
THE HENRY MARTYN LECTURES

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"David Paton - Christian Mission Encounters Communism in China"

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INTRODUCTION

In this second lecture, I shall focus on my reflections of the work of David Paton, *Christian Mission and the Judgment of God* (London: SCM Press, First edition in 1953). When I came to Cambridge as a visiting fellow in the fall of 2005, I was asked to lead a discussion group at this Divinity Faculty. I was glad to know that amongst the reading list, Paton's book was on the required list for all M.Phil. students of World Christianity. The book was reprinted by Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. in October 1996, with an introduction by Rev. Bob Whyte and a foreword by Bishop K.H. Ting. They both have endorsed Paton's view from the experiences of Chinese Churches in the past forty years. Bob Whyte said that many of Paton's reflections remained of

immediate relevance today and the issues he perceived as important in 1953 were still central to the future Christianity in China. Bishop Ting also affirmed that his book was a book of prophetic vision and Paton was a gift of God to the worldwide church. Dr. Gerald H. Anderson, the director of Overseas Ministries Study Centre at New Haven (USA) further remarked, saying: "To have this classic available again is timely- even better with the new foreword by Bishop K.H. Ting. ^[1] So Paton's work was still worth re-visiting, and I decided to read it again for this lecture.

Paton's book should have become very controversial in the 1950s and 1960s, even today. Unfortunately, it did not receive much attention as it should be. Paton and another Anglican missionary before him, Roland Allen (1868-1947) ^[2] were both missionaries in China and have been radically critical of Christian missions of their times. Allen worked in North China and Paton was working with the YMCA in Fuzhou in South China. ^[3] Their experiences in China, though with forty years apart, had prompted them to radically re-assess the missionary methods of the Western churches. In short, Allen called for a return to New Testament principles and to the example of the Apostle Paul who entrusted the new churches in the hands of the Holy Spirit. He was saying that in order to develop native churches in China, the missionaries should leave their mission fields, the sooner the better; and Paton affirmed that the expulsion of missionaries from China in the early 1950s was the judgement from God since they had not done their job well, especially regarding the development of indigenous churches in China. In Paton's word, "God's judgement is being executed upon His Church by political movements which are anti-Christian. Of this almost worldwide movement, the Communists are the spearhead." ^[4] Paton was also concerned with the missionary failure to come to terms with Communism in China. Both Allen and Paton were deemed to be too radical in their own country and their ideas were generally dismissed, even before they were discussed. However, after his death in 1992, Paton's book was reprinted in 1996. Another book which Paton edited in 1968, *Reform of the Ministry: A Study in the Work of Roland Allen* came out again in a new edition in June 2003. ^[5] So there are

still markets for Paton's work. Was he really a prophet of his time? In this lecture, I would suggest that if we could investigate more thoroughly the social and political contexts of his times, we would understand better his experiences in China and why he had arrived the conclusion he did. Hence, I shall approach Paton's prophetic view of Christian mission from this angle and hopefully we may arrive at a conclusion whether we may call David Paton a prophet.

The Prophetic Voices of David Paton

At the back of the Second Edition of Paton's book, there is a remark, saying "David Paton's book stands as a major contribution to missiology in our time. It also remains as a prophetic statement about the church and China". He was speaking to and not for the Church. Rather than telling the Church what she could contribute in China, Paton was saying that the Church must discover what the Chinese experiences had to say to their own situations. So, what did Paton say about Christian mission in China in his book?

Paton's thesis was that God's judgement was being executed upon His church by political movements which were anti-Christian, and by this he meant the Communists. The arrival of the Communist rule in China in 1949 turned out to be a debacle to Christian mission in China and Paton reckoned that "the end of the missionary era was the (judgement and the) will of God".^[6] Why was it the judgement of God? Paton spoke from his personal experiences in China and his charge against Christian missions was that Christian missions were part of the whole imperialist aggression of the West and this jeopardized the future of the missionary enterprise.^[7] There were two sides of the charge. Firstly, Christian missions had been serving as the agents of the imperial West, as carriers and promoters of capitalistic, Western cultures. Secondly, "whatever may have been the formal aim of (Christian) missions, their actual policy was such that it was not to foster, but to preclude, the development of a genuinely dynamic, self-governing, self-supporting, and self-expanding church".^[8]

People may argue that Paton's experiences in China were rather limited and the examples he cited were mostly from the British Anglican mission contexts where he came from. Certainly, what Paton described may not be complete or adequate to the general scene in China. Even if he was, there may still be different ways of interpretation, depending on which side one takes. However, in this paper, instead of arguing for or against Paton's position, I shall attempt to report some significant scholarly works in the past fifty years so as to reveal a more comprehensive picture of the historical situations in China. These works, as we shall see, verify the points Paton was trying to express in his book. I shall start with Jessie Lutz's book first.

Jessie Lutz's *Christian Missions in China- Evangelists of What?*

Jessie Lutz was a Professor of History at Rutgers University, New Jersey. Her classical book was *China and the Christian Colleges* ^[9] from where I started off my research interests on Christian Colleges in China, before I moved on to the history of Christian mission in China. Her other book, *Christian Missions in China- Evangelists of What?*, was published in 1965. Lutz collected papers from very famous American and Chinese scholars such as Kenneth S. Latourette, Joseph Levenson, Charles P. Fitzgerald, Paul Cohen, Paul A. Varg, Chen Tu-hsiu, Hsu Pao-chien, Wu Yao-tsung and Chao Fu-san (also known as Zhao Fu-san). The papers were divided into three groups: firstly, how did the missionaries set and revised their goals and methods in their mission fields in China; secondly, how did the Chinese intellectuals respond to Christian missions and thirdly, how did Western scholars attempt to appraise the role of Christian missions in China. In summary, it was found out that there were several phases of missionary movements and in order to bring about effective changes in China, the missionaries were trying to broaden their goals from converting individuals to Christianizing the societies, and even to responding to China's national needs. On the other hand, the Chinese were not slow in recognizing that the missionaries were evangelists of more than the Christian religion. The missionaries were playing a significant role as mediators of Western

