

Copyright © 2005 Jong Keol Yoo

All rights reserved. The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary has permission to reproduce and disseminate this document in any form by any means for purposes chosen by the Seminary, including, without limitation, preservation or instruction.



TRAINING CHINESE HOUSE CHURCH LEADERS:  
FACTORS INFLUENCING LEADERSHIP  
DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

---

A Dissertation  
Presented to  
the Faculty of  
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

---

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Philosophy

---

by  
Jong Keol Yoo  
May 2005

UMI Number: 3173119

Copyright 2005 by  
Yoo, Jong Keol (Jacob)

All rights reserved.

## INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

**UMI**<sup>®</sup>

---

UMI Microform 3173119

Copyright 2005 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against  
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company  
300 North Zeeb Road  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

**APPROVAL SHEET**

TRAINING CHINESE HOUSE CHURCH LEADERS:

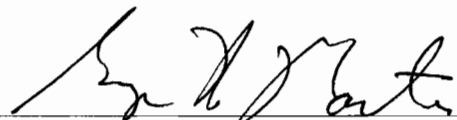
FACTORS INFLUENCING LEADERSHIP

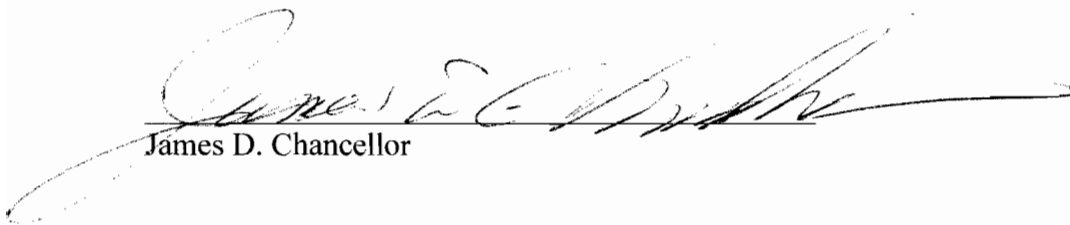
DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Jong Keol (Jacob) Yoo

Read and Approved by:

  
John Mark Terry (Chairperson)

  
George H. Martin

  
James D. Chancellor

Date 03 / 23 / 2005

To Suk Hee,  
my partner, my love,  
and to  
my sons, Jae Gun and Jae Gil

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES .....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	ix
PREFACE .....	xi
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
Thesis .....	3
Background of the Proposal .....	14
Limitations .....	16
Research Methodology .....	16
2. THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA .....	18
The Early History of Christian Missions to China, 635-1784 .....	19
Christian Missions during the Tang Dynasty (635-845) .....	20
Christian Missions during the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) .....	23
Christian Missions during the Late Ming through Mid-Qing Dynasties (1582-1784) .....	28
Imperialism and the Protestant Missions to China, 1807-1900 .....	34
Formation of the Chinese Church (1807-1842) .....	36

Chapter	Page
Period of Coastal Missions (1842-1860) .....	40
Period of Inland Missions (1860-1900) .....	42
Nationalism and the Independent Church Movement, 1901-1949 .....	47
Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese Nationalist Party .....	48
The Church-Coalition Movement .....	49
The Anti-Christian Movement .....	51
The Indigenous Church Movement .....	53
The Revival Movement .....	58
Conclusion .....	63
3. COMMUNISM AND THE HOUSE CHURCH MOVEMENT .....	65
Formation of the House Church Movement, 1949-1965 .....	67
The Churches in 1949 .....	67
The Communist Government's Religious Policy .....	69
The Resistance of the House Churches .....	72
Persecution and Survival of the House Church, 1966-1978 .....	73
The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) .....	73
Persecution against the Protestant Church .....	74
Survival of the House Church .....	74
New China and House Church Growth, 1979-Present .....	76
New Religious Policy .....	77
The Revival of Christianity .....	83



Chapter	Page
The House Church Movement in China .....	84
Conclusion .....	98
4. THE URGENT NEED FOR LEADERSHIP TRAINING .....	101
Problems the House Church Must Solve .....	102
The Current Leadership-Training Situation .....	116
Leadership Training for the TSPM Churches .....	116
House Church Leadership Training .....	129
House Church Leadership Training Structure .....	135
Theology of the House Church .....	136
Conclusion .....	138
5. INFLUENTIAL FACTORS FOR DEVELOPING LEADERSHIP-TRAINING STRATEGIES .....	140
Survey Results .....	141
Analysis of Grouping A (Comparison by Nationality) .....	143
Analysis of Grouping B (Comparison by Province) .....	146
Analysis of Grouping C (Comparison between Rural and Urban Areas) .....	148
Analysis of Grouping D (Comparison by Gender) .....	150
Analysis of Grouping E (Comparison by Generation) .....	151
Ten Factors That Should Be Considered in Developing Chinese House Church Leadership-Training Strategies .....	152
Economic and Geographic Factors .....	153

Chapter	Page
Relationship with the TSPM Church .....	164
Cultural and Historical Factors .....	167
Chinese Intellectuals .....	170
Political Factors .....	175
Influence of Four Leaders .....	179
Korean People’s Role .....	185
Groups in the House Church .....	191
Women in Church Leadership .....	196
Effect of the “One-Child Policy” .....	198
Suggested Models .....	200
Conclusion .....	203
 Appendix	
1. SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES .....	206
2. SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES (IN CHINESE) .....	210
3. SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES (IN KOREAN) .....	214
4. TABLES AND FIGURES FOR THE GROUPING A ANALYSIS .....	218
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>226</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. The number of Christians in China in 1949 .....	68
2. The List of the TSPM/CCC Seminaries .....	120
3. Jinling (Nanjing) Union Theological Seminary Curriculum (for freshmen) .....	123
4. Jinling (Nanjing) Union Theological Seminary Curriculum (for sophomore) .....	124
5. Jinling (Nanjing) Union Theological Seminary Curriculum (for juniors) .....	125
6. Jinling (Nanjing) Union Theological Seminary Curriculum (for seniors) .....	126
7. Profile of Respondent Grouping A-1 .....	143
8. Profile of Respondent Grouping A-2 .....	144
9. Comparison of the Christian Presence by Province .....	157
10. The Christian Presence in Autonomous Regions .....	158
11. The Christian Presence in Special-Status Cities .....	158
12. Christian Presence in China .....	159

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. The Composition of the Respondents .....	104
2. Most Urgent Need for the Chinese House Church .....	104
3. Provinces of China .....	119
4. Comparison between House Church Leaders and Missionaries .....	145
5. Comparison by Province .....	148
6. Comparison between Rural and Urban Areas .....	149
7. Comparison by Gender .....	150
8. Comparison by Generation .....	151
9. Opinion concerning “Economic and Geographic Factors” .....	156
10. Opinions concerning “Relationship with the TSPM Church” .....	166
11. Opinions concerning “Cultural and Historical Factors” .....	169
12. Opinions concerning “Chinese Intellectuals” .....	174
13. Opinions concerning “Political Factors” .....	178
14. Opinions concerning “Influence of Four Leaders” .....	183
15. Opinions concerning “Korean People’s Role” .....	190
16. Opinions concerning “Groups in the House Church” .....	196
17. Opinions concerning “Women in Church Leadership” .....	197

18. Opinions concerning “Effect of the ‘One-Child Policy” ..... 199

## PREFACE

Many deserve credit for this work. Dr. J. Mark Terry, my supervisor, has become an initiator and a facilitator of this project. He always has been available for any kind of help, and has been quick in responding. He and his wife, Barbara, are going to the mission field again. His passion for world missions and compassion for people have made him my life and ministry model. I wish that God would lead me to work with them someday. Drs. George H. Martin and James D. Chancellor have humbly offered me their kind encouragement and friendship.

This work could not have become a reality without survey participation by Chinese house church leaders and foreign missionaries who work for Chinese churches. I am sorry that their names cannot be published for their safety. I am impressed by their sacrificial work for the Lord, risking their lives. I hope that this work will benefit the Chinese churches they love. They deserve my loving heart and earnest prayer.

The True Light Korean Baptist Church and Bethany Baptist Church congregations—Louisville, Kentucky—have encouraged me through the research and writing process. Their support and prayers have given me the strength to continue and complete this enduring job. Marilyn Anderson deserves special thanks for her excellent proofreading and editing jobs.

My wife, Suk Hee, deserves my lifelong deep appreciation. She and our

children, Jae Gun and Jae Gil, have sacrificed much to support my study and my ministry.

Finally, God is the only one who is glorified through this work. He called me to do His job. He has been faithful to guide and provide for me during my journey to follow His Son. It was by His grace that I have completed this work. To Him be the praise forever.

Jong Keol Yoo

Louisville, Kentucky

May 2005

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The survival and dramatic growth of the church in China during Communist rule was one of the most decisive events of the Christian history in the twentieth century. Patrick Johnstone writes, “The growth of the Church in China since 1977 has no parallels in history. The 1,266,000 Protestant members and 1.8 mill. affiliates in 1949 [the year of Communists’ takeover] had become seventeen million members and maybe twenty-six million affiliates in 2000 as well as a much larger uncounted, but estimated, forty-five million house church Christians. The Catholics grew from three million to twelve million over the same period.”<sup>1</sup>

Various reports estimate the number of Christians in China. According to an article by Tony Lambert, Director of Research for Chinese Ministries for OMF International, two former leaders of the Chinese house church movement now living in the United States of America report the number of Christians in China as more than one-hundred million. This is one of the highest estimations in circulation. “The official Chinese Three-Self Church says there are six million Christians (three million Protestants and three million Catholics), while some evangelical agencies take into account what

---

<sup>1</sup>Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk, *Operation World: When We Pray God Works* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Lifestyle, 2001), 161.



they call ‘secret believers’ [house church members] and put the figure at between 25 and 50 million.”<sup>2</sup>

Although the statistics are inconsistent, we notice that there has been a dramatic multiplication of house churches during the past three decades of isolation from the Western Church due to the Communist regime’s anti-Christianity policy. The house churches have survived and revived despite severe persecution during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). Isolation led the church to indigenization, while persecution led to purification. Most evangelicals agree that “the unregistered house churches are the heart of the true Church in China.”<sup>3</sup>

Intense persecution by the government has hindered leadership training for the church. Numerous leaders, many of whom are women, hail from rural areas. Lack of formal training and Bible teaching leads many house churches to legalistic and heretical extremes. Johnstone explains the multiplication of heretical sects and doctrinal extremist groups: “The lack of Bible knowledge and of mature leadership has opened the way for many exotic messianic, syncretistic and divisive groups, some of which have spread over much of China. In some areas they now constitute five percentage or more of the unregistered church population.”<sup>4</sup>

Many innovative leadership training methods have been developed to meet this urgent need. Numerous leaders of house church networks have been trained at

---

<sup>2</sup>Tony Lambert, “Counting Christians in China: A Cautionary Report,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 2003): 6.

<sup>3</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 164.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

theological camps in secret places in the mountains or secure houses. Chinese Christian scholars from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore visit the training camps to teach. Missionaries and Christians from the West or Korea support this kind of leadership training ministry. Christian literature, videos, Christian radio programs, and the Internet are being used to support the leadership training of house church leaders.<sup>5</sup>

### **Thesis**

The need for effective leadership training for Chinese house church leaders is enormous, urgent, and crucial for the future of the Chinese church. The methods mentioned above are just adaptations to emergency situations. Long-term base strategies should be developed. There is a concern that unthoughtful approaches might ruin the unity and independence of the Chinese church. Jonathan Chao says, “Many of us Chinese Christians overseas, as well as Chinese believers on the mainland, share the fear that American and other foreign missions would reintroduce denominational or organizational division, the corrupting influence of foreign funds, and enslavement of Chinese indigenous churches by Western missionaries who exercise control through funding.”<sup>6</sup> Many factors should be considered when outsiders, like Western missionaries, develop the strategy.

The first factor is cultural and historical. The Chinese people take strong pride in their history and culture. China’s recorded history (civilization) began more than four thousand years ago. Despite frequent political and social upheavals in its long history,

---

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 165.

<sup>6</sup>Jonathan Chao, “A Response: Yes, But We Must Learn to Work with the Chinese Churches,” *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* (January 1995): 18.

China was always one nation. Chinese culture has developed with relatively little outside influence. Even when the country was invaded by other peoples, such as the Manchurians and Mongolians, these groups were soon absorbed into Chinese culture.<sup>7</sup> This tradition caused the Chinese people to have an unshakable pride in their nation and culture. The era of Protestant missions in China coincided with Western colonialism and imperialism in the nineteenth century. The Opium War (1839-1842), the most frequently cited example of ruthless colonialism,<sup>8</sup> could be taken to mark the beginning of nationalism in China.<sup>9</sup> After this humiliating occasion, for most Chinese people (especially Communists), the Christians were seen as advocates of Western imperialism. Chinese Christians as well as foreign missionaries were always the enemies of those wishing to reconstruct China. There still are strong anti-foreign sentiments and pressure on the Chinese church to maintain independence from foreign influence.

The second factor is political. The appearance of the Chinese Communist regime in 1949 was the direct result of its unique nationalism. The Communist government renounced all things foreign except Marxism. Christianity was considered a means of Western imperialism. The government made every effort to “break the church’s ties with the West and make them subservient to the State in the 1950s.”<sup>10</sup> By

---

<sup>7</sup>*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15<sup>th</sup> ed., s.v. “China,” 36.

<sup>8</sup>Wayne Dehoney, *The Dragon and the Lamb* (Nashville: Broadman, 1988), 16.

<sup>9</sup>Ming Ng Lee, “Christianity and Nationalism in China,” *East Asia Journal of Theology* 1 (1983): 72.

<sup>10</sup>Thomas Wang and Sharon Chan, “Christian Witness to the Chinese People,” *Perspectives*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1999), 640.

1958, this goal to “liberate the church from the control of Western imperialism”<sup>11</sup> had been achieved through the Three-Self Patriotic Movement among Protestants and the Catholic Patriotic Association among Catholics. Although churches in the same area had different denominational backgrounds, they were merged by the government. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the most disastrous venture of Mao Zedong’s regime, even these structures were criticized and destroyed by the Red Guards. During the Cultural Revolution, all religious activities went underground, and the house church movement started.<sup>12</sup> After the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, China began to adopt more moderate policies under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. He opened the bamboo curtain of China and welcomed the Westerners to help save and reconstruct China from its prolonged turmoil. Although his methodology for China’s reformation was completely contrary to Mao’s policies, Deng’s basic ideology was still Communist. His goal was to build a Communist society through China’s modernization.<sup>13</sup> Despite the death of Deng, the government’s policy is still the same: maintaining the balance between autonomy of the church and loyalty to the nation through the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. Now the Chinese government is preparing for the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics. Will there be any change of the policy toward religions (especially toward Christianity)? If there is a policy change, will it be in the open or strict direction?

The third factor is economic and geographic. China has become one of the

---

<sup>11</sup>Patrick Johnstone, *Operation World: The Day-by-Day Guide to Praying for the World*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1993), 164.

<sup>12</sup>Dehoney, *The Dragon and the Lamb*, 22.

<sup>13</sup>David H. Adeney, *China: The Church’s Long March* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1985), 115.

fastest growing countries since late 1970 when the country opened its doors to foreign trade. China has already become a world-level trading nation. Its economic influence competes with that of Japan. This economic success has improved the people's living standards in general. The benefit of this growth, however, has not been even. Very wealthy individuals have emerged from several coastal economic cities, such as Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Shen Zhen. Western capitalism and secularism strongly influence the people living in these kinds of mega-cities. Now they are eagerly pursuing money and success for their family's happiness. They are too busy to pay attention to their spiritual fate. This materialism is also causing moral decline.<sup>14</sup> Individuals who reside in inland provinces are much poorer. People in urban areas are living in better conditions. People who live in rural areas are extremely poor.<sup>15</sup> College graduates are gathering more and more into the coastal cities to look for jobs that pay almost three times as much as do jobs in the inland provinces. They usually work in foreigner owned factories. This environment offers good opportunities for Christians to share the gospel with them.

The fourth factor is the influence of four Chinese indigenous leaders, namely John Sung, David Yang, Watchman Nee, and Wang Ming-dao.<sup>16</sup> They had great influence on the formation of the Chinese house church. During the first half the

---

<sup>14</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 161.

<sup>15</sup>Daniel H. Bays, "Chinese Protestant Christianity Today," *The China Quarterly* (June 2003): 501.

<sup>16</sup>Samuel Mau-Cheng Lee, "A Comparative Study of Leadership Selection Processes among Four Chinese Leaders" (D.Miss. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1985), xi.

twentieth century, the Chinese church “enjoyed a period of temporary but significant growth” with the support of Western missionaries.<sup>17</sup> As a growing number of intellectuals suspected Christianity “as the tool of foreign imperialism,” the Anti-Christian Movement (1922-1927) quickly gained power. Because foreign missionaries were not successful in training much-needed indigenous leaders, Chinese Christians attempted to indigenize their church. The four leaders, who were all contemporaries in age, exercised their leadership during the first half of the twentieth century in the formation of the Chinese indigenous church—the House Church Movement. All of them were powerful preachers and suffered for the Lord under the Japanese and Communist regimes.

John Sung (1901-1944) was “a highly effective evangelist. From 1932 to 1934 he joined the Bethel Evangelistic Band, traveled 54,823 miles, preached at 1,199 meetings, and spoke to over 400,000 people. Over 18,000 were converted. He began traveling in Southeast Asia in 1935. His preaching was centered on the need for thorough repentance. Numerous Christians in China and Southeast Asia can trace their conversion or total consecration to the preaching of John Sung.”<sup>18</sup> David Yang (1898-1966) was a prominent pastor and educator. His sphere of influence, through his ministry and his famous evangelistic team known as the Spiritual Action Team, encompassed numerous churches scattered throughout China. Despite turmoil caused by a Communist-inspired anti-Christian movement in 1926 and the Japanese invasion in

---

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., x.

<sup>18</sup>Samuel Ling, “Sung, John (1901-44),” in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, ed. A. Scott Moreau (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 918.

1939, his influence was still strong through his followers.<sup>19</sup> “When the Communists took control of China in 1949, Yang was pastoring two churches, one in Nanking and the other in Shanghai, besides teaching at the China Bible Seminary. Soon persecution came . . . he was accused of collaborating with ‘foreign devils,’ . . . was made to assist in productive labour, and ultimately died of a heart attack.”<sup>20</sup>

Watchman Nee (1903-1972) was a preacher, theologian, and author. His worldwide influence was felt through his books such as *The Spiritual Man* and *The Normal Christian Life*. Samuel Ling said,

His theology is characterized by a heavy emphasis on man as body, soul, and spirit . . . He taught that there should be one church per location; denominational connections are anti-biblical. He was later imprisoned [and killed] by the communist government. He deeply influenced the life and witness of the house churches in mainland China, and numerous Christians outside China. One of his followers [known as Little Flock], Witness Lee, developed his thought further into the aberration known as the ‘Local Church Movement,’ based in the United States.<sup>21</sup>

Wang Mingdao (1900-1991) was a prominent preacher and contemporary model of suffering and triumph. He emphasized repentance, faith, and regeneration shown by a radical change in believers’ lives. He suffered at the hands of the Japanese invaders and was imprisoned by the Communist regime later. “For the first fourteen months, Wang was subjected to continuous psychological pressures. He was released after signing and reading aloud a ‘self-criticism,’ which the Three-Self had written for him. His public confession caused many of his Church members to fall, and when he

---

<sup>19</sup>Samuel Lee, “A Comparative Study of Leadership,” 31.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 31-32.

<sup>21</sup>Samuel Ling, “Nee, Watchman (Ni Tuo-sheng) (1903-72),” in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, ed. A. Scott Moreau (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 672.

realized what he had done, he greatly regretted it and promptly went back to prison where he was to remain for the next twenty-one years. He was released in December 1979.”<sup>22</sup>

These four leaders are heroes for Chinese Christians. They separated themselves from the Western church, even though all of them were strongly influenced by Western missionaries. Through their influence, the house churches have been rapidly indigenized and multiplied with the characteristics of being “largely evangelical in theological commitment and faithful in personal dedication.”<sup>23</sup> Christian mission leaders, like Ralph Covell and Jonathan Chao, are concerned about the future when the Chinese government opens the door to Christian missions. Their concern is preventing foreign missions from destroying “the spirit of independence.”<sup>24</sup> It is crucial to find an effective strategy without destroying the Chinese church’s independence and the legacies of the four Chinese indigenous leaders.

The fifth factor is understanding the different groups (sects) in the Chinese house churches. Under the influence of the four leaders mentioned previously, there are three major groups.<sup>25</sup> One is the evangelicals. They are usually the people influenced by the revivals that numerous evangelists, like John Sung and Wang Ming Tao, led in the first half of the twentieth century. Another group is the Little Flock, the followers of Watchman Nee. This is the most influential group of the house churches. The Little

---

<sup>22</sup>Samuel Lee, “A Comparative Study of Leadership,” 48-49.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 55.

<sup>24</sup>Chao, “A Response,” 18.

<sup>25</sup>Lambert, “Counting Christians in China,” 8.



Flock churches are somewhat exclusive and have a strong anti-denominational sentiment. The last group is the Charismatics, who are influenced by the Pentecostal and Charismatic movement of the second half of the twentieth century. They emphasize the gifts of the Holy Spirit, such as speaking in tongues, prophecy, and divine healing. Each of these three major groups takes strong pride in its heritage and is somewhat exclusive. Dealing with each group separately is necessary to plan an effective strategy for leadership development.

The sixth factor is the relationship between the house church and the Three-Self<sup>26</sup> Patriotic Movement (TSPM) church. There are two kinds of Protestant churches in China. One is the house church, and the other is an officially registered TSPM church. The majority of Protestant Christians belong to unofficial house churches.<sup>27</sup> The word “hatred” summarizes their relationship. The Chinese Communist government supports and supervises the TSPM churches. The government pays the salary of the pastors and controls every aspect of the ministry, including sermons and seminary training. The TSPM pastors cannot teach or preach on the resurrection, the Holy Spirit, and the Second Coming of Jesus. Although the TSPM members are usually nominal Christians, there are many true believers in the TSPM churches who want to practice their faith in the officially recognized setting. Some TSPM believers whose souls feel empty for this reason leave TSPM churches and join the house churches. TSPM believers thus blame the house church believers as “a thief of sheep;” they report their existence to the

---

<sup>26</sup>The three elements in the indigenous church formula: self-government, self-support, and self-propaganda.

<sup>27</sup>Daniel L. Overmyer, “Religion in China Today: Introduction,” *The China Quarterly* (June 2003): 313.

government; and the house churches are persecuted. Therefore, the house church believers consider the TSPM church as “a synagogue of Satan.” Understanding this relationship between the two Chinese Protestant Christian churches is crucial to developing an effective leadership-training strategy.

The seventh factor concerns women in the Chinese-Church leadership. A significant number of women hold house-church leadership positions unlike in other countries’ Christian churches.<sup>28</sup> Traditionally, women’s status in Chinese society had been much lower than that of men because of Confucius’s gender ideology. The Communist regime under the leadership of Mao Zedong, however, liberated women from housework to mobilize them in the development of the nation. Since then, Chinese women have often been found in the leadership of every field in society. The other reason for this phenomenon is that the house church meets in a home, where a woman’s influence is strong. This situation can cause some problems when the Western Church approaches women with its own theology concerning them. A theological decision about women’s leadership must be made before a leadership-training strategy is developed.

The eighth factor is the effect of the “One-Child Policy,” which the Communist government started to reduce population growth. *Operation World* reports, “Family life has been deeply impacted, shown in: a higher divorce rate, ten million abortions a year (nearly all girls), suicide (40% of the world’s suicides are in China), pampered children with poor interpersonal skills, and abandonment of baby girls and older people. The rising generation will pay a heavy cost—in 2000 there were ninety million marriageable unmarried men; in some areas young men outnumber young

---

<sup>28</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 164.

women by 30-40%—rape, abduction, female slavery, incest, prostitution and rapid spread of AIDS could all be the result.”<sup>29</sup> These young people soon will be the leadership-training candidates for the Chinese Church. They will have these same problems despite their faith in Christ. A very careful strategy should be developed for effective leadership training.

The ninth factor concerns Chinese intellectuals on the mainland and overseas. “Since the 1980s, about 100,000 Chinese students and scholars have come to North America. Most of those Chinese intellectuals’ faith in Marxism has been virtually demolished after a series of political persecutions. Therefore, North America has become one of the most fruitful mission fields to those Chinese intellectuals.”<sup>30</sup> Among them, an increasing number of Chinese intellectuals are interested in Protestant Christianity. Daniel H. Bays writes, “Some intellectuals have actively advocated China’s adoption of some aspects of Christianity as part of its own modernization efforts, and a certain number of these intellectuals have themselves become Christians.”<sup>31</sup>

The 1989 Tiananmen Square incident opened the door for Chinese intellectuals to discredit their government and Communism.<sup>32</sup> They experienced a spiritual vacuum in their hearts. As a result, significant numbers of them have turned their interest to Christianity. Since the “Open Door Policy” of Deng Xiaoping in the late

---

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 162.

<sup>30</sup>Tsu-Kung Chuang, “The Factors Influencing the Conversion of Mainland Chinese Intellectuals toward Christianity in North America” (Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1995), iii.

<sup>31</sup>Bays, “Chinese Protestant Christianity Today,” 498.

<sup>32</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 161.

1970s, Chinese students have poured out into the Western world, including Christian countries, such as the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. Christians in those countries are struggling to evangelize them because they are elites who will have strong influence on their country. Now the vast missions field is on their doorstep. In Western countries, Chinese intellectuals have more freedom to experiment with Christianity, and many are accepting its truth. They can be excellent future candidates for Chinese-Church leadership. But they usually consider Christianity as a Western religion. Removing that idea of foreignness from Chinese intellectuals will be a crucial point in the process of making disciples. Now the Chinese house churches are suffering from a lack of well-educated leadership. These intellectuals can be the solution to this problem. Most house churches are located in rural areas though, while the intellectuals are usually urbanized. Having them serve as leaders in rural areas will be another crucial point in developing an effective strategy.

The tenth factor is the growing importance of the Korean people's role in the evangelization of China. The Chinese government still refuses visas for missionaries. China fears the effect of Western influence on its people. The proselytization of China's people by foreigners is strongly forbidden by law, while Chinese people can share their beliefs with other Chinese people except for youth who are below eighteen years of age.<sup>33</sup> If an individual meets Western people privately without reporting it, the governmental authorities of some provinces will scrutinize and persecute him or her. Thus, the Chinese-Church leaders do not want to meet Western people even though they want their

---

<sup>33</sup>Jonathan Chao, ed., *China Mission Handbook* (Hong Kong: Chinese Church Research Center, 1989), 38.

support. Rather, they want to meet people who resemble themselves.

In fact, Chinese people from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and Western countries have helped the Chinese church a great deal. But the number of Korean people—such as missionaries, Christian students, and Christian businessmen—is rapidly growing in the field of evangelism.<sup>34</sup> They are usually well-trained Christians, who look like the Chinese. Because Chinese people cannot distinguish Korean people from themselves, Koreans can visit house churches and meet house church leaders secretly. They understand Chinese culture and easily learn the Chinese language. Their supporting churches, which are close to China, have a strong missionary commitment. Strangely enough, there are more theological students in Korea than there are available positions. There are about 280 theological institutions in South Korea, most of which are full of students. Many of them are ready to go to the mission field. Thousands more Korean students are pursuing higher degrees, such as doctorates, in North American seminaries.<sup>35</sup> The Korean church has abundant human resources for missions to China. Cooperation with the Korean people for the evangelization of China is one of the essential factors for developing an effective strategy for leadership training in the Chinese Church.

### **Background of the Proposal**

Since I confirmed my calling to become a missionary to China in 1997, I have studied missions to China. When I was admitted to the Ph.D. in Missiology program of the Billy Graham School of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, my

---

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 389.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 388.

supervisor—Dr. John Mark Terry—suggested that I take “How to Train Chinese House Church Leaders” as my dissertation topic. I gladly accepted it because I already knew the urgency of Chinese-Church leadership development. The fact that I am in a doctorate program made me realize that I am called to the ministry of Chinese leadership training. This topic is best for me, so I have been excited about research on the subject.

I visited China for three weeks during the summer of 2002. This was my first visit to China. I visited the central provinces of China, where one can see the real image of the country. I met several missionaries from the West and South Korea. They taught me about the situation of the Chinese Church, especially that of the house churches. Some of them had experienced visits to secret places, where house church leaders were trained on a mountain. The missionaries agreed with me about the urgent need for an effective strategy for Chinese leadership training. They told me about unique factors that would affect strategy development. The information that they provided guides my dissertation research. After I complete the dissertation, these missionaries want to read it to help with their work.

The International Mission Board (IMB) of the Southern Baptist Convention is the largest and leading missionary agency in the world. It has deployed more than five thousand missionaries throughout the world. China has been one of the most important target areas for the IMB. For missionary work in China, the IMB has focused on the house church that Westerners cannot easily approach. I felt that this project would help IMB’s strategy development for China when Dr. Terry, an IMB consultant, asked me to research this topic. It would be an honor for me, as an IMB missionary candidate, if I can help to establish an effective strategy.

I could not find any books, dissertations, or articles that cover all my concerns for the dissertation. Some dissertations on the Chinese house church deal only with its formation and development. They do not include the leadership-training issue. Some dissertations cover leadership development for the Chinese Church. Their settings are not the Chinese Church in mainland China, however, but in Macau or Hong Kong. Some dissertations and articles deal with just some of the abovementioned factors.

### **Limitations**

The target people of this research are the Han Chinese of mainland China, who comprises 91.3 percent of the population. There are 456 ethnic minorities, but fifty-five ethnic groups are officially recognized for administrative convenience.<sup>36</sup> The survey was mainly carried out among house church leaders from several provinces. The vastness of the regions and the variety of the situations hindered the generalization of the results. The final research products can be used as models or suggestions for developing a useful leadership-training strategy for a specific targeted region or people group.

### **Research Methodology**

The important parts of this research are (1) to review other scholars' literature on important factors in developing a Chinese house church leadership-training strategy, (2) to conduct participant observation and examine the situation on location, (3) to conduct formal and informal surveys through interviews and questionnaires on the subject, (4) to analyze all the information with validity and reliability, (5) to find some valuable insights from the analysis, and (6) to suggest some effective strategies based on

---

<sup>36</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 159.

the findings.

For the literary research, I first used my personal library as well as the library of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. I already had most articles and dissertations that relate to my subject. During the summer of 2004, I planed to visit other libraries in China (especially Hong Kong), Taiwan, and South Korea. I knew that a South Korean magazine on Chinese missions has been published for decades. It contains details of the current Chinese situation. I reviewed all the issues of the magazine as part of my literary research. A South Korean missions agency, which was founded by a Taiwanese Christian, has an excellent library for studying the Chinese house church. I visited there. I also used information from the Internet.

When I traveled to China and South Korea in the summer of 2004, I conducted participant observation on location and informal and formal surveys. I visited important places to examine the situation and to interview or survey (with questionnaires) some scholars, missionaries, missions-society leaders, and house church leaders in China. I also interviewed or surveyed some scholars, missionaries, and missions-society leaders in North America and South Korea. The major questions were as follows: (1) What do you think is the current leadership-training situation for the Chinese house church? (2) What do you think are the most important factors for outsiders (Westerners) in developing an effective strategy for building or supporting Chinese house church leadership? This task involved a security concern. Some sources had to be protected.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA

It is difficult to determine when Christianity was first introduced to China.

While the initial stage of the westward spread has been well-known, that of the eastward spread has not been well-known. The first missionary work eastward, including to China, traditionally has been attributed to the Apostle Thomas.<sup>1</sup> Scholars, however, agree that the history of Christianity in China began with the Nestorian missionaries' arrival in 635, based on a stele discovered in Xi'an, Shaanxi in 1625.<sup>2</sup> The stele<sup>3</sup> tells of the Nestorian missionaries' arrival through the Silk Road at Chang'an, the capital city of the Tang Dynasty (618-907) in 635. This was the first interchange between the Chinese people

---

<sup>1</sup>Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), 48-49. Latourette suggests the breviary of the ancient Syrian Church in Malabar, India, that refers to Thomas twice as the man who converted the Chinese and Ethiopians to the truth. But this evidence is too weak to be the basis for the argument.

<sup>2</sup>Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 15. The date of the discovery is uncertain. This book reads, "An impressive number of Western seventeenth-century sources take 1625 as the date of the discovery of the stele. Another plausible date, however, is 1623. It relies upon contemporary Chinese Christian sources, among others, an inscription which Xu Guangqi (1562-1633) composed for the church at Jiangzhou (Shanxi) in ca. 1630, saying that the stele was found in 1623."

