (Zhong Ketuo), the CHSKH priest and Shensi antiopium commissioner. Bishop Shen helped the CCP build its religious United Front. During the war, he became acquainted with the Eighth Route Army Xi'an Office as well as with Lin Boqu and other Communist leaders. CHSKH priests who were graduates of St. John's played important roles in supporting the CCP.

Shanghai and Nanjing were the political and economic centers of modern China, as well as the headquarters of the PECC. Many Episcopalians and graduates of Episcopal schools became KMT government officials; some even attained the rank of cabinet member, minister of foreign affairs, and prime minister. Among these, T. V. Soong, Wellington Koo, and David Yu were later listed as “war criminals” by the CCP toward the end of the War of Liberation.

27. Y. Y. Tsu, “Some Recollections of Dr. Sun Yat-sen,” *St. John's Dial* (October 4, 1935): 1–3; “Dr.

Although senior CHSKH church leaders did not “collude with the CCP,” several radical young clergy developed close ties with the Communists. The best known were two alumni of St. John's. H. J. Paul Pu (Pu Huaren) joined the CCP in 1927 and became a senior party member. In the early years, he was known for his literary talent because of his two well-known essays, “My Educational Experience” and “Poor Men's Fortune.” Later, he served as English translator for the CCP Central Committee, director of Xinhua News Agency, and in other positions. Many church people saw him as their guardian in the CCP. The other Episcopalian who became a CCP government official was H. C. Tung (Dong Jianwu), a senior agent of the Special Operations Division of the CCP Central Committee. His public and private lives are both something of a mystery. He founded Datong Kindergarten, connected with St. Peter's Church in Shanghai, which sheltered the children and orphans of the CCP senior cadres, including Mao Zedong's three sons.<sup>28</sup>

On February 26, 1949, the CCP participants of the Chongqing negotiations, Zhou Enlai and Dong Biwu, wrote to the House of Bishops of the CHSKH to welcome the church “to see our works in construction or to establish churches, hospitals & charitable institutions.” They claimed that “the faith of the Christian Churches and our Party's ideology may differ, but we are one in service of the people.” This is a famous letter that can be called “one of the most important policy statements by the Chinese Communist Party on religious issues after the war.” To a certain extent, much credit for this letter can be given to H. J. Paul Pu.<sup>29</sup>

After the fall of Shanghai to the Japanese army in 1937, the church and some of its affiliated institutions such as the Community Church (interdenominational) and the YMCA became, in effect, peripheral organizations of the CCP. Within Shanghai's education system, St. John's University had developed into one of the largest strongholds of the Communist Party. The “progressive organizations” of the CCP, St. John's University and the Shanghai YMCA, formed a special relationship through a training program for YMCA secretaries organized by the moral education department of the Shanghai YMCA. The first director of the department was K. H. Ting. From 1943 to 1949, the training

28. 王光遠：《紅色牧師董建吾》（北京：中央文獻出版社，2000），頁126–31。[Wang Guangyuan, *Red Pastor Dong Jianwu* (Beijing: Central Party Literature Press, 2000), 126–31.]

29. 徐以驊：〈浦化人：出入教會的神奇人物〉，朱維錚主編，《基督教與近代文化》（上海：上海人民出版社，1994），頁269–87。[Xu Yihua, “Pu Huaren: A Christian-Turned Legendary Revolutionary,” in *Christianity and Modern Culture*, ed. Zhu Weizheng (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Press, 1994), 269–87]; 徐以驊：〈從牧師到中共高級幹部——浦化人的傳奇生涯〉，《世紀》，1995年7/8月，頁11–15。[Xu Yihua, “From a Christian Minister to a High-Ranking Communist Party Official—The Legendary Career of Pu Huaren,” *Century*

program had six sessions and sixty-nine trainees in total. They were sent around to become the backbone of the TSPM when it was launched, and several were actually underground CCP members.<sup>30</sup> After 1949, bishops and other senior leaders of the CHSKH had reservations about, and were even opposed to, the TSPM. But it appeared to have become a tradition of the church that young clergy and lay leaders take different paths from, or even rebel against, their senior coworkers, and quite a few CHSKH clergy became TSPM leaders.

In short, the concept and practice of cooperation between state and church, which may be regarded as an Anglican and Episcopal tradition, allowed the CHSKH to win advantages from both the KMT and the CCP. This enabled them to survive, grow, and develop. The education level, financial resources, social networking, and talent for international communication enabled the Sheng Kung Hui to participate in various educational, social, welfare, and diplomatic activities. In this way they could establish a wide range of social relationships and enjoy a high social status.