civilization and they were, as Paton says, "agents of the imperial West, as carriers and promoters of capitalistic, Western cultures", hence intensified the Western threat to Chinese tradition and culture. As the Chinese soon found it, 'Christian conversion' meant turning not only to Christian faith, but also to Western cultures; 'Christianization' implied Westernization of Chinese civilization too. ^[10] For many years, Christianity has remained a foreign and heterodox religion in the minds of most Chinese; and the thinking of "one more Christian, one less Chinese" still prevailed. Worse still, lots of Chinese scholars had been criticizing a well-known book published by the China Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910, entitled *The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Illustration of the Christian Forces in China*.^[11] The book was an attempt to gather all information, including statistical data about the total number of missionaries, mission stations, churches, schools, hospitals and the number of believers, hence a very comprehensive report of the work of missionaries in China. However, the title of the book reflected so clearly the great desires of the missionaries who wanted to conquer China with their missionary forces. The picture of a military campaign was so real that nationalistic Chinese had to stand up and condemn Christian missions as the cultural arm of Western imperialism. ^[12] Hence, the papers collected in Lutz's book confirmed what Paton says regarding the Christian missionaries as the agents of the imperial West.

George Hood's Mission Accomplished? The English Presbyterian Mission in Lingtung, South China

George Hood was a missionary from Presbyterian Church of England and he received his training at Cambridge (probably at Westminster College) in early 1940s. He served as a missionary in East Guangdong, China from 1945-1950. He has served as East Asia Secretary of the Council for World Mission from 1972-1977; and as a teaching staff in the Department of Mission at Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham.

Hood has written a distinguished book entitled: *Neither Bang nor Whimper: The End of a Missionary Era in China*,^[13] in which he discussed directly on the keys issues raised by Paton's book, especially regarding the words, 'debacle', 'judgement' and 'failure' of Christian missions in China. ^[14] He concluded that though much had been said and written about Paton's conceptions of 'judgement' and 'failure' of Christian missions in China, yet there remained the lack of a historical perspective which would take sufficient account of the whole history in China. I shall attempt to explore this historical perspective in the later part of my lecture. Meanwhile, I will turn to Hood's another book, *Mission Accomplished? The English Presbyterian Mission in Lingtung, South China* which was his doctoral thesis completed in Birmingham University in 1985.

In this book, Hood reported of three main charges against the Christian missionaries in China, the first two of them were identical with the suggestions of Paton. The first was the association with Western imperialism. Hood cited from Zhao Fu-san, saying that there were two group of missionaries, one who criticised colonialism and imperialism and identified with the revolutionary movements of the oppressed people; the other group who "engaged in political activities in support of their home, colonial imperialistic government and local reactionary government." ^[15] Yet, in between them, there were the majority, who, whatever their protestations of being 'non-political' were de facto supporters of local reactionary forces as the representatives of law and order, and because of their opposition to violence, they turned out to be opposed to revolutionary movements. Hood went on to say that the English Presbyterian missionaries in Lingdong (Lingtung), South China mostly belonged to the middle majority group, but their 'non-political' position did not derive from otherworldly pietism so much as missionary pragmatism. "Their preoccupation with the task of establishing and nurturing the Church made them set a high priority on the maintenance of law and order. They were not oblivious of the social dynamic within the Gospel they preached and taught, but trusted it to work through reformist rather than revolutionary movements".

[16]

The second charge was the failure to establish a truly Chinese Three-Self Church. In his study of the English Presbyterian Mission in Lingdong, Hood reported that it was professedly the objective of the Presbyterian Mission to establish a self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating Chinese Church. He also reported that the Church in Lingdong had already attained itself as the first native, independent Presbytery in 1881. ^[17] Their leading missionary, John Campbell Gibson was devoted to the cause and in 1907, at the Centenary Missionary Conference in Shanghai, he even claimed that his English Presbyterians mission in Swatow had already achieved 80% self-supporting churches. ^[18] He even challenged the rest of the Churches in China to achieve complete self-support within the next few years. The experience in Presbyterian Mission was not the same as that of Paton in the Anglican Mission, due to their different mission societies' policies, though Fuzhou was situated not far from Swatow. Nevertheless, though the missionaries in the Presbyterian Mission seemed to be more advanced and had greater confidence in the development of three-self churches, yet, as Hood reported, the situations in China especially during the 1920s were not so favourable. The anti-Christian and anti-missionary movements had made the missionaries more cautious in keeping their properties and in the transferral of power and responsibilities to the Chinese Christians. So, twenty four years later, in 1931, Tom Gibson (the son of James Gibson) reported that among the eighty-eight congregations of the Presbytery, twenty-eight were self-supporting, hence comprising only one-third of the total in the Presbytery. Why was there a drop of self-supporting churches in this presbytery? Statistics also showed that there were more self-supporting congregations than there were native ministers, in such a way that the churches were still dependent on the missionaries who helped carrying out the work of the Presbytery. ^[19] The truth was that though the missionary presence was only temporary, it was by all means indispensable to the growth of the Church in China.

David Cheung's *Christianity in Modern China: the Making of the First Native Protestant Church*

David Cheung (Chen Yi Qiang ???) published his doctoral dissertation in 2004. It was a research he did at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and Cheung was a student of Dr. Gary Tiedemann. In his book, Cheung reported that the work of the missionaries in Amoy from 1850s to 1870s. The missionaries were from the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church Mission from America (known as Reformed Church of America) and it was later joined by the English Presbyterian Swatow Mission. ^[20]

The principle of "three self" - namely "self-governing", "self-supporting" and "self-propagating" was commonly associated with Henry Venn (1796-1873), the Honorary Secretary of Church Missionary Society (1841-1872) and Rufus Anderson (1796-1880), Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions since 1826 and corresponding secretary from 1832 to 1866. For both of them, the grand aim of missionary work was the building of a genuinely native church in the mission fields. "The native church was... that it should potentially be a church of the country, a church that could become self-governing, self-supporting, self-extending". ^[21] The earliest attempt of building indigenous church in China, as Cheung reported, really happened in 1856 (around the same time when Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson were formulating their 'three-self' principles). It was the Sinkoe Chapel in Amoy which was run by the missionaries, Talmage and Douglas and others from the Reformed Church of America. By the early spring of 1856, according to Cheung's report, the adult church membership at Sinkoe Chapel reached one hundred and ten and the missionaries started in April the first instance of devolution in the church by the election of Chinese Christians as church elders and deacons. It signified a great move as it involved real power transfer and a real attainment of self-government in the Chinese Church. ^[22] The devolution, as Cheung discovered, was neither due to the internal agitation on the part of the Chinese Christians, nor to the external anti-foreign pressures such as those of the 1920s in China. Indeed, it was the missionaries

themselves who committed to the first act of devolution as early as in 1856. There was a remarkable absence of home mission-native church friction, hence demonstrated a peaceful and smooth process of devolution in China.