<sup>3</sup>It was erected in 781, but accidentally was unearthed after almost a thousand years.

and Christianity. Since that time, through the present—for almost fourteen hundred years—the Chinese people have been struggling with Christianity, marking a unique relationship mingled with love and hatred. Beginning with the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century through the present, this contradictory mentality has produced major social, religious, and political movements. Their goal was saving the nation from the humiliation, such as the Unequal Treaties after the Opium Wars, caused by foreign imperialists (mostly the Westerners). Christianity has always been the target of the attack because its image was closely related to Western imperialism. The struggle is ongoing. Today's unique Chinese Christianity is the product of past struggles. It is essential to study the history of Chinese Christianity to understand the current situation and prepare for the future. I will divide the history into four major sections, focusing on a representative movement of each period—(1) The Early History of Christian Missions to China, 635-1784; (2) Imperialism and the Protestant Missions to China, 1807-1900; (3) Nationalism and the Independent Church Movement, 1901-1949; and (4) Communism and the House Church Movement, 1949-Present. In this chapter, I did not include the history of the last section, Communism and the House Church Movement. I will deal with that section in the next chapter.

### **The Early History of Christian Missions to China, 635-1784**

Christianity reached China more than thirteen hundred years ago, but the Chinese people have been very reluctant to accept it as their religion. There were three major missionary attempts before the Protestant Missionary Movement started in the

nineteenth century: (1) Christian Missions during the Tang dynasty (635-845),<sup>4</sup> (2) Christian Missions during the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty (1271-1368), and (3) Christian Missions during the Late Ming - Mid-Qing dynasties (1582-1784).

### **Christian Missions during Tang Dynasty (635-845)**

**Nestorian missions.** The first recorded encounter between China and Christianity involved the Nestorians. Nestorian Christianity took its name from Nestorius (382-451), who was appointed patriarch of Constantinople in 428, but condemned as a heretic in 431 at the Council of Ephesus over the issue of Christology.<sup>5</sup> He explained that Christ was, in fact, two persons—God and human. Nestorius described the Virgin Mary as the mother of the human son (Christ-bearer), but not of the divine nature (God-bearer). He criticized the worship of Mary and the use of images.<sup>6</sup> His followers (Nestorians) were severely persecuted by Rome and Constantinople because of his heretical beliefs. They escaped to the Persian empire, and the Nestorian church flourished for several centuries in the east.<sup>7</sup> The Persian court probably welcomed Nestorianism as an alternative to Roman Catholicism because of the rivalry relationship with the Roman Empire before the rise of Islam.<sup>8</sup> The Nestorians were zealous in

---

<sup>4</sup>This is the year-span that the evidence of Christianity is found during the Tang dynasty. The period of the Tang dynasty is 618-907.

<sup>5</sup>Paul E. Pierson, “Nestorian Mission,” in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, ed. A. Scott Moreau (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 675.

<sup>6</sup>Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 56.

<sup>7</sup>Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 1.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 22.

missionary outreach.<sup>9</sup> Their missionary enterprises—by merchants and missionary monks—expanded along the Silk Road all over Central Asia, Arabia, and India,<sup>10</sup> and finally reached China during the early years of the Tang dynasty. Their missionary work is well-explained in the stele that was discovered in Xi'an (the modern name of Chang'an, the capital city of the Tang dynasty) in 1625.

The monument's inscription discloses information on the history of Christianity in Tang China. It explains the dogma of "Luminous Religion" (Nestorianism) and gives an account of its story in China, from 635 to 781. According to the inscription, a Nestorian monk named Alopen came from "Ta Chin" (Persia) to Chang'an in 635. He was accompanied by twenty-one fellow missionaries and brought the texts and images of "the great Religion of Ta Chin."<sup>11</sup> The dynasty was friendly to the introduction of new foreign religions to China.<sup>12</sup> Emperor Tai Tsung welcomed the guests and sent the minister of state to escort them to the palace. The emperor himself studied the religion, ordered the translation of their Scriptures, and finally issued an "edict of toleration" in 638.<sup>13</sup> Alopen built a monastery for the twenty-one monks in the

---

<sup>9</sup>Pierson, "Nestorian Mission," 675.

<sup>10</sup>Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 1.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 19.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 21. The book says, "Other sources indicate that the international context at the end of the seventh century was strongly influenced by the relations between the Persian and Chinese Empires. The Sassanian Empire had asked China for help after King Yazdergerd III's death in 651 following several defeats against the Arabs in 636-642. His son Peroz had entered the Chinese administration in 661 and sought refuge in Chang'an. This situation created a climate of general tolerance toward Persians." Foreign religions were also generally accepted because of this mood at that time.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 31.

capital. The new religion gradually spread throughout ten provinces, and monasteries were constructed in several major cities,<sup>14</sup> such as Chang'an, Guangzhou, Luoyang, Zhouzhi, Chengdu, and Dunhuang.<sup>15</sup> The Nestorian monks honored the Chinese culture. They tried to explain Christianity with the terms of Taoism and Buddhism, and appreciated Confucianism, which was the philosophical and ethical religion of the educated Chinese people.

In 845, Emperor Wu Zong, who was an ardent Taoist, issued an edict that ordered all monks of foreign religions to return to lay life.<sup>16</sup> By that time, Chinese society was struggling externally against the Arabs<sup>17</sup> and internally against the An Lushan rebellion<sup>18</sup> in 755. These struggles evoked anti-foreign sentiment among Chinese intellectuals and caused nationalistic reactions. Nicolas Standaert, who is the chief editor of the *Handbook of Christianity in China*, writes:

After the beginning of [the] ninth century, the *guwen* (antique culture) movement within artistic and literary circles clearly points to the tendency of Chinese society

---

<sup>14</sup>J. Herbert Kane, *A Global View of Christian Missions: From Pentecost to the Present*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1971), 14. Kane writes, “. . . and monasteries were reported in a ‘hundred cities,’” but recent research considers the figure as an overstatement. Most scholars assume that the number of Nestorian settlements should be quite smaller than the report of the Xi'an stele.

<sup>15</sup>Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 25-30.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 32. The purpose of this edict was reforming the fiscal system that was under corruption. There were too many monks who were exempted from taxation because of their priestly status.

<sup>17</sup>Defeated by the Muslim Arabs at the Battle of Talas River in 751.

<sup>18</sup>An Lushan was a Chinese general who was not a native Chinese, but of Iranian and Turkish descendant. He became a leader of a rebellion in 755 that attempted to overthrow the Tang Dynasty. The rebellion by a foreigner caused the Chinese people to have anti-foreign sentiment.

to return to its original classic sources. This tendency, which mainly stemmed from the refusal of the 'exotic' culture prevailing during the early Tang, also had serious consequences on the spread of foreign religions. The main target of the edict was Buddhist monks, but "the persecution that ensued had drastic consequences for Christianity." Due to this persecution, while Buddhism rapidly recovered, Nestorian Christianity "totally disappeared from the empire until it was reintroduced during the Yuan dynasty."<sup>19</sup>

What was the reason for this sudden disappearance? Nestorian Christianity stood almost entirely on the emperor's favor. This dependence on the emperor's will weakened the adaptability of Nestorian Christianity to Chinese society. The religion's existence was short lived when the emperor's support was removed. There was no root in Chinese soil.<sup>20</sup> Nestorian Christianity had existed for more than two centuries. Nevertheless, Christianity was considered to be a completely foreign religion without having considerable impact on the society.<sup>21</sup> There is little evidence for the existence of Nestorian Christianity after 845 until the advent of the Yuan dynasty.

### **Christian Missions during the Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty (1271-1368)**

The second encounter between Christianity and China happened during the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). The Yuan emperors were not the Han Chinese people, but Mongol invaders of China. The Mongols, although fearsome warriors and cruel rulers,

---

<sup>19</sup>Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 32-33.

<sup>20</sup>Buddhism was also a foreign religion that lost the emperor's favor. It was the main target of the persecution. It survived, however, because it was rooted in Chinese society. Although it could not recover its golden age, it could gradually indigenize itself to the Chinese culture. Buddhism was finally considered as one of the three major religions of China, along with Confucianism and Taoism.

<sup>21</sup>G. Thompson Brown, *Christianity in the People's Republic of China*, rev. ed. (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1986), 16.

had a custom of hospitality to foreigners. This culture made the empire tolerant of foreign religions. Encouraged by this welcoming mood, the Nestorian missionaries returned to China for the second time, and Roman Catholic missionaries from the Franciscan Order came for the first time.<sup>22</sup>

**Nestorian missions.** Nestorian Christianity during the Tang dynasty disappeared from China after 845, when the emperor ordered the clergy of non-Chinese religions, such as Buddhism and Christianity, to return to laity status. A report of a Nestorian monk—who visited China at the end of the tenth century—confirmed that Christianity in China was extinct. Although there is a possibility that Nestorian Christians lived in Guangzhou and Northern China in the second half of the eleventh century, no strong evidence has been found to support their continuous existence between the Tang and the Yuan dynasties.<sup>23</sup>

The second introduction of Christianity to China was accomplished by Central Asian Nestorians, who moved into the northern parts of China. Many of them worked as administrators for the Liao (947-1125) and Jin dynasties (1115-1234). When the Mongols conquered Northern China in the first half of the thirteenth century, they also hired the Nestorians as administrators because of their skills. By 1280, Genghis Khan established the Mongol Empire, reaching China. He and his followers favored Nestorian Christianity.<sup>24</sup> During the rule of the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty, therefore, Nestorian

---

<sup>22</sup>Peter Julian Kelly, “Christianity and China” [on-line]; accessed 21 September 2004; available from <http://www.columban.org.au/China/cac.98july.htm>; Internet.

<sup>23</sup>Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 63.

<sup>24</sup>It has been said that Genghis Khan’s wife was Christian.

Christianity flourished again in China. There were metropolitan provinces along the ancient Silk Road, with the bishops residing in Merv, Samarkand, Kasghar, Almaliq (Kulja), Ningxia, and Khanbaliq.<sup>25</sup> Nestorian Christianity was strong in Central and East Asia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There were strong Nestorian communities in the provinces of Xinjiang, Gansu, Qinghai, Shaanxi, Shanxi, and Inner Mongolia as well as in China's major commercial centers.<sup>26</sup> Nestorian Christianity's prosperity was closely related to the Mongol rulers' favor. This dependency on the foreign conquerors caused Nestorian Christianity to disappear once again when the Chinese anti-foreign and nationalistic revolts occurred and finally expelled the Mongols from China.<sup>27</sup> The newly-founded Ming Dynasty severely persecuted Nestorian Christians because they had been friendly with the Mongol invaders.

**Franciscan missions.** There was a formal relationship between Christian Europe and Mongol China during the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty. For instance, Pope Innocent IV sent a legate to Genghis Kahn in the Mongol capital of Karakorm in 1245. The purpose of this diplomatic visit was convincing the mighty ruler of China to ally with the Christian forces in Europe for fighting against the Arab Muslims. The Khan politely refused the proposal.<sup>28</sup> There were also informal contacts by European merchants

---

<sup>25</sup>The present-day Beijing. Khanbaliq was the new capital of Khubilai Khan, who was the grandson of Genghis Khan.

<sup>26</sup>Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 80-82.

<sup>27</sup>The Red Turban revolt, which lasted from 1355 to 1367, ended the Mongol dynasty. The revolt's leader, Zhu Yuang-zhang, established the Ming dynasty in 1368.

<sup>28</sup>Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 88-89.



and slaves caught by the Mongol invaders. In 1260, two Italian merchants—Maffeo and Nicolo Polo—reached China where they stayed for nine years. When they left China, Kubilai Khan sent the Pope a letter asking him to send one hundred science and religion teachers to China.<sup>29</sup> In 1271, they returned (this time with their son, Marco Polo) to China, accompanied by two Dominicans with papal letters for Kubilai Khan. The Dominicans returned to Europe—frightened by a war on the way—but the Polos arrived in China.<sup>30</sup> Marco Polo developed a good relationship with the rulers of Mongol China<sup>31</sup> and promoted Roman Catholicism in the Mongol court.<sup>32</sup>

Two great Roman Catholic religious orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans,<sup>33</sup> were founded in Europe. Both of them had a strong passion for world missions. The Catholic Church appointed John of Monte Corvino as the first Catholic missionary to China. He arrived in Khanbaliq (modern Beijing) in 1294, shortly after the death of Kubilai Khan, and presented the pope’s letter to the new emperor, Timur. He won the emperor’s favor despite the Nestorian missionaries’ interference. He had considerable success and baptized six thousand converts. He also converted “the Nestorian Prince George, ruler of the Ongut tribe in the great bend of the Yellow River, son-in-law of the Emperor” to Roman Catholicism. This incident provoked the

---

<sup>29</sup>Kelly, “Christianity and China.”

<sup>30</sup>Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 67-68.

<sup>31</sup>He was even appointed as governor of one of the provinces.

<sup>32</sup>Kelly, “Christianity and China.”

<sup>33</sup>The Franciscan Order was founded in 1209, and the Dominican Order was founded in 1215.

Nestorians' open hostility to Roman Catholic missionaries.<sup>34</sup>

Reports of his success prompted Pope Clement V appoint John as Archbishop of Khanbaliq and Patriarch of the East in 1307 and also send seven Franciscan monks to China to assist him. Three of the seven monks finally arrived in China. John of Monte Corvino died in 1328. Although the Franciscan missions were maintained, their supporter—the Mongol dynasty—was in serious decline. After the Chinese patriots had established the Ming dynasty, all the Christians, Nestorians and Roman Catholics alike, were expelled from the capital Khanbaliq in 1369. Like the Nestorians, the Catholics' close relationship with the Mongol rulers caused the Chinese people to adopt an anti-Christian mentality and share the same fate with the Mongol dynasty.<sup>35</sup> Another reason for the missions' decline is related to the Franciscan Order itself, “which had become internally divided and suffered heavily from the black plague in 1348, and to the papacy, whose incentives to sent missionaries to the east dissipated.” Standaert writes:

With the overall decline of the Mongol khanates, there was no longer hope for recovering the Holy Land by means of a Western-Mongol alliance, and the idea of the reunion of the Eastern Churches with Rome was definitively abandoned with the Great Schism of 1378 (Avignon). No written sources confirm the arrival of any missionaries sent by Rome to China after the Marignolli mission.<sup>36</sup>

The Franciscans conducted missionary activities in Khanbaliq, Yangzhou, Hangzhou, and Quanzhou. Besides ministering to the foreign Roman Catholics at Khanbaliq and Quanzhou, the Franciscan monks tried to evangelize the Muslims and the

---

<sup>34</sup>Bob Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity* (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse Publishing, 1988), 44-45.

<sup>35</sup>Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 70-75.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 97-98.

Jews, though no converts were made. Little is known about the Franciscan missionaries' evangelistic activities among the native Chinese population.<sup>37</sup> The first Jesuit mission and the second Franciscan mission to China later encountered such descendants who claimed that their connection with Christianity dated back to the Yuan.<sup>38</sup>

### **Christian Missions during the Late Ming through Mid-Qing Dynasties (1582-1784)**

Roman Catholic missions in China were silent for almost two hundred years because of the nationalistic Ming dynasty's xenophobia. Ming China entirely closed its doors to foreigners. Jesuit missionaries came to China during the late-Ming dynasty.

**Jesuit missions.** The sixteenth century is known as the age of European exploration. It started when Columbus discovered America in 1492. The early explorers' motive was "the creation of a universal Christian Empire whose advent would usher in the Millennial Kingdom."<sup>39</sup> There was, however, excessive competition between Portugal and Spain with regard to new possessions. To solve the problem, the pope developed the patronage system, by which he divided the world into two sectors for Spain and Portuguese colonization in 1493. He gave the two powers the exclusive rights of navigation, conquest, and commerce as well as the duty of evangelization in their assigned territories. According to the redefined treaty, China was finally assigned to

---

<sup>37</sup>While the official Yuan dynasty sources attest to the presence of Christians in Yuan China, the Ming sources are entirely silent.

<sup>38</sup>Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 89, and 97-98.

<sup>39</sup>Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 55.

Portugal in 1494.<sup>40</sup>

The Ming emperors did not allow any foreigners to contact the Chinese people except when state business was involved. The Portuguese were able to establish their trading posts only in Macao. Francis Xavier, the founder of the Jesuit society,<sup>41</sup> attempted to enter China in 1552. He died of disease that same year while he was waiting for his entrance approval of entrance on an island near Canton (Guangzhou). After the death of Xavier, Jesuit missionaries who worked in and around Macao continued their efforts to enter inland China, although they were fruitless.<sup>42</sup>

An Italian Jesuit, Matteo Ricci, arrived in Macao in 1582. (The reins of control were loosened at that time due to the Ming dynasty's gradual decline.) His methodology was reaching the imperial court first because he believed that it would be the most effective way to evangelize China.<sup>43</sup> Ricci slowly made his way to Peking for fifteen years and arrived there in 1598. Along the way, he studied the Chinese language, culture, and classic literature, establishing small mission stations, but his primary concern was obtaining imperial recognition for Christianity. Ricci admired the Chinese

---

<sup>40</sup>Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 286-87.

<sup>41</sup>The order's formal name was the Society of Jesus. The Roman Catholic priests were mainly characterized by a monasticism (communal religious life). In the thirteenth century, however, a radical change occurred with the birth of the mendicant orders—the Franciscans, founded in 1209; the Dominicans, founded in 1215; and the Augustinians, founded in 1256. Another type of order was founded in 1540. Its name was the Society of Jesus, the so-called the Jesuits, who were more apostolic than monastic. Due to their method of accommodation and wise approach toward the imperial court, the Jesuits played the most significant role in evangelizing China. The majority of missionaries were Jesuits for almost two hundred years.

<sup>42</sup>Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 58-60.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, 60.

culture and tried to become acculturated. For instance, he and his Jesuit fellows dressed like Buddhist monks. They later changed to the dress of Confucian scholars, after realizing that Confucian scholars were far more respected than the Buddhist monks.

He wisely developed friendships with influential people in Peking. Ricci was finally able to meet the emperor in 1601 and received permission to stay in Peking. Other Jesuit missionaries later joined him and followed his assimilation methodology for evangelism. They used the advanced scientific knowledge and instruments of Europe—such as clocks and world maps—to maintain close relations with the imperial court. The emperor and the court officers, who were impressed with the scientific achievements that they introduced, allowed them to stay in Peking. Besides, the Jesuit missionaries tried to restate the Christian message in Confucian terminology and thought. Although Chinese intellectuals remained suspicious of them, some were converted to Christianity. The Jesuit missionaries' integrity during a period of corruption impressed Chinese intellectuals. The gospel was gradually spread throughout the region because of the Jesuit missionaries' influence.<sup>44</sup> Matteo Ricci laid a firm foundation for Catholic missions in China. Christianity continued to take root in China for the next two centuries despite frequent persecutions.

Matteo Ricci died in Peking in 1610. After his death, the Jesuits continued to evangelize the Chinese people, following Ricci's legacy. The Jesuit missions' success enticed other Roman-Catholic orders to come to China. The Dominicans—who came in 1631—were followed by the Franciscans and the Augustinians from Spain.<sup>45</sup> These new

---

<sup>44</sup>Kelly, "Christianity and China."

<sup>45</sup>Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 297.

missionary groups established their own ministries in China. Christianity was making remarkable progress by the beginning of the eighteenth century, although the missionary groups experienced conflicts among themselves.

**The Rites Controversy (1645-1742).** The so-called “Rites Controversy” broke out in 1634-35 between the Roman-Catholic orders. The Jesuit strategy of the early period was accommodation to the Chinese culture, which determined missionary policy during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Standaert describes its four major characteristics:

1. A policy of accommodation or adaptation to Chinese culture. In contradistinction to other missionary regions, the Jesuits learned the local language and, after an initial period of accommodation to a Buddhist life-style (till 1595), they adapted themselves to the life-style and etiquette of the Confucian elite of *literati* and officials.
2. Propagation and evangelization “from the top down.” The Jesuits addressed themselves to the literate elite. The underlying idea was that if this elite, preferably the Emperor and his court, were converted, the whole country and even the whole Far East would be won for Christianity.
3. Indirect propagation by using European science and technology in order to attract the attention of the educated Chinese and convince them of the high level of European civilization. They offered clocks to the Emperor and the court officials, and taught mathematics, astronomy, and agriculture.
4. Openness to and tolerance of Chinese values. In China, Jesuits encountered a society with high moral values for which they expressed admiration. They were of the opinion that this excellent social doctrine should be complemented with the metaphysical ideas of Christianity. However, Jesuits rejected Buddhism, Taoism and also Neo-Confucianism, which, in their eyes, had been corrupted by Buddhism and Taoism. They pleaded for a return to original Confucianism which they considered to be a philosophy based on natural law. In their opinion, it contained the idea of God. Finally, they adopted a tolerant attitude toward certain Confucian rites, like ancestral worship and the veneration of Confucius, which they declared to be “civil rites.”<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 310-11.

Matteo Ricci and his successors put the strategy into practice. This accommodation strategy was seriously questioned when the Dominicans and Franciscans arrived after his death. The Dominicans openly criticized the methodology of the Jesuit missions. The more they criticized Ricci's way, the more the Jesuits identified with it.

One of two main issues<sup>47</sup> pertained to the Chinese ancestor rites. It was a Chinese custom to honor their ancestors (their dead relatives). The rites involved offering meals before the dead relatives' tablets, burning incense, kneeling on the floor, and bowing. Matteo Ricci allowed this ritual understanding to be cultural, rather than religious, and most Jesuits followed. The Dominicans and Franciscans, however, disagreed with the Jesuits' view. As a result, the missionary groups were divided into two camps—the Jesuits and the others. Arguments ensued, and delegates of each camp were sent to Rome to seek condemnation of the other's position by the pope. In 1645, Pope Innocent VII condemned the rites, approving the Dominicans' view. In 1656, however, Pope Alexander VII allowed the rites, approving the Jesuit interpretation. Conflicts continued until the end of the century. The Jesuits succeeded in securing their position from the Chinese emperor in 1700. He declared that the ancestor rites were of a purely civil and political character, having no religious meaning. This caused the other camp to blame them for asking a pagan emperor about a religious question.<sup>48</sup>

Pope Clement XI sent a special delegate to China in 1704 to seek a solution for the conflict. However, the meeting between the delegate and the emperor caused a

---

<sup>47</sup>The other concerned the Chinese terminology *Shang Di* (The Heavenly Emperor), which designated God in Chinese.

<sup>48</sup>Kelly, "Christianity and China."

big problem. During the conversation, the emperor became aware that the pope was attempting to control his own people and Chinese rites. He could not tolerate any interference from foreigners regarding the affairs of his own empire. The emperor issued a decree ordering the delegate and some missionaries to leave the country and commanded that all those who remain should follow Matteo Ricci's principles. Against this decree, the delegate proclaimed the decree of Pope Clement XI that condemned ancestor worship and threatened with excommunication those who disobeyed the decree.<sup>49</sup>

The pope ordered all missionaries who were working in China to take an oath that they would obey the decree. He also sent a new delegate to China in 1720 and alleviated the converts' burden due to the rites controversy. The new delegate allowed the ancestor rites, with a soft interpretation of the decree that emphasized the cultural aspect of the rites. However, Pope Benedict XIV, who was the successor of Clement XI, issued a decree that banned the rites again in 1742. Ironically, Rome issued revised instructions with regard to the ancestor rites, reversing the former decree again in 1939.<sup>50</sup>

The controversy between the Jesuits and the other missionaries caused conflict between the Qing Emperor Kangshi and the pope. During the course of the conflict, the furious emperor prohibited any Christian missionary activities throughout the empire in 1717. Hostility and persecutions against Christianity immediately broke out and continued in various forms for the next centuries. The proscription of Christianity followed in 1724 by the Yongzheng emperor. Finally, the emperor ordered the

---

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.



dissolution of the Society of Jesus in China in 1775.<sup>51</sup>

The Roman Catholic Church was not entirely eradicated in spite of the severe persecutions.<sup>52</sup> A few foreign missionaries, who remained there unofficially, helped the Chinese converts to keep their faith during a period of confusion and difficulty.<sup>53</sup> Missionaries in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China were virtually all members of Catholic orders. There were only a few Russian Orthodox priests in Beijing ministering to Russian residents and Dutch Protestant ministers on Taiwan.<sup>54</sup> The Catholic missions in China entered a period of silence toward the end of the eighteenth century.

### **Imperialism and the Protestant Missions to China, 1807-1900**

The history of Protestant missions in China began with Robert Morrison, who arrived in 1807. The Qing dynasty was declining and unstable when he arrived in China.<sup>55</sup> The power of the Qing dynasty was greatly weakened after the First Opium War with Britain between 1839 and 1842. The Qing dynasty considered Western missionaries to be illegal immigrants before the war. After the war, however, they enjoyed a new and special status as legal immigrants from the “most favored nation.” Great Britain and China signed the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 because of the First

---

<sup>51</sup>Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 287.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 298. There were several periods of anti-Christian incidents: 1746-1748, 1754, 1768-69, and 1784-85.

<sup>53</sup>Kelly, “Christianity and China.”

<sup>54</sup>Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 287.

<sup>55</sup>There were rebellions, such as the White Lotus Rebellion between 1796 and 1804, and the Tien-li Rebellion in 1813.

Opium War. According to the treaty, Hong Kong became a colony of Great Britain; and the five ports of Shanghai, Ningpo, Foochow, Amoy, and Canton were opened to foreign nations. All these ports immediately became the centers of Protestant missions of the period.<sup>56</sup> Then a series of unequal treaties were forced to be signed by imperial powers, such as Great Britain, America, and France. There was a significant transition in the scope of Protestant missions to China because of these treaties: the country had to open its doors to foreign influences, including Christianity. The Treaty of Tientsin, in 1858, and the Treaty of Peking, in 1860, again allowed inland missionary activities. Moreover, the Taiping Rebellion—of 1850-1864—added turmoil to the already unstable nation.

From that time on, Protestant missionary efforts began to rapidly expand throughout China. However, the Protestant missions were, unfortunately, closely related to foreign imperialism (colonialism). As a result, Christianity's image among the Chinese people was foreign and that of an imperialistic tool. Such an image produced anti-Christian sentiment among the majority of the Chinese people. A number of anti-Christian and anti-foreign movements occurred: for example, Yangchow Incident in 1868, the Tientsin anti-Christian Uprising of 1870, and the Boxer Uprising of 1900.<sup>57</sup> Protestant missionary works reached a high pitch despite these anti-Christian uprisings. Missionaries and congregations were increasing rapidly in number. Activities were diverse, ranging from establishing schools to Christian social-reform movements against the custom of binding the feet of women and infants, as well as the opium smoking and

---

<sup>56</sup>Yamamoto Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China: The Indigenization of Christianity* (Tokyo: Tōhō Gakkai, 2000), 14.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 19-21.

selling. James Hudson Taylor founded the famous China Inland Mission (CIM)<sup>58</sup> during this period.<sup>59</sup>

This century can be divided into three periods by the transitional event of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842: (1) Formation of the Chinese Church (1807-1842), (2) Period of Coastal Missions (1842-1860), and (3) Period of Inland Missions (1860-1900).

### **Formation of the Chinese Church (1807-1842)**

**Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary.** Protestant missions started with the arrival of Robert Morrison (1782-1834), who was a Scottish Presbyterian, in Canton in September 1807. The East India Company, which was monopolizing trade with China, did not welcome missionaries. Because of this atmosphere, Morrison sailed on an American ship and lived with Americans, although the London Missions Society sent him. In those colonial days, Americans supported Protestant missionary work in China, unlike the people of the British East India Company in China. Morrison resumed his Chinese study upon his arrival in Canton. He then came to work as a British East India Company translator. Morrison later began translating the Bible into Chinese. He concentrated on the literary work to prepare the way for future missionaries. Morrison completed his New Testament translation in 1813 and his Old Testament one in 1819. He also finished his *Chinese Dictionary*—bound in six massive volumes—in 1823. His other literary works include about forty books in

---

<sup>58</sup>The China Inland Mission (CIM), an international and interdenominational organization, was founded in England in 1865 and changed its name to Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF) in 1964.

<sup>59</sup>Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China*, 20-23.

Chinese and English and some periodical articles.<sup>60</sup> Morrison achieved his monumental literary work while faced with the fear of imprisonment because an imperial edict outlawed publishing Christian literature at that time.

His work extended to founding the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca, in 1818, for the dual purpose of providing Chinese-language training for future missionaries and teaching local Chinese students. One of his earliest Chinese co-workers, Liang Fa,<sup>61</sup> became a famous Chinese evangelist. While Morrison made just about ten converts, he laid the foundation for later missionary work in China. J. Herbert Kane thus summarizes the conditions of Morrison's life and death: "The enervating climate, the unsanitary condition of his lodgings, hard work, and poor food all combined to play havoc with his health. He died in 1834 at the comparatively early age of fifty-two."<sup>62</sup> He deserves to be called as "Father of Protestant Missions in China."<sup>63</sup>

**Karl Gützlaff, the Apostle of China.** Karl Gützlaff (1803-1851) from Prussia, who was sent by the Dutch Mission Society (DMS), has been called the "Apostle of China." He was an outstanding linguist. Gützlaff published another Chinese version of the New Testament in 1836. He made at least three voyages along the coast to China, Korea, and Japan despite the emperor's restrictions. Gützlaff set out to the island

---

<sup>60</sup>J. Barton Starr, "Morrison, Robert (1782-1834)," in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, ed. A. Scott Moreau (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 662.

<sup>61</sup>He wrote an evangelistic tract, *Good Words to Admonish the Age*, emphasizing morality and an apocalyptic theme. It deeply influenced the future leader of the Taiping Rebellion.

<sup>62</sup>Kane, *A Global View of Christian Missions*, 212-13.

<sup>63</sup>Starr, "Morrison, Robert," 662.

of Hainan, Amoy and Taiwan along the China coast as far north as Tientsin, preaching and distributing Christian tracts to the Chinese nobility and peasants along the way. Unfortunately, the effort was closely associated with the opium trade. He also utilized indigenous evangelists for inland China. Gützlaff is credited with laying a good foundation for later missionary work in China.<sup>64</sup>

**American missionaries.** The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) followed the LMS and the DMS in sending missionaries to China. The first one was Elijah Bridgman, who landed in Canton in 1829. He is famous for his periodical, *The Chinese Repository* (1832-1851), which is English translations of the Chinese classics. Samuel Williams—who arrived in 1833—was famous for his book, *The Middle Kingdom*, which was published in 1848, and for the *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, which was published in 1874. Peter Parker, who arrived in 1834, was famous for his medical ministry in Canton. J. Livingstone and T. R. College opened dispensaries in Macao.<sup>65</sup>

The American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society (ABFMS) followed the ABCFM by sending William Dean to Bangkok in 1835. He worked for the overseas Chinese people there. Issacher Roberts was famous for teaching Hong Xiu-quan, who eventually became the leader of the Taiping Rebellion. It is said that later Roberts opposed Hong's rebellion, which claimed to realize Christian ideals (the peaceful Heavenly Kingdom) in China. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States

---

<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

<sup>65</sup>Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China*, 16.

(PE) sent its first missionary to China in 1835.<sup>66</sup>

**The Opium War (1840) and the Nanking Treaty (1842).** The First Opium War ended with the signing of the Nanking Treaty in 1842. The treaty gave foreigners a number of privileges. They were permitted to reside in the five open Chinese treaty ports—Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai—and British-held Hong Kong. The response was immediate from the foreign missionaries who were formerly based in Southeast Asia. They moved onto the Chinese mainland and established missions, schools, and hospitals. Shanghai became the center of missionary activities, such as preaching the gospel, teaching in schools, and healing the sick.<sup>67</sup>

By 1842, there were twenty-two active Protestant missions in China with 150 missionaries and about 350 Chinese converts. Almost all the converts were illiterate except for Liang A-fa and Jung Hung (Yung Wing). Liang was born in Canton. W. Milne baptized Liang in 1816, and Morrison ordained him in 1824. Liang wrote a book explaining Christian doctrine. Jung Hung was born in Macao. He was educated at Morrison's College in Hong Kong and at Yale University in the United States. Jung later worked for Chinese students in the United States as the supervisor at the Chinese embassy in Washington, D.C.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 16-17.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 17.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 19.

## **Period of Coastal Missions (1842-1860)**

**Opened door by the unequal treaties.** The unequal treaties, following the Nanking Treaty, secured a number of privileges for foreigners to reside in China. Many foreigners began to gather in China's coastal cities. Shanghai was the most favored city, where foreigners could live and feel at home. Christian missions, as well as Western governments and businesses, took advantage of this unequal relationship. Christian mission boards in the West established their bases in China within a short time. Hong Kong was most favored as an early training base for missionaries to adjust the Chinese language and culture before proceeding inland. The American Baptist Mission, the Southern Baptist Convention, and the London Missionary Society used Hong Kong as their base. The Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Church followed their lead.<sup>69</sup> The missionary activities of this period focused on establishing schools and hospitals, translating Chinese classics into English, and publishing Christian books in Chinese.<sup>70</sup> The Chinese people's hostility toward Christianity was growing despite these benevolent activities. The Chinese people, especially intellectuals, could not forget the way that Christianity entered China—through imperial force. This situation was “greatly exacerbated by an unforeseen result of early Protestant missionary activity”—the rise of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Rebellion.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup>Gail V. Coulson, *The Enduring Church: Christians in China and Hong Kong* (New York: Friendship Press, 1996), 9-10.

<sup>70</sup>Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China*, 17-19.

<sup>71</sup>Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 103.