In the late stages of the War of Resistance against Japan, the training program for YMCA secretaries in Shanghai enabled quite a few young clergy and church workers of the Sheng Kung Hui to become future TSPM activists. In a sense, the institutional and organizational framework of the CHSKH provided a ready reference for the institutionalization of the TSPM. All these special factors combined to enable the CHSKH to have a greater impact than any other church on the TSPM in the 1950s.

In the early 1980s, when the Chinese Christian Church resumed its activities after the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), some of its top leaders were K. H. Ting, Zheng Jianye, Zhao Fusan, Shen Yifan, Cao Shengjie, Luo Guanzong, Sun Xipei, and Deng Fucun. This illustrates the continuing influence of the CHSKH on Chinese Christianity.

## Conclusion

The late missiological scholar Dr. Ralph D. Winter used the formula of “four, three, two” to describe the course of the development of the global Christian missionary movement. “Four” refers to the four roles (or “four Ps”) that the Christian missionary movement played as “pioneer, parent, partner, and participant.” “Three” refers to the three eras that the Christian missionary movement went through: the era of the Coastlands, the era of the Inland Areas, and the era of the Unreached Peoples. “Two” refers to the two transitions, represented respectively by the Student Volunteer Movement and the Student Foreign Mission Fellowship. In reality, this formula is too general and oversimplified

to be applied to Christian missions in China, but it does call attention to some intriguing aspects of the missionary movement.

Winter cited Christian missionary movement historian Kenneth Scott Latourette, and used Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard to refer to the low end (mass route) and high end (elite route) of the missionary movement in China. He pointed out that not only were these two routes leading trends in history but they continue to exist in the present.<sup>31</sup>

Hudson Taylor's route and Timothy Richard's route represent divergent thinking about missions, and there were indeed different emphases and characteristics. The former pays more attention to the self-sufficiency or independence of church institutions but is more marginalized with respect to society and clearly lacks social influence. In contrast, the latter emphasizes the top-down method, upper-class embedding, and theological construction. It fully integrates itself into the mainstream of society even though the church's own causes, especially in education, may become unwieldy and make it difficult for the church to achieve self-support and self-governance.

The comparative evaluation of the two routes is difficult because of different analytical perspectives, theological positions, and criteria of evaluation. Because the former is rooted in rural areas at the grassroots level, it was often overlooked. However, in recent years many conservative evangelicals in the international Christian community have favored the low-end route, for it has led to a domestic religious revival, which is regarded as a part of the global evangelical resurgence. The latter used to be blamed for being dependent on the missionary societies economically and administratively, yet in time it has been praised by secular academics for attaching importance to education, health care, and charity causes, which have been the most beneficial from both cultural-historical and cultural exchange perspectives. To study missionary and church history from the cultural exchange perspective has become the mainstream viewpoint among academics in the research field of Christianity in China.

As the representative of the high-end route, the PECM's historical role is naturally controversial. The so-called presentism in historical studies uses today's concepts, ideas, and theoretical paradigms to interpret, shape, and reconstruct the past. This may also be reflected in the study of Chinese Christian Church history, but it can hardly do full justice to the historical record.

In the early days of Communist China, and even at the beginning of the period of openness and reform (1978 onward), the heritage of the major missionary societies including the PECM, and especially the Chinese personnel trained by the missions, enabled Chinese Christians to compile *The Encyclopedia of China: Religion Volume*.<sup>32</sup> The Chinese Christian Church

also founded or restored the only journals on religion, *Zongjiao (Religion)* and *Jinling Shenxuezhì (Nanjing Theological Review)*, in the early 1980s. These two journals paved the way for the revival of religious studies in China.

Chinese Christian leaders in the early 1980s initiated the “post-missionary era”<sup>33</sup> and China’s religious interactions with the outside world. The thirty years of unrest up to the end of the Cultural Revolution era seriously weakened theology and academic research in the Chinese church. It fell behind in international religious studies and academic dialogues (this, however, is now changing). Its international status also plummeted; during this time, Christianity in China completely lost its leading role among the so-called younger or new churches in Asia and around the world.