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Cheung also reported of similar cases in other Missions, such as the Amoy Mission of London Missionary Society began with partial support of its local preachers in 1866 and ordained its first Chinese pastors in 1872. The English Presbyterian Mission in Swatow formed its self-governing presbytery in 1881 and ordained its first Chinese pastor in 1882. It finally reached its self-support status in 1907. So, scholars like George Hood and David Cheung are now reporting more local cases in China testifying the fact that despite of the limitations and difficulties existing in China, indigenous Chinese churches have been formed, even as early as in 1850s. These were real cases, though they were only tiny incidents within the whole missionary enterprises in China. Now we shall turn to Daniel Bays' book for more cases of indigenous Christianity in China.

Daniel Bays' Christianity in China- The Eighteenth Century to the Present

George Hood gave us the report of the English Presbyterian Mission in Swatow, Guangdong province which was different from Paton's Anglican Mission in Fuzhou. David Cheung gave us another report of the Reformed Church of America in Amoy. Though it was not far from the other two (Swatow, Amoy and Fuzhou were all in south China), yet we can find that the policies and situations were different due to the different mission societies they belonged to and the different cities they located. On the other hand, Daniel Bays has collected general information about the situation in wider parts of China. His huge volume was the product of a History of Christianity in China Project which was funded by the American Henry Luce Foundation, Inc. Besides the collection of 19 research papers from most recent scholars, Bays has added an excellent chapter of his own, entitled: "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900-1937". [24]

In this chapter, Bays reported that throughout the nineteenth century China, Protestant mission movement was dominated by organized missionary societies, most of them (with the exception of the China Inland Mission) were agencies of main-line denominational churches in North America and Europe such as the Presbyterian, Anglican (Episcopalian), Congregational, Reformed Churches, Lutheran, Methodist, Baptist and others. But after 1900, there was a great increase in independent, local missionaries. He cited from the report of the 1907 conference that the number of Protestant church members had grown rapidly from 37,000 in 1889 to 178,000 in 1906 and added a remark, saying: "the most important feature of this period was the growth of the spirit of independence in Chinese Protestant churches". [25] Bays then moved on to report the emergence of some of the independent Christian groups such as:

a. The Chinese Christian Independent Church (*Zhongguo Yesujiao zilihui*), formed by Yu Guozhen (???) in 1906;

[26]

b. The True Jesus Church (*Zhen Yesu Jiaohui*) formed between 1917-1919;

[27]

c. The Jesus Family (*Yesu Jiating*) formed by Jing Dianying (???1890-1953) in 1921 in the village of Mazhuang, in Taian county of Shandong Province;

[28]

d. The Assembly Hall (*Juhuichu or Juhuisuo*) or "Little Flock" (*Xiaoqun*) formed in mid-1920s under the leadership of Ni Tuosheng (Watchman Nee, ???1903-1972);

e. The Spiritual Gifts Church (*Ling'enhui*) formed in early 1930s after the revival movement in Shandong.

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Bays also drew our attention to some Chinese Protestant figures (revivalists) with a nationwide reputation such as Ding Limei (1871-1936), [30] Wang Mingdao (1900-1991) [31] Chen Chonggui (???Marcus Cheng 1884-1964), Song Shangjie (???John Song 1901-1944) and Ji Zhiwen (???Andrew Gih). They were powerful native preachers and evangelists and attracted many followers in China. Together with the Chinese churches above-mentioned, their works were of equally significant impact alongside with the work done by the Western missionaries in China. Western missionaries had been discussing for decades about the need and possibility for the formation of

Chinese churches which could work towards the three-self goals, yet they were astonished to see that they could be realised, not by their missionary policies, but by means of these new forces and independent groups among the Chinese Christians. These local Christian movements became a significant sector of Chinese Christianity which have survived and contributed much to the dynamism of Christianity in China even after the arrival of the Communists in 1949.

Work of Chinese Christians towards Indigenous Christianity

David Paton was saying that the end of missionary era in China was the judgement of God. So far we have seen that though mission societies have set as their aims the building of indigenous churches in China, the progress was yet very slow. David Cheung and George Hood have already found out in their research that there had been successful attempts by the missionaries to start three-self churches in 1850s and 1880s, but they were only a tiny minority among the churches in China and for some reasons they did not grow much in the later years. Hood was suggesting that the situations in China, especially in 1920s were not found favourable to the development of indigenous churches in the country. Perhaps there were other reasons such as: the missionaries were so much concerned with the number of converts they could make that they could not afford time for the training of local pastors or church leaders to take over the administration of the Church. Or the missionaries still did not have enough confidence to transfer power and responsibility to the Chinese leaders, hence became a great hindrance to the development of indigenous churches in China ^[32]

Worse still, few missionaries were aware of the problem of 'foreignness' of Christianity in China.^[33] As Paton described, "The entire structure and ethos of the church in China was, with minor much -paraded exceptions, Western. Prayer books are in the main direct, not to say crudely literal, translations of the original. The union hymn book in general use contains 62 original Chinese hymns out of 512, and 72 Chinese tunes. Church architecture is mainly a matter of brick boxes, with odds and ends of embellishment from the Gothic

revival... The structure of diocesan organization and accounts was based on Western models... Missionaries, with few exceptions, maintained a Western style and standard of living." [34] Paton was saying that the Anglican mission in China with its overall body of Christian doctrines and traditions were still very foreign. [35] Paton was aware of this problem of 'foreignness' of Christianity in China, which many missionaries had not noticed or did not care to respond.