**The Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864).** Christian teaching strongly influenced Hong Xiu-quan, leader of the Taiping Rebellion. Liang A-fa's teaching inspired Hong's vision to make the world a peaceful Heavenly Kingdom. Hong transformed his followers, most of whom were peasants of central China, into militant rebels. They won victories against the Qing dynasty and proclaimed the establishment of the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace in 1851. There were approximately two million people by 1853. They occupied the central regions of China and established their headquarters in Nanking until their defeat in 1864.<sup>72</sup>

The Taiping Rebellion was the largest uprising<sup>73</sup> against local gentry and foreigners during the Qing dynasty. The peasants' anger against foreign imperial powers and the corrupt Qing dynasty caused the rebellion. Its characteristics were nationalistic, and its aims included political and social reform. Its teaching included gender equality and the abolition of private land ownership. The British did not want a reformed, strengthened, and centralized China, however, because of Britain's self-interest. The British army helped the gentry-led, local militia to defeat the rebels. Foreign aggression and the corruption of the upper class were intensified after the rebellion's repression. Gail A. Coulson thus summarizes the foreign aggressions:

Intense foreign rivalry for Chinese territory added even more turmoil, though it prevented the outright conquest of China by any one country. China's sovereignty was bombarded from all sides. From the south and west via India and Burma came Britain. From the south via Indochina came France. From the east, in part via the Philippines, came Japan and the United States. Xiamen was made an Anglo-French concession in 1859. A year later, while Anglo-French soldiers entered Beijing, Russia wrested away Amur Province in the north and also received special

---

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 103-05.

<sup>73</sup>The rebellion caused twenty million deaths.



privileges in Manchuria. Guangzhou was occupied by Anglo-French forces from 1857 to 1861.

In all this struggle, the British continued to have something of an edge. A dispute over the right of China to inspect a British ship resulted in the temporary lease of land for British soldiers in Kowloon, the peninsula across the harbor from Hong Kong Island. Then came the Second Opium War (1856-60), which pitted China against Britain and France and resulted in British troops entering Beijing and burning the emperor's Summer Palace. This violence forced the Convention of Peking (1860), which converted the lease on Kowloon to an agreement that Kowloon was to be "ceded in perpetuity." With Kowloon and nearby Stonecutter's Island now in its possession, Britain could better control Hong Kong's harbor.<sup>74</sup>

The most striking difference from all past movements is that the Taiping Rebellion's effect was great. The movement's philosophy was not based on traditional ideas, although its characteristics were nationalistic (anti-Manchu[Qing] dynasty, anti-imperialism). Its base was a foreign Christian creed. This paradox prevented other traditional rebels from joining the movement. The rebellion "ushered in the rapid rise of nationalism" and China's modernization as well as a half century of instability and turmoil. After the rebellion, the Chinese people came to fear Christianity as a rebellious force that caused misery to China.<sup>75</sup> The Taiping Rebellion can be considered a radical form of indigenous Christianity.

### **Period of Inland Missions (1860-1900)**

Protestant missionaries began to enter inland China with the protection of laws after 1860, the year of the Treaty of Peking. During this period, China and the imperial powers signed a series of unequal treaties, which greatly humiliated and angered the Chinese people. As a result, a number of anti-foreign and anti-Christian movements did

---

<sup>74</sup>Coulson, *The Enduring Church*, 11.

<sup>75</sup>Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 104-06.

appear, such as the Yangchow Incident in 1868, the Tientsin Anti-Christian Uprising of 1870, and the Boxer Uprising of 1900. The Chinese people considered Christianity to be a tool of Western imperialism. Christianity continued to grow in China after the Boxer Uprising despite such a massacre. The number of missionaries and Chinese converts significantly increased. There were Christian social movements against the custom of the foot-binding of women as well as opium smoking and selling.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, the Chinese people began to search for a way to save their country. There were several attempts to recover national strength through modernization. Paradoxically, modernization of their country meant westernization. Several reform movements occurred during this period. Most forms of the movement were moderate, but some revolutionary forms also appeared.

**Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission.** Hudson Taylor (1832-1905), an English missionary, arrived in Shanghai under the auspices of the short-lived China Evangelization Society in 1854. He soon became an independent missionary, though, and established the China Inland Mission (CIM). Taylor pioneered the way for indigenous Christianity of China and faith missions. Taylor adopted the Chinese way of life as much as he could and made CIM missionaries follow his example. The CIM's fundamental policies were as follows:

1. Missionaries were not to be stationed in the Christian areas, but were to "spread the Gospel" inland to areas not having any contacts with Christianity.
2. The sole intent of missionaries was to preach the Gospel, not set up schools and charitable institutions.

---

<sup>76</sup>Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China*, 20-21.

3. Activities were to be carried out without regard to religious denomination or nationality.
4. Missionaries were to eat the same food, wear the same clothing and live in the same kind of housing as their Chinese followers.
5. Funds to support the Mission were to be based mainly on donations from the Christian community.
6. The headquarters of the Mission was to be based in China, not in missionaries' mother countries.<sup>77</sup>

The CIM had about twenty foreign missionaries when it began to work in 1866. By 1895, its membership jumped to 614, including 462 Chinese assistants.<sup>78</sup> Taylor's principles influenced others far beyond China. He motivated and mobilized many people, especially women, for world missions. Taylor sacrificed his personal life for China. He lost two wives and four children to disease and famine. The CIM also sacrificed the most, losing the lives of seventy-nine missionaries and children during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. Taylor died in Changsha, Hunan province—in 1905—at the age of 73.<sup>79</sup> Now, most Chinese Christians, who acknowledge his sacrificial effort for China, consider him to be their favorite missionary. CIM policies later influenced the Independent Church Movement and the House Church Movement in China.

**Timothy Richard and his ministry to the Chinese intellectuals.** Timothy Richard (1845-1919) targeted the elite group for his missionary work contrary to Hudson Taylor's methodology. The (British) Baptist Missionary Society, which was founded by

---

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 23.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid.

<sup>79</sup>J. D. Douglas, "Taylor, (James) Hudson (1832-1905)," in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, ed. A. Scott Moreau (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 931.

William Carey and his supporters, sent Richard to China. He arrived in Shandong province, North China, in 1870. There, Richard felt that “street evangelism and distributing Christian tracts were unfruitful,” so he decided to make the scholar class his first target group. Richard wrote much on the subjects that the Chinese intellectuals liked to discuss, such as modern science and religion. He inspired the Chinese elites to reform their country in education, agriculture, mining, transportation, and trade. Richard also developed a relief ministry during the famine in Shandong and Shanxi between 1876 and 1879. He served China for almost fifty years and died in 1919, three years after his retirement from the country.<sup>80</sup>

**The anti-Christian movement.** Numerous books and tracts with an anti-Christian sentiment appeared after the Taiping Rebellion. The notorious one, *Bixiejishi* (A Record of Facts to Ward Off Heterodoxy), accused Christians of sorcery, sexual perversion, and revolting practices. It motivated many of the anti-Christian uprisings. The most absurd incident was the Tientsin Anti-Christian Uprising of 1870. It was related to a Catholic orphanage. The orphanage’s high death rate provoked rumors that Christians kidnaped and killed children for making medicine with their eyes and hearts. A riot began when the French consul shot the servant of an investigating Chinese official. Not a few foreigners died, and the orphanage and many churches were destroyed.<sup>81</sup> The reasons for the anti-Christian uprisings were diverse. The most important factor was anti-foreign and anti-imperial sentiment. Another factor involved

---

<sup>80</sup>Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 378-80.

<sup>81</sup>Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 129-31.

objections from Chinese traditional religions, such as Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Discord with Chinese sects, like the White Lotus group, was one of the obvious causes. The more that Chinese people converted to Christianity, the more rapidly the anti-Christian sentiment grew.

**Reform movement (1861-1898).** The reform movement occurred largely by nationalistic motives. The reformers wanted to stop further concessions to foreigners and regain what they already had lost due to the unequal treaties. They were eager to learn from the West, but the reformers did not believe that the West could teach China about the moral and spiritual realm. They just wanted to learn about the realms of science, industry, armies, commerce, and possibly politics. Interestingly, the movement gave the missionaries a double opportunity. While the Chinese people were eager to learn from the West, there was less objection to listening to the gospel message. On the other hand, the reform movement would lead to moral and religious reconstruction. The young emperor supported the reformers, like Kang You-wei, because of the national crisis after the Sino-Japanese War of 1895. But the Empress Dowager Cixi suppressed the emperor and executed six reformers. The reform movement lasted for just one hundred days. It demonstrated the inability of the dynasty system to reform. As a result, the despairing intellectuals attempted a fundamental revolution.<sup>82</sup> Although the reform movement failed, Protestant missionaries took advantage of this opportunity to increase Christian influence throughout China. Some of them, like Timothy Richard, were in close touch with the reformers as consultants. Protestant Christianity's influence was a

---

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 137.

decisive factor in the birth of the Chinese Revolution from this time on.<sup>83</sup>

**Boxer Uprising (1900-1901).** The Boxer (*Yihetuan*, Righteous Harmony Fists) Uprising was the signal of the end for traditional China. The uprising was the most wide-ranging and savage because the Empress Dowager Cixi supported it. The rioters killed Christian missionaries, Chinese Christians, and those who used foreign goods. They burned churches and foreign homes. Finally, combined foreign troops defeated the Boxer and government troops in Beijing in 1901. As a result, more than two hundred missionaries and children were killed. Additionally, thirty thousand Chinese Christians throughout North China were killed. The foreign powers demanded a heavy compensation from China. The fate of the Qing dynasty was now at stake.<sup>84</sup>

The Chinese Church still relied on Western missionary work during the nineteenth century. Some of the churches were completely independent from the missions, however, due to deep commitment to their independency and strong leadership. During the later part of the nineteenth century, the independent Chinese churches numbered eighteen by 1877 and grew to 137 by 1893.<sup>85</sup>

### **Nationalism and the Independent Church Movement, 1901-1949**

The years between 1901 and 1912 witnessed an unprecedented growth of the Chinese Church. Along with the growth of Christianity, however, nationalism—with its

---

<sup>83</sup>Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 490-92.

<sup>84</sup>Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 137-38.

<sup>85</sup>Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China*, 25-26.

strong anti-Christian sentiment—was also rapidly spreading throughout China. The Chinese Church had suffered from the persecutions caused by a number of anti-imperial and anti-Christian movements. The Chinese people accused the Chinese Christians of being the running dogs of imperialistic exploitation.<sup>86</sup> In the course of struggle, the Indigenous Church Movement appeared in the Chinese Church. In the movement, the Chinese Christians desperately tried to cut any ties with foreign missions and to establish indigenous churches. There were several distinctive attempts and figures for the movement.

### **Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese Nationalist Party**

Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhong-shan) founded the Chinese Nationalist Party (*Guomintang*). He was born in Zhongshan, near Guangzhou, in 1866. Sun left China at the age of 12 and spent many years abroad. Sun became a Christian in Hawaii, where he later established the Society for the Revival of China in 1894. Most of his supporters were Chinese students abroad, who had Christian backgrounds. Around that time, nationalism in China reached its highest peak due to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 on Chinese territory, and to the spreading national unrest. Sun and his supporters tried again and again to overthrow the corrupt Qing dynasty. Finally, the Revolution (Wuchang Uprising) in 1911 prompted Sun's nomination as the provisional president of the Republic of China in 1912. The spirit of the revolution was Christian. But the conservatives replaced Sun with Yuan Shi-kai, who was a commander of the modernized Army, in return for the abdication of the last Qing emperor, the boy Pu Yi in 1912. The

---

<sup>86</sup>Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 694-99.

reformer's power was still too weak to match that of the conservatives.<sup>87</sup> Sun dreamed of a modern China, based on the People's Nationalism, the People's Sovereignty, and the People's Livelihood,<sup>88</sup> influenced by Western ideals. Unfortunately, despite his efforts, China remained in the hands of imperial powers and local warlords until his sudden death in 1925. Now Sun Yat-sen is respected as the father of modern China by the Chinese people, both on the mainland and in Taiwan.<sup>89</sup>

### **The Church-Coalition Movement**

**The New Culture Movement in 1915.** Yuan Shi-kai's dictatorial regime suppressed the Chinese people and tried to revive Confucianism as an attempt to unite the nation again. The Chinese intellectuals who supported Sun Yat-sen's democratic revolution were very disappointed with the regime. This situation sparked the New Culture Movement. It started with the publication of the *New Youth*, by Chen Tu-siu. Through this new journal, he tried to criticize the old customs based on Confucianism and urge the Chinese intellectuals to participate in this literary revolution, which provoked the *Pai-hua* (vernacular) Movement. The intellectuals eagerly participated in writing articles for the journal. They called for a new society based on the spirit of democracy, rationalism, science, and academic freedom from any religion and politics. The movement was centered around Peking University by the students who were

---

<sup>87</sup>Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 139-41.

<sup>88</sup>Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 702.

<sup>89</sup>Coulson, *The Enduring Church*, 14-15.



strongly influenced by Western education.<sup>90</sup>

**The May Fourth Movement in 1919.** During the course of the New Culture Movement, the Society for the Study of Marxism was established at Peking University in 1918 due to the influence of the Russian Revolution. The Marxist society played a major role in the May Fourth demonstration in 1919, which was first directed against Japanese imperialism. The May Fourth demonstration soon became the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement. The Chinese Communist Party was founded by Chen Tu-siu—the leader of the New Culture Movement—with the Soviet Russian government’s support.<sup>91</sup>

**The foreign missionary coalition to foster the Chinese church.** To meet the period’s anti-Christian sentiment, a coalition movement appeared among the fifty Protestant missions in China. The scope of the movement, which called for multi-cooperation for fostering the Chinese church, crossed denominational mission lines. Several alliances and coalitions were formed. Christian missions attempted to avoid the accusation of so many denominations and overlapping works through coalition efforts. The coalition’s main focus was establishing mission schools in China to train Chinese church leaders.<sup>92</sup> Sumiko calls this period a “religious momentum building era.” He explains the reason as follows:

During this so-called religious momentum building era between 1900 and 1920, there was not only a sudden increase in the number of Chinese believers, but also in the number of intellectuals who turned to Christianity. 1920 marked the first time

---

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 28.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., 29.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., 35.

that Chinese ministers outnumbered their foreign counterparts. Although only about 7% of these Chinese ministers were college graduates, there were intellectuals from all walks of life in the lay leadership of the time. There was a significant increase in the highly educated membership of the Christian churches in China during the first two decades of the twentieth century.<sup>93</sup>

### **The Anti-Christian Movement**

The indigenization of Christianity during the decade of the 1920s was carried out in strong anti-Christian sentiment, which was led mainly by student groups. This anti-Christian movement was different in character from those of the Qing dynasty and Boxer Uprising. It was a nationwide movement, especially in the cities. The Boxer Uprising fundamentally was a grass-roots movement whose members were mainly peasants concentrated in rural areas. In contrast, the anti-Christian movement of the 1920s was led by students and joined by workers. The anti-Christian movements of the Qing dynasty were caused by the conflict between traditional Chinese thinking (customs) and Christianity, for example, with regard to ancestor worship. The central issue of the 1920s was not a clash with traditional thought, but a clash with new social forces coming into China from the outside under the influence of Western science and communism. The anti-Christian movement of the 1920s was very complicated because the nature of the movement frequently changed along varying intellectual trends and social movements. The anti-Christian movement experienced several influences.<sup>94</sup>

**The influence of the New Culture Movement.** The New Culture Movement, the so-called “Chinese Renaissance,” that had been ongoing since 1915 was anti-

---

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., 41.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., 113-16 and 139-40.

religious and anti-Christian. Its ideology replaced religion with science and democracy.<sup>95</sup>

**The influence of nationalism.** Although nationalism was a complicated phenomenon, it added great impetus to the anti-Christian movement of the 1920s. Chinese students opposed the predominance of Protestant missionary schools in the Chinese educational system as nationalism developed. They requested “the separation of religion and education and the return of authority over curriculum from foreign missionaries to Chinese educators.”<sup>96</sup> This educational-rights-restoration movement was changed to a strong anti-Christian movement. Sumiko writes:

It was in the midst of this uproar over the reclamation of educational authority that a new Anti-Christian Federation was formed in August 1924 by a group of students who had been dismissed from Shanghai Baptist College. . . . With the occurrence of the May 30 Incident, the tide of nationalism rose to new heights and the anti-imperialistic intellectual trend gathered strength. In turn, Christianity became one point of attack by these movements as the “vanguard of imperialism’s invasion of the small and weak nations of the world.” . . . Here we see the extension of anti-Christian sentiment into an anti-imperialist appeal.<sup>97</sup>

Some Christians regarded the anti-Christian and anti-imperialist movements as two separate issues, so they participated in the anti-imperialist movement to show their patriotism. The two movements were not, however, carried out differently.<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>95</sup>Jonathan T’ien-en Chao, “The Chinese Indigenous Church Movement, 1919-1927: A Protestant Response to the Anti-Christian Movements in Modern China” (Ph.D. diss., the University of Pennsylvania, 1986), 97.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 121.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., 122-24.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., 126.

**The influence of communism.** There were many communists in the leadership of the New Culture Movement. Communist ideas—apparently rose up as anti-imperialism and anti-Christian movement gathered momentum.<sup>99</sup>

**The reaction of the Christian churches.** What was the reaction of the Christian churches to the anti-Christian movement of the 1920s? Most Chinese Christian leaders moved toward reforming and indigenizing their churches.<sup>100</sup> The anti-Christian movement helped promote further indigenization of the Chinese churches and their theological ideas.<sup>101</sup>

### **The Indigenous Church Movement**

The indigenous church movement started in 1910 in Shandong province, where the Boxer Uprising had occurred. The Chinese churches in Shandong became the forerunners of the indigenous movement because of the strong anti-foreign sentiment of the province. The issue that caused the strongest opposition was “the wholesale import of” Western denominationalism. Chinese Christians showed a strong desire to unify all Chinese churches nationwide and form a true “Church of China.”<sup>102</sup> Another factor that influenced “the sudden shift in emphasis to Chinese-Christian autonomy and self-sufficiency was the outbreak of World War I, which caused a significant reduction in the amount of operating funds sent to foreign missions from their home offices in Europe

---

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., 127-31.

<sup>100</sup>Chao, “The Chinese Indigenous Church Movement,” 113-34.

<sup>101</sup>Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China*, 137.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., 51.

and North America.”<sup>103</sup>

**The True Jesus Church.** Barnabas Tung and Paul Wei established the True Jesus Church in 1917.<sup>104</sup> Wei said that, after having fasted forty days, he saw a vision, and the Holy Spirit led him to a river outside Beijing. Wei was baptized there and received divine power for casting out demons and healing. The Seventh-Day Adventists and the Assemblies of God also influenced him. His church emphasized keeping the Ten Commandments and the Sabbath, faith healing, rejoicing in poverty and oppression, and Christ’s imminent Second Coming.<sup>105</sup> Its baptismal ceremony was unique. The church insisted on baptism by immersion with the face down, and foot-washing followed. The church encouraged its believers to seek the Holy Spirit to speak in tongues, sing, leap and dance in the Spirit. The worship of the church was ecstatic. Wei, who claimed that his church was the True Jesus Church, criticized the others. Influenced by the spirit of nationalism of the day, the church refused any aid from foreign missionaries. Its independence from the West and the claim of healing through prayer met the needs of the people, especially the poor. The True Jesus Church rapidly spread within ten years into many provinces, such as Hunan, Hubei, Fujian, and Henan. Missionaries gradually criticized this church, although it attracted many people, because the orthodoxy of its doctrine was questionable. Despite the church’s doctrinal extremes, its characteristics strongly influenced the later formation of other Chinese indigenous churches. In 1958,

---

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., 57.

<sup>104</sup>Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 177, 241.

<sup>105</sup>Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China*, 45.

under the communist regime, the church was banned, but it was restarted in 1980. The church now has numerous followers in Jiangsu, Hunan, and Fujian, and it is growing in Taiwan.<sup>106</sup>

**The Family of Jesus.** Jing Dian-ying started the Family of Jesus (the Jesus Family) in the village of Mazhuang, in Shandong, in 1921. It started out as a commune, emphasizing “a true family spirit based on Mark 3:33-35, ‘. . . Who is my mother, or my brethren? . . . For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother.’”<sup>107</sup> The Family of Jesus demanded that its members donate their properties to the group’s community, work for the commune, and follow strict spiritual disciplines. The life of the group functioned like a kind of communism. The Family of Jesus pioneered a communist society in China. It was planned six months before the Chinese Communist Party was founded. The Family of Jesus later welcomed the communist regime, but was severely persecuted by the government because of the amount of its property. Facing this persecution, the Family of Jesus divided its communes into smaller groups of thirty persons or less and distributed all its wealth to the poor. From that time on, the Family of Jesus was characterized by small communal households enduring poverty and persecution. The Family of Jesus had grown in rural areas by 1950. Its membership totaled 15,000 individuals in about three hundred communal households. It is said that the family of Jesus even had “its own educational institutions including a kindergarten, grammar and middle school, as well as a vocational

---

<sup>106</sup>Young-Hak Yang, “The Formation and Development of the House Churches in China” (Th.M. thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1997), 59-60.

<sup>107</sup>Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China*, 98.

college.”<sup>108</sup>

The Family of Jesus was very active in evangelism, mostly in rural areas. Its methodology was faith-evangelism, based on Mark 6:8-9. Each evangelistic team was composed of three or four members. The team did not take any money or extra clothing for the trip. The group would not return until a new household commune had been established. The missionary team reached areas between as far north as Manchuria and as far south as the southern banks of the Yangtze River. Despite China’s strong anti-American, anti-imperialist sentiment, the Family of Jesus welcomed U.S. missionaries into its community as brothers and sisters.<sup>109</sup> The characteristics of the Family of Jesus—the divided, small household communes, the enduring spirit despite poverty and persecution, the strong evangelistic activities, and the methodology of faith-evangelism—greatly affected the later house church movement under the communist regime.

**Watchman Nee (1903-1972) and the Little Flock .** Ni Tuo-sheng, who was better known as Watchman Nee, founded the Little Flock (the Christian Assembly) in Shanghai in 1926. Nee never accepted the term “Little Flock,” but people called his Christian Assembly “Little Flock” from the title of its hymnal. He developed a unique Chinese indigenous church based on his own theology, even though foreign missionaries and writers influenced him tremendously. His Christian Assembly was independent of foreign missions. It was a self-supporting and self-governing church. Plymouth

---

<sup>108</sup>Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 177.

<sup>109</sup>Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China*, 99-101.

Brethren's influence caused Nee to emphasize the believer's inner spiritual awakening rather than outer rituals. His theology was rooted in the trichotomous view of man as body, soul, and spirit, as expressed in one of his famous books, *The Spiritual Man*.<sup>110</sup> Nee also insisted that infant baptism and denominationalism be rejected and insisted that there should only be one church in each community. The Little Flock emphasized the communion ritual and renounced any rule or structure. Watchman Nee's theology was naive and faulty at certain crucial points, even though the Little Flock exhibited an overall tendency toward fundamentalism. The Little Flock attracted the educated people because of Nee's prolific writings and indigenous theology. Watchman Nee's disciples later became the most important leaders of the house church movement. Their theological defects have caused "the conflicts of the 1950s and the ongoing problems in some parts of the Protestant Church in China today."<sup>111</sup>

The Little Flock was also very active in evangelism. It grew rapidly in Shanghai, Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Fujian. Its anti-denominationalism attracted the Chinese people, who had been disappointed by Western missionaries' disunity along their denominational lines. According to the policy of "evangelism by migration," one party of seventy families left Yantai for Taiyuan in Shanxi, and another group of thirty families emigrated to the Northeast.<sup>112</sup> This evangelistic method, which was very effective, was adopted by the Back-to-Jerusalem movement—the Chinese house church

---

<sup>110</sup>Samuel Ling, "Nee, Watchman (1903-1972)," in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, 672.

<sup>111</sup>Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 176.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid.



vision to evangelize the nations between China and Jerusalem.<sup>113</sup>

A 1949 survey reported that there were approximately seven hundred Little Flock groups with about seventy thousand members. Watchman Nee did not leave China in the face of the country's communist takeover in 1949. He chose to suffer with his fellow Christians. Finally, the Communist government arrested him in 1956, and he died in prison in 1972. His sacrificial behavior impressed numerous Christians in mainland China and overseas. As a result, his influence became worldwide.

In the mean time, Watchman Nee's right-hand man escaped China before the communist takeover. Witness Lee (Lee Chang-shou) started the Local Church Movement based in the United States. Although it was strongly authoritarian and heterodox, the Local Church could be found in Chinese communities around the world by the mid-1980s.<sup>114</sup> Its influence on the House Church Movement in China is still significant.

### **The Revival Movement**

A number of Chinese evangelists and revivalists appeared in the period from 1920 to 1930. They led the revival movement during the dark decades of turmoil that the second Sino-Japanese War caused. The revivalists offered the Chinese Christians spiritual comfort and made the Chinese church more indigenous. Wang Ming-dao, John Sung, David Yang, and Watchman Nee were this movement's

---

<sup>113</sup>Paul Hattaway, *Back to Jerusalem: Three Chinese House Church Leaders Share Their Vision to Complete the Great Commission* (Carlisle, England: Piquant, 2003), 20.

<sup>114</sup>Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China*, 107.

outstanding figures.

**Wang Mingdao (1900-1991).** Wang Mingdao was born in Beijing in 1900. His father, who was a medical doctor, committed suicide before his birth due to the Boxer Uprising. Wang was educated in a school run by the London Missionary Society and became a Christian at 14 years of age. Wang realized God's call to Christian ministry when he graduated at the age of 18. Although Wang taught at a Presbyterian school, he was baptized again by immersion because he thought it was more biblical than sprinkling. This action caused him to be dismissed from the school. It was God's plan to give him time to devote himself to Bible study for three years. Immediately after this intensive Bible study, he was invited to conduct his first evangelistic meeting at Tientsin.

Wang became famous as a powerful revivalist after this. He started a Bible-study class in his home, which rapidly grew into a large church. In 1937, Wang built "The Christian Tabernacle," which could accommodate seven hundred people. He baptized only those who show evidence of repentance, faith and regeneration.<sup>115</sup> In 1927, he published his famous magazine, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*, for Chinese churches; it was widely read for more than twenty years. Wang was a fundamentalist, who preached a similar message to that of Watchman Nee, but his theology was soundly evangelical. Unlike other evangelists, Wang appealed to urban-educated people, including students. He endured suffering at the hands of Japanese invaders. Wang Mingdao was the most influential person in the Chinese church when the communist

---

<sup>115</sup>Samuel Mau-Cheng Lee, "A Comparative Study of Leadership Selection Processes among Four Chinese Leaders" (D.Miss. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1985), 46.

regime took over the nation.<sup>116</sup>

In 1949, the newly established Three-Self Patriotic Movement began to accuse Wang Mingdao, pressing him to join the movement that was under the control of the Communist government. He refused to join the movement, however, and proceeded with readiness to die. Finally, the Communist government arrested Wang and imprisoned him. He spent more than two decades in prison, until he was released in 1979. Wang started a house church and ministered until he died in 1991. His faithfulness and final victory have encouraged Chinese house church members to endure the suffering caused by not joining the Three-Self Patriotic Movement.<sup>117</sup>

**John Sung (1901-1944).** John Sung (Song Shang-jie) was born as the sixth child of a Methodist minister in Fukien province in 1901. He experienced God's grace during the Hinghwa revival of 1909 and began to preach the gospel as his father's associate. At the age of 20, Sung went to the United States and received his doctorate in chemistry from Ohio State University. He answered God's call and attended Union Theological Seminary in New York in 1926. The following year, Sung had a deep spiritual experience. The great joy of forgiveness caused him to become mentally unbalanced. Thus, the seminary placed him in a mental institution for six months. There, with the special grace of the Lord, he devoted himself to Bible study. Sung returned to China and began his preaching ministry after his release.

His preaching, which knew no fear, called for thorough repentance. He soon

---

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., 46-47.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., 48-49.

was known as a powerful revivalist. Sung joined the Bethel Evangelistic Band in 1932. He “traveled 54,823 miles, preached at 1,199 meetings, and spoke to over 400,000 people” for two years. It is said that more than 18,000 people were converted by his preaching tours. From 1934 until his death in 1944, Sung traveled to various parts of China as well as to the nations of Southeast Asia, such as Singapore, Malaya, Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Taiwan. He died of cancer and tuberculosis at the age of 43.<sup>118</sup> Sung’s theology was evangelical, like that of Wang Ming-dao. Later, the numerous converts from their revival meetings for decades constituted the largest evangelical group in the house church movement.

**David Yang (1898-1966).** David Yang (Yang Shao-tang) was born in Quwo, Shansi in 1898. His parents were Christians, so he was raised in a Christian environment. He attended Christian schools and studied at the North China Theological Seminary in Tengxian, Shandong. Influenced by the revival in his area in 1924, Yang realized his calling as pastor and educator. Yang chose to return to his poverty-stricken hometown of Shansi after he graduated from the seminary. There, Yang served thirteen churches in thirteen counties as well as his hometown church.

He acknowledged the missionaries’ contributions to China despite the strong anti-Christian sentiment that Communists inspired throughout the country in the latter part of the 1920s. Yang cooperated with CIM leaders to establish Chinese indigenous churches with self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating policies. His church

---

<sup>118</sup>Samuel Ling, “Sung, John (1901-1944),” in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, 918.

rapidly grew because of the influence of the Shandong revival<sup>119</sup> and the campaign of the Bethel Band with John Sung. Yang organized his famous “Spiritual Action Teams” for Bible study, evangelism, and ministry. Wang Mingdao later invited him to preach freely at the Christian Tabernacle in Peking. In 1947, Yang became a professor at China Bible Seminary in Shanghai and a pastor of a church in Nanking. Yang gained nationwide influence as a pastor and educator by conducting many conferences. He was accused of collaborating with foreign missions and persecuted when the Communists took control of the country in 1949. Yang died of a heart attack in 1966 at the age of 68.<sup>120</sup>

David Yang made a great contribution to the Chinese Church in the area of indigenous- leadership training. He developed a theological-indigenization method and provided indigenous-leadership training in wartime. Yang emphasized four basic requirements in educating youth: (1) life commitment, (2) doctrinal firmness, (3) spiritual gifts, and (4) ethical integrity. He had a deep fellowship with John Sung and Wang Ming-dao. Yang also influenced the formation of the group of evangelical Christians in China through preaching, publishing, and education.<sup>121</sup>

**Watchman Nee (1903-1972).** Watchman Nee was a powerful revivalist as well as a pastor and a theologian. It is said that he was influenced by the Shandong

---

<sup>119</sup>The Shandong Revival was one of the greatest revivals in modern history which lasted from 1929 to 1937. It occurred during the period of political chaos, social instability, and anti-Christian movement. Through this revival, Chinese Christians obtained the spiritual strength to undergo the encroaching trials caused by Japanese invasion and ultimately Communist control.

<sup>120</sup>Peace Kim, *A History of the Chinese Church* (Seoul: Morrison, 2003), 223-27.

<sup>121</sup>Lee, “A Comparative Study of Leadership,” 29-36.

revival in 1935. His preaching tours and prolific publications influenced the revival movement. His publications included *The Spiritual Man*, *The Normal Christian*, *The Release of the Spirit*, and *Love Not the World*. The growth of the Chinese house church is partially due to “the widespread and powerful influence of Nee To-sheng [Watchman Nee] in the second half of this century.”<sup>122</sup>

The Chinese church leaders who had such a great effect on the indigenous and revival movement shared the following characteristics: (1) They separated their churches or organizations from Western missions; (2) they had their own independent church organizations; (3) although they did not receive any formal theological education, they had strong spiritual authority and preaching talents; and (4) although they experienced some theological weaknesses, their sermons were indigenized and unique from one another.<sup>123</sup>

### **Conclusion**

This chapter summarizes the early history of Chinese Christianity. The time range is from 635 to the Communist Revolution of 1949. The main focus is on the various movements that occurred as the result of the interactions between Christian missions and China. There were Nestorian missionary movements during the Tang dynasty (635-845) and the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). The Roman Catholic missionary movements followed. Franciscan missionaries worked in China during the Yuan dynasty. Jesuit missionaries gained quite a significant success with their indigenous

---

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., 39-45.

<sup>123</sup>Kim, *A History of the Chinese Church*, 229.

approach during the late Ming through the mid-Qing dynasties (1582-1784). The nineteenth century was the era of Protestant missions. Unfortunately, imperial Western powers supported the missions. Every missionary attempt met with opposition from the anti-Christian movement caused by Chinese nationalism. How to deal with the anti-Christian sentiment was always the Chinese Christians' most difficult problem. In response, the strong Chinese independent-church movement emerged and continued for several decades.

There were two types of movements during the larger Chinese independent-church movement in the first half of twentieth century. One is the coalition type of movement, which tried to make larger groups through coalition or alliance. The ideal of the movement was achieved by the establishment of the Church of Christ in China and the National Christian Council of China. The coalition movement was driven by liberal Christian groups (like the YMCA), which was influenced by the social-gospel movement. The coalition-movement organizations were absorbed in the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) after the Communist takeover.

The other separatist (singular) type of movement pursued the complete independence of individual churches with unique claims. The first organization that belonged to this type was the Chinese Independent Church. It split into two organizations: the Chinese Jesus Independent Church and the China Christian Independent Church. The True Jesus Church, the Family of Jesus, and the Little Flock could also be classified as this type of movement. The separatist-type churches went underground and started the house church movement because of the Communist government's persecution due to their refusal to join the TSPM.