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), the center of gravity of China’s Christian theology and religious studies shifted. It was first transferred to the churches and academic institutions in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Since China’s reform and opening, it has returned to the Mainland’s academia, rather than to the Chinese Christian Church itself. Secular academia on the Mainland, which hardly had anything to say regarding theology and religious studies in the past, has now gained comprehensive and overwhelming advantage vis-à-vis the church in China, and its seminaries.<sup>34</sup>

With China’s reform and opening, Christianity has experienced rapid development, reflecting the southward trend of global Christianity. However, this development is one of quantity rather than quality, and its main contribution to the worldwide Christian Ecumenical Movement remains at the practical, rather than the theological, philosophical, or ideological, levels.

In the past, the Chinese Christian Church has been criticized as “having a swollen body but weakened heart and brain,” meaning it confused the primary with the secondary and paid much more attention to areas like education and medicine than to direct evangelical work. Although the Chinese Christian Church today has almost lost all its auxiliary institutions, this “edema symptom” or “powerlessness” in the theoretical and theological construction has become much more intensified.

Despite the fact that the Christian Church has representatives at all levels within the National People’s Congress and the Chinese People’s Political

1988). [The Editorial Committee of the Encyclopedia of China (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of China: Religion Volume* (Beijing: Encyclopedia of China Press, 1988).]

33. For the so-called postmissionary era, see 徐以驊：〈後傳教時代的宗教與中美關係〉，徐以驊、涂怡超、劉驤主編，《宗教與美國社會——宗教與美國對外關係》（第七輯）（北京：時事出版社，2012），頁73–76。[Xu Yihua, “Religion and Sino-US Relations in the Post-Missionary Era,” in *Religion and American Society—Religion and American Foreign Relations*, vol. 7, ed. Xu Yihua, Tu Yichao, and Liu Qian (Beijing: Current Affairs Press, 2012), 73–76.]

Consultative Conference and has a symbolic status in the country’s political system, it has been seriously marginalized in society and in academia. Therefore, the high road of the Christian missionary movement in China is, in my view, definitely more favorable than the low.

The embedding of the PECM in education, the church, and politics and its high-road approach naturally receive increasing recognition and respect from academia. Today, to enhance its theological studies, social participation, and international status, the Christian Church in China should consider the path of this historical experience as a way forward for its future development.



## Christian Encounters *with* Chinese Culture

"This is one of the finest books on Christianity and Chinese culture to have emerged in recent years. Philip Wickeri has done the almost-impossible, and assembled an outstanding, world-class team of scholars to write on Anglican and Episcopal history in China, with essays focusing on education, liturgy, ministry, ecclesiology and theology. This is a timely, important book—and one that will re-shape the way we understand the place of Anglican and Episcopal churches in the past, present and future."—**Martyn Percy**, dean of Christ Church, Oxford, UK

"This pioneering study provides new knowledge of local parishes, translation of liturgy, as well as mission and theology of Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui. Comprehensive in scope and original in using new resources, it will stimulate new scholarship in the study of Christianity in China."—**Kwok Pui-lan**, author of *Chinese Women and Christianity, 1860–1927*

"The essays included in this important volume offer a refreshingly realistic image of the Christian missionary enterprise and its interaction with Chinese culture and society. The contributors present new angles of interpretation, with more informed and nuanced accounts of the complexities and contradictions that shaped the encounter of one particular strand of Western Christianity and Chinese culture during a turbulent century of change."—**R. G. Tiedemann**, professor of Chinese history, Shandong University, China

Written by a team of internationally recognized scholars, *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture* focuses on a church tradition that has never been very large in China but that has had considerable social and religious influence. Themes of the book include questions of church, society and education, the Prayer Book in Chinese, parish histories, and theology. Taken together, the nine chapters and the introduction offer a comprehensive assessment of the Anglican experience in China and its missionary background.

Historical topics range from macro to micro levels, beginning with an introductory overview of the Anglican and Episcopal tradition in China. Topics include how the church became embedded in Chinese social and cultural life, the many ways women's contributions to education built the foundations for strong parishes, and Bishop R. O. Hall's attentiveness to culture for the life of the church in Hong Kong. Two chapters explore how broader historical themes played out at the parish level—St. Peter's Church in Shanghai during the War against Japan and St. Mary's Church in Hong Kong during its first three decades. Chapters looking at the Chinese Prayer Book bring an innovative theological perspective to the discussion, especially how the inability to produce a single prayer book affected the development of the Chinese church. Finally, the tension between theological thought and Chinese culture in the work of Francis C. M. Wei and T. C. Chao is examined.

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Cover image: Shanghai clergy, circa 1885. Courtesy of Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library.

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