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There were at least three distinctive groups of Christian movements in the early twentieth century China. The first group was the work of Western missionaries such as the mainline denominational missionary societies and those described by David Cheung and George Hood. The second group was the attempts of indigenous churches by Chinese Christians such as the Jesus Family led by Jing Dian Ying and the Assembly Hall and Little Flock led by Ni Tuosheng and others, as described by Daniel Bays. There was also the third group of Chinese Christians who came out of the mainline churches but were expressing a strong desire for the development of independent Chinese Churches. For instance, before formally set up the Chinese Christian Independent Church (*Zhongguo Yesujiao zilihui*) in 1906, Yu Guozhen and his colleagues published a newspaper called, *The Chinese Christian (Zhongguo Jidutubao)*, advocating missionaries and Chinese Churches to "give up the unequal treaties which protect the churches... awaken churches in all areas and Christians to work out seriously for the three-self goals". [37] There were already articles expressing their cry for "indigenous church" such as "Methods of Promoting Self Support" (in June 1904); "A Native Church for China" (????? in March 1905); "Why Does the Christian Church in China Not Able to be Self-governing and Self-propagating?" (in November 1906); "The Good and Bad Effects of Self-propagating and Not Doing So" (in September 1907); "The Most Important Problem Facing the Chinese Church Today" (in September 1907). [38] Even the editors of *The Chinese Recorder* were aware of the issue and had written some reviews on their July issue of 1907. "The Chinese have been awakened". George Hood has reported the case of English Presbyterian Mission in Swatow and one of the missionaries, James

Gibson who reacted responsively by advocating the ideal and practicability of Three-self model at the Centenary Missionary Conference of 1907. ^[39] Based on his own experience in the Swatow Church, Gibson believed that the Three-selves were no longer simply ideals for a distant future, but practical objectives to be immediately worked for and speedily realized. However, Gibson has softened his tone when he became one of the commission chair at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910. ^[40] Dr. Cheng Jingyi (known as C.Y. Cheng ???, 1881-1939) was one of the Chinese delegates spoke also at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference. Contrary to the commission report of Gibson, Cheng made explicitly clear that it was an urgent need to develop indigenous Churches in China and Western denominationalism was a big obstacle. He said that "the China Mission" should soon become "the Chinese Church" and that "the Church in China" should become "the Church of China". ^[41] However, the missionaries at the conference did not take his points. Much of the discussions in the conference were still on the issues of church disciplines, esp. on mixed marriages between Christian and non-Christian families in Chinese churches. Some missionaries kept reporting that the Chinese converts could not meet the moral standards set by the missionaries so they could not be entrusted. Hence, there was a consensus among the missionaries that the Chinese Church still needed the "correction, suggestion, illumination and guidance" of the Western missionaries and the development of indigenous church in China would still be a long long way to go. One of the proposals made by the Edinburgh Conference was to cultivate better co-operation among all of the Protestant denominations, hence the China Continuation Committee was set up which aimed to promote inter-denominational co-operation on the national level. However, there was no proposal to bridge the gap between Chinese churches and foreign missionaries. ^[42]

Nevertheless, Dr. Cheng was not frustrated at the result of the Edinburgh Conference. After his return to China, Cheng started co-ordinating with Chinese Christians and planned for the formation of the National Christian Council (NCC) and the Church of Christ in China (CCC). In 1922, the NCC

was formed at the National Christian Conference which was attended by representatives from most of the Protestant institutions in China. Half of them were Chinese. Dr. Cheng was appointed as the first President of National Christian Council and in its Declaration, he proposed the promotion of 'indigenous theology' as the primary aim of National Christian Council which would work out the foundation of the truly three-self church in China. In the article "Discussing an Indigenous Church of China", he explained:

"Christianity has spread to every country in the world and has been influenced by many different national traits. There should be no fear if the same process happens in China... All I want to discuss here is how in what age and among what national traits were incorporated into our religion." [43]

Cheng's proposal for an indigenous church movement was freed from the kind of anti-Western, exclusivist sentiment. He saw indigenous church more in terms of an integration with Chinese culture and organization and doctrinal autonomy. He further explained that there was a two-fold emphasis on the construction of 'indigenous theology', namely on the negative side, it was a complete autonomy from the West (by being critical of the Westernized Christianity), and on the more positive side, it was to develop the indigenous character of Chinese churches by the integration of Christian faith with Asian, Chinese cultures. [44]

Again out of the National Christian Conference, the Church of Christ in China (*Zhonghua Jidujiao Hui*) was set up which drew closer together the various Christian denominational groups, especially the Presbyterian and Congregational churches in China. As it was reported, there were 345 Chinese pastors in 1907 and 764 in 1915. The number grew up to 1305 by 1920, whereas there were only 1268 foreign missionaries in China in 1920. Hence, Chinese pastors had already out-numbered the foreign missionaries in 1920. [45] By 1927, when the Church of Christ in China was in its operation, it claimed to represent close to a quarter of China's Protestants, making it the largest Protestant church in China, and the most powerful member of National Council of Churches in China. Missionary delegates once proposed for it the title of "Federal Council of Christian Churches in China", but it was not

accepted because it suggested a union of Western denominations rather than setting up a new Chinese Church. The Chinese title, *Zhonghua Jidujiao Hui*, on the other hand expressed more precisely the hope of Chinese Christians, i.e. to be autonomous, independent and their churches being freed from the influence and control of the mission boards. Foreign missionaries were allowed to become members of Church of Christ in China only on equal basis with their China counters (i.e. not entitled to any superior status). The Church of Christ in China worked to replace foreign missions and helped its member churches to be independent from foreign funds ("self-support"), from foreign mission supervision ("self-government") and from foreign doctrine and theology ("self-propagation").