## CHAPTER 3

### COMMUNISM AND THE HOUSE CHURCH MOVEMENT

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) established the People's Republic of China, under the leadership of Mao Zedong, on October 1, 1949. The Communist Revolution was Chinese nationalism's final settlement after nearly two centuries of struggling to save the country from imperialist invasion. Mao Zedong proclaimed liberation from the Western powers and Japan, but inherited difficult problems caused by war and civil strife for more than a decade. He started to remold the nation along Marxist Socialism lines. His policies to reform the nation turned out to be a failure. The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the culmination of Mao's policy, was disastrous. It denounced all religions and reversed the Chinese respect for the elderly and the educated. Intellectuals and religious believers were cruelly persecuted during the revolution. Approximately twenty million Chinese people lost their lives during that time. Mao Zedong died in 1976, and the fanatical Cultural Revolution ended. Deng Xiaoping, who exercised pragmatic leadership, rose to power in 1978. He initiated the open-door policy and launched economic reform that was centered on profit-making incentives to achieve the goal of the Four Modernizations. His series of economic, political, and cultural reforms was quite successful. The Tiananmen Square Incident in Beijing in 1989, however, reversed the government's direction to leftist rigidity that represses all political



dissent. Economic reform with tight political control has been governmental policy since 1990.<sup>1</sup>

Communism considers religions as superstitions or the manipulation of people. The Communists expect that all religions will disappear along with the development of communism. Because the Communists regard Christianity as a tool of the Western invasion, the Chinese Communist government has tried to eliminate all religious groups in China. The government struggled to control all organized Christianity in the 1950s. The government started the Three- Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) to put the Chinese Protestant churches under the communist Party's control. Even the TSPM churches were banned during the Cultural Revolution, so believers started secret meetings at houses. This was the beginning of the house church movement. The CCP established the TSPM and the Chinese Christian Council, under the Religious Affairs Bureau, to control the burgeoning house church movement following the Cultural Revolution. The Communist government gave more freedom to the Chinese Christians, but pressed the house churches to register and work under TSPM direction. The house churches enjoyed some liberty and rapidly grew in the late 1970s and early 1980s. After 1982, however, the house church policy became ambiguous. There was ample room for the regulation's interpretation. Loose or strict control was chosen and carried out according to political consideration. The Tiananmen Square Incident of 1989 and the Falun Gong sect's demonstration in 1999 greatly intensified

---

<sup>1</sup>Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk, *Operation World: When We Pray God Works* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Lifestyle, 2001), 160.

house church persecution.<sup>2</sup>

### **Formation of the House Church Movement, 1949-1965**

#### **The Churches in 1949**

What were the Christians' attitudes under Chinese Communist Party rule in 1949? The majority of Christians sought "to carry on their accustomed faith as best they may within the permitted 'Freedom of Religion' policy with hope or fear."<sup>3</sup> The total number of Protestant Christians in 1949 is said to have been about one million. The 1950 *Revised Directory of the Protestant Christian Movement* breaks down this figure as follows:

The table shows the strong influence of the Western missionaries as the forms of denominational churches such as Methodists, China Inland Mission, Baptists, Anglicans, Lutherans, and Presbyterians. It also shows also strong evidences of the Chinese Independent Church Movement since 1920s. The list includes several Chinese indigenous church groups such as Church of Christ in China, True Jesus Church, The Little Flock, Chinese Independent Church, and Jesus Family.

The data reveal the Chinese church profile by denomination. According to the directory, 2,024 Chinese and 939 foreign ministers were working in the Protestant churches. There were forty-four theological seminaries and twenty-one Bible schools with 4,091 missionaries. There were thirteen Protestant universities compared with three Catholic ones; 240 Protestant middle schools and 189 Catholic ones; and 322 hospitals

---

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Bob Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity* (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse Publishing, 1988), 198.

run by Protestants, compared with 216 hospitals run by Catholics. The Protestant churches surpassed the Catholic churches in the field of education and medicine, although the Catholic Christians were three times as many as the Protestant Christians.<sup>4</sup>

Table 1. The number of Christians in China in 1949

Denomination	Number
Church of Christ in China (CCC)	177,000
Methodists	147,000
True Jesus Church	125,000
China Inland Mission	86,000
Baptists	81,000
Anglicans	77,000
The Little Flock	70,000 at least
Lutherans	65,000
Presbyterians (joined CCC in 1949)	30,000
Chinese Independent Church	30,000
Seventh-day Adventists	21,000
Christian and Missionary Alliance	20,000
Assemblies of God	12,000
Jesus Family	6,000
Others	53,000
Total	1,000,000

---

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 199-200.

## **The Communist Government's Religious Policy**

**The United Front policy.** The United Front is very important as the CCP's strategy and ideology applied to a wide range of problems under the banner of patriotism and national unity. It has become the Chinese government's basic policy for identifying supporters and for winning over the undecided since it was used to defeat first the Japanese imperial army and then Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang army before 1949. The United Front's ideology and organization depend on the political situation. Communist theory is not more important than political purpose. "As the situation changes, so does the nature of friends and enemies."<sup>5</sup> This United Front policy is the key to understanding the Chinese Communist government's policy, including its religious policy.<sup>6</sup> The CCP established the United Front Work Department (UFWD) for controlling all parts of society. In the field of religion, the Religious Affairs Bureau has carried out the UFWD's policy since 1951.<sup>7</sup>

**The freedom of religion in the constitution.** The Chinese Communist government promised the Chinese people freedom of religion although it considered religion to be superstition or the "opium" of the people. The government first institutionalized freedom of religion in article 5 of the Common Platform, which was a

---

<sup>5</sup>Philip L. Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988), 46.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 45-46.

<sup>7</sup>David Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity Is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2003), 148.

draft constitution that was passed in 1949. It then was confirmed in article 88 of the first constitution that was passed in 1954. This article has survived despite subsequent constitutional revisions expressing the Chinese government's basic position on religious activities. The government is not opposed to religious activities, but to foreign religious influence. The Chinese government wants to control every aspect of religious life to prevent any possible "anti-revolutionary" activities.<sup>8</sup>

**The Christian Manifesto.** The Christian Manifesto was produced after meetings with nineteen liberal Protestant leaders and Premier Zhou Enlai in 1950. The Manifesto declares that "Christianity consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, became related with imperialism."<sup>9</sup> It demands that the Protestant Church break all its past relationship with imperialistic influence and establish the Chinese Christian Church based on the three-self principle (self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating). The Manifesto says:

Christian churches and organizations in China should exert their utmost efforts, and employ effective methods, to make people in the churches everywhere recognize clearly the evils that have been wrought in China by imperialism; recognize the fact that in the past imperialism has made use of Christianity; purge imperialistic influences from Christianity itself; and be vigilant against imperialism, and especially American imperialism, in its plot to use religion in fostering the growth of reactionary forces.<sup>10</sup>

It was reported that within two years, almost half of the Protestant Christians

---

<sup>8</sup>May M. C. Cheng, "House Church Movements and Religious Freedom in China," *China: An International Journal* 1 (March 2003): 19.

<sup>9</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 151.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

signed, “a total of 417,389.”<sup>11</sup> Any pastor or leader who refused to accept the Manifesto was condemned as non-patriotic or anti-revolutionary. The Manifesto’s publication was the unofficial start of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement.<sup>12</sup>

**The Religious Affairs Bureau.** The Chinese government established the Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB) in 1951 to represent the government in implementing religious policy. Its function has been that of an intermediary between religious bodies and the government. In theory, Protestant Christians “may appeal to the RAB through the TSPM in cases where their religious freedom has been violated.”<sup>13</sup>

**The Three-Self Patriotic Movement.** The TSPM was instituted under the RAB in 1951 to control the Protestant churches. The TSPM is a result of the United Front policy toward Protestant Christianity. According to the TSPM constitution, “it was established to end control by foreign mission boards and raise a sense of self-respect and patriotic fervor among Christians in the New China.”<sup>14</sup> It functioned as a liaison between the RAB and the churches. The RAB pressed all the Chinese Protestant churches to participate in the movement.<sup>15</sup> All the Chinese Christians who resisted joining the TSPM were persecuted; consequently, the underground House Church Movement spread into almost every region of the country.

---

<sup>11</sup>Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 218.

<sup>12</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 150-52.

<sup>13</sup>Gail V. Coulson, *The Enduring Church: Christians in China and Hong Kong* (New York: Friendship Press, 1996), 37.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 37-38.

<sup>15</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 153.

## **The Resistance of the House Churches**

A number of Protestant groups and individuals were opposed to joining the TSPM in the early 1950s. They were the True Jesus Church, the Jesus Family, and the Little Flock. These groups mainly originated from the independent church movement which claimed that it did not have any foreign mission connections. They found no reason to join the TSPM because they already had separated themselves from foreign-mission influence. The groups regarded the TSPM as a Chinese Communist government tool for controlling them. Their theology was largely fundamental, so they could not allow human authorities to control the churches.<sup>16</sup>

The house churches were severely persecuted as a result. The members were forced to denounce missionaries (all had to leave the country by 1951) and their leaders at the accusation meetings from 1951 to 1953. There were accusation meetings within the churches. Wu Yao-zong (known to the West as Y. T. Wu), a liberal Christian and the TSPM founder, led the meetings. Wang Ming-dao, a renowned independent church leader, openly refused to join the TSPM and attacked Y. T. Wu as a false Christian. He criticized the TSPM as a political method of the Communist government to control the churches. Wang was arrested and imprisoned in 1955. A number of Christians followed his example and suffered in prison for the Lord.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup>Cheng, "House Church Movements," 30.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

## Persecution and Survival of the House Church, 1966-1978

### The Cultural Revolution (1966-76)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which was the tragic culmination of Mao Zedong's leftist policy,<sup>18</sup> suddenly broke out in the summer of 1966. It originally had been planned as an extension of the Socialist Education Movement, through which attacks were already mounting on writers and artists.<sup>19</sup> As the revolution progressed, it rapidly and fanatically caused tremendous suffering and chaos. G. Thompson Brown thus describes the elements of this new revolution:

The movement was full of contradictions: a combination of circus-like theatrics and somber spectacle of public executions, a near-deification of Mao along with a denunciation of all religion, a fundamentalism of "little red book" with the public burning of the Bible, high ideals along with brutality. The time-honored Chinese respect for the elderly was reversed, and boys and girls in their teens assaulted senior party officials. The long standing Chinese love for learning was upset as schools and universities were attacked and professors and presidents sent off to the countryside for "reeducation" through manual labor. It was all so un-Chinese! How and why did it happen? . . .

The stage was now set for the Red Guards. Middle schools and universities were closed so that students could take part in the mass movement and spearhead the attack. Free transportation was offered on all trains. The press sounded the alarm. Students were brought to Beijing in large numbers. More than one million at a time were harangued by Mao in Tiananmen Square. It is said that 11,000,000 Red Guards assembled in the great square between August and November 1966. Mao and Lin wore Red Guard arm bands and urged them on under the slogan, "Revolution is not wrong; it is right to rebel." In Beijing one million students demonstrated for thirty hours outside the Soviet Embassy. The British Embassy was attacked and nearly destroyed.

From Beijing groups of Red Guards were sent out across the country on "Long Marches." They were charged to criticize everything, to distrust all cadres. They denounced bourgeois luxuries, taxicabs, Western style clothes, and long hair. Offenders were shaved bald. Armed with copies of a little red book called *The*

---

<sup>18</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 159.

<sup>19</sup>Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter*, 288.



*Thoughts of Mao Zedong*, they defied all order and were responsible to no one.<sup>20</sup>

Although the Cultural Revolution officially ended in 1968, in many ways it lasted as late as 1976, the year in which Mao Zedong died. Intellectuals and religious believers were severely persecuted during the “ten lost years.” It is estimated that twenty million people lost their lives during the period.

### **Persecution against the Protestant Church**

Every church in China was closed or destroyed. Even the offices of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement had to be closed down. All Christians of whatever denomination or political affiliation were persecuted. Pastors were sent to labor camps in the countryside for re-education. TSPM leaders were also sent to labor camps, although they cooperated with the government. Young radical Red Guards searched believers' homes and confiscated or burned Bibles and Christian books. All Christians were forced to denounce their faith. Some were beaten to death. Every Christian activities was removed from the surface of the country after the first wave of attacks. Silently, however, the underground house church movement started among Protestant Christians in many places, especially in rural areas.<sup>21</sup>

### **Survival of the House Church**

Christianity was kept alive in the form of house churches during the Cultural Revolution, which were the darkest days for the Church in China. This form was how

---

<sup>20</sup>G. Thomson Brown, *Christianity in the People's Republic of China*, rev. ed. (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1986), 115-19.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 124-25.

the church began. The house church movement had already been started before the Cultural Revolution, but during that period it grew to a nationwide movement with well-organized networks. G. Thompson Brown offers a vivid description of how a house church functioned during the Cultural Revolution:

A Christian family, a few relatives, and friends would begin to meet in one of their homes to read the Bible, pray, and share experiences. The passage to be studied would be copied by hand from the few Bibles available and circulated around the group. When study of a book had been completed, each believer would have a hand-written copy for personal use. Often the group would meet at irregular times and in different homes. Sundays were preferred, but any day would do. Sometimes they would gather in the evenings. Sometimes they met during the long noon work break.

Occasionally an itinerant lay preacher from a neighboring village would visit the group and there would be special preaching, Bible teaching, and hymn singing. But care had to be taken with visitors because party cadres were sometimes suspicious of strangers. Many of the itinerant preachers were women. These preachers had developed special skills either from previous instruction in Bible schools or from their own study of the Bible and experience. Great diversity was displayed in the different groups, both in the religious experience and in lay preachers. Sometimes there would be special prayer for healing, for deliverance from demons, and for rain.

When a group got too big, it would divide into two groups. No provincial or national association linked the groups together, but groups within the same vicinity would know each other. Some groups joined together to go on retreats to some isolated mountain area for several days of preaching, instruction, hymn singing, and Christian fellowship. Party cadres were sometimes sympathetic to the Christians, who were often the hardest-working and best-qualified members of the commune. Sometimes cadres knew about their meetings and did not interfere although they could not be officially condoned.<sup>22</sup>

The year 1976 was a paradigm-shifting one because so many incidents occurred in a short time. Zhou Enlai died from cancer in January. Deng Xiaoping was dismissed from all his posts in April as the scapegoat for the demonstration following Zhou's death. An earthquake in Tangshan in August killed 250,000 people. In September, Mao Zedong died at the age of eighty two, which signaled the end of the

---

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 127-28.

Maoist era. The “Gang of Four” was arrested in October for “persecuting many loyal party members and citizens during the Cultural Revolution” and “plotting to seize control of the government.”<sup>23</sup> The country was quickly moving in a new direction. Deng Xiaoping reappeared as China’s new strong man in July 1977. He subtly reversed Mao’s policy into pragmatic socialism, with the campaign slogan of the Four Modernizations (of agriculture, industry, science, and technology). Deng’s policy was midway between socialism and capitalism, avoiding both extremes to achieve the goal of the Four Modernizations. Deng opened the doors to the West and introduced profit incentives to the socialist economy. The nation was called “New China” under Deng’s moderate leadership. The New China loosened some of the controls, including religion, to establish the climate for modernization. The government’s religious policy was given some freedom, but not too much. In this more relaxed atmosphere, the TSPM churches reopened, and the house churches emerged on the surface.<sup>24</sup>

### **New China and House Church Growth, 1979-Present**

The survival and revival of the house church in China was one of the twentieth century’s miraculous events. The expansion of the church in China since 1977 has been explosive, with no historical parallels. The extent to which the house church movement has grown has been a total surprise, even to Chinese Christians. There had been no foreign missionary activity since 1952. The Holy Spirit has been working for the Chinese church growth. It has also been achieved through missionary efforts during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

---

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 140.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 137-50.

## New Religious Policy

**Freedom of religion.** The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) government promised the Chinese people freedom of religion when it came to power in 1949. Chinese religions were cruelly persecuted and eliminated, however, during the Cultural Revolution. When Deng's New China began, the governmental policy returned to "its pre-Cultural Revolution position when religious freedom, guaranteed by the constitution, was respected."<sup>25</sup> There has been no change in the Communist government's position on religion. It remains atheistic, although Deng's government has been more open to religion.<sup>26</sup>

The "freedom of religious beliefs" policy was first institutionalized in article 5 of the Common Platform (draft constitution) in 1949. It later was confirmed in article 88 of the first constitution of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1954. This freedom of religious beliefs has remained relatively intact in subsequent constitutional revisions.<sup>27</sup>

Article 36 of the 1982 constitution grants freedom of religious belief to all Chinese citizens as follows:

1. Citizens of the PRC enjoy freedom of religious belief.
2. No organ of state, mass organization, or person is allowed to force any citizen to believe or not to believe in religion. It is impermissible to discriminate against any citizen who believes or does not believe in religion.
3. The state protects legitimate religious activities. No person is permitted to use religion to conduct counter-revolutionary activities or activities which disrupt social order, harm people's health, or obstruct the education system of the country.

---

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 166.

<sup>26</sup>Cheng, "House Church Movements," 19.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

4. Religion is not subject to the control of foreign countries.

The term “religion” refers to only five faiths: Protestant Christianity, Catholicism, Islam, Buddhism, and Taoism. The Chinese government considers the others to be superstitions or cults when implementing the freedom of religion policy. The authorities clearly maintain the policy to stamp them out. According to article 36, the superstitions “generally concern sorcerers, magic potions and drugs, divination and fortune-telling, getting rid of calamities and praying for rain, praying for children, exorcism and healing, physiognomy and palm reading, geomancy, and other such activities.” These superstitions were almost exterminated during the Cultural Revolution, but they are being revived. This differentiation between religion and superstition is not always clear in practice. For instance, some Christian groups practice healing and exorcism through prayer, which is considered superstitious. Also, article 36 reads that only those religious activities that are “legitimate” are protected from the state. Those that are not considered to be normal or legitimate are to be suppressed. The decision concerning what is normal or legitimate lies with the governmental authorities. In practice, Christians who worship in the places (churches or meeting points) that are registered with TSPM are the only ones protected from persecution.<sup>28</sup>

**The China Christian Council.** In 1980, the China Christian Council (CCC) was formed to assist Chinese churches. Its ten commissions handle such church affairs as “administration, rural work, women, music, international relations, ministry to ethnic minorities, theological education, and Bible printing and other publications.”<sup>29</sup> The CCC

---

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 19-21.

<sup>29</sup>Coulson, *The Enduring Church*, 37.

and the TSPM are called *liang hui*, meaning two organizations that often overlap in dealing with Chinese Protestant churches. The CCC is not the official church of China, but it is a governmental organization.

**Document 19.** This lengthy Document 19, titled “The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Question during the Socialist Period of Our Country,” was issued as the revised constitution in 1982. Document 19 is the most important material for understanding the Chinese government’s religious policy because it offers the state’s interpretation of article 36 of the constitution. It was designed to cope with flourishing house churches. According to the document, all normal religious activities should be conducted in places that patriotic religious organizations designate under Party and state directives.<sup>30</sup> The document is composed of twelve sections. Donald E. MacInnis offers a summary of Document 19 in his book titled *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice*. The following six points are extracted from it because they contain crucial information for comprehending the government’s principles and policies toward the Protestant Church:

1. Religion is as a historical phenomenon pertaining to a definite period in the development of human society. It has its own cycle of emergence, development, and disappearance. The oppressor classes [uses] religion as an opiate and as an important and vital means in its control of the masses. In Socialist society, the class root of existence of religion was virtually lost following the elimination of its oppressive social system and its oppressor class. However, because of the people’s conscious lags behind social realities, old thinking and habits cannot be thoroughly wiped out in a short period. Religion will eventually disappear from human history. But it will disappear naturally only through the long-term development of Socialism and Communism, when all objective requirements are met. Those who expect to rely on administrative decrees or other coercive measures to wipe out religious thinking and practices with one blow are even

---

<sup>30</sup>Cheng, “House Church Movements,” 21.

further from the basic viewpoint Marxism takes toward the religious question. They are entirely wrong and will do small harm.

2. There are many religions in China. To sum up, we may say that in old China all religions were manipulated and controlled by the ruling classes, with extremely negative results. The later foreign colonialist and imperialist forces mainly controlled the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. After Liberation there was a thorough transformation of the socioeconomic system and a major reform of the religious system, and so the status of religion in China has already undergone a fundamental change. The religious question, however, will continue to exist over a long period within certain limits, will continue to have a definite mass nature, to be entangled in many areas with the ethnic question, and to be affected by some class-struggle and complex international factors. This question, therefore, continues to be one of great significance which we cannot ignore. The question is this: can we handle this religious question properly as we work toward national stability and ethnic unity, as we develop our international relations while resisting the infiltration of hostile forces from abroad, and as we go on constructing a Socialist civilization with both material and spiritual values? To overestimate the seriousness or complexity of the question and so panic, or to ignore the existence and complexity of the actual question and so let matters drift, would be equally wrong.
3. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, there have been many twists and turns in the Party's work with regard to the religious question. In general, although there were some major errors, after the founding of New China, and for the seventeen years up to the "cultural revolution," the Party's religious work achieved great results under the direction of the correct guiding principles and policies of the Party Central Committee. We did away with imperial forces within the churches and promoted the correct policy of independent, self-governed, and autonomous churches, as well as the "Three-Self Movement" (self-propagation, self-administration, and self-support). The Catholic and Protestant churches ceased to be tools of the imperialist aggressors and became independent and autonomous religious enterprises of Chinese believers. In order to implement and carry out the Party's religious policy correctly and comprehensively, the main task now at hand is to oppose "leftist" erroneous tendencies. At the same time, we must be on our guard to forestall and overcome the erroneous tendency to just let things slide along.
4. The basic policy of the Party toward the religious question is that of respect for and protection of the freedom of religious belief. What do we mean by freedom of religious belief? We mean that every citizen has the freedom to believe in religion and also the freedom not to believe in religion. We Communists are atheists and must unremittingly propagate atheism. Any action which forces a nonbeliever to believe in religion is an infringement of freedom of religious belief, just as is any action which forces a believer not to believe. Both are grave

errors and not to be tolerated. It will be absolutely forbidden to force anyone, particularly people under eighteen years of age, to become a member of a church. . . . Nor will religion be permitted to make use in any way of religious pretexts to oppose the Party's leadership or the Socialist system, or to destroy national or ethnic unity.

5. As for Protestant gathering in homes for worship services, in principle this should not be allowed, yet this prohibition should not be too rigidly enforced. Rather, persons in the patriotic religious organizations should make special efforts to persuade the mass of religious believers to make more appropriate arrangements. All places of worship are under the administrative control of the Bureau of Religious Affairs, but the religious organizations should arrange the scope, frequency, and time of religious services, avoiding interference with the social order and the time set aside for production and labor. No religious organization or believer should propagate or preach religion outside places designated. . . .
6. The fact that our Party proclaims and implements a policy of freedom of religious belief does not, of course, mean that Communist Party members can freely believe in religion [with exception of some] ethnic minorities in which nearly all the people believe in one particular religion, Islam or Lamaism, for example.<sup>31</sup>

Document 19 demonstrates the Marxist view of religion and the United Front strategy. The document elaborates on the meaning of freedom of religious belief to establish the ideological basis for limiting freedom of religion. According to the document, all religious activities are to be under government supervision. Propagation outside the designated building and to young people who are not yet 18 years of age is forbidden. Although harsh treatment is not recommended in dealing with illegal house churches, the unclear guidance leaves ample room for the government to make circumstantial decisions, such as tolerance or persecution.

---

<sup>31</sup>Donald E. MacInnis, *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989), 10-26.



**Document 6.** Document 6 was issued as a supplement to Document 19 in early 1991 “for stricter control over contacts with foreign religious bodies and suppression of criminal activities under the name of religion.”<sup>32</sup> The moderate political atmosphere of the 1980s suddenly disappeared and turned leftward due to the 1989 student demonstration requesting more freedom and democracy in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. After the students’ protest was crushed (many participants were Christians), it was necessary to draft more regulations for slowing the rapid growth of religions, especially the house church movement. The document has six sections, stressing the prohibitions implied in the freedom of religious belief policy. It bans unlawful religious activities, especially foreign infiltration. The document also requires all religious venues to register with patriotic religious organizations, which are the TSPM and the CCC as far as Christianity is concerned. All the house churches that refused to register with the TSPM were proclaimed illegal and persecuted.<sup>33</sup>

**Decrees 144 and 145.** The Chinese government issued two decrees in 1994 to smoothly control China’s religious activities. They are additional directives following Document 6. Decree 144 regulates foreigners’ conduct of foreigners in China, while Decree 145 governs the management of religious premises. Decree 144, “Regulations on the Management of the Religious Activities of Foreigners within China’s Borders,” designates foreigners’ legal religious activities. These guidelines define as foreigners the Chinese people who reside in Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan. The decrees permit them

---

<sup>32</sup>Cheng, “House Church Movements,” 24.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 25.

to conduct religious activities only at registered places. They can be invited to preach or lecture on the Scriptures, but they are “not allowed to set up any religious organizations, recruit students on their own initiative, or evangelize Chinese citizens.”<sup>34</sup> Restrictions are applied to “groups who secretly do evangelistic work in a clandestine manner and who are not welcomed in China as a result of the potential heresies they incite, especially in rural areas.”<sup>35</sup>

Decree 145, “Ordinance for the Management of Venues for Religious Activities,” requires that all places for religious activities must be registered, and ensures the right to perform normal religious activities within their premises. According to this standard, religious organizations must obtain “prior approval from government authorities for any physical alterations or new construction within the registered places, and for running any new enterprises, services, exhibitions, or other activities involving the media.”<sup>36</sup> The authority for applying the regulation in a strict or loose sense belongs to the local cadres and frequently was abused for house church persecution.

### **The Revival of Christianity**

House churches have rapidly increased to become the mainstream of Christianity in China during the years after the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976. The Sovereign God used the Communist regime as His instrument to prepare the way for this phenomenal growth. The disastrous result of Mao’s communism and the massacre in Beijing during the Tiananmen Square Incident in 1989 created an ideological illusion,

---

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Coulson, *The Enduring Church*, 38-39.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 26.

which led to a spiritual vacuum. A number of Chinese people turned to Christianity for satisfying their spiritual hunger. Intellectuals began to accept Christianity as their alternative ideology for saving the country. They saw Chinese Christians' faithfulness and moral integrity under the harshest persecution in history. The Holy Spirit's power has often been manifested in miracles. Christian radio programs, broadcast to China by the Far East Broadcasting Company (FEBC), have provided Bible teachings during dark decades. Now Christianity is embraced not as a foreign religion, but as their own religion indigenized and purified. Christians are found in every stratum of Chinese society, including university students and Communist Party members. It is said that about 7 percent of China's population is Christian. This number reaches almost one hundred million. The house church Christians are the vast majority, perhaps as much as 80 percent.<sup>37</sup>

### **The House Church Movement in China**

**The house church movement as a social movement.** The house church movement is "one of the most sensitive issues relating to human rights, religious freedom and expansion of Christianity in China."<sup>38</sup> House churches "generally refer to Christian communities that conduct religious services without government approval in the homes of believers."<sup>39</sup> According to regulations like Document 19 and Decree 145, all religious activities must be conducted at designated, government-approved venues. House churches have grown rapidly since the end of the Cultural Revolution.

---

<sup>37</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 161.

<sup>38</sup>Cheng, "House Church Movements," 16.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*

Consequently, they have become the mainstream of Christianity in China, surpassing the government-sanctioned TSPM churches. The house church control problem still remains a major concern of the Chinese government. Scholars like May Cheng consider the emergence of Chinese house churches to be a nationwide social movement, while others see as only sporadic and local phenomena with variation.<sup>40</sup> Cheng's opinion has been the evangelical Christian view because the house churches "are not isolated local phenomena, but are networked groups that exhibit characteristics of a social movement."<sup>41</sup> According to Cheng, house church "groups with similar doctrinal beliefs are often closely networked while groups with major doctrinal differences in beliefs are more independent or, at times, antagonistic."<sup>42</sup> Cheng argues as follows:

Social movements may be defined as "unconventional groups that have varying degrees of formal organization and that attempt to produce or prevent radical or reformist types of change."<sup>43</sup> First, organization is one of the main dimensions of social movements. Formal organization means the existence of a hierarchy of authority with a clear distinction between leaders and followers as well as between different levels of leadership. The clearer the authority structure, the more organized the movement. In China, house churches do have a formal organizational structure and full-time staff appointed as leaders. . . .

Second, being unconventional or non-institutionalized is also an essential defining characteristic of social movements. Unconventional group action refers to group behavior that is non-traditional, not tolerated, not established or accepted by the larger society, and which may be illegal. In the United States in the 1960s, a religious movement known as the Pentecostal was outside the established Protestant churches and marginal to the larger society, and hence, may be considered as a non-institutionalized movement. The Pentecostal movement however does not pose a threat to the US society or the established authorities. In contrast, autonomous house churches in China do pose definite threats to the TSPM and the government

---

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 18.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 17.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Cheng quotes from J. L. Wood and M. Jackson, *Social Movements: Development, Participation, and Dynamics* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1982), 3.

authorities and therefore should be regarded as a more non-institutionalized movement.

Third, social movements are closely related to social change. They are often formed because of dissatisfaction with the status quo. However, there are also conservative movements that attempt to maintain the status quo and do not attempt to improve or worsen the circumstances of deprived groups. They are formed because of dissatisfaction with groups aiming to alter the status quo. The ideology common to house churches in China is the maintenance of non-interference by the state toward the expression of religious faith, as was the situation fostered by the Guomindang government before 1949. House churches are under severe pressure to comply with the new measure of control stipulated by the communist government. Informal alliances and networks are often formed among house churches in the process of struggling against the authorities. An examination of the situation of house churches against the current religious policy in China sheds light on the common predicament of house churches.<sup>44</sup>

**The characteristics of the house church.** There might be a misconception that house churches are small, rural communities. In reality, however, they exist in all sizes and regions, in urban as well as rural areas. Some city-based house churches have an extended network of rural meeting points, which itinerant preachers and pastors visit. There are small, loosely organized house churches as well as large, highly-organized house church groups with nationwide networks and sophisticated hierarchical structures.<sup>45</sup> The house churches, which are indigenous, are based on family units. Lay leadership, including women, minister to these house churches. They are eager in prayer and evangelism. Although the Communist government abolished all traditional denominations, denominational-teaching influence has deeply remained in theology and ritual. Most house churches are strongly evangelical and premillennial, while the TSPM churches are liberal. Charismatic and Pentecostal groups are rapidly growing in some areas, such as Henan. There are some extremist groups, which denounce others as

---

<sup>44</sup>Cheng, "House Church Movement," 18-19.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 29.

unorthodox.<sup>46</sup>

Despite their diversity, all house churches are identified by their refusal to join the government-sanctioned TSPM. Hence, unregistered meeting points under the umbrella of the TSPM, which are in the process of registration, should not be confused with the House Church Movement. Most house churches originated from the Independent Church Movement (1902-19) and the Indigenous Church Movement (1919-27), which separate themselves from foreign-mission influence. Thus, they found no reason to join the movement of the Protestant patriotic organization (TSPM) and rejected the movement, criticizing it for being a tool of the Chinese Communist Party to control the church of God. There have been the RAB's efforts for local Party cadres not to abuse their authority in dealing with religious matters through education on the Party's religious policy since 1984. Although the political mood was more open in the 1980s and 1990s, persecutions by the ignorant and prejudiced local cadres have frequently been reported. The current relationship between the house churches and TSPM is still tense with varied situations from province to province.<sup>47</sup>

**A united appeal of the house church.** Leaders of ten major house church groups gathered in a safe house on the outskirts of Zhengzhou, the capital of Henan, in August 1998. What was the reason behind this large gathering, which risked arrest?

Tony Lambert analyzes the circumstances of the time:

Throughout the 1990s pressures have grown on independent house churches to register and to join the TSPM. By late 1996 leaders of several of the largest

---

<sup>46</sup>Tony Lambert, *China's Christian Millions: The Costly Revival* (London: Mill Hill, 1999), 47-49.

<sup>47</sup>Cheng, "House Church Movements," 30.

groupings were conscious that disunity was threatening the witness of the house churches. Their voice was fragmented and was not being heard overseas where increasingly sophisticated disinformation was being spread by the TSPM, leading even many evangelical denominations and para-church organizations to distance themselves from the house churches. The authorities within China were placing them under great pressure with meetings disbanded, leaders arrested and believers fined. This repression has often been justified as part of the general crackdown on criminal elements and extreme cults.<sup>48</sup>

After the gathering, the Chinese house church representatives of the Chinese house church issued a public statement titled “a United Appeal by the Various Branches of the Chinese House Church.” It was signed by the representatives of eight major house church groups: Presbyterians, the Charismatic Church, the Local Church, the Way of Life Church (also known as the Full Gospel Church or Full Scope Church), the Little Flock Church, the Pentecostal Church, Lutherans, and the Baptist Church. The united appeal’s English translation follows.

1. We call on the government to admit to God’s great power and to study seriously today’s new trends in the development of Christianity. If it were not the work of God, why have so many churches and Christians been raised up in China? Therefore the judicial system and the United Front should readjust their policies on religion lest they violate God’s will to their own detriment.
2. We call on the authorities to release unconditionally all house church Christians presently in labor-reform camp.
3. There are approximately ten million believers in the Three-Self Church but 80 million believers in the house church which represents the main stream of Christianity in China. The Three-Self Church is only a branch. In many spiritual matters it has serious deviations.
4. We call on the central leadership of the Party to begin a dialogue with house church representatives to achieve better mutual understanding, to seek reconciliation, to reduce confrontation, and to engage in positive interaction.
5. We call on the government to spell out the definition of a “cult.” This should be according to internationally recognized standards and not just according to

---

<sup>48</sup>Lambert, *China’s Christian Millions*, 55.

whether or not people join the “Three-Self.”

6. We call on the authorities to end their attacks on the house churches. History has proven that attacks on Christians who fervently preach the gospel only bring harm to China and its government. The legal system should end its practice of arresting and imprisoning house church preachers and believers, confining them in labor-camps, or imposing fines as a punishment.
7. The Chinese house church is the channel through which God’s blessings come to China. The persecution of God’s children has blocked this channel of blessing. Support of the house churches will certainly bring God’s blessing. We hope the government will respond positively to this united appeal.<sup>49</sup>

This document shows the house church leaders’ confidence and maturity. In spite of their differences in theology and views, the leaders formed a “united front” to openly issue an appeal to the government. Wisely, they did not denounce either the government or TSPM.

**Confession of faith.** Two months after the united appeal was issued, in November 1998, the sixteen leaders representing the four largest house church groupings announced a united confession of faith as the Biblical basis for unity. The four groups are Fangcheng, Tanghe, Born Again, and Anhui fellowships.<sup>50</sup> David Aikman, the former Beijing Bureau Chief of *Time* magazine, was invited to be one of the witnesses from the West in the publication of the united appeal. He is also the appropriate person to report this “confession” occasion because he had a close connection with the meeting’s key men. Aikman describes the mood of the time as follows:

Since late 1996 leaders from some of the largest groups among house churches in Henan and Anhui have come together periodically to discuss matters of common concern. They were driven by a sense of the urgency of the Gospel at this juncture of Chinese history when the hearts of the people are open to the Gospel. A spirit of

---

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 56-57.

<sup>50</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 92.



unity prevailed among them, believing that it pleases the Lord for them to come together as members of the same body of Christ and to promote spiritual unity among them for more effective evangelism in the next century. In the June meeting they came to the conclusion that they need to draft a common confession of faith as the Biblical basis for unity. Their understanding of unity is spiritual in nature, not organizational. By spiritual they mean that they recognize each other as members of the same body and called by the same Lord for the same purpose of bearing a testimony for Christ in China. Hence, they have decided not to criticize each other, but to help each other by sharing their different spiritual gifts. This has resulted in holding training sessions together and exchanging speakers with each other.

During November 24-26, sixteen members representing four large house church groups came together for a meeting in a village in North China to draft a confession of faith and also to issue a statement regarding their attitude toward the government, toward China's religious policy, and toward the Three-Self Patriotic Movement.<sup>51</sup>

Jonathan Chao—a theologian, China Ministries International founder, and director of Christianity and China Research Center in Taipei, Taiwan—helped the house church leaders to formulate their united theology. The confession reveals that the theological orientation of the house church is very conservative and evangelical. The document is lengthy; thus, its essential parts are excerpted in the following:

#### 1. Introduction

In order to arrive at a common standard of faith among house churches in China, in order to establish a common basis for development of unity among fellow churches in China and overseas, in order to let the government and the Chinese public understand the positions of our faith, and in order to distinguish ourselves from heresies and cults, top leaders of a few major house church groups have come together in a certain village in North China in November, 1998, to pray together, to search the Scriptures, and to draft the confession of faith as shown below.<sup>52</sup>

#### 2. On the Bible

We believe that the 66 books of the Bible are inspired of God and that they were written by the prophets and apostles under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The Bible is the highest standard of our faith, life and service. We are opposed to all

---

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 295-96.

<sup>52</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 297.

those who deny the Bible and to the view that it is out of date; we are opposed to the view that the Bible has error; and to those who believe only in selected sections of the Bible. We are opposed to interpreting Scripture by one's own will or by subjective spiritualization.

### 3. On the Trinity

We believe in only one True God, the eternally self-existing triune Father, Son and Holy Spirit who are the same in substance, equal in glory and honor. We believe that God created all things. He is the Lord of human history. He is just, holy, faithful and merciful. He is omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent. We refute all mistaken explanations of the Trinity, such as one entity with three modes of manifestation.

### 4. On Christ

We believe that Jesus Christ is God's only begotten Son; he came to the earth by way of incarnation (the Word became flesh). In his perfect humanity he was tempted, though without sin. He allowed himself to be crucified on the cross of his own will and there shed his precious blood in order to redeem those who believe in him from sin and death. He rose from the dead, ascended into heaven and sat down at the right hand of God from whom he received the promise of the Holy Spirit, which gives to all who believe in him. On the last day Christ shall come again the second time to judge the world. Christians receive the status of sonship, but they remain humans; they do not become God.

No one knows the specific date of the second coming, but we firmly believe that Christ will come again. We can also know some signs of his second coming. We are opposed to the teaching that Christ has come again the second time in his incarnated form. We are opposed to all who claim themselves to be the Christ. All who claim that Christ has already come the second time should be declared heretics.

### 5. On Salvation

Anyone who repents, confessing his or her sins, and believes in Jesus as the Son of God, that he was crucified on the cross for our sins and that he rose again on the third day for the remission of our sins and for receiving the Holy Spirit shall be saved through being born again. For by grace are we saved through faith; we are justified by faith; we receive the Holy Spirit through faith; and we become the sons of God through faith.

We believe that God will preserve his children in Christ to the end, and that Christians should firmly believe in the truth to the end. We believe that receiving the Holy Spirit is the assurance (evidence) of being saved and the Spirit of God bears witness with our spirit that we are the children of God. We

are opposed to all who take specific phenomena or personal experience as the objective criteria for being saved.

We are opposed to the belief that one can sin because he is under grace. We are opposed to the idea of multiple salvation. We are also opposed to the belief that we can be saved by keeping the law.

## 6. On the Holy Spirit

We believe that the Holy Spirit is the third person of the Trinity. He is the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of holiness. The Holy Spirit illuminates a person causing him to know sin and repent, to know the truth and to believe in Christ and so experience being born again unto salvation. He leads the believers into the truth, helps them understand the truth and obey Christ, thereby bearing abundant fruit of life.

The Holy Spirit gives all kinds of power and manifests the mighty acts of God through signs and miracles. Through faith and thirsting, Christians can experience the outpouring and filling of the Holy Spirit. We do not believe in the cessation of signs and miracles or the termination of the gifts of the Holy Spirit after the apostolic period. We do not forbid speaking in tongues and we do not impose on people to speak in tongues; nor do we insist that speaking in tongues is the evidence of being saved. We refute the view that the Holy Spirit is not a person of the Trinity but only a kind of influence.

## 7. On the Church

The Church is composed of all those whom God has called together in Jesus Christ. Christ is the Head of the Church and the Church is the body of Christ. The Church is the house of God built on the foundation of truth. The Church is both local and universal; the universal Church is composed of all churches of orthodox faith currently existing in all parts of the earth and all the saints throughout history.

The administration of the Church should be conducted according to principles laid down in the Scriptures. Its spiritual ministry shall not be directed or controlled by secular powers.

The mission of the Church is: proclamation of the gospel, teaching and pastoring the believers, training and sending them, and defending the truth by refuting heresies and bringing them back to the correct path. All believers are priests and they all have the authority and responsibility to preach the gospel to the ends of the earth.

We are opposed to the unity of Church and state or the intermingling of the Church and political power. We are opposed to the Church taking part in any

activities that seek to destroy the unity of the people or the unification of the Chinese state.

#### 8. On the Last Things

We believe in the Second Coming of Christ and the bodily resurrection of those who are saved. No one knows the date of the Second Coming. When Christ comes again he will come down in the clouds of heaven in great glory. The bodies of those Christians who have been born again and saved shall be changed and they shall be lifted up to meet the Lord in the air, and they shall receive a glorified body.

The saints and Christ shall reign for a thousand years. After a thousand years Satan shall be temporarily released to deceive all the peoples until he is cast into the lake of fire. Then Christ shall sit on his throne and judge all the nations. All those whose names are written in the Book of Life shall enter into the New Jerusalem and be with God forever. We believe that as believers wait for the Second Coming they should be diligent in doing the work of the Lord, preaching the Word of Life, shining for the Lord on earth, and bearing abundant fruit in word, deed, faith, love and holiness.

As to whether Christ will come before or after the Tribulation we acknowledge there are different views and we cannot make any view absolute. The responsibility of Christians is to be alert and be prepared to welcome the Second Coming of Christ.

#### 9. Conclusion

We praise and thank our Almighty Father for leading us to draft this Confession of Faith. We pray it will strengthen the faith of brothers and sisters, resist heresies and cults and together forward the great revival of the Church in China. May the Lord bless the unity of the house churches in China. May the Lord bless China, the Chinese peoples, and the Chinese Church. May praise and glory be unto our triune God. Amen. (Signed 26 November 1998)<sup>53</sup>

**Attitude toward the government, its religious policy, and the TSPM.** The same Chinese house church leaders who issued the confession of faith also declared their attitude toward the government, its religious policy, and the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. They first reaffirmed their support of the government in the document. And

---

<sup>53</sup>Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, 61-64.

then, in the following two sections, they clarified the reasons that house churches do not register and that they do not join the TSPM. Finally, the house church leaders confirmed their attitude toward persecution. This document is partly a repeat of the united appeal that had been drafted in August. These declarations show the house churches' new trend. They used to be silent when persecuted, but now they publicly appeal to the government and to the world. This is a sign that Chinese house churches are emerging from underground. The full text of the document is as follows:

#### I. Our Attitude toward the Government

1. We love the Lord, the Chinese peoples, and the state; we support the unity of the nation and the unity of the peoples.
2. We support the constitution of the People's Republic of China and the leaders and the government of the people that God established.
3. Even though we are often misunderstood and persecuted by the government, yet we do not show a reactionary attitude, nor have we taken any reactionary action.
4. We have never betrayed the interest of the Chinese people; we only do what is beneficial to the people.

#### II. Our Attitude toward the Religious Policy of the Government

Why do we not register?

1. Because the state ordinances on religion and demands of regulations for registration are contrary to the principles of the Scripture, such as the "three-designates" policy:
  - a. Designated location: only in registered places we are allowed to conduct religious activities, otherwise such activities are considered illegal religious activities. But the Scriptures tell us that we meet anywhere and that so long as we meet in the name of the Lord, He will be with us.
  - b. Designated personnel: only those who have been issued preaching licenses by the Religious Affairs Bureau are allowed to preach. But according to the teachings of Scriptures, so long as preachers are called by the Lord, recognized and sent by the church, they may preach.

- c. Designated sphere: preachers are limited to preach only within the district for which they are assigned; they may not preach across villages or across the provinces. But the Bible teaches us to preach the Gospel to all the peoples and throughout the ends of the earth, and to establish churches.
2. Because the state policy does not allow us to preach the Gospel to those under 18, or to lead them to Christ and be baptized. But Jesus said, "Let the children come unto me and forbid them not." Therefore those under 18 should also have opportunity to hear, and to believe in, the Gospel.
3. Because the state policy does not permit believers to pray for the sick, to heal them, and to exorcize demons out of them.
4. Because the state policy does not allow us to receive fellow believers from afar, but the Bible teaches us that elders should receive brothers and sisters from afar.
5. Because the state policy does not allow us to have communication with churches overseas, but the Bible teaches us that the church is universal and that there is no division between Jews or Gentiles, and hence no division between Chinese and foreigners, for Christ has redeemed His people from all nations with His blood and that the believers are to love each other and to have communion with each other.

### III. Why We Do Not Join the Three-Self Patriotic Movement

Chinese House Churches do not join the TSPM for the following reasons:

1. The heads of the two are different:
  - a. Three-Self churches accept the state as their governing authority: their organization and administration are governed by the government's religious policy.
  - b. House churches take Christ as their head, and they organize and govern their churches according to the teachings of Scripture.
2. The ways church workers are established are different:
  - a. Religious workers in the TSPM churches must first be approved by the Religious Affairs Bureau before assuming office.
  - b. Workers in the house churches set apart their workers by the following qualifications: spiritual anointing, being equipped in the truth, possessing spiritual gifts, approved by the church, and having spiritually qualified character.

3. The foundations of the two are different:
  - a. The Three-Self churches are products of the Three-Self reform movement, which was initiated by the government; they were started by Wu Yao-zong who propounded liberal social gospel type of theology; some of the initiators of the TSPM were not even Christians.
  - b. House churches take the Bible as the foundation of their faith; they developed from the traditions of fundamentalists and evangelicals.
4. The paths of the two are different:
  - a. The Three-Self churches practice the unity of politics and the church; they follow the religious policy of the state, and they engage in political activities.
  - b. House churches believe in the separation of the church from the state. They will obey the state when such obedience is in accordance with the Scriptures. When the two are in conflict with each other, they will “obey God rather than man.” For such obedience they are willing to pay the necessary price, which is known as “walking the pathway of the cross.”
5. The missions of the two are different:
  - a. The Three-Self churches can preach the Gospel and conduct pastoral ministry only within the designated places of religious activities.
  - b. House churches obey the great commission of preaching the Gospel and plant churches.

#### IV. Our Attitude toward Persecution

1. House churches are persecuted not because of political or moral issues, but solely because they refuse to register with the government and refuse to join the TSPM.
2. When house churches are persecuted, they do not hate the government, but accept suffering as permitted by the Lord; they endure suffering silently; they yield to the government, and they intercede for the government and bless it.
3. When leaders and evangelists of house churches are persecuted, fined, interrogated, sent to labor-instruction camps or labor-reform camps, they do not complain; they still love their country and the government, waiting for God to grant them mercy.
4. The grassroots cadres who persecute the church can testify that the persecuted

ones are innocent; these cadres have to execute their duties without choice.

5. The two reform institutions have a high estimate of believers and pastors who come under them; they trust them and are sympathetic with them. These all testify that the persecuted Christians have a heart that loves their country and people; they also testify that Christians have high moral integrity.
6. The faith of the house churches is orthodox; their model of ministry is in accordance with Scriptures, and they enjoy the presence of God. Therefore, although persecuted, the number of believers has increased rapidly—a force that cannot be resisted. The number of believers in all of China is by far larger than in the Three-Self churches. This is God’s confirmation for us.

We sincerely appeal to the government:

1. We appeal to the government to know the facts clearly and, in a truthful manner, correctly understand the nature of our faith and the purpose of our preaching, and no longer mistake us for cults.
2. We sincerely ask the government to stop its persecution against house churches, such as brutal beating, house searches, fines, detention, and labor camps; we sincerely petition the government to truly implement freedom of religion.
3. We ask the government to free all Christians and evangelists who are detained in the labor camps because of their faith or for preaching the Gospel and to do so as soon as possible.

As a matter of fact, where there are more believers, there are also greater social stability, higher spiritual civilization, better social atmosphere, and enjoying greater blessings from God. May there be peace in China and among her people. May God bless China abundantly.

By the representatives of the House Churches in China

November 26, 1998

(Translated by Jonathan Chao, December 18, 1998)<sup>54</sup>

**The Chinese government’s Response.** The government’s response was ignoring a series of united appeals and cracking down on house churches. Since the release of the declarations, reports of repression—such as arrests, fines, and beatings—have

---

<sup>54</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 303-07.



remarkably increased. It appears that Henan is the campaign target area of the campaigns because it has been the house church movement center. Why does the Chinese government act so nervously? Millions of people have lost their jobs during the rapid industrialization process. They are angry with the government for Party corruption and for the developmental gap between coastal cities and rural areas. The government fears that any dissent group might provoke them to start a riot. Unfortunately, the house churches are considered to be as one of the dissident groups and repressed because they are not under governmental control.<sup>55</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The Chinese people gave power to the Communist government in 1949 to save their country from the imperialist invasion and nationwide chaos. The Chinese Communist government expelled all the missionaries in China by 1951 and then began reform movements in every societal stratum to remove foreign-imperialism influences. The Communist Party's major strategy to achieve this goal has the United Front policy under the banner of patriotism and national unity. The Chinese government always has room in interpreting and implementing legislation according to political situations because a number of Chinese laws have enough ambiguity for the United Front strategy. The United Front policy to control the Protestant Church established the Three-Self Patriotic Movement under the Religious Affairs Bureau in 1951. The Chinese government issued several subsequent religious regulations, which requested that all churches in China register and join the TSPM. Many churches with liberal theology

---

<sup>55</sup>Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, 70-71.

joined the TSPM and became TSPM churches under governmental supervision. House churches—with their fundamental theology—refused to join the TSPM, however, and have become the target of persecution. The persecution was intense during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76); consequently, the underground house church movement was started for the purpose of survival.

The Chinese government granted much greater religious freedom after the Cultural Revolution, although it re-established the TSPM for controlling the Protestant churches. The government recognized the existence and growth of house churches and rebuked the past strict policy as unwise. Direct persecution against house churches was eased, but pressure under the new religious policy—to join the TSPM, or to register with the government without joining the TSPM—has been increasing. The government's religious control has varied greatly at different times and in different places under the United Front policy. House churches have been targets of persecution whenever the government launched a political or an anti-crime campaign. Henan and Anhui provinces have been frequent targets of persecution because they are house church movement centers.

The major house church groups recently have made several united efforts to confront the government's persecution. The house church leaders announced their united appeal to the government, published their confession of common faith, and proclaimed their attitude toward the government's religious policy. This is a new development by the house church movement. Chinese house churches no longer remain underground and silent. They proclaim that the house church is the mainstream of Chinese Protestant Christianity, demanding that the Chinese government cease their persecution. They

announce their common faith to the world: that they have orthodox theology—characterized by strong evangelicalism—which separates them from cults and heretics thriving in China. The Chinese government’s immediate response was disregarding the united appeals and utilizing additional crafty methods to destroy the house church movement’s leadership.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE URGENT NEED FOR LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Today's Chinese Protestant churches—both the Three-Self Patriotic Movement churches and house churches—are faced with a pastoral-leadership crisis. Chinese churches have experienced nationwide revivals through itinerant evangelism, especially in rural areas, from the early 1980s. The overall church-growth rate has reached at least 6.2 percent, including evangelical and charismatic groups<sup>1</sup> with at least 8.8 percent.<sup>2</sup> The graduates of the nineteen seminaries (Bible schools) and five theological-training centers, which are operated by the Three- Self Patriotic Movement/the China Christian Council, are far too few to meet the TSPM churches' needs. The old generation of church leaders is also rapidly disappearing. The house churches, which serve about eight-five million believers, are in a period of transition (1) from emphasizing evangelism to pastoral care, (2) from seeking miraculous signs to biblical truth and apologetics, (3) from short-term to long-term leadership training, (4) from rural areas to cities, and (5) from Han people to

---

<sup>1</sup>Both evangelical and charismatic groups utilize the house churches. The Chinese house churches can be largely categorized by theological affiliation as follows: evangelicals, charismatics, and the Little Flocks.

<sup>2</sup>Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk, *Operation World: When We Pray God Works*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Lifestyle, 2001), 160.

cross-cultural missions.<sup>3</sup> These changes demand more and more trained, mature leaders than ever before. Leadership training in the house church movement is being implemented too slowly and on too small a scale to satisfy this need. To make the situation worse, migration to the cities for economic survival has caused rural church “leadership drain.” The urban house churches do not have enough trained pastors to care for the new rural immigrants and new seekers from student and intellectual groups.

In this chapter, for a deeper understanding of the subject, the problems the Chinese house churches must solve first will be identified through survey analysis and literature review. Then, the current Chinese church’s leadership training situation will be explained. Lastly, the leadership training structure and theology of the house churches will be explored.

### **Problems the House Church Must Solve**

The Chinese house church impressed the world’s Christians through testimonies about their miraculous survival and revival under the Communist government’s persecution. The cause for such revival is the work of the Holy Spirit. The reasons can be listed as follows: (1) spiritual hunger, (2) suffering, (3) supernatural signs and miracles, and (4) support from Christians outside of China.<sup>4</sup> In spite of the Holy Spirit’s leading, there are numerous problems that the Chinese house church must resolve. A survey was conducted largely among Chinese house church leaders in China in 2004 to identify the problems and other issues. The questionnaire used in the survey

---

<sup>3</sup>Daniel Kim, “The Effective Missionary Strategy for the Chinese House Church,” *The Chinese Church and Missions* 10 (July 2001): 93-94.

<sup>4</sup>Jonathan Chao, *The China Mission Handbook* (Hong Kong: Chinese Church Research Center, 1989), 46.

is included in an appendix.

### **Chinese House Church Survey Results**

The author of this research devised a questionnaire to survey Chinese house churches. The researcher gathered ninety-eight survey questionnaires. Among them, seventy-eight are from Chinese house church leaders. Fifteen are from missionaries who work in China. The other five are from intellectuals who live in North America. The chart on the next page shows the composition of the survey respondents. The survey was carried out mainly among Chinese house church leaders who were being trained in two underground seminaries. One group was made up of middle-aged house church leaders who identified themselves as pastors, elders, or deacons. The gender ratio of male to female was 18:3. Thirteen people hailed from rural areas, while seven individuals were from central urban areas. Only one person was from a coastal city. Their education mostly ended with high school graduation.

The other group was composed of young people, most of whom were under twenty years old. Unlike the former group, this group had more women than men. The gender ratio of male to female was 15:21. While some of them identified themselves as pastors, evangelists, or missionaries, the majority identified themselves in the category of “others.” The young people who identified themselves as “others” were prospective church leaders who were chosen and sent by the house churches in several neighboring provinces. Twenty people were from rural areas, while seventeen individuals hailed from central urban areas. Five people were from coastal cities. They were educated beyond high school, and two of them were college graduates.

When I asked the first question, “What do you think is the most urgent need of

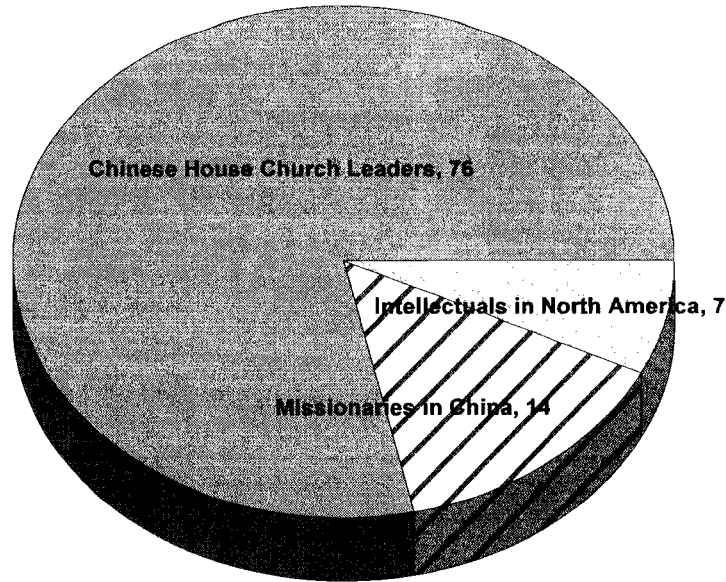


Figure 1. The composition of the respondents

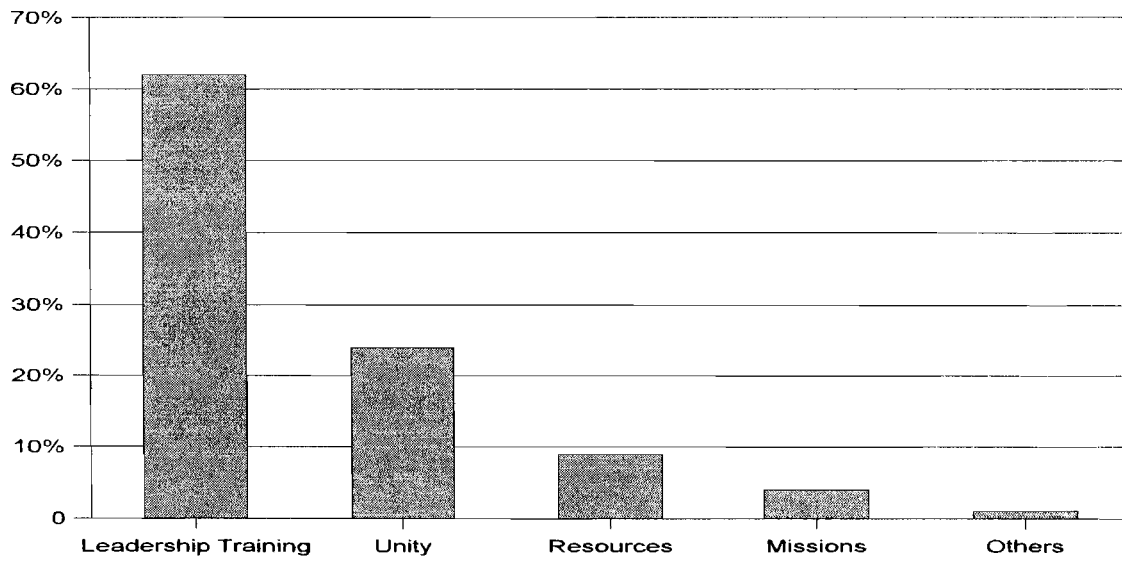


Figure 2. Most urgent need for the Chinese house church

the Chinese house church?, sixty-five percent of the respondents answered “leadership training.” While all the missionaries and intellectuals responded with “leadership training,” the Chinese house church leaders’ answers were varied, such as “leadership training,” “unity,” and “resources.” The ratio chart is on the next page. Sixty-two percent of the house church leaders responded that “leadership training” is the most urgent need for the Chinese house church. Twenty-four percent of them indicated “unity” among various house church groups, or between the TSPM churches and the house churches. Nine percent of them mentioned “resources” for church ministries. The other answers were “missions” (four percent), “prayer,” and “the Holy Spirit’s power.” The following four crucial problems are chosen for further exploration.

### **Lack of Trained Leadership**

The existing need for trained pastoral leadership became more acute in the 1990s as a great number of house churches became established throughout the country. Overseas Chinese and Korean churches helped by providing teaching ministries in a limited way to meet this urgent need. The assistance, however, could not reach the northwest region of China—like Ningxia, Gansu, and Xinjiang provinces—where the land is dry and barren. Few outsiders like to visit this distant and poor area to train church leaders, so the leadership-training need is even greater there than in other regions.<sup>5</sup> Most house churches have developed their own leadership training systems to satisfy this pastoral-leadership-training need. The house churches have set up underground seminaries for training their leaders. The lack of teaching materials and qualified

---

<sup>5</sup>Chao, “Need for Pastoral Training,” sec. 2.



teachers has stimulated many innovative leadership-training methods in different house church groups. During the 1990s, the training's focus was systematic theology and pastoral care, with a new emphasis on cross-cultural missions.<sup>6</sup> Field-seminary graduates have been dispatched throughout the country. The number of trained leaders and the training itself, however, were not enough to cope with the huge pastoral tasks. Other sections of this chapter will present a detailed explanation of the leadership-training situation.

### **Divisions and Marginal Sects**

The Chinese Protestant Church has two main divisions. One is the division between TSPM churches and house churches. Theological differences and the multiplication of heretical sects have caused the other division, which is in the house church movement itself. The third chapter and a section of the fifth chapter of this dissertation cover the division between TSPM churches and house churches. The division and marginal sects in the house church movement is a more serious problem than is the division between TSPM churches and house churches.

The widespread lack of Bibles for several decades has caused a lack of biblical knowledge and of leadership in the house churches, which have been rapidly growing since 1976. This problem opened the way for many doctrinally marginal groups in the house churches to appear and spread. Their names are exotic, such as Eastern Flash of Lightning, Lingling Shouters, Established King, Disciples, Cold Water, etc. A number

---

<sup>6</sup>Jonathan Chao, "The Changing Shape of the Church in China (1979-2002) with Reference to the House Churches in Henan," *China Ministry Report* 155 (April-June 2003), sec. 1 [on-line]; accessed 17 September 2004; available from <http://www.cmi.org.tw/english/cm1567.htm>; Internet.

of Chinese believers— including their leaders—have been deceived by their teachings, although they are considered to be extremist sects in the house church movement. For instance, Eastern Flash of Lightning (*Dong-fang-shan-dian*)—originating in Henan province—claims that a female Jesus has come to China. Some foreign groups, such as Seventh-day Adventists, Mormons, and Jehovah’s Witnesses, have also entered China through the open door policy.<sup>7</sup> Charismatic groups from Singapore, Taiwan, and the United States most recently teach that believers should receive supernatural signs as evidence of salvation.<sup>8</sup> It is said that, in some areas, believers who belong to these groups now constitute five percent or more of the unregistered church population.<sup>9</sup> The marginal groups have caused confusion and division within existing house churches. House church divisions cause much pain in the hearts of Chinese Christians as well as hindering church growth .

There also have been divisions besides the marginal sects in the house church movement. Lack of biblical knowledge and isolation of house church leaders contributed to unnecessary divisions because of strife concerning minor issues, such as modes of baptism or head coverings for women that can be accepted as alternative interpretations and practices. Unfair distribution of foreign missionary funds and resources evoked strife due to jealousy. The divided groups began to criticize one another. The spirit of unity in the Chinese house church disappeared and hampered

---

<sup>7</sup>Tony Lambert, *China’s Christian Millions: The Costly Revival* (London: Mill Hill, 1999), 122.

<sup>8</sup>Jonathan Chao, “The Church in China: Needs and Opportunities for Ministries,” sec. 1 [on-line]; accessed 17 September 2004; available from <http://www.cmi.org.tw/english/need.htm>; Internet.

<sup>9</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 164.

crucial works, like leadership training or cross-cultural missions, that required cooperation. It is estimated that there are more than twenty groups (networks or movements) in the house church movement.<sup>10</sup> Monroe Brewer, missions pastor of Crystal Evangelical Free Church in Minneapolis, says there are thirteen groups that have at least one million members in the Chinese house church movement. According to him, each of six largest groups has in the range of five to fifteen million members. The six core groups, which are known as the Sinim<sup>11</sup> Fellowship, are the Fang Cheng Fellowship; Born Again Group;<sup>12</sup> Chinese Gospel Fellowship; Jesus Family; Li Xing Church; and Ying Shang Church.<sup>13</sup> Most of these groups originate from Henan province, which is the heart of Chinese house church movement. Each of them has unique theological allegiance, religious practice, and church organizational structure. Many groups are opposed to the theology of the perseverance of the saints. The theology “that a believer can lose his salvation has become a nationwide problem in China today.”<sup>14</sup>

Core house church leaders have sought unity in the house church movement since 1998. It was in an effort to overcome the situation that house churches were misunderstood as one of China’s marginal sects. The Chinese government has used this confusion to persecute house churches. The government, which classified unregistered

---

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 160.

<sup>11</sup>The word “Sinim” was derived from the masoretic text interpretation of Isaiah 49:12. Numerous biblical scholars interpret it as referring to China.

<sup>12</sup>This group is also called as the Word of Life Movement or the Weepers.

<sup>13</sup>Monroe Brewer, *Leadership Development in the Largest House Church Movements in China*, (Minneapolis: Crystal Evangelical Free Church, 2002), 2.

<sup>14</sup>Chao, “The Church in China,” sec. 1.

house churches as cults, persecuted them whenever it conducted an anti-cult campaign. Some overseas Christians, who also misunderstood Chinese house churches, were reluctant to support them. As mentioned in the third chapter, the core house church leaders issued a united appeal and confession of faith to the Chinese government and the world. Through these efforts, the Chinese house churches proclaimed that they are in the mainstream of Chinese Christianity, which stands for orthodox theology. The Chinese house church leaders rediscovered a common ground for unity, which is expressed by the united appeal and confession of faith. They determined to acknowledge some differences and not criticize one another. These leaders also decided to cooperate with one another concerning such essential issues as issuing united appeals, leadership training, and cross-cultural missions.

### **Lack of Resources**

The above two dilemmas—lack of trained leaders and divided groups in the house church—are related to a nationwide lack of resources. This problem can be divided into difficulties relating to Christian literature and those regarding finances.

**Lack of Bibles and Christian literature.** Chinese house churches still need more Bibles, even though about forty million Bibles have been distributed to them. Probably millions of copies of the Bible have been received from Hong Kong and other places during the last three decades. A number of foreign visitors carried Bibles in their luggage into China at the risk of deportation or imprisonment. There were several successful smuggling operations besides individual smuggling. One million Bibles, which weigh about 232 tons, were successfully smuggled into China through Project Pearl in 1981. This project's success significantly improved the Bible's overall

availability in China.<sup>15</sup> But this fell far short of meeting the growing demand because of the millions of new converts who were being added to the church each year.

The Bible has been printed in China since the Amity Foundation's establishment in 1987. The Amity Foundation is a kind of government-supported NGO. It is a nonchurch body, although it is a Christian organization. Its main goal is promoting overseas Christians' contribution to China's modernization. The Amity Foundation has broad functions, which include collecting foreign Christians' donations, inviting foreign English teachers to China, printing Bibles and Christian books, and social-aid programs. The Amity Printing Press in Nanjing has printed more than thirty million copies of the Bible in both the standard and simplified character Union Version and in seven Chinese minority languages since 1987.<sup>16</sup> This achievement was possible with the help of the United Bible Societies, which provided modern printing presses, paper, and technical aid. The CCC established the sixty urban-distribution centers in TSPM churches across China. People can purchase Bibles from these centers at relatively low prices.