A well-known Chinese theologian, T.C. Chao (???) also made an important address at the National Council of Churches conference in Shanghai. In his speech on 'The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Chinese Church', he explained: "The (Chinese) Church is weak because she is still foreign, both in thought and form, and is divided, by Western denominationalism".^[46] Chao openly declared that the Western form of church life especially 'Western denominationalism' was a continuing embarrassment to the Chinese churches. And he said firmly that there would not be any future for the Chinese Church unless she could do away with her image of 'foreign religion' and wipe off her 'Western denominationalism'.^[47]

I have mentioned a while ago that George Hood had suggested three main charges against Protestant missionaries in China. I reported that the first two charges were identical to those suggested by Paton. What about the third one? The third charge was, in Hood's words, "the perpetuation in China of Western divisions and denominations".^[48] And he explained:

"The force of this charge derived from three factors. In the first place the divisions among Christian missionaries were seen as political and cultural as well as theological, and thereby identified with the competing imperialisms which were all hostile to China's interests; secondly, their divisive influence was contrary to the demand for national unity and defence of China's sovereign integrity, and thirdly, in as much as they were compounded by the liberal-conservative divide they undermined attempts to provide an adequate and united Christian apologetic to the attacks of scientific rationalism. In each of

these three ways they underlined the foreign, un-Chinese character of Christian faith." ^[49]

We have discussed the prophetic voice of Timothy Richard yesterday. He was indeed a great prophet. He did have something to say on this issue of denominationalism even in the beginning years of the twentieth century. In a paper he read before the Shanghai Missionary Association on November 4, 1902, he had the following words, saying (here I quote):

"Last of all, comes the all-important work of co-operation in organization. The Chinese government does not appoint two magistrates for one county, or two prefects for one prefecture, or two governors for one province... The same applies to missions. No Episcopal church appoints two bishops over the same district... Now that God has bestowed His blessings on Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist, almost in equal proportion, are we not denying that real unity which God has sealed with His blessing if we do not agree to organize our work as one body would do? Let us, therefore, divide the (mission) field without overlapping and divide our departments without overlapping, then we may naturally expect ten-fold efficiency and economy in our work and the blessing of God be poured out upon us in ten-fold measure... (hence, he calls for) a genuine recognition of the fact that God gives His Spirit to all denominations without partiality, and therefore a determination to divide the (mission) field and divide the work without overlapping, and to have far more co-operation than at present exists in educational, medical and other work." ^[50]

It was spoken by Richard in 1902. Yet, the situation was not better but even worse in forty years. This charge of Western denominationalism might have been overlooked by Paton in his book. For Paton might have been too much indulged in his own denominational interests that he was unaware of the problem of denominationalism in China, as other missionaries were. But to many Chinese Christians like T.C. Chao, this was one of the key issues and longstanding yearnings for Chinese churches throughout the twentieth century China.

Together with other Chinese intellectuals like C.Y.Cheng, Timothy T. Lew, David Yu and Tao Xing-zhi, Chao worked very

hard for the promotion of indigenous theology in China. For instance, they had set up 'Life Fellowship' (*Sheng Ming She*) in 1919 and published a monthly journal called "Life" (*Sheng Ming*), which aimed to demonstrate the truth and power of Christianity by Chinese Christians. And in December 1923, they further organized 'The Chinese Christian Society for Promoting Literary Services', which was renamed '*Wen She*' (National Literature Association) in July 1925. They published '*Wen She Monthly*' which aimed to promote the construction of indigenous theology and to introduce Christian culture through a Chinese style of writing. They discussed issues on the theology and liturgy of the Church and were attempting to integrate Christian faith with the Chinese culture. ^[51] One of its prominent writer, Wang Chih-hsin stated explicitly:

"Christianity has existed in China for over one hundred years now, but it has not been able to grow and develop together with Chinese society, mainly due to the dominance of foreign missionaries. It is for this reason that we as Chinese writers have to change the direction and begin bringing out in a positive manner what is good about Chinese culture. We must begin adopting the culture of Christianity with discriminating minds and in mutual harmony with our native culture, thus making it an integral part of our indigenous customs and behaviour. Only in this way can Christianity progress within the process of social life." ^[52]

Interesting to know that all these had happened long time before the coming of the Communist rule in China. Even before the arrival of the communists, Chinese intellectuals had already started the anti-Christian movement and the Restore Educational Rights movement in the early 1920s, and again after the May 30th Shanghai incident in 1925. During the anti-Christian movements, Chinese students and intellectuals openly condemned Christian missions as the cultural arms of Western imperialism. Even for the Chinese Christians, they had to ask

themselves these simple questions: "What is Christianity? Is it a universal faith that can be separated from Western civilization?" In response to the popular saying, which says: "One more Christian, one less Chinese", the Chinese Christians have to ask themselves: "Can we become Christians without being Westernized, i.e. keeping our identity as 'Chinese' Christians?". These were serious questions Chinese Christians had to encounter, even today. That was why Chinese Christians were crying out for the indigenization of Christian faith, not so much as an expression of their anti-foreignism, but it was rather to meet their immediate needs, so that Christianity could be more easily acceptable to their Chinese friends as a truly Universal faith. T.C. Chao has indeed exclaimed in the Spring of 1949, saying: "Christianity as represented by the churches often appears as a twisted thing, a thing connected with foreign imperialism... No wonder so many Christians go over to the Communists. Yet the churches have not awakened". [53]

Concept of 'De-Westernization' Re-visited

Before I conclude, I may elaborate a bit this concept of 'de-Westernization'. As I have said, the missionaries had underestimated the growing tide of the anti-Christian, anti-foreignism and the anti-imperialist movements in China and had failed to address adequately the longstanding yearnings of Chinese Christians which went beyond the anti-foreign sentiments, regarding the simple question as "Whether Christianization can be separated from Westernization?". This is still a relevant question, even for Christianity in our 21st century when we are encountering the new concept of 'World Christianity' today. Christians in non-Western world today are still asking: Can we have a 'de-Westernize' Christianity? I shall come back to this in my next lecture on "Bishop Ting and the Three-Self Movement

in China" tomorrow. Though this concept of 'de-Westernization' is not a new one, we are certainly in a much better position now to answer these questions as we are moving into a new era of 'Christendom'.