Since the 1970s, the Bible-distribution situation has improved considerably. Christians often laboriously copied the Bible by hand due to its extreme scarcity in the 1970s. However, the situation in rural areas, where seventy percent of the population and probably a similar percentage of Christians live, is quite different. Inadequate Bible provision has caused spiritual famine in rural areas that are far from urban-distribution centers. It is difficult for rural Christians to afford long-distances travel to cities where

---

<sup>15</sup>David Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity Is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2003), 268-70.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 141.

distribution centers are located. Even if they are able to do so, the Bibles may be sold out to urban Christians.

Chinese Christians experience an insatiable need for all kinds of Christian literature such as Bible commentaries, concordances, teaching materials, and devotional books. In particular, TSPM pastors, house church leaders, theological students, and ordinary believers long for these books. Since the early 1990s, the CCC has made a valiant effort to publish some Christian books, including Bible commentaries and devotional books.<sup>17</sup>

Besides Christian pastoral-care books, there is a great need for theological books in view of the various theological problems and heresies in the Chinese churches. Chinese house church leaders should “identify and solve some of their theological problems, such as the prevailing view of trichotomy, mostly as a result of the ongoing influence of Watchman Nee’s *Spiritual Man*, the problem of the security of the believers’ salvation, . . . and the confusion caused by the charismatic groups, which requires a sound study of the teachings of the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts.”<sup>18</sup> Sound theological books help Chinese Christians discern various heretical sects and show how they are wrong from a scriptural perspective. Christian books concerning Christianity and science or Christianity and Chinese culture will be needed for urban intellectual believers.

**Lack of finances.** Chinese house churches have suffered from a lack of the necessary financial resources to support their ministers, leadership-training projects, and

---

<sup>17</sup>Lambert, *China’s Christian Millions*, 39-40.

<sup>18</sup>Chao, “The Church in China,” sec. 1.

missionaries, while the government pays the TSPM church ministers. This economic uncertainty is yet another aspect of house-church leadership training problems along with a lack of teaching personnel and materials. The Chinese government frowns upon house churches receiving offerings, criticizing this as exploitation of the people. Many house churches are reluctant to teach or receive offerings in this situation. As a result, the church fund is always short for supporting ministers and for performing evangelistic work. Rural church leaders usually volunteer their extra time for the ministry, depending on farming for a living and using non-farming seasons for full-time ministry. They cannot afford to travel for evangelistic work. Some workers struggle to obtain money for sending their children to school.

Even if the Chinese house church succeeds in providing enough trained full-time ministers, most house churches cannot afford to pay them salaries. Consequently, many house church leaders who work as full-time ministers must sacrifice their families. Paul Hattaway published two remarkable books, titled *The Heavenly Man* and *Back to Jerusalem*, in 2002 and 2003. They testify concerning how Chinese house church leaders sacrifice their lives and families. *The Heavenly Man* deals with the dramatic story of Brother Yun, who suffered prolonged torture and imprisonment. Hattaway also wisely included the testimony of Brother Yun's wife, Deling, in order to give the reader a glimpse into the suffering of a house church leader's family.<sup>19</sup>

*Back to Jerusalem* introduces the vision of Chinese house churches. "Back to Jerusalem" was the name and slogan of an evangelistic band in the early 1940s to fulfill

---

<sup>19</sup>Paul Hattaway, *The Heavenly Man: The Remarkable True Story of Chinese Brother Yun* (London: Mill Hill, 2002).

the Great Commission in the twenty-eighth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew. Through the 1995 testimony of Simon Zhao, who suffered in prison for thirty-one years from 1950 to 1981, the existence of the Back to Jerusalem Evangelistic Band and its sacrifice for the vision were known to Chinese Christians. “Back to Jerusalem” was a call from God for the Chinese church to preach the gospel and plant His churches in all the countries and tribal groups in the area between China and Jerusalem, which is the so-called 10/40 window. The most unevangelized countries are located in this region, where there are three religious strongholds: Buddhism in Tibet and South Asia, Hinduism in India, and Islam in the Middle East. Now “Back to Jerusalem” has become a vision and movement of the Chinese house churches. They set a goal to send one-hundred thousand missionaries across China’s borders to complete the Great Commission.<sup>20</sup> This Back-to-Jerusalem Movement, which is giving more vitality to the Chinese church, has become a reality already, sending hundreds of Chinese missionaries to the border areas where ethnic minorities live. The Chinese churches are also in urgent need of huge amounts of money to train and support Back-to-Jerusalem missionaries.

### **Continued Persecution**

The Chinese government’s persecution has been a constant problem, although it ironically contributed to house church growth. Suffering has purified and matured Chinese house churches. But continued persecution has hindered the effectiveness of the house church’s ministries and leadership training. There would be many answers that

---

<sup>20</sup>Paul Hattaway, *Back to Jerusalem: Three Chinese House Church Leaders Share Their Vision to Complete the Great Commission* (Carlisle, England: Piquant, 2003), 97.



refer to constant persecution if the survey question was, “What do you think is the most serious problem of the Chinese house church?” rather than “What do you think is the most urgent need of the Chinese house church?” Without a doubt, continued persecution is one of the critical difficulties the Chinese house churches face.

The government’s house church persecution has increased since 1996 because the Communist government is afraid of a large movement it cannot control. The persecution’s goal is subjugation or elimination of this threatening house church movement, which refuses to register with the TSPM. “Arrests (hundreds in 1999), heavy fines, forcible closures and destruction of church buildings (200 in 1997) have increased in some key areas [Henan, Anhui, and Zhejiang provinces].”<sup>21</sup>

The Chinese government has a “fear that what happened in Eastern Europe might be repeated in China: the erosion of atheism and Marxist-Leninist ideology and worldview.”<sup>22</sup> For this reason, the State Council has issued an order to the Religious Affairs Bureau for controlling the house church movement through legal means. A number of regulations were followed as a result. Nationwide pressure was applied to the house churches for registering with the RAB, which is a slightly different approach from TSPM registration. Jonathan Chao explains the implication of this RAB registration and the response from the house churches:

The registration gives a registered church legal status for conducting religious activities, but it also confines them to state control in the selection of pastoral personnel, in the limitation of worship or fellowship meetings only to registered church buildings, and in the limitation of preaching within the registered churches or places of worship. Pastoral personnel and the committee for the management of local churches must also come under the approval of the Three-Self Patriotic

---

<sup>21</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 163.

<sup>22</sup>Chao, “The Church in China,” sec. 1.

### Movement and the Religious Affairs Bureau.

While some house churches have registered under pressure, the majority of them refused to register so as to maintain their freedom to choose their own pastoral personnel, to conduct local and distant evangelism, and to carry out their church affairs according to the teachings of Scripture rather than strict regulations of the state. Most importantly, they want to honor Christ as the head of the church, believing that the state should not have the final say on matters relative to the church of Jesus Christ. For this position, house church leaders who refuse to register have had to suffer persecution since early 1996, and this pressure continues to this day.

In implementing the above regulations for registration, even house meetings under the TSPM must register, which results in the termination of prayer and fellowship meetings. TSPM church leaders were also told to investigate the leadership and location of non-registered house churches. Since early 1996 many of the top leaders of organized house churches have been arrested and, after a week's interrogation and beating, were sent to "Labor-education Camps." They are not tried in due process of law. In a female labor camp in Zhengzhou, Henan, 49 out of 300 labor reformees are Christian evangelists. In another male labor camp in Pingdingshan, 79 out of 600 reformees are Christian pastors and evangelists.

Organized house churches which are not registered according to the regulations for the registration of association are labeled as "cults," and their leadership condemned as cult leaders. The most well-known house church leader so condemned to three years of labor reform is Peter Yongze Xu. Others in many provinces who are less well-known are equally condemned as "cultic leaders." In the process of interrogation, Christian leaders so detained suffer much physical and mental abuse. One evangelist was slapped 360 times during the first week. Another one was forced to drink his own urine and eat his own dung mixed with washing powder.

In spite of such persecution and pressure, most house churches refuse to register, and they are forced to relocate their meeting places or training grounds. This has resulted in splitting up larger groups into smaller meeting points, which in turn produced an increased need for new leaders to take care of the newly formed groups. This is true of both rural and urban churches. The persecuted church in China needs the understanding and prayers of Christians overseas. As they choose to "walk the pathway of the cross," and suffer for Christ's sake, it hurts them to know that some overseas churches take the side of their persecutors.<sup>23</sup>

All the problems covered in this section are related to one another as Chao's report shows. Continued persecution has hindered normal leadership training, causing a lack of trained leadership in the house churches. This scarcity of trained leadership has

---

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

become one of the main reasons for divisions and heretical sects in the house churches. The lack of resources, which is in some way brought about by persecution, has also functioned as one of reasons for both the lack of trained leadership and burgeoning marginal sects.

### **The Current Leadership-Training Situation**

The Chinese Protestant churches—both TSPM churches and house churches—have been struggling to resolve the issue of the lack of trained leadership compared with the rapid church growth. The TSPM/CCC authorities increased the number of official seminaries from thirteen to eighteen. The house churches have trained their leaders at underground seminaries in both urban and rural areas. An examination of the Chinese churches' current leadership-training situation follows.

#### **Leadership Training for the TSPM Churches**

The TSPM/CCC officially operates nineteen seminaries (Bible schools) and five theological-training centers for the TSPM-church-leadership training. The number of schools is still too small, however, to minister to the approximately sixteen million TSPM-church members. Their graduates can barely satisfy the needs of large urban TSPM churches.

Following is the list of nineteen official TSPM /CCC seminaries, compiled with combined references from Tony Lambert's book,<sup>24</sup> China Partner's web site

---

<sup>24</sup>Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, 34-35.

information,<sup>25</sup> and Gyong-Oak Choi's thesis.<sup>26</sup>

1. National Level (Only one): *Jinling Union Theological Seminary* in Nanjing, Jiangsu.
2. Regional Level (Five): *Northeast Theological Seminary* in Shenyang, Liaoning; *Central South Theological Seminary* in Wuhan, Hubei; *Eastern China Theological Seminary* in Shanghai; *Sichuan Theological Seminary* in Chengdu, Sichuan; and *Yanjing Theological Seminary* in Beijing.
3. Provincial Level (Thirteen): *Zhejiang Theological Seminary* in Hangzhou, Zhejiang; *Fujian Theological Seminary* in Fuzhou, Fujian; *Shandong Theological Seminary* in Jinan, Shandong; *Guangdong Union Theological Seminary* in Guangzhou, Guangdong; *Anhui Theological Seminary* in Hefei, Anhui; *Yunnan Theological Seminary* in Kunming, Yunnan; *Shanxi Bible School* in Xian, Shanxi; *Shaanxi Bible School* in Sanyuan, Shaanxi; *Jiangsu Bible School* in Nanjing, Jiangsu; *Hunan Bible School* in Changsha, Hunan; *Henan Bible School* in Zhengzhou, Henan; *Jiangxi Bible School* in Nanchang, Jiangxi; and *Inner Mongolia Theological Seminary* in South Huhhot, Inner Mongolia.

Following is the list of five official theological-training centers:

1. Theological-Training Centers (Five): *Heilongjiang Bible School* in Harbin, Heilongjiang; *Qinhai Theological-Training Center* in Xining, Qinhai; *Hebei Theological-Training Center* in Shijiazhuang, Hebei; *Guizhou Theological-Training Center* in Pan Xian County, Guizhou; and *Gansu Theological-Training Center* in Lanzhou, Gansu.

China is divided into twenty-two provinces, five autonomous regions, four municipalities, and one special administrative region (SAR). The five autonomous regions are places in which a certain ethnic group or religion is dominant, such as Inner Mongolia (the Mongol); Tibet (the Tibetans: Lama Buddhism); Xinjiang (the Uygur and

---

<sup>25</sup>The China Partner is a Christian-missions organization. It attempts to assist the Chinese church only on a legal basis in view of the Chinese government. Consequently, the organization works with only officially sanctioned organizations, such as the TSPM churches, the TSPM/CCC seminaries, and the Amity Foundation. For further information, visit <http://www.chinapartner.org/Pages/seminaries>.

<sup>26</sup>Gyong-Oak Choi, "A Study on Theological Education in the Church of China" (Ed.M. thesis, Korea Kosin Graduate School, 1999), 43 (in Korean).

the Kazak: Muslims); Ningxia (the Hui: Chinese Muslims); and Guangxi (the Zhuang).<sup>27</sup>

The four municipalities are cities with more than ten million people, like Beijing, Chongqing, Shanghai, and Tianjin. Hong Kong is the one special administrative region. There is at least one seminary (Bible school) or theological-training center in each province except for Tibet, Xinjiang, Ningxia, Guangxi, Shaanxi, and Jilin. The most exceptional provinces are autonomous regions in which a certain ethnic minority's presence is strong. For example, the Yanbian Autonomous Region, where 1.2 million Koreans live, is located in Jilin province, which is the former Manchuria in northeast China. Figure 3 provides better geographical understanding.

Generally speaking, regional-level seminaries offer four-year undergraduate programs, while provincial-level seminaries—or Bible schools—have lower-level programs ranging from one year to three years in length. Only Jinling (Nanjing) Union Theological Seminary features a three-year, graduate-level program.<sup>28</sup> The Nanjing Seminary is also the only national-level school that recruits students nationwide. Each of five regional seminaries invites students from several neighboring provinces, while each provincial-level seminary recruits students only within the boundary of its province. Table 2 provides detailed information. The list was derived from Choi's thesis—written in Korean—after being translated and edited by the researcher.

The seminaries in China do not allow foreigners to enroll. Academic standards and living conditions vary. All the seminaries and training centers lack the

---

<sup>27</sup>Paul Hattaway, *Operation China: Introducing All the Peoples of China* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2000), 219, 238, 363, 511, 528, and 572-73.

<sup>28</sup>Eun Lim Ha, "The Chinese Church Needs Workers," *China to God* 87 (Autumn 2004): 33-34 (in Korean).

Figure 3. Provinces of China



Source:

Lambert, Tony. *China's Christian Millions: The Costly Revival*.  
 London: Mill Hill: Monarch Books, 1999.

Table 2. The List of the TSPM/CCC seminaries

Level	Name	Location	Offering Programs
National	Jinling (Nanjing) Union Seminary	Nanjing, Jiangsu	4-year undergraduate, 3-year graduate, and correspondence
Regional	Yanjing Seminary	Beijing	4-year undergraduate (+ 1-year practice)
	Eastern China Seminary	Shanghai	4-year undergraduate
	Northeast Seminary	Shenyang, Liaoning	4-year undergraduate (Korean classes)
	Central South Seminary	Wuhan, Hubei	2- and 4-year undergraduate
	Sichuan Seminary	Chengdu, Sichuan	2- and 4-year undergraduate
Provincial	Shandong Seminary	Jinan, Shandong	2- and 4-year undergraduate
	Anhui Seminary	Hefei, Anhui	2-year undergraduate
	Zhejiang Seminary	Hangzhou, Zhejiang	2-year undergraduate
	Fujian Seminary	Fuzhou, Fujian	2-year undergraduate
	Guangdong Union Seminary	Guangzhou, Guangdong	3-year undergraduate
	Yunnan Seminary	Kunming, Yunnan	3-year undergraduate
	Henan Bible School	Zhengzhou, Henan	2-year undergraduate
	Jiangxi Bible School	Nanchang, Jiangxi	2-year undergraduate
	Hunan Bible School	Changsha, Hunan	1-year undergraduate
	Shaanxi Bible School	Sanyuan, Shaanxi	1-year undergraduate
	Shanxi Bible School	Xian, Shanxi	?
Jiangsu Bible School	Nanjing, Jiangsu	?	
Inner Mongolia Seminary	South Huhehot, Inner Mongolia	1-year undergraduate	

resources to train future leaders. Deficiencies in facilities and funds make it difficult for schools to increase their enrollments to catch up with the church growth. The Nanjing and Shanghai seminaries are well-equipped due to worldwide donations, compared with the others. Most dormitory conditions are poor. A dozen students typically share bunkbeds in a small room.<sup>29</sup>

About five thousand students have graduated from these official TSPM schools during the past twenty years.<sup>30</sup> Approximately one-third of them have been ordained for full-time ministry. It is said that the government has interfered to restrict the number of the ordinations. At least two years of church work are required for ordination. Considering the rapid growth of TSPM churches to at least twelve million believers, this figure is far short of church needs. Many thousands, who cannot enter any official Bible schools, are receiving at least rudimentary training as *yigong* (part-time workers) usually during the summer months or the agricultural slack season. Nanjing Seminary also runs a Bible correspondence course for thousands more. The CCC offers lay-worker training courses in many areas.<sup>31</sup>

The state-controlled seminaries' goal is training church leaders who love the country and accept the Communist Party's leadership. The majority of the twelve hundred students enrolled in these schools annually, however, are evangelical Christians. They face a constant spiritual battle against the erosion of their faith while they are in the seminaries. Faculty are often selected based on their Party loyalty. Most of the faculty

---

<sup>29</sup>Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, 35.

<sup>30</sup>Ha, "The Chinese Church Needs Workers," 34.

<sup>31</sup>Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, 37-38.



can be divided into two age groups. One group of very old professors, who are about 70 years old, received their theological education before 1949. The other group of young professors, who are about 40 years old, obtained their theological education after 1978. This thirty-year difference was caused by the Communist government's repression of all religious activities during that period. Party authorities want the professors to teach liberal theology in the seminaries and to channel the students' religious enthusiasm into social service for national reconstruction. Some professors with evangelical faith, though, teach against the government's purpose. As a result, the Chinese government launched a campaign in 1999 to purge evangelical faculty, textbooks, and students from the national seminary in Nanjing as a model case.<sup>32</sup>

Studying a seminary's curriculum can be a valuable source for examining TSPM church leadership training. Tables 3, 4, 5, and 6 disclose Jinling (Nanjing) Union Theological Seminary's four-year curriculum. The curriculum was derived from Choi's thesis after being translated and edited by the researcher.<sup>33</sup> They reveal the uniqueness of Chinese-church-leadership training under the Communist government's supervision. Such courses as The Three-Self Patriotic Movement and Religious Policy demonstrate the government's direction. Courses like Church and Society, Ecumenical Movement, and Feminine Theology reflect the TSPM's liberal theology. The History of Modern China, History of the Chinese Church, History of Chinese Philosophy, and Three-Self Patriotic Movement courses show the school's intention to build Chinese church leadership on nationalism. The curriculum also reveals a strong emphasis on Christian

---

<sup>32</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 163.

<sup>33</sup>Choi, "A Study on Theological Education," 31-34.

Table 3. Jinling (Nanjing) Union Theological Seminary  
curriculum (for freshmen)

Fall Semester, 1998-1999	
Courses	Hours
Bible Reading (I)	3
History of the Hebrews (I)	2
Life of Jesus	2
Introduction to the Bible	1
Hymns (I)	1
History of Modern China (I)	2
College English (I)	4
Music (I)	2
Applied Art (I)	2
College Chinese (I)	2
Physical Education	1
Singing and Listening*	1*
Total	22+1*
Spring Semester, 1996-1997	
Courses	Hours
Bible Reading (II)	3
History of the Hebrews (II)	2
Acts	2
Logic	1
Hymns (II)	1
History of Modern China (II)	2
College English (II)	4
Music (II)	2
Applied Art (II)	2
College Chinese (II)	2
Physical Education	1
Church Ministry Practice	
Total	22

\*: elective course

Table 4. Jinling (Nanjing) Union Theological Seminary  
curriculum (for sophomores)

Fall Semester, 1998-1999	
Courses	Hours
Introduction to the O.T. (I)	2
Pentateuch (I)	2
Introduction to the N.T.	2
Corinthians	2
History of Early Church	2
Preaching	2
History of Western Philosophy (I)	2
College English (III)	4
Physical Education	1
Art*	2*
Singing and Listening*	1*
Total	19+3*
Spring Semester, 1996-1997	
Courses	Hours
Introduction to the O.T. (II)	2
Pentateuch (II)	2
John	2
Psalms	2
History of Medieval Church	2
Preaching	2
History of Western Philosophy	2
College English (IV)	4
N.T. Greek	2
N.T. Greek Exposition	2
Physical Education	1
Legislation	?
History of Christian Art (I)*	?*
Church Ministry Experience	
Total	23+

\*: elective course

Table 5. Jinling (Nanjing) Union Theological Seminary  
curriculum (for juniors)

Fall Semester, 1998-1999	
Courses	Hours
Isaiah	2
Prison Epistles	2
Systematic Theology (I)	2
Wisdom Literature	2
History of Reformation	2
Apologetics	2
History of the Chinese Church (I)	2
History of Chinese Philosophy (I)	3
N.T. Greek Exposition*	2*
O.T. Hebrew Exposition*	2*
College English (IV)*	4*
English Bible Reading*	2*
Vocal Music*	1*
Art*	2*
Piano*	1*
Singing and Listening*	1*
Church Ministry Experience	
Total	17+15*
Spring Semester, 1996-1997	
Courses	Hours
Jeremiah	2
Pauline Epistles	2
Systematic Theology (II)	2
History of the Modern Church	2
Apologetics	2
History of the Chinese Church (II)	2
History of Chinese Philosophy (II)	3
N.T. Greek Exposition*	2*
O.T. Hebrew Exposition*	2*

\*: elective course

Table 5—Continued. Jinling (Nanjing) Union Theological Seminary curriculum (for juniors).

Spring Semester, 1996-1997	
Courses	Hours
National Politics	?
History of Christian Art (II)*	2*
Church Ministry Experience	
Total	?

\*: elective course

Table 6. Jinling (Nanjing) Union Theological Seminary curriculum (for seniors)

Fall Semester, 1998-1999	
Courses	Hours
O.T. Theology	2
N.T. Theology (I)	2
Historical Books	2
Romans	2
Christian Ethics (I)	2
Church and Society	2
Ecumenical Movement	2
Religious Policy	2
Feminine Theology*	2*
N.T. Greek Exposition*	2*
O.T. Hebrew Exposition*	2*
Vocal Music*	1*
Piano*	1*
Singing and Listening	1*
Total	16+9*

\*: elective course

Table 6–Continued. Jinling (Nanjing) Union Theological Seminary curriculum (for seniors).

Spring Semester, 1996-1997	
Courses	Hours
Hermeneutics	2
N.T. Theology (II)	2
Hebrews	2
Revelation	2
Christian Ethics (II)	22
Chinese Theology	2
Three-Self Patriotic Movement	2
Church Administration	2
O.T. Hebrew	2
N.T. Greek Exposition*	2*
O.T. Hebrew Exposition*	2*
Church Ministry Experience	
Total	18+4*

\*: elective course

music and art that can be applied to church ministry. The school includes at least one Church Ministry Experience course for each year's completion, reflecting its practical character. The fact that the curriculum has a Revelation course is interesting because the Chinese government does not allow teaching on Jesus' Second Coming. The school probably interprets the book symbolically, according to a liberal view.

There are some evangelical Christians among TSPM church leaders. They are trying to lead their congregations in biblical ways or to secretly work with the house churches. There are also a number of evangelical Christians in the TSPM churches. Evangelical Christians in the TSPM seminaries and churches are those who choose to

work in the official system. In the future, they can be the agents for transforming TSPM churches into Holy Spirit-led churches and for promoting reconciliation between the TSPM church and house churches. Most TSPM-church sermons are evangelical , although there is some lip service on politics.<sup>34</sup> The TSPM church cannot publicly carry out evangelism. Evangelism should be conducted on an individual basis according to the regulations. Some TSPM churches, however, perform vigorous evangelism.<sup>35</sup> Evangelical volunteer workers in the TSPM churches eagerly participate in preaching, visiting the sick, and evangelism. Even though the church leaders are allowed to visit and baptize their believers, governmental authorities pressure the leaders not to do this frequently.<sup>36</sup> The Chinese government strictly forbids the evangelization of children, and young people who are under 18 years of age. Consequently, the government forbids Sunday school for children and young people in TSPM churches. Some TSPM churches, however, cautiously have established Sunday schools. They are crying out for help because they do not have enough experience, resources, or ministers for children's ministry.

Seminary-admissions competition is very intense. Numerous students apply, but few are selected. Although faculties and enrollment were considerably expanded in 1999, the number of students has been deliberately limited.<sup>37</sup> The number of women students surpasses that of men. Seminary applicants must obtain a recommendation

---

<sup>34</sup>Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, 31-32 and 35-36.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 169-70.

<sup>36</sup>Lingling Chang, "The Current Situation and Leadership Training of Chinese House Churches," *The Chinese Church and Missions* 10 (July 2001): 35 (in Korean).

<sup>37</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 163.

letter from their TSPM pastors. Sometimes house church believers enroll in these theological schools for leadership training with their hometown TSPM pastors' help. In some areas, TSPM churches cooperate with house churches and vice versa.<sup>38</sup>

TSPM/CCC seminaries are also important for future Chinese house- church-leadership training. Seminary facilities, systems, and resources can be used effectively for leadership training if the time comes that the coalition or complete cooperation between TSPM churches and house churches is achieved.

### **House Church Leadership Training**

The Chinese house churches and their overseas helpers have been struggling to meet urgent leadership-training requirements. They have established a number of underground Bible schools and seminaries in remote mountain caves, village safe houses, or safe buildings in cities. Because these leadership-training schools were not well-organized, there has been a major effort to solve the problem. The schools' training periods range widely from one week to three years according to the target groups or logistical issues.

The training periods range from one week to a month for a target group of current church leaders. The teaching classes generally are offered seasonally. This training system is similar to the TEE (Theological Education by Extension) model,<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup>Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, 30-37.

<sup>39</sup>In 1962, the TEE model was developed in Latin America. Church leaders could not leave their ministry for long-term leadership training. The decentralized-seminary idea was developed in response to this need. Soon it became widely known. Now it is considered to be a complementary training model rather than a substitute for residential theological education. For further TEE research, see George Patterson, *Church Planting through Obedience Oriented Teaching* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1981).



which makes it possible for church leaders to study within their own environment. TEE does not destroy the student's current ministry because long-time residential schooling is not involved. Schools are student-centered instead of institution-centered. The students in this target group usually have been at least province-level leaders, who disseminate the learning to their lower-level workers.

The training periods ordinarily range from one year to three years for a target group of future church leaders. The students are young people, who are chosen and entrusted by their churches. The number of students varies according to the accommodations. The usual number is about thirty for security reasons. Many students share dormitory rooms. The ratio of male-to-female students is almost equal, although there are slightly more female ones. Teachers are overseas missionaries, pastors, or professors (normally from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, and the United States). Except for emergency situations, students and teachers are not permitted to leave the places for many days due to security reasons. The conditions of most of the underground seminaries are extremely poor. The seminaries adhere to a tight and demanding daily schedule—from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m.—despite their inferior environment. David Aikman provides a daily schedule for an underground seminary (Emmanuel Seminary) that he visited.

5:40 a.m.	Wake-up and personal devotions
5:40-6:40	Toiletries
6:40-7:30	Scripture reading
7:30-8:00	Breakfast
8:00-8:30	Learning new worship songs
8:30-9:00	English lesson
9:00-11:00	Morning-study sessions
11:00-1:00 p.m.	Lunch and a nap
1:00-2:00	Congregational prayer
2:00-2:30	Praise and worship session

2:30-3:00	English lesson
3:00-5:00	Afternoon-study sessions
5:00-5:30	Evening meal
5:30-6:30	Washing clothes, private time
6:30-7:00	Praise-and-worship session
7:00-9:00	Evening-study sessions
9:00-10:00	Toiletries, private time, lights out <sup>40</sup>

A strong emphasis on spiritual life is part of the seminary's daily schedule. Special times are reserved for personal devotions, Scripture reading, worship, and congregational prayer. Scheduling a regular time for learning new worship songs is unique. Chinese house church Christians like to sing new worship songs that Lu Xiaomin (known as Sister Ruth)<sup>41</sup> recently composed. It is essential that church leaders memorize the songs. There are three study sessions in the morning, afternoon, and evening. Interestingly, sessions for learning English are planned for twice a day. This seminary is typical of house-church-leadership training. Its system is similar to that of two seminaries<sup>42</sup> the researcher visited in 2004. Aikman thus introduces the seminary:

Emmanuel Seminary is home for six months at a time, sometimes longer, to thirty-one young men and thirty-seven young women, ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-six, sent to it by more than eighty house church congregations in the area and by Protestant Christian communities in ten other Chinese provinces.<sup>43</sup>

He quotes the seminary president's explanation with regard to the seminary's curriculum:

---

<sup>40</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 119-33.

<sup>41</sup>Lu Xiaomin is a gifted Christian songwriter. She has composed hundreds of gospel songs since 2000, although she never attended any music school. She published the collection of her songs titled "Song of Caanan." Chinese house church Christians love these songs. Even the TSPM churches are using them.

<sup>42</sup>Korean missionaries founded and operate these two seminaries for training young people.

<sup>43</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 120.

Chen explained that the six daily hours of study for the first three months covered Christian theology basics, such as salvation, the church, and the Holy Spirit. The sessions on the Holy Spirit would often be taught by house church “uncles,”<sup>44</sup> Chen said, because the theology of the seminary was Charismatic. Other courses on church history, the history of world mission, and other topics would be taught by the resident staffers, each of whom had long been a full-time church worker.<sup>45</sup>

House church seminary curriculums are not systematic like those of TSPM churches. They focus on church-ministry essentials with practical and spiritual dimensions. Unlike TSPM seminaries, this house church seminary offers a world-missions course, which demonstrates its evangelical orientation.

The house churches often set aside three to six days for Bible-teaching sessions when the leaders meet for the regional co-workers’ meeting. The regional house church group frequently established a one- or two-week leadership-training session for district leaders when an overseas or domestic Bible teacher visits an area. The courses vary according to the teacher’s major, but the main ones concern biblical exposition.

Some large house church groups recently have developed one-year, evangelist-training programs. This special class is composed of about thirty young students who are chosen by the house church leaders. They are trained in Bible, evangelism, prayer, and church planting by the earlier model of evangelist training. The graduates are then sent out as itinerant evangelists for local or distant evangelism. Some large house church groups in central China have even established mission schools to train young people for carrying out the “Back to Jerusalem” vision. Foreign churches, which are especially

---

<sup>44</sup>Aikman calls second-generation church leaders (current senior leaders) “uncles” in his book. This interesting classification is as follows: missionaries like Hudson Taylor are “pathfinders,” first-generation leaders like Wang Mingdao are “patriarchs,” second-generation leaders are “uncles or aunts,” and third-generation leaders are “nephews or nieces.”

<sup>45</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 121-22.

sympathetic to this vision, send much support. Therefore, such programs usually are fully supported by foreign funds.

Pastoral care generally is the lay leaders' responsibility in both rural and urban house churches. Evangelism and pastoral care are the house churches' two main focuses. While itinerant evangelists take care of evangelism, pastoral care becomes the local elders' duty. Seventy percent of itinerant evangelists are women, but pastoral care and high-level leadership are primarily the functions of male elders. There is an increasing need for systematic training in preaching, pastoral counseling, youth ministry, and Sunday-school ministry for children. Chinese churches are weak in these matters, so they ask overseas Christians to help them.

The leadership-training programs for urban house churches range from a weekend session to one-to-three-year structured programs. The weekend session is an intensive-training course. The students must reside in or nearby the learning center for the longer structured programs. The sponsoring churches usually provide room and board as well as teachers in this case. Students, who are mobilized from several provinces, have breaks to conduct practical ministry at home after finishing each three-months' education.<sup>46</sup>

Itinerant evangelists preached a simple gospel—focused on the theology of salvation through the life, death, and resurrection of Christ—during the Chinese house church movement's inception years (1920-76). The messages reflected the fundamentalist faith that was passed on by missionaries and taught by the Chinese indigenous churches. A transition from the theology of salvation to the theology of the

---

<sup>46</sup>Chao, "Need for Pastoral Training," sec. 3.

cross occurred as the young Chinese house churches began to confront the government's severe pressure to join the TSPM. The theology of the cross emerged from their experiences of hardship, such as heavy fines, property confiscation, imprisonment, physical torture, and death. It enabled them to thank God through all the hardships. He gave His people courage to perform His work in spite of cruel persecution. The Chinese house churches have become aware of God's calling to world missions through this process. Between 1984 and 1996, the charismatic movement was introduced into Henan and Zhejiang provinces, which were the regions where the house church movement was most active. As a result, revival and a missionary movement followed on the one hand, and discord among the evangelical churches—due to theological differences—occurred on the other hand. There have been successful efforts for house-church-group unity more recently, from 1996 to 2002. House churches raise united voices concerning the matter of governmental persecution, their relationship with the TSPM, and heresies. Chinese house churches now are fighting against the TSPM's attempt to replace “justification by faith” theology with “justification by love” theology for the harmonization of the Christian faith with socialism. Therefore, the most urgent need for Chinese house-church- leadership training is systematic theology, although many other needs—such as pastoral care, cross-cultural missions, youth ministries, Sunday schools for children, and marriage counseling—exist.<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup>Chao, “The Changing Shape of the Church in China,” sec. 2.

## House Church Leadership-Training Structure

Chinese house churches have developed various underground leadership-training methods to meet urgent needs. They are classified as follows:

### 1. Apprentice-type theological education

This is a traditional one-by-one training method. Obedience and intimate relationships are keys to effective training. This type is gradually disappearing, except in remote places like mountain or rural areas, due to rapidly increasing needs.

### 2. Revival meeting-type training

Charismatic churches mainly use this method that stresses receiving spiritual gifts, such as speaking in tongues, divine healing, and exorcism. Sometimes testimonies and thematic Bible teachings are added. This type is weak for intellectual training.

### 3. Theological training through broadcasting

This method utilizes overseas-radio-training programs that broadcast in Chinese. The lecturers are usually renowned overseas Chinese professors. This technique was greatly effective before the 1980s. Now this method is still effective, although its importance has been diminished because since other direct training methods are possible.

### 4. Short-term theological training

Through lecturing tours. When domestic or overseas teachers visit a location, this type of theological education temporarily is arranged by neighboring church leaders. It usually lasts about a week, due to security concerns because visitors attract people's attention. Many house church leaders have been trained by this method, but it cannot offer systematic education.

Through "field seminaries." This method was developed in 1985 to satisfy the urgent requirements of systematic theological training. "Field seminaries" are secretly opened in mountain caves or remote places usually during the farmers' slack season. Field seminaries are open for a time period ranging from several weeks to three months for short-term intensive theological education. Lecturing begins at 6 a.m. and ends at 11 p.m. All the participants eat two meals per day to save time. Curriculum courses include Redemption History, Redemption Theology, the Life of Jesus Christ, Church History, Evangelism, Evangelistic Strategies and Methods, Pastoral Ministry, etc. The seminaries emphasize prayer and Bible memorization for effective evangelism. The purpose of house church seminaries is training students to become evangelists rather than senior pastors. This technique is appropriate for rural-area and small-town house churches. Many structured house church groups use this method.

## 5. Modern discipleship training

Discipleship training is introduced from other countries. A foreigner usually trains one to ten college students, in a small group, for a period lasting from six months to one or two years. This is a limited method because of foreigners' cultural and language barriers. It is suitable for training young people in cities.

## 6. Long-term theological education

This is a type of full-time theological education, which requires between one year and four years of student residency. Foreign missionaries generally operate this kind of underground seminary. This method is not popular due to its security weaknesses.<sup>48</sup>

### **Theology of the House Church**

The Chinese house church has maintained its theological tradition, which is characterized by the conservatism of the 1930s and the 1940s. This theology is a legacy of the missionaries in China at that time. It emphasizes evangelism for saving souls. Under continued persecution, the house church developed the "theology of the cross" that instructs Christians about suffering. This contrasts with TSPM theology's optimistic viewpoint, which teaches Christians' well-being in this world. House church theology emphasizes the doctrines of God, salvation, the church, and final things.

### **The Doctrine of God**

There are not many teachings concerning the Triune God doctrine in Chinese house churches. Consequently, leaders and believers cannot discern false teachings regarding the doctrine of God. The house church accentuates the Holy Son's redemptive work and the Holy Spirit's empowering work, but neglects the Holy Father's love. This is caused by lack of Old Testament knowledge.

---

<sup>48</sup>Choi, "A Study on Theological Education," 46-48.

### **The Doctrine of Salvation**

The Chinese house church considers the born-again experience to be essential for church membership. One of the largest house church groups is the “Born-again movement” sect. The majority of churches enroll a new member after testing him or her about the born-again experience to discern false believers, like government informers. Some house church believers reject the doctrine of the perseverance of saints and accept the doctrine of several-time salvation. They emphasize the believer’s sanctification after rebirth rather than perseverance. This theological tendency comes from bitter experiences by betrayers like the TSPM leaders. Most house church leaders do not associate with any missionaries or foreign churches if their salvation doctrine is not the same.

### **The Doctrine of the Church**

The Chinese house church correctly emphasizes that Christ is the head of the church. Many in the house church movement oppose the TSPM because they believe the TSPM leaders have allowed the Communist government to usurp Christ’s position as head. Therefore, they exclude Christian workers who cooperate with TSPM churches.

### **The Doctrine of Final Things**

Most Chinese house churches believe in premillennialism, which is the traditional theology taught by missionaries. Enduring persecution has made house church believers hope to be raptured before the seven-year tribulation. Numerous extreme teachings and heresies have emerged from this doctrine. The house churches usually do not accept amillennialism or postmillennialism as a biblical alternative.



House church leaders possess a good knowledge of Bible content, but they also have difficulty with its exegesis and application. An urgent need for house church leaders is the ability to explain the Bible precisely because they do not have a basic theological education. The believers' low educational level makes the situation even worse. There is a strong tendency to use one's personal experience for interpreting and preaching Scripture.<sup>49</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The survey results and authoritative literature confirm the researcher's assumption that leadership training is the most critical need for the rapidly growing Chinese church—both the TSPM church and the house church. Lack of trained leadership is largely related to other problems, such as insufficient resources and continued Chinese-governmental interference. A lack of biblical knowledge in the Chinese church causes heresy to spread. Twenty-three official theological schools cannot meet the growing requirement for TSPM-church-leadership training. The Chinese government, however, is reluctant to increase the number of seminaries and students. The government wants to control church-growth by limiting leadership training. The numbers of evangelical TSPM-seminary students and believers are growing despite school authorities' efforts to intensify education on liberal theology based upon the social gospel. Today, the house church movement impacts TSPM-leadership training.

Chinese house churches have developed various training methods to meet the huge and serious leadership-training demand. Several of the largest house church groups

---

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 53-54.

have established a number of underground Bible schools and seminaries since the 1980s. These leadership-training facilities opened in mountain caves, village safe houses, or safe buildings in cities. Most training schools offer short-term programs that last from one week to several months. Long-term base underground seminaries recently opened for systematic theological education ranging from one year to four years. House church leadership-training programs ordinarily are not well-organized enough to satisfy all the demands of the churches. House church theology has been strongly evangelical, stressing evangelism for saving souls. Widespread lack of biblical knowledge has caused the emergence of some extreme groups and heretics, who claim unbiblical theology. Chinese house church growth will greatly depend upon how churches respond to this pressing leadership-training need.

## CHAPTER 5

### INFLUENTIAL FACTORS FOR DEVELOPING LEADERSHIP-TRAINING STRATEGIES

Previous chapters have explored the history of Chinese Christianity and the development of the house church movement under the Communist regime. Various movements, which were usually anti-Christian, occurred as a result of the interaction between Christianity and China. Before the twentieth century, Christianity was still a foreign and marginal religion, although Protestant missionaries began to enter China a century earlier. The Chinese unfortunately identified the missionaries with Western imperial powers. Strong anti-Christian sentiment, which developed along with nationalism throughout the nineteenth century, burst out into anti-Christian movements in the first half of the twentieth century. The Independent Church Movement started as a response to nationalistic pressure. The Three-Self Patriotic Movement and the house church movement were formed during the 1950s under the pressure of communism, a product of Chinese nationalism. The Chinese house church miraculously survived the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76, which was the darkest decade. The house churches experienced their first decade of revival between 1976 and 1986. Passing through a second decade of revival from 1986 to 1996, they now are facing their third decade of revival, which will span up to 2006. Chinese house churches currently are encountering a serious leadership-training crisis. Whether or not they will experience a fourth decade

of revival depends upon their response to this urgent need.

This chapter will list and explain ten factors that should be considered in developing house church leadership-training strategies. These factors were chosen through the pre-research as a hypothesis and surveyed for verification. The first section will present the survey-analysis results for discerning each factor's validity. The second section will offer a detailed explanation for each factor. Suggestions will follow for leadership-training-strategy development in the final section. This chapter functions as a concluding chapter, which integrates all the related information to the ten factors, and recommends some Chinese house church leadership-training models.

### **Survey Results**

In the previous chapter, a survey the researcher conducted in 2004 was introduced and analyzed to identify the Chinese house church's urgent needs. The survey was conducted among Chinese house church leaders and foreigners, such as missionaries and intellectuals. The previous chapter's analysis reveals that leadership training is the Chinese house church's most pressing need. The survey will be thoroughly analyzed in this section to determine the respondents' thinking on the ten factors. The survey questionnaires are five times classified into five groupings—A, B, C, D, and E. Each grouping has sub-groupings. Grouping A is classified into two subgroupings according to the respondents' nationality: A-1 is composed of Chinese house church leaders, while A-2 constitutes foreign missionaries and intellectuals. Groupings B, C, D, and E are comprised of only Chinese house church leaders for analysis by geography, region, gender, and generation. Grouping B is made up of four subgroupings by geography: B-1 represents Henan province; B-2 is Shandong province;

B-3 is Guangdong province; and B-4 is Hunan province. Grouping C is divided by region into two subgroupings: C-1 designates the rural areas, while C-2 stands for the cities. Grouping D is classified by gender into two subgroupings: D-1 denotes male, while D-2 represents female. Finally, Grouping E has two subgroupings classified by generation: E-1 is composed of the young generation of people who are under 30 years old, while E-2 includes those who are more than 40 years old.

The survey analysis is performed according to the following steps (ex: groupings A-1 and A-2).

1. Make profiles for respondent groupings A-1 and A-2 (Tables 7 and 8).
2. Make their survey-results tables, which reveal the respondents' opinions concerning ten factors (see Tables A2 and A5 in Appendix 4).
3. Calculate each factor's total weighted value by adding each factor's weighted value (see Tables A3 and A6 in Appendix 4):

Weighted value = number of people  $\times$  importance value;

Total weighted value = adding all the five weighted values of each factor.

4. Produce each factor's average weighted value:

Average weighted value = total weighted value / number of total respondents.

5. Draw a figure showing each factor's average weighted value (see Figures A1 and A2 in Appendix 4).
6. Draw a combined figure for comparison between the two groupings (Figure 4).
7. Analyze the figure and identify some distinctive findings.
8. Use the findings as a basis for verifying the ten factors' relation to the development of Chinese house church leadership-training strategies along with other information.

All the other groupings will also be analyzed by the above process for comparison among subgroupings. All the tables and figures of each grouping are not included in the text except the final comparison figures.

### Analysis of Grouping A (Comparison by Nationality)

All the tables and figures for the grouping A analysis are included in Appendix 4 as a representative case. Grouping A is classified by nationality into two subgroups: A-1 is composed of seventy-six Chinese house church leaders, and A-2 contains twenty-one foreign missionaries and overseas intellectuals. Table 7 shows subgrouping A-1's profile.

Table 7. Profile of respondent grouping A-1  
(Chinese house church leaders)

Age	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51+
	3	51	5	15	2
Gender	Male	Female			
	40	36			
Ethnicity	Chinese	Hong Kong	Taiwanese	Koreans	Westerners
	75	1	0	0	0
Education	Under High	High School	College	Beyond College	Doctorate
	38	35	2	1	0
Church Location	Coastal City	Central Urban Area	Rural Area		
	11	24	41		

Note: Total respondents = 76; Unit: number of people

The Chinese house church leaders comprise two main age groups. One is a younger generation group less than 30 years old numbering fifty-four members, and the other is a older generation group more than 30 years old that has twenty-two members.

This age difference will be dealt with when subgroupings E-1 and E-2 are analyzed. The male-to-female ratio is 40-to-36. The educational level is relatively low. Most respondents have not attended college. More than half are from rural areas.

Table 8. Profile of respondent grouping A-2  
(Missionaries and overseas intellectuals)

Age	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60
	0	4	6	7	4
Gender	Male	Female			
	16	5			
Ethnicity	Chinese	Hong Kong	Taiwanese	Koreans	Westerners
	3	0	2	12	4
Education	Under High	High School	College	Beyond College	Doctorate
	0	0	4	13	4
Status	Missionary	Pastor	Elder	Professor	Student
	14	1	1	1	4

Note: Total respondents = 21; Unit = number of people

A-2 is composed of foreign missionaries and intellectuals who are familiar with the Chinese house church. Table 8 shows subgrouping A-2's profile. Fourteen of them are middle-aged missionaries who work for the Chinese house church. They include eleven Korean missionaries, two American missionaries, and one Canadian missionary. The other seven are intellectuals. They include two Chinese college graduates in China, a Chinese graduate-school student in America, an American missions professor, a Korean seminary student in America, a Korean pastor, and a Taiwanese elder

in Canada. Most of them are college graduates.

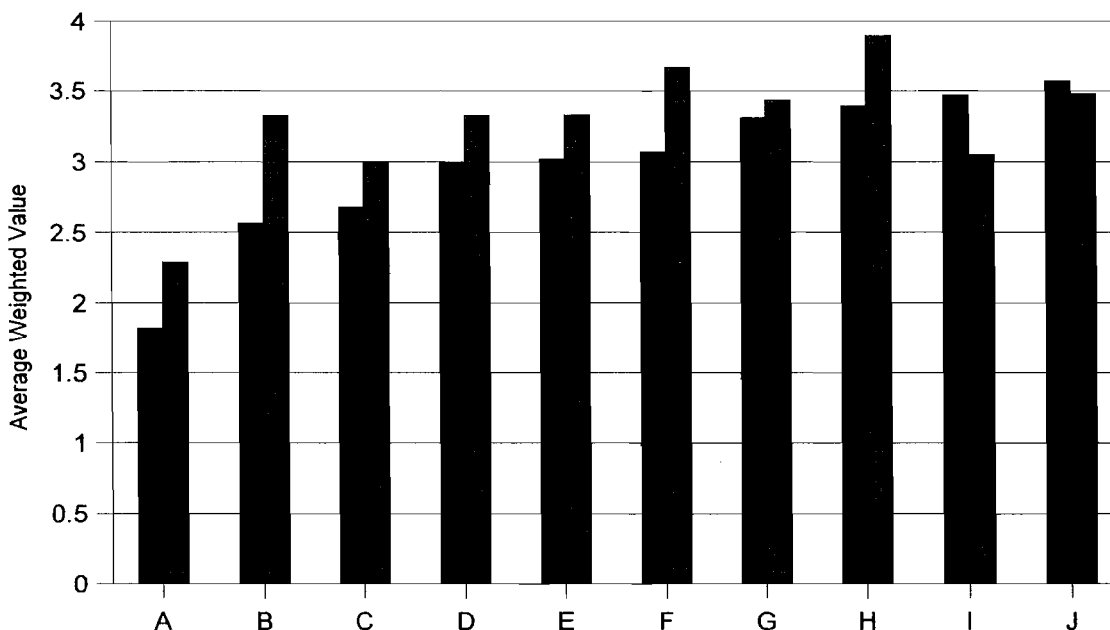


Figure 4. Comparison between house church leaders and missionaries

Legend: Dark shading = Grouping A-1 (Chinese house church leaders); Light shading = Grouping A-2 (Missionaries and overseas intellectuals); A = Effect of the “One-Child Policy”; B = Women in church leadership; C = Groups in the house church; D = Korean people’s role; E = Influence of four leaders; F = Political factors; G = Chinese intellectuals; H = Cultural and historical factors; I = Relationship with the TSPM church; J = Economic and geographic factors

The Chinese house church leaders consider “economic and geographic factors” to be the most important element for Western missionaries in developing Chinese house church leadership-training strategies, while foreign missionaries and intellectuals feel that “cultural and historical factors” is the most essential component. This reflects the Chinese people’s interest in the economy along with national economic growth. On the other hand, this reflects the Chinese house church’s financial need.



Another unique point is that the Chinese house church leaders consider the “relationship with the TSPM church” as the second most important factor, while the foreigners do not pay as much attention to it. This coincides with the previous chapter’s survey finding. The Chinese house church leaders pointed to “unity” as the second most urgent need for their churches. The Chinese house church leaders consider “political factors” less significant than the foreigners think. For the “women in church leadership” factor, foreign missionaries and intellectuals are more concerned than the Chinese house church leaders. More discussion on this will be included in the last section of this chapter.

### **Analysis of Grouping B (Comparison by Province)**

Grouping B is divided into four subgroupings (B-1, B-2, B-3, and B-4) for comparison by province. In order to summarize the profile, B-1 consists of nineteen Chinese house church leaders from Henan province. The majority of them are middle-aged, predominantly male, current house church leaders from rural areas. B-2 is composed of fifty-two Chinese house church leaders from Shandong province. Most of them are young, prospective house church leaders. Unlike B-1, the male-to-female ratio is 21-to-31, and almost half of them are from urban areas. B-3 is made up of three Chinese house church leaders in Guangdong province. One is a young woman; another is a middle-aged man; and the other is an old woman. All of them are from an urban area. The number of survey respondents is not big enough to generalize their opinion, but the overall tendency is discernible. B-4 is comprises only a Chinese house church leader from Hunan province. The survey respondent is a young female college graduate, who works with college students. Her opinion is important for comparison by province

as well as for understanding a Chinese intellectual mindset.

Henan province is the heart of the Chinese house church movement. It is an agricultural, poor area in central China. Most large house church groups and leaders are from this province. More than 10 percent of the province's residents are Christians. Shandong province is located in a peninsula in the East. The birthplace of Confucius, it is a major spiritual stronghold. The Jesus Family, which is an indigenous form of Christianity that emphasizes communal living, began in this province. Researchers estimate 3 percent of the population are Christians. Guangdong province, which is located in southern China, is the modern era's first entry point for Protestant missions. The bitter memory of Western imperialism—marked by the seizure of Macau and Hong Kong—has hindered Christianity's expansion there. Just about 1 percent Christians are reported. Hunan province is in central-southern China. It is Mao-zedong's home province. A still-strong Maoism has made this province spiritually the hardest area for evangelism. About 2 percent Christians are reported.<sup>1</sup>

Figure 5 compares the four provinces. Four groups generally consider “economic and geographic factors” to be the most important. The Guangdong group indicates the “influence of four leaders” as the most significant factor unlike the other groups. The Henan and Guangdong groups count the “Korean people's role” as more crucial than the other groups think it is. The Henan group also considers “Chinese intellectuals” to be more critical than the other groups believe they are. Interestingly, the Guangdong group regards “cultural and historical factors” to be less relative than the

---

<sup>1</sup>Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk, *Operation World: When We Pray God Works*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Lifestyle, 2001), 170-77.

other groups feel they are. A later section will offer further exploration for all the findings.

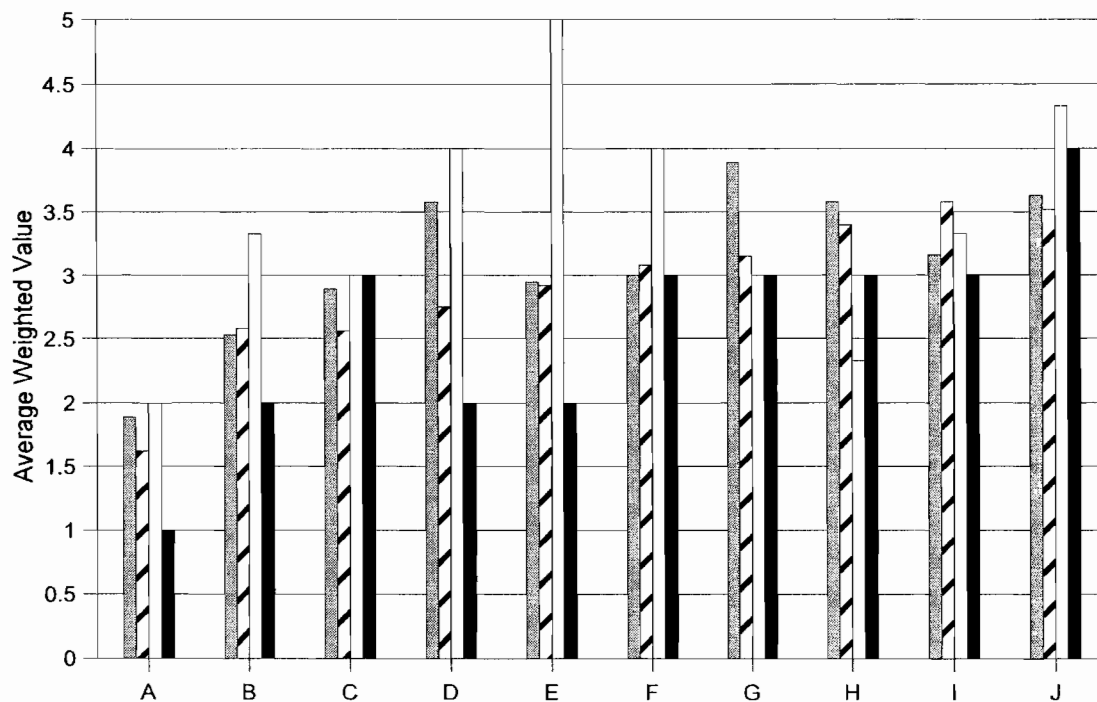


Figure 5. Comparison by Province

Legend: Light shading = Grouping B-1 (Henan province); Slope lines = Grouping B-2 (Shandong province); Blank = Grouping B-3 (Guangdong province); Dark shading = Grouping B-4 (Hunan province); A = Effect of the “One-Child Policy”; B = Women in church leadership; C = Groups in the house church; D = Korean people’s role; E = Influence of four leaders; F = Political factors; G = Chinese intellectuals; H = Cultural and historical factors; I = Relationship with the TSPM church; J = Economic and geographic factors

#### **Analysis of Grouping C (Comparison between Rural and Urban Areas)**

Grouping C is divided into C-1 (rural group) and C-2 (urban group). C-1 is composed of thirty-four Chinese house church leaders from rural areas. C-2 includes twenty-six Chinese house church leaders from urban areas. The total number of

grouping C (sixty) is different from that of the Chinese house church leaders (seventy-six) among the survey respondents (ninety-seven) because some respondents did not answer concerning their regions.

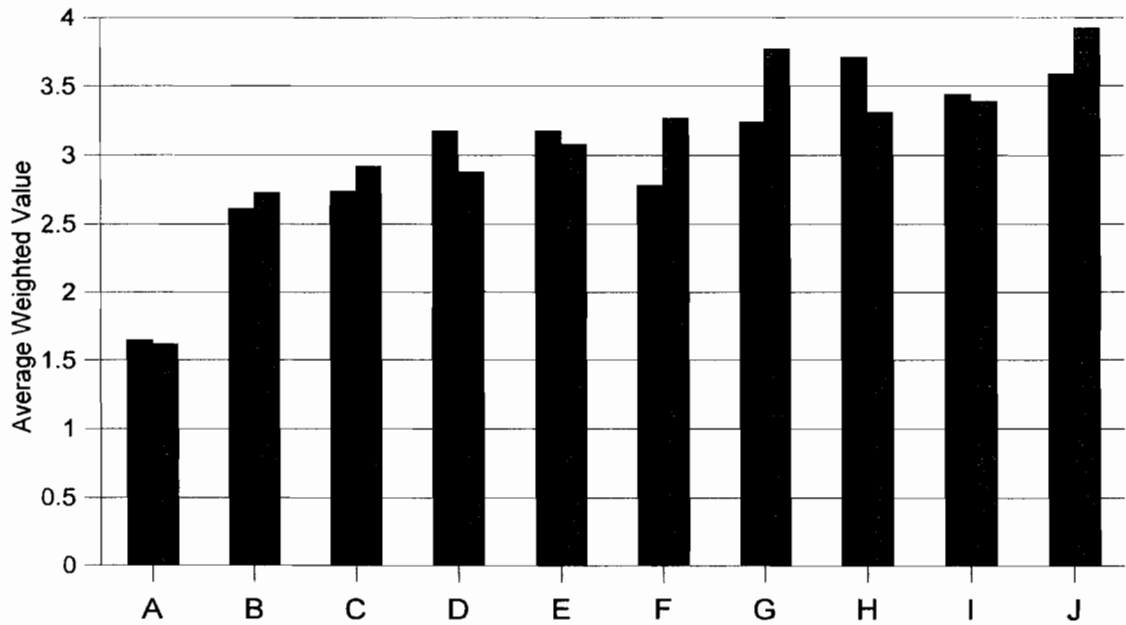


Figure 6. Comparison between rural and urban areas

Legend: Dark shading = Grouping C-1 (Rural area); Light shading = Grouping C-2 (Urban area); A = Effect of the “One-Child Policy”; B = Women in church leadership; C = Groups in the house church; D = Korean people’s role; E = Influence of four leaders; F = Political factors; G = Chinese intellectuals; H = Cultural and historical factors; I = Relationship with the TSPM church; J = Economic and geographic factors

According to Figure 6, Chinese house church leaders from rural areas think that “cultural and historical factors” are more important than those from urban areas. Urban-house-church leaders are more sensitive to “economic and geographic factors,” “political factors,” and “Chinese intellectuals” than are those from rural areas. The groups from both rural and urban areas agree regarding the significance of the

“relationship with the TSPM church.” Rural leaders count the “Korean people’s role” as more essential than do urban leaders.

### Analysis of Grouping D (Comparison by Gender)

Grouping D is divided by gender into two subgroups. D-1 is composed of thirty-five male Chinese house church leaders, while D-2 is made up of twenty-six female Chinese house church leaders. As in grouping C, the total number of grouping D (sixty-one) is different from that of Chinese house church leaders (seventy-six) because some respondents did not reply with respect to their gender.

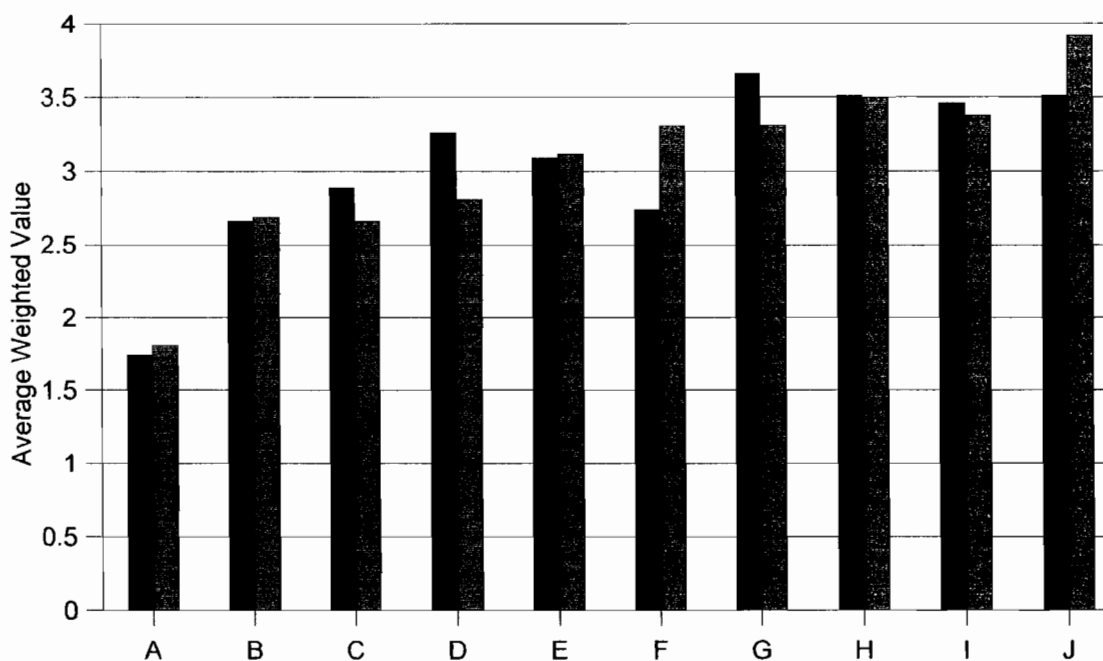


Figure 7. Comparison by gender

Legend: Dark shading = Grouping D-1 (Male); Light shading = Grouping D-2 (Female); A = Effect of the “One-Child Policy”; B = Women in church leadership; C = Groups in the house church; D = Korean people’s role; E = Influence of four leaders; F = Political factors; G = Chinese intellectuals; H = Cultural and historical factors; I = Relationship with the TSPM church; J = Economic and geographic factors

According to Figure 7, the female house church leaders are more sensitive to “economic and geographic factors” and “political factors” than are their male counterparts. The male house church leaders acknowledge the importance of “Chinese intellectuals,” the “Korean people’s role,” and “groups in the house church.” There is no difference in both genders’ evaluation of the “women in church leadership” factor.

### Analysis of Grouping E (Comparison by Generation)

Grouping E is divided by generation into two subgroupings. E-1 has twenty-three, older generation Chinese house church leaders. E-2 comprises thirty-eight, younger generation Chinese house church leaders. Most E-1 group members are current

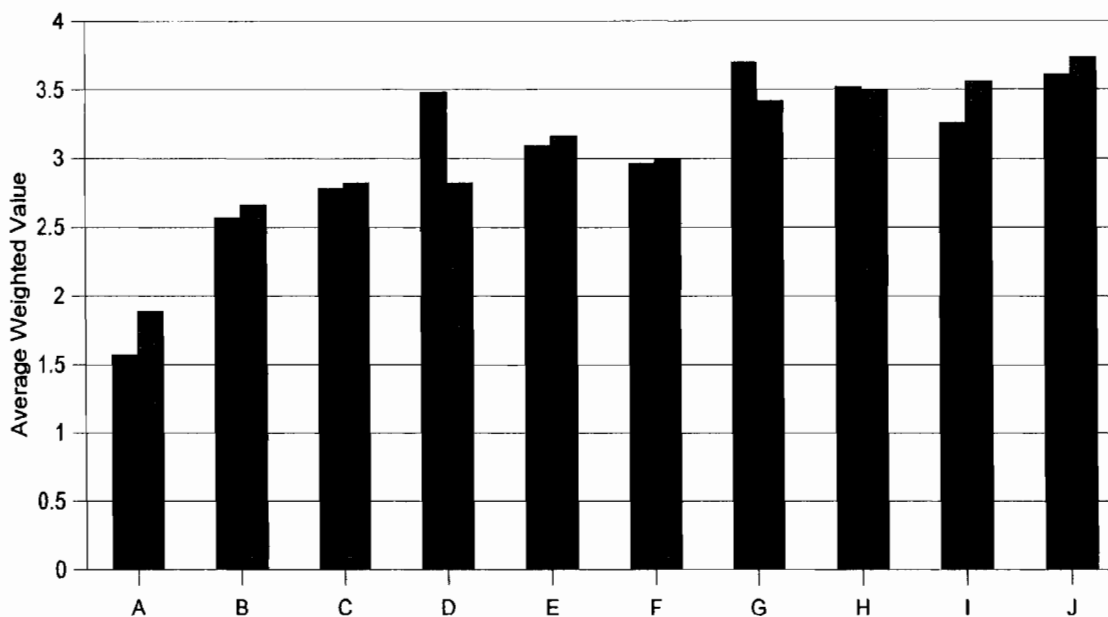


Figure 8. Comparison by generation

Legend: Dark shading = Grouping E-1 (Older generation); Light shading = Grouping E-2 (Younger generation); A = Effect of the “One-Child Policy”; B = Women in church leadership; C = Groups in the house church; D = Korean people’s role; E = Influence of four leaders; F = Political factors; G = Chinese intellectuals; H = Cultural and historical factors; I = Relationship with the TSPM church; J = Economic and geographic factors

house church leaders who are more than 40 years old. On the other hand, most E-2 group members are prospective house church leaders between 20 and 30 years old. Grouping E's total number (sixty-one) differs from that of Chinese house church leaders (seventy-six) because some respondents did not answer about their ages.

According to Figure 8, older generation Chinese house church leaders acknowledge "Chinese intellectuals" and the "Korean people's role" more than do younger generation leaders. Younger generation house church leaders consider "economic and geographic factors" and the "relationship with the TSPM church" more than older generation leaders do. The chart also reveals that younger generation leaders are more sensitive than are their counterparts to the "effect of the one-child policy."

### **Ten Factors That Should Be Considered in Developing Chinese House Church Leadership-Training Strategies**

In this section, each one of the ten factors that should be considered in developing Chinese house church leadership-training strategies will be separately explored as the essential part of this dissertation. The previous chapters have already explained most of them, but integrated information is required for comprehensive understanding. Besides the information from literature, observation on location, and interviews, the survey results will be utilized again for further consideration after each factor's analysis. The order of dealing with the ten factors follows what Chinese house church leaders consider to be the most important (see Figure 4 or Figure A1 in Appendix 4). The Chinese house church leaders' opinions are more important than those of foreign missionaries or intellectuals. One purpose of the dissertation is to determine the differences between the two groups. These findings are useful for foreign-missions

societies in developing Chinese house church leadership-training strategies.

### **Economic and Geographic Factors**

The economic and geographic factors are closely related to each other in modern China. The country's economy has rapidly grown since China opened its doors to foreign trade in 1978 and began economic liberalization. Economic growth has improved the people's living standards in general. The benefit of this economic success was first granted to people who live in cities. Very wealthy individuals have rapidly emerged in cities, while the majority of the nation's people who live in rural areas are poor. Such a gap has accelerated the urbanization process. More than 30 percent of the people already live in urban areas. Young people leave their village homes to find jobs in the cities. College graduates are leaving their hometowns for cities (especially the coastal cities, like Shen Zhen and Shanghai) to locate better jobs. The Chinese government facilitated urbanization by removing the residential-registry restriction (known as the *Hukou* system) in order to provide inexpensive labor for the fast-growing industries in urban areas. According to Ronald Yu, the nation has a plan for increasing its urban population to 50 percent by 2015. This means that twenty million rural migrants move to cities annually. He estimates that the actual rate may be much higher.<sup>2</sup> *China Line*, which is a monthly newsletter prepared by Christians in China, reports that "over one-half of the population of China will be urban by the year 2030, rising rapidly from just 30 percent in 2000."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Ronald Yu, "Urban Mandate for the Rural House Church," *China Ministry Report* 155 (April-June 2003), sec. 1 [journal on-line]; accessed 17 September 2004; available from <http://www.cmi.org.tw/english/cmr1567.htm>; Internet.