We must have heard of Philip Jenkins' book, *The Next Christendom: the coming of Global Christianity*.^[54] Jenkins has helped us to come to understand that the centre of Christianity has been shifting from 'North to South' and from 'White to non-White'. That is why scholars now are using the phrase 'World Christianity' in many academic departments. Historians of Christianity today are concerned with how the 'universal' Christian faith interacts with a diversity of cultures and societies, and as Professor Andrew Walls remarked some years ago, saying: '...by cross-cultural diffusion it [the Christian movement] becomes a progressively rich entity.'^[55]

In November 2006, I attended the annual conference of American Academy of Religion at Washington, DC. There were two sessions on World Christianity. The first one was designed as 'World Christianity in General', in which there were four papers discussions on the general concept of World Christianity, with examples drawn from European and American experiences. The second session was on 'World Christianity in Local Contexts', in which there were another four papers reporting the situations in Africa, China, Japan and Korea. Then scholars from the so-called 'Third World' raised a very fundamental and crucial question, of whether we were conscious of the fact that we had confined ourselves to European and American Christianity when we were talking about World Christianity and, consciously or unconsciously, we had referred to the third world when we were describing World Christianity in local contexts. By now, we should be aware that

only when the universal Christian faith is separated from Western civilization, can we then talk about Western and non-Western Christianities. And we need to be aware of the fact that Western Christianity is just another form of localized Christianity. It is interesting to note that now at our Divinity Faculty here at Cambridge we begin to talk about 'Christian culture in the Western world', admitting that Western Christianity is only one form of expression of the Global Christianity. ^[56]

I may cite one more example for your reference. One of the favourite scholars in my research on Christian colleges in China was Francis C.M. Wei, who was the first Chinese president of Central China University (Huachung University, now known as Huazhong Normal University in Wuhan). I admired Francis Wei because, first of all, he was an Anglican, the same denomination as I now am. Secondly, Wei got his Ph.D. from the University of London in 1929. ^[57] He got it 56 years before I got mine (in 1985). Anyway, we are alumnae of the same university. And thirdly, Wei was appointed to be the first Henry W. Luce Visiting Professor of World Christianity. ^[58] It was in 1945 and in the opening lecture he delivered at Union Theological Seminary in New York, Wei expounded the concept of 'World Christianity' and its relationship with Chinese culture. ^[59] In speaking to a group of American scholars and church leaders, he deliberately made a distinction between 'World Christianity' and 'Western Christianity', saying that the latter was only one form of expressions of the global Christianity. He then criticized the non-global aspects of Western Christianity such as 'the spirit of denominationalism' (an issue which had already been discussed for twenty years by his contemporaries in China). Wei went a step further to suggest a new way of understanding Christian mission which I find very helpful in my teaching of world Christianity today. His suggestion was that, rather than seeking

to conquer the non-Christian world, Christian missionaries should seek help from the non-Christian peoples by inviting them to join as partners in the worldwide Christian movement. In order to realise the truth that Christianity is a world religion, she needs to seek expressions in different cultures and by different peoples of the world. Hence, Wei contended:

'It is because the Christian believes that the Christian Church (or World Christianity) needs all people in the world, as much as all people in the world need the Christian faith, that the world-wide Christian missionary movement is supported and kept going. When this is explained and understood in China the missionary movement will no longer be regarded as Western arrogance and presumptuousness, and the missionary will not be considered as exercising his prerogative of making known what he has in himself and what others lack, but (rather) as doing his duty in seeking for a more adequate expression for the (Christian) Faith which is intended for the whole of mankind.'^[60]

Why did he put it that way? Wei suggested that only in that way could the receivers (the Chinese or all other non-Western peoples as well) feel respected as a people and as individuals when they were invited to join the worldwide Christian movement. In other words, the missionaries were not merely exercising their prerogative of conquering China by the Christian religion but were seeking a more adequate way of proclaiming Christianity as a global faith. This may remind us also of Wang Chih-hsin's famous story of 'peanut' which he put forth to illustrate the meaning of Christianity being 'indigenized' in the Chinese context. Here are his words:

"The word *pen-se* (indigenous) essentially has the meaning of 'home-grown', but since Christianity has been imported from the West, how is it possible to become a product of China? I once compared Christianity to the peanut. The peanut, which we eat today, was at first called 'eastern peanut' (because the

seeds were originated from the West but sown and grown in the East). After only twenty years, there is no one around now who refers to it as 'eastern peanut'. In the same way Christianity will be sown and sprout on Chinese soil, and over time all of its Western features will be removed by natural selection. It will grow by absorbing the new nutrients provided by the Chinese soil and become a product 'home-grown' in China, that is 'indigenized'" ^[61]

Hence, both Francis Wei and Wang Chih-hsin had offered us new ways of understanding Christian mission and the development of indigenized church in China. As the first Henry Luce Visiting Professor of World Christianity, Francis Wei had made clear to the American scholars and church leaders that they should listen to these longstanding yearnings of the Chinese and to reformulate their mission policy to non-Western worlds. That was in 1946 and perhaps it was too late for the missionaries in China as the Communists have come to rule over China in 1949.

Concluding Remarks

David Paton suggested that the end of missionary era in the early 1950s in China was the judgement of God. The coming of Communism was but God's judgement upon the Christian mission in the past century. Paton did not say much on how Christianity should encounter or work with Communism. We shall leave it to the next lecture when we shall come to see the life and work of Bishop Ting tomorrow.

As for Paton's suggestion, we cannot say definitely that it was God's judgement. However, when we re-visit the history of Christianity in China in the past hundred years, we did find out that the Christian mission in China had not fulfilled its mission in building up an adequate indigenous church in China. The two

charges Paton recalled, or more accurately, there were three main charges suggested by George Hood were all valid. Of course, we should not deny the fact that most if not all missionaries were sent to China primarily to preach the Christian gospel of love and serve the needs of the Chinese people, nor should we totally disregard all the achievements made by the missionaries in the last two centuries in China ^[62] However, so far from the work of the scholars I have cited and from our re-visiting of the historical situations in China, we may conclude that David Paton was not wrong when he echoed with T.C. Chao in saying that 'it was the judgment of God'. ^[63] It also explained why 400,000 Chinese Christians stood up together and signed the Christian Manifesto in 1950 and they joined the Communist government in fighting against imperialism. ^[64] What the missionaries failed to do, the communist had helped to accomplish. And the words of Paton could at least help us to think seriously, not only about our mission strategy and our understanding of Christian mission, but also our conception of World Christianity and our Western theology today.

I shall stop here. Thank you all for attending this second lecture today.

Footnotes:

^[1] See Paton, David. Christian Mission and the Judgement of God. Second Edition, Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996. Remarks on the front page.

^[2] See e.g. Roland Allen. Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours? London: Robert Scott, 1912.

^[3] Allen had witnessed the Boxer Movement in China in 1900 so he could understand more the charge that Christianity was a

foreign religion, which Paton would shared fully. See Roland Allen. *The Siege of the Peking Legations*. London: Smith Elder & co., 1901; and David Paton (ed.) *Reform of the Ministry: A Study in the Work of Roland Allen*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1968, pp.16f.

[4]See Paton,David. *Op.cit.*, p.49.

[5] See Paton, David (ed.). *Reform of the Ministry: A Study in the Work of Roland Allen Second Edition*. London: Lutterworth Press, 2003

[6]See *ibid.*, p.82.

[7]See *ibid.*, pp.64ff.

[8] See *ibid.*, p.66.

[9] See Jessie Lutz. *China and the Christian Colleges 1850-1950*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.

[10] See Jessie Lutz. *Christian Missions in China- Evangelists of What?* Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1965, pp. vii-xviii.

[11] See Stauffer, Milton T. (ed.) *The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Illustration of the Christian Forces in China*. Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922.

[12] See *ibid.*, p.xii. The accusation of 'cultural arms' may be a bit too strong. The Christian mission was not a tool of imperialism; though unfortunately it had been tied to imperialism in China.

[13]See George A. Hood. *Neither Bang nor Whimper : The End of a Missionary Era in China*. Singapore: The Presbyterian Church in Singapore, 1991. I am thankful to Rev. Joyce M.

Bennett who kindly offered me a copy of Hood's book while I was visiting London in January 1992.

[14] He referred especially to the discussions by Charles West's *China and the World Mission of the Church- The Lessons of a Failure*. Victor Hayward's *The End of a Missionary era in China, Reflections on Lessons to be Learned* and M. Searle Bates, "Issues Arising in the I.M.C. Study on the Christian Enterprise in China". See Hood, *op.cit.*, p.213.

[15] See, e.g. George A. Hood. *Mission Accomplished? The English Presbyterian Mission in Lingtung, South China*. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1986, p.288.

[16] See *ibid.*

[17] See *ibid.*, p.138.

[18] Gibson's missionary strategy was 'to gather a small group of followers around him and rent space to hold religious services. As soon as the group grew to about 30 members, the foreign missionary would then began teaching them how to build a church organization of their own. The congregation would elect from among them a leader to conduct church affairs. After then, the missionary would go about other matters. As soon as two or three of these small churches were set up, they would then ordain a Chinese pastor for them.' It was reported that there were 18 churches of this type in 1877 and the number grew to 137 by 1890. See Gibson, J..C. *Mission Problems and Mission Method in South China*. London: 1901; *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China*. Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878 & 1890.

[19] See *ibid.*, pp.294ff.

[20] See David Cheung. *Christianity in Modern China: the Making of the First Native Protestant Church*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

[21] See e.g. Max Warren. *To Apply the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Henry Venn*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 1971, pp.26 & 64ff; and R. Pierce Beaver (ed.) *To Advance the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Rufus Anderson*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 1967, p.97. Though both were speaking of the 'Three Self Principles', they were, so to say, 'mission administrators'.

[22] See *ibid.*, pp.13-14.

[23] See *ibid.*, p.314.

[24] See Daniel Bays. *Christianity in China- The Eighteenth Century to the Present* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996, esp. pp. 307-316.

[25] See *ibid.*, p.308.

[26] Yu was formerly a Presbyterian pastor in Shanghai. The Chinese Christian Union was one of the all-Chinese, independent Christian groups in the early 20th century. It was out of this that a new federation of churches was formed, which later known as the Chinese Christian Independent Church (Zhongguo Yesujiao zilihui).

[27] Dan Bays described it as Pentecostal, intense millennialism, highly exclusive and militantly anti-foreign. See Dan Bays, *op.cit.*, p.311.

[28] One of my students has written a doctoral thesis on the Jesus Family. See Tao Feiya. *A Christian Utopia in China: The*

Jesus Family (1921-1952) (in Chinese) Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2004.

[29] See Dan Bays, *op.cit.*, pp.310-313.

[30] Ding was famous as a YMCA evangelist in the 1910s.

[31] Wang was one of the best known evangelist in China, put into prison by the government in 1950s till 1979.

[32] For instance, Gutzlaff had once developed the fastest method to gain Chinese converts, by hiring Chinese evangelists to preach the simple gospel to their own people. But, later the method was found merely romantic and wishful thinking as the Chinese evangelists so hired were not doing the proper jobs as expected. Their travel accounts were not so reliable as Gutzlaff had thought. The missionaries were so to say cheated by their Chinese helpers and plus the distorted interpretation of Christianity by the Taiping Rebellions (1850-1864), the missionaries had lost their confidence in passing on all duties to the Chinese, even their church members. So later, even when they were helping the Chinese Christians to develop self-supporting churches, they were still not willing to surrender all of their control over the church matters. Another fatal fact was that the missionaries had been expanding their mission work to include educational and social services such as schools and hospitals or literary press, in such a way that the mission field would in no way be self-supporting by the native Christians, but rather be perpetuating their dependence upon foreign support. See e.g. the discussions by David Cheung, *op.cit.*, and also Jessie Lutz, "Missionary Attitude toward Indigenization Within an Overall Context" in Peter Chi-ping Lin (ed.) *Christianity and Indigenization in China*. Taiwan, Cosmic Light Press, 1990, pp.356-381; and T.C. Chao, "Christian Faith in China's Struggle"

in Chester S. Miao (ed.) *Christian Voices in China*. New York: Friendship Press, 1948, p.28.

[33] Philip Wickeri has cautioned us that 'the foreignness of the Christian gospel is best not compounded by the foreignness of its bearer' and 'the universality of the gospel does not mean the universality of Christendom'. See Philip Wickeri. *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, The Three-Self Movement and China's United Front*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988, pp.34ff.

[34] See David Paton, *op.cit.*, p.67.

[35] There were a few missionaries who could voice out the issue openly, such as William N. Brewster who once remarked: "Protestant Christianity in China has two main sources of weakness: first, the divisions within itself; second, the gulf caused by the fact that each little church owns a foreign allegiance. As long as these churches are foreign in name, origin, control, and resources, they will be looked upon with suspicion by the average Chinese... The solution then ... is the organization of 'Church of Christ in China' by a union of all the Protestant bodies... All would come in upon an equal footing." See Brewster, W.N. "A Chinese National Church" in *The Chinese Recorder*, February 1907, pp.63-68.

[36] Mission Historians like Dana Robert has also recalled some attempts of the missionaries in the 1920s and 1930s to separate Christianity from Western cultures, which were seen as one important aspect of the internationalization movement by the missionaries. See Dana Robert, "The First Globalization: The Internationalization of the Protestant Missionary Movement Between the World Wars", in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol.26, no.2, 2002, pp.50-67. However, these

missionaries did not address to the problem of 'foreignness' of Christianity and the issue of 'identity' of Chinese Christianity contemporary Chinese Christians were raising.

[37] It was noted that the missionaries had long been reckoning the "Unequal Treaties" as guarantee and protections for all missionary activities in China. It would be difficult for the missionaries to understanding the feelings of the Chinese Christians who demanded a truly Chinese church independent of the foreign control. When the Chinese was asking for it, the missionaries were afraid that the Chinese were seizing power, hence they could not give up their powers.

[38] See The Chinese Christian Monthly (Chinese) as kept in Shanghai Municipal Archives, U128-0-11. Even the editors of The Chinese Recorder were aware of the issues and had written some reviews on their July issue of 1907. "The Chinese have been awakened".

[39] At that time a total of 345 Chinese had been ordained, however only 1-2 were invited to the 1907 Conference, including Pastor Hsi Sheng Mo (???)

[40] More study needs to be done here regarding whether and why Gibson had changed his position. For details, see World Missionary Conference 1910, Report of Commission II: The Church in the Mission Field, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910.

[41] See Cheng Ching-yi. "The Chinese Church in Relation to Its Immediate Task" in International Review of Missions, vol.1, 1912, pp.383-392. Cheng was later appointed to be a member of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh's International Missionary Council, which aimed to set up an organization

emphasizing inter-denominational co-operation on the national level.

[42] See, e.g. World Missionary Conference 1910, Report of Commission I, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910, p.326.

[43] See Cheng, C.Y. "Discussing an Indigenous Church for China" in Wen She Monthly, vol.1, no.1, October 1925, pp.8-9.

[44] See e.g. the discussion in Sum Fu Yang, History of Chinese Christianity (Chinese) Taiwan: Commercial Press, 1968, pp.293ff.

[45] See, for reference, Stauffer, Milton T. (ed.) op.cit., p.35.

[46] See T.C. Chao. "On the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Chinese Church", in Life Monthly (Chinese), vol.3, no.5, January 1923, pp.1-8.

[47] See *ibid.*

[48] See George Hood, op.cit., p.302.

[49] See *ibid.*

[50] See Timothy Richard, "Of More Than a Thousand Missionaries" in The Chinese Recorder, vol.34, no.1, January 1903, pp.7-8.

[51] See e.g. the discussion in Peter C.M. Wang, "Wen She Monthly, 1925-1928 and the Indigenization of Christianity in China" (Chinese) in Peter C.P. Lin (ed.) Christianity and Indigenization in China Taiwan: Cosmic Light Press, 1990, pp.527-543.

[52] See Wang, C.H. "How to Make Christian Writing Conquer the Heart of Society" in *Wen She Monthly*, vol.1, no.2, November 1925.

[53] As quoted from Philip Wickeri, *op.cit.*, p.120.

[54] It is interesting to note that Jenkins also remarked: "Since Christianity has been used as an ideological arm of Western imperialism, the dominance of Western European Christianity in the world lasts only for 4 centuries." See Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: the coming of Global Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

[55] See Andrew F. Walls. *The Cross-cultural Process in Christian History*. Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 2002, pp. 9-10.

[56] There is a course entitled, 'Christian Culture in the Western World' offered by the Divinity Faculty at Cambridge. See the course description of the Faculty of Divinity, University of Cambridge.

[57] Wei's doctoral thesis was completed in 1929, entitled: "A Study of the Chinese Moral Tradition and Its Social Values". It is still kept and is available at the Senate House Library, University of London, England.

[58] Wei's series of lectures in the United States was later published by the Scribner's Press. See Francis Wei, *The Spirit of Chinese Culture*, New York: Scribner Press, 1947.

[59] The topic of his presentation was 'Rooting the Christian Church in Chinese Soil', the translation was found in Dr. Francis C.M. Wei's *Writings on Education, Culture, and Religion Taipei: Hua Zhong Da Xue Wei Zhuomin Ji Nian Guan*, 1980, pp. 115-138.

^[60]See Francis Wei. *The Spirit of Chinese Culture*, New York: Scribner Press, 1947, pp.159-160; also my discussion in Ng, Peter Tze Ming. "'Glocalization' as a Key to the Interplay Between Christianity and Asian Cultures: The Vision of Francis Wei in Early Twentieth Century China" *International Journal of Public Theology*, vol.1., 2007, pp. 104-115.

^[61]See Wang, C.H. "The Indigenous Church and Indigenous Christian Writing" in *Wen She Monthly*, vol.1, no.6, March 1926, pp.21-34.

^[62]Scholars have been producing some fine works in this area such as Chi-Kwong Lee. *Essays on Christianity and Modern Chinese Culture*. Vols. 1 &2. (Chinese) Taiwan, Cosmic Light Press, 1992; Peter Chi-ping Lin (ed.) *Christianity and Modernization in China*. Taiwan, Cosmic Light Press, 1994; and Peter Tze Ming Ng. *Christianity and University Education in China*. (Chinese) Beijing, China Social Sciences Press, 2003.

^[63]Paton may have heard of the same concept from T.C. Chao who wrote an article: "Church Reform under the judgement of God" in 1950. Chao explained to the Chinese Church leaders that the Church was under the judgement of God and that they should repent and work out reforms for a fully indigenous church in China. See T. C. Chao. *Church Reform under the Judgement of God* (Chinese) Shanghai: Qingnian Xiehui Shuju, 1950.

^[64]For further references, see also e.g. Geroge Hood. *Neither Bang or Whimper, the End of a Missionary Era in China* (1991); Oi Ki Ling. *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952*. London: Associated University Presses, 1999; Far East Office of Division of Foreign Missions, *Documents of the Three-Self Movement*. New York: National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, 1963, p.19;

and T.C. Chao. "Days of Rejoicing in China" in *Christianity and Crisis*, vol.66, no.1, March 2, 1949, pp.265-267.