<sup>3</sup>*China Line* (October 2001), sec 3.



This urbanization seriously affects Chinese house churches, the majority of which are situated in rural areas. Rural house churches have experienced rapid decline due to urbanization, especially in the southern part of China. Believers from rural areas are tempted by the urban lifestyle, and most of them are struggling to adjust to the existing house churches in the cities. Yu urges rural-house-church leaders to respond this way:

First, they need to engage in urban mission and move in the direction of the migrant wave rather than against it. Second, they need to be equipped for the urban challenge and the best way to do it is to learn the art of tent-making. Third, they need to find a new church-planting model in the urban context.<sup>4</sup>

He recommends that they move to the cities and plant new churches there. Yu also introduces them to tent-making church planting,<sup>5</sup> as a new church-planting model in the urban context. Today's Chinese house churches encounter two kinds of financial challenges because of rapid urbanization. One is supporting current rural-house-church ministers for full-time ministry. The other is supporting prospective urban-house-church ministers.

Unlike rural house church leaders, urban-house-church ministers must be highly educated. An increasing number of Chinese intellectuals have become Christians since the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. They are struggling, however, to find churches to attend. In general, the house church sermons and teachings in their cities are not advanced enough for them because the leaders' educational levels are low. When some highly educated believers devote themselves to church ministry, urban house

---

<sup>4</sup>Yu, "Urban Mandate for the Rural House Church," sec. 2.

<sup>5</sup>This is a kind of self-supporting ministry, like that of the apostle Paul. He ministered while he earned a living by making tents in the city of Corinth (Acts 18:3). This is the derivation of the term.

churches cannot support them. Consequently, Yu suggests the tent-making ministry as a solution. This method is recommended for forming a relationship with a particular professional group for the gospel as well as for financial reasons.

Experts like the late Jonathan Chao have proposed that rural-house-church leaders earn their living by farming. Traditional farming, though, does not produce enough for them support themselves. They need to learn a new technology in order to improve their situation. This is one of the fields in which foreigners can help. A *China Ministry Report* staff writer says that there is a group of Christians in China, Taiwan, and the United States who can furnish a year's training for them in farming-technology techniques, such as greenhouse farming for vegetables and flowers.<sup>6</sup>

Western capitalism and secularism strongly influence the Chinese people. They eagerly work for success. They are too busy to pay attention to their spiritual condition. Strong materialism is causing moral decline. Individuals who reside in inland provinces are much poorer. People in urban areas are living in better conditions. Individuals who live in rural areas are extremely poor. The rapidly increasing interest in economic matters caused Chinese house church leaders to select the "economic and geographic factors" as the category that ranks first in importance, while foreign missionaries and overseas intellectuals ranked it third in significance. According to the following Chart 10, younger generation, female, and urban-area people are more sensitive to "economic and geographic factors" than are their counterparts. This result makes sense. House church leaders in Guangdong province are the most sensitive

---

<sup>6</sup>"How to Equip Rural Pastors to Survive and Thrive," *China Ministry Report* 155 (April-June 2003), sec. 1 [on-line]; accessed 17 September 2004; available from <http://www.cmi.org.tw/english/cmr1567.htm>; Internet.

because this province is close to Hong Kong. In the case of Hunan province, the only survey respondent is a young, female, college-graduate house church leader. The relatively high value reveals her sensitivity on the economic and geographic issue.

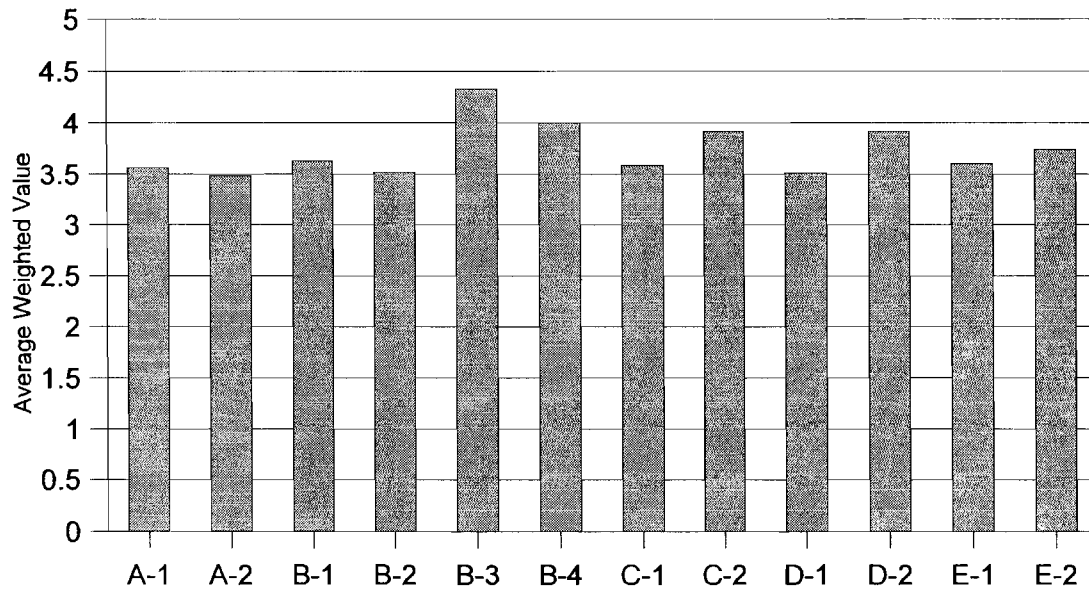


Figure 9. Opinions concerning “Economic and Geographic Factors”

Legend: A-1 = Chinese house church leaders; A-2 = Missionaries and intellectuals; B-1 = Henan province; B-2 = Shandong province; B-3 = Guangdong province; B-4 = Hunan province; C-1 = Rural area; C-2 = Urban area; D-1 = Male; D-2 = Female; E-1 = Older generation; E-2 = Younger generation

**Analysis by province.** The Chinese house church situation varies by province. The researcher employed the data in *Operation World*—to create Tables 9, 10, 11, and 12—for comparing the Christian presence by province.<sup>7</sup> Table 9 compares twenty-two provinces where Han people are dominant, while Table 10 compares five autonomous regions where a certain ethnic minority’s presence is strong. Table 11

<sup>7</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 168-86.

Table 9. Comparison of the Christian presence by province

Province	Population (million)	Christian Ratio	Christian Population (thousand)			
			Total	House Church	TSPM	Catholic
Anhui	63.4	11.6 %	7,354	4,945	1,585	824
Fujian	34.3	10.7 %	3,670	2,332	926	412
Gansu	25.7	1.9 %	489	283	103	103
Guangdong	72.4	1.4 %	1,013	434	217	362
Guizhou	37.0	1.0 %	1,443	814	407	222
Hainan	7.6	4.6 %	349	296	38	15
Hebei	67.4	4.0 %	2,696	809	337	1,550
Heilongjiang	38.8	5.3 %	2,057	1,203	621	233
Henan	95.4	10.4 %	9,921	*6,869	2,003	1,049
Hubei	60.7	1.3 %	789	425	182	182
Hunan	66.9	2.4 %	1,606	1,204	201	201
Jiangsu	73.9	7.6 %	5,616	3,769	1,108	739
Jiangxi	42.7	4.8 %	2,050	1,452	384	214
Jilin	27.2	5.7 %	1,550	1,115	245	190
Liaoning	42.9	5.1 %	2,188	1,287	429	472
Qinghai	5.1	2.3 %	117	71	31	15
Shaanxi	36.8	4.5 %	1,656	994	368	294
Shandong	90.9	3.0 %	2,727	1,545	909	273
Shanxi	32.3	3.4 %	1,098	678	226	194
Sichuan	87.7	1.4 %	1,227	614	175	438
Yunnan	42.0	5.3 %	2,226	1,344	840	42
Zhejiang	45.2	11.2 %	5,062	3,480	1,356	226
Total (1)	1,096.3	5.2 %	56,904	35,963	12,691	8,250

Note: \* = the data includes 1,908,000 marginal group members

Table 10. The Christian presence in autonomous regions

Autonomous Region	Population (million)	Christian Ratio	Christian Population (thousand)			
			Total	House Church	TSPM	Catholic
Guangxi	47.8	1.0 %	477	191	143	143
Inner Mongolia	23.9	4.7 %	1,123	645	167	311
Ningxia	5.4	3.9 %	211	97	11	103
Tibet	2.5	0.2 %	5	0	0	5
Xinjiang	17.6	2.2 %	387	282	35	70
Total (2)	97.2	2.2 %	2,203	1,215	356	632

Table 11. The Christian presence in special-status cities

Special-Status City	Population (million)	Christian Ratio	Christian Population (thousand)			
			Total	House Church	TSPM	Catholic
Beijing	13.5	4.4 %	594	500	40	54
Chongqing	31.2	2.6 %	811	468	218	125
Shanghai	14.8	9.6 %	1,421	844	163	414
Tianjin	9.9	2.3 %	228	40	20	168
Hong Kong	7.0	10.0 %	693	*469	0	224
Macao	0.4	7.3 %	29	*8	0	21
Total (3)	76.8	4.9 %	3,776	2,329	441	1,006

Note: \* = The churches are not house churches but open churches that are not related to the TSPM

compares cities with special status. Beijing, Chongqing, Shanghai, and Tianjin are municipalities. Hong Kong and Macao are special administrative regions. The average Christian-population percentage for the twenty-two provinces is 5.2, compared with 2.2 for the five autonomous regions. The overall Christian-population ratio for the six representative cities is similar to that of the twenty-two provinces.

Table 12 contains the grand total for Tables 9, 10, and 11. According to this information, China's total Christian population is far less than we thought. It is said that China's Christian population is almost one hundred million, including more than eight-five million house church believers. The differences can be explained in this way. The figures that Johnstone and Mandryk use here mean baptized church members. The total number of Christians will reach 91.6 million if the affiliates are included. Most of the twenty-three million affiliates who can be added are doubtlessly house church Christians.<sup>8</sup>

Table 12. Christian presence in China

	Population (million)	Christian Ratio	Christian Population (thousand)			
			Total	House Church	TSPM	Catholic
Grand Total	1,270.3	5.0 %	62,883	39,507	13,488	9,888

The researcher developed Figure 10 based on the information in Tables 9, 10, and 11 for comparison between the Christian population and the non-Christian

---

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 160.

Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Shandong are located in eastern China, neighboring one another. These provinces, which are mostly poor rural regions, form the Chinese house church movement's heartland. Large house church groups originated in Fangcheng and Tanghe counties in Henan. Wenzhou in Zhejiang, which is known as "China's Jerusalem"<sup>9</sup> and has one of the country's largest Christian communities, which claims more than one million house church believers. A number of revival movements and top-rank house church leaders have come from these provinces. A further exploration of these provinces will appear in a later section explaining house church groups. Interestingly, Yunnan, in the far southwest—where more than forty different ethnic minorities live—also has a relatively strong Christian population because it is where the China Inland Mission and other missions groups have planted churches since before 1949.<sup>10</sup>

Understanding the situation of the major cities is important because of their leading role in the country and rapid urbanization.

**Beijing (municipality, population: 13.5 million).** Beijing is China's capital city. According to Table 12, Christians only comprise 4.4 percent of the population. There are just eight TSPM churches, with numerous small home-meeting points. The number of House church members grew from 150,000 in 1998 to 500,000 by 2000. A number of intellectuals have come into the house churches since the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. One-fourth of the population (which is about four million people)

---

<sup>9</sup>David Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity Is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2003), 179.

<sup>10</sup>Tony Lambert, *China's Christian Millions: The Costly Revival* (London: Mill Hill, 1999), 241.

consists of work-seeking migrants. Three million of these migrants are illegal and poor. This situation has led to an increase in the number of street children.<sup>11</sup>

Wang Mingdao powerfully ministered and strongly opposed the TSPM in Beijing. More and more intellectuals attend the open churches, including students from China's top universities, such as Beijing and Qinghua. Numerous small Bible-study groups meet on and off campus. Foreign missionaries in Beijing generally work with university students. Christian intellectuals in this city are very important for developing national house church leadership. There are some foreigners' churches, which are allowed to meet in hotels, but the Chinese are strictly forbidden to attend. These churches support missionary work among the Chinese people.

**Chongqing (municipality, population: thirty million).** Chongqing was created as China's newest municipality in 1997 to promote economic development in central China, particularly the teeming Sichuan province. Chongqing is now the most populous Chinese city, but its actual urban area is much smaller than either Shanghai or Beijing. The size of the municipality, which comprises rural counties and other large cities, is nearly that of England.<sup>12</sup> Chongqing has few Christians. The spiritual need is growing as rapid social changes occur. Planting urban house churches and providing appropriate leadership are the municipality's most urgent requirements. The ministry in Chongqing could be a model for central China's other cities.

---

<sup>11</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 168.

<sup>12</sup>Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, 208-09.



**Shanghai (municipality, population: 14.2 million).** Shanghai, China's largest city, has been a center for international commerce since the nineteenth century. Western traders and missionaries were expelled from Shanghai during the Communist Revolution in the early 1950s. The city once again is booming and catching up with Hong Kong's splendor because of the government's Economic Liberation Policy.

Shanghai had been the base for numerous churches, denominations, and missions before 1950. There were more than two hundred church buildings. During the Communist Revolution, most churches were closed or amalgamated under the TSPM, but some Christians continued to gather together secretly in their homes. The TSPM churches reopened, and house meetings became more open after Mao Zedong's death in 1976. Today, it is said that there are twenty-seven TSPM churches and more than eighty registered meeting points in Shanghai. There is a large network of small house churches, estimated at between three thousand and twenty thousand. Approximately one thousand of them were forcibly closed in a 1999 crackdown.<sup>13</sup> There are not enough Christian churches to serve Shanghai's vast Christian community, which is estimated to number more than 1.4 million people. As many as three million poor, rural work seekers from all over China have rushed into the city. Factory workers and marginal people are spiritually hungry for the gospel. Some foreign missionaries strategically work with them. Many other missionaries have worked with Chinese intellectuals in Shanghai. Due to their efforts, most Shanghai universities now have small Bible-study groups for both students and staff on or off campus. Shanghai is strategically the most important city for

---

<sup>13</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 177.

Chinese house church leadership development.<sup>14</sup>

**Tianjin (municipality, population: 9.5 million).** Tianjin, a large northern port city that serves Beijing, is tightly controlled. The Christian church has not experienced any great growth. Small underground house churches do exist. The Roman Catholic population is relatively strong.<sup>15</sup> This municipality is also strategically important because of its huge population and proximity to Beijing.

**Hong Kong (SAR<sup>16</sup>, population: seven million).** The British ruled Hong Kong between 1842 and 1997. It rapidly grew to become one of the world's richest cities: the eighth-largest economy in world industry and finance and a transit center for trade between China and the world. Its economy began to slow down after China's 1997 takeover, even though the Chinese Communist government guaranteed the maintenance of existing political and economic systems for fifty years.<sup>17</sup>

The Christian community makes up 10 percent of Hong Kong's current population. Church growth, which was rapid in the 1960s, slowed for decades because of emigration (19 percent of the Christians) and secularization (a high drop-out rate among young adults). Three-fourths of all older church leaders left the city by 1997. Consequently, a church-leadership crisis occurred and remains. Hong Kong has been a center of Christian education, missions, and church-leadership training. There are fifteen

---

<sup>14</sup>Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, 234-35.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 238-39.

<sup>16</sup>Special administrative region

<sup>17</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 181.

Bible colleges and several key seminaries, such as the Alliance Seminary, Baptist Theological Seminary, and China Graduate School of Theology. Hong Kong is still strategically a very important base due to its vital role in connecting world Christians and Christians in the seventy-million Chinese Diaspora with mainland China's Christians. Hong Kong and neighboring cities—such as Shen Zhen<sup>18</sup>, Guangzhou<sup>19</sup>, and Macao<sup>20</sup>—became a kind of huge economic zone with some degree of economic and political freedom. The cities currently attract millions of people from mainland China and the world. These cities can serve as Chinese house church leaders' formal leadership-training bases.

### **Relationship with the TSPM Church**

The Communist government instituted the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) in 1951, under the Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB), to control the Protestant churches. It has functioned as a liaison between the government and the church. The movement's leaders were theologically liberal Christians and Communist Party members. After the Cultural Revolution, the TSPM was reconstructed in 1979 to control the growth of Christianity, especially the burgeoning house church movement. The

---

<sup>18</sup>Shen Zhen, a special economic zone, has quickly developed near Hong Kong. The city has about four million people and more than twenty thousand foreign factories. Millions of Chinese people have rushed into the city to find jobs.

<sup>19</sup>Historically, Guangzhou has been a rich, commercial port city. Its population numbers approximately 6.7 million.

<sup>20</sup>Macao is a special administrative region like Hong Kong. The Portuguese colonized the city, which reverted to China in 1999. The city's dominant industries are now gambling and tourism. Many mission agencies have their bases in Macao as well as in Hong Kong because of a high degree of political autonomy. Its population is relatively small (450,000 people).

China Christian Council (CCC) was formed in 1980 to establish twin-governmental organizations for controlling the Protestant churches. The Chinese government has pressured the house churches to register and join the TSPM.

The TSPM church has also grown rapidly along with the house church's miraculous increase. The government downplays the TSPM church's dramatic growth. According to *Operation China*, there were one thousand open church buildings in 1983. Seven thousand churches and twenty thousand official meeting points in 1988 became thirteen thousand churches and 35,000 meeting points by 1997. Six churches are being registered daily. About 500,000 baptisms occur annually in TSPM churches. It is estimated that there were seventeen million adult members in 1997. TSPM churches are relatively strong in urban areas and the northeastern provinces.

The relationship between TSPM churches and house churches is generally summarized as "hatred," although this varies from province-to-province. House churches condemn the TSPM church as "a betrayer" or "a synagogue of Satan" because it abandoned Jesus Christ's Lordship to follow the atheistic government's orders. The jealous TSPM churches accuse the popular house churches of being "a thief of sheep." TSPM churches sometimes report house churches' existence to the authorities in some regions so that the house churches will be suppressed.

The largest group of house church leaders issued a United Appeal to the government and the world in 1998. They declared that the house church represents mainstream Chinese Christianity, and that the TSPM church is just a branch with serious theological deviations. The house church leaders clarified the reasons why they do not join the TSPM. Most house church leaders regard separating themselves from the TSPM

churches as essential for a spiritual Church's survival. Since 1989, some house church leaders, however, have surrendered to the intensified pressures to register. *Operation World* says that approximately 30 percent of Protestant Christians were linked with TSPM churches in 1995. The report estimates that this figure had probably risen to 40 percent in 2000. Increasing numbers of evangelical Christians have a relationship with TSPM churches and overlapping church attendance. On the other hand, there is a steady transition to house churches by new converts who are disappointed with the TSPM churches' spiritual barrenness and compromise.

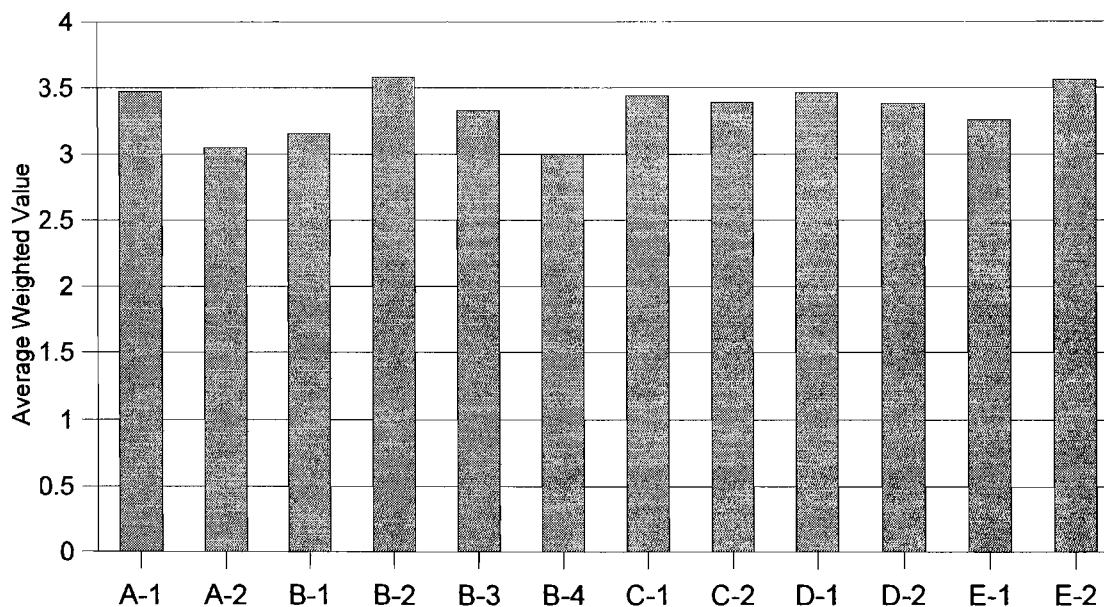


Figure 10. Opinions concerning "Relationship with the TSPM Church"

Legend: A-1 = Chinese house church leaders; A-2 = Missionaries and intellectuals; B-1= Henan province; B-2 = Shandong province; B-3 = Guangdong province; B-4 = Hunan province; C-1 = Rural area; C-2 = Urban area; D-1 = Male; D-2 = Female; E-1 = Older generation; E-2 = Younger generation

According to the previous analysis, both Chinese house church leaders and foreigners categorized “relationship with the TSPM Church” as high in importance, or second and third, respectively. Figure 10 illustrates that Chinese house church leaders consider the factor to be more significant than do foreign missionaries and overseas intellectuals. It also reveals the younger generation house church leaders’ higher interest than that of their counterparts. The result indicates the issue’s growing importance for the future of the Chinese church. When missionaries try to work for the Chinese church, they must consider the situation concerning the relationship between house churches and the TSPM, which differs from province-to-province. When outsiders become involved in Chinese house church leadership training, they must decide how to guide prospective leaders, whether toward more separation—for purity—or to cooperation—for unity. Wise consideration of this relationship issue is crucial in developing an effective house church leadership-training strategy.

### **Cultural and Historical Factors**

While previous chapters extensively covered Chinese church history, focusing on the Chinese church’s growth, this chapter offers a short summary and survey findings. The Chinese people take strong pride in their nation’s long history and splendid culture. China, which has a history of more than four thousand years, was always one nation. Chinese culture has developed with relatively little outside influence, but its own influence has been worldwide. Even other peoples, such as the Manchurians and Mongolians, were absorbed into the advanced Chinese culture when they invaded the country. The Chinese people consider themselves as those who live in “the center of the world.” Their emperor was “the son of heaven.” Outsiders were called “barbarians.”

This national pride has been the main cause of strong nationalism whenever the country met with outsiders' interference throughout its history. The Opium War and the unequal treaties imposed by Western imperial countries in the nineteenth century humiliated the Chinese people and evoked a huge tide of nationalism in modern China. Anti-foreign and anti-Christian movements swept the nation for a century. The Chinese people, who viewed Chinese Christians as advocates of Western imperialism, attacked them along with Western missionaries. Some Chinese churches severed their relationship with foreign missions and started the Independent Church Movement and Indigenous Church Movement in response to this sentiment.

The Communist Revolution in 1949 was a product of Chinese nationalism to save the country from foreigners and national chaos. The Communist government expelled foreign missionaries and started the Three-Self Patriotic Movement to control the Protestant churches. The TSPM church and the house church are also products of Chinese nationalism. Both reject any foreign interference, although they want foreigners' help, especially in the areas of finances and resources. This double psychology is one of the Chinese culture's characteristics. The Communist government's United Front policy was derived from this philosophy. The Chinese society has strong anti-Western and anti-Christian sentiments, but it welcomes Westerners—even Christians—to come to China. The Chinese people of today are hiding their hatred of Westerners (especially of Americans) in order to catch up with them. Importing Western denominationalism will stimulate unhappy memories and destroy the Chinese churches' independence.

Chinese people respect the elderly and the educated due to Confucian

influence. They are reluctant to learn from a younger, less-educated leader. To be a leader, a person's status must be superior to his or her followers. Chinese people, who are trained to endure difficulty, have a great spiritual hunger for God's Word. As a result, sermons or teachings at meetings must last at least two hours. It takes much longer to develop friendships or leadership with Chinese people, compared with other ethnic peoples.

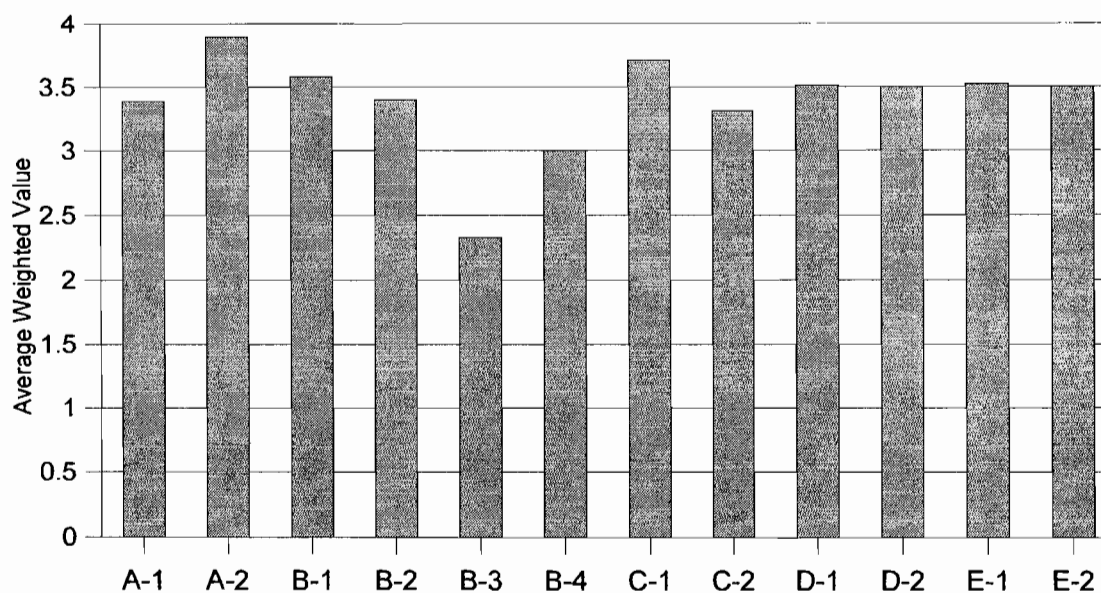


Figure 11. Opinions concerning “Cultural and Historical Factors”

Legend: A-1 = Chinese house church leaders; A-2 = Missionaries and intellectuals; B-1 = Henan province; B-2 = Shandong province; B-3 = Guangdong province; B-4 = Hunan province; C-1 = Rural area; C-2 = Urban area; D-1 = Male; D-2 = Female; E-1 = Older generation; E-2 = Younger generation

The majority of Chinese people still think of Christianity as a foreign religion, although most Chinese house churches are indigenized. Younger generation house church leaders may feel that way. Removing Christianity's foreign image is vital for



developing house church leadership. Chinese-historical, cultural, and philosophical elements should be intensified for theological curriculums to satisfy students' nationalistic sentiment.

Figure 11 reveals that foreign missionaries and intellectuals regard this factor to be more critical than do Chinese house church leaders. Foreigners ranked the factor first, while Chinese house church leaders classified it as third. This makes sense because foreigners usually have a strong interest in their host country's culture and history. This interest is desirable when outsiders develop Chinese house church leadership-training strategies. There are no generational and gender differences. The provincial difference is great. The researcher assumes that the closer the province is to the nation's heart (northeast China), the more interest there is in history and culture. Rural regions are more sensitive to cultural and historical factors than are urban areas. The figure also shows younger generation house church leaders have a higher interest than their counterparts.

### **Chinese Intellectuals**

The 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre made Chinese intellectuals discredit the Communist Party's leadership. Significant numbers of urban intellectuals have turned their interest to Christianity since then in order to fill a spiritual vacuum in their hearts. A growing number of university students attend open churches or small—often secret—Bible study groups in cities. About three million students are enrolled in more than one thousand universities in China.<sup>21</sup> Besides students, increasing numbers of elite

---

<sup>21</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 165.

persons—such as businessmen, scholars, actors, Communist Party members, and army officers—are becoming Christians. They risk their higher status in order to find the truth. They are doubtlessly essential assets for urban house church leadership.<sup>22</sup>

Since the “Open Door Policy” of the late 1970s, Chinese students have poured into such regions of the Western world as the United States, Canada, and England. Christians in these countries understand the significance of their role in the future of the Chinese church and make every effort to evangelize. About half of all Chinese students and scholars who are studying in the United States—estimated to number as many as fifteen thousand—attend church at least once during their stay in America. Many have become Christians as a result.<sup>23</sup>

Overseas Chinese intellectuals who become Christians will have a strong influence on their nation. Overseas church leadership training is very effective for them, because they can have more freedom, facilities, resources, and teachers than in China. The Chinese house churches are suffering from a lack of well-educated leadership. Overseas Chinese Christian students can be trained as future Chinese house church leaders, especially for urban areas. Numerous overseas Chinese Christian intellectuals choose to remain in their host countries. Some are working overseas for the Chinese people’s conversion to Christianity more successfully than in China.

**Yuan Zhiming and video projects.** Yuan Zhiming was a Beijing University doctoral candidate when he produced *The Yellow River Eulogy*, a daring six-part documentary that Beijing’s Central Television aired in China during the Spring of 1988.

---

<sup>22</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 8-11.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.,10.

The documentary's theme was that China's historical greatness "had hindered China from access to the great progress and discoveries taking place in other parts of the world, especially in the West."<sup>24</sup> Yuan argued that China must engage the outside world (particularly with the West) more openly and confidently. While students, intellectuals, and many others welcomed it, the Communist government was outraged. Yuan was accused of being an inciter of the Tiananmen Square student protest in 1989 and listed as one of China's most-wanted criminals. But he finally escaped to the United States.

Yuan encountered a group of devout Chinese Christians at Princeton University, to which many Chinese intellectuals flocked. He became a Christian in 1990 and studied Christianity at the Reformed Theological Seminary during the 1990s. Yuan pondered the questions that many Chinese Christians keep asking, such as, "Why do the Chinese experience so much suffering?" and, "If God is also the God of the Chinese, why has He ignored the Chinese for so long?" In response, he wrote a book titled *China's Confession: God and Five Thousand Years of China* in 1997, and converted it into a video series similar to the *The Yellow River Eulogy* in 2000. Yuan Zhiming, Xie Wenjie, and other Chinese intellectuals founded a nonprofit organization—called China Soul for Christ Foundation (CSFC)—for Christian video production and distribution in 2001. It started to release the video series, with both Chinese and English subtitles, to the world.

The foundation launched its second major video project, titled *The Cross: Jesus in China*, in 2001 to document Chinese church history during the past fifty years under communist persecution. Xie Wenjie, a Taiwanese immigrant to America, traveled

---

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 245.

to China more than ten times with his staff over a three-year period to complete the project. *The Cross* consists of seven episodes of testimonies, songs, and explanations, using real footage from China to tell the Chinese people that Christianity is related to their own culture and is not a Western religion. Astonishingly, project creators shot footage of several hundred underground churches and Bible-training schools and interviewed almost all the top house church leaders, such as Allen Yuan, Moses Xie, Samuel Lamb, Xu Yongze, and Zhang Rongliang. *The Cross* shows how the Holy Spirit has worked in China. It is “Acts” in modern China. Several versions of *The Cross* now are finished and being released worldwide.<sup>25</sup>

Video projects like *China’s Confession* and *The Cross* are quite influential for Chinese, both overseas and mainland. The videos are penetrating China as VCD (a different form of DVD that is popular in China) forms with Yuan’s sermon tapes. An increasing number of Chinese people are viewing the videos. Chinese Christians testify that numerous individuals have become Christians after watching the documentaries.<sup>26</sup> The documentaries also impress world Christians, have come to comprehend the Chinese house church’s situation more clearly. They are becoming eager supporters of Chinese house churches.

**Student political dissidents.** Some Chinese student leaders of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protest managed to escape to the United States. Many of them became Christians. Some are ministers. Zhang Boli—a former student dissident and now

---

<sup>25</sup>China Soul for Christ Foundation, *The Cross: Jesus in China: A Video Project by the China Soul for Christ Foundation*, 1-8 [on-line]; accessed 13 December 2004; available from <http://www.chinasoul.com/e/news/proposal.htm>; Internet.

<sup>26</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 247-49.

pastor of two Chinese churches in the Washington, D.C., area— estimates that about 20 percent of all overseas Chinese students may now have become Christians. Yan Xiong—one of the student representatives who met Li Peng shortly before the June 4, 1989, crackdown—is now preparing to become a U.S. Army chaplain. Several other Tiananmen protest leaders also became Christians.<sup>27</sup> They have strongly influenced overseas Chinese students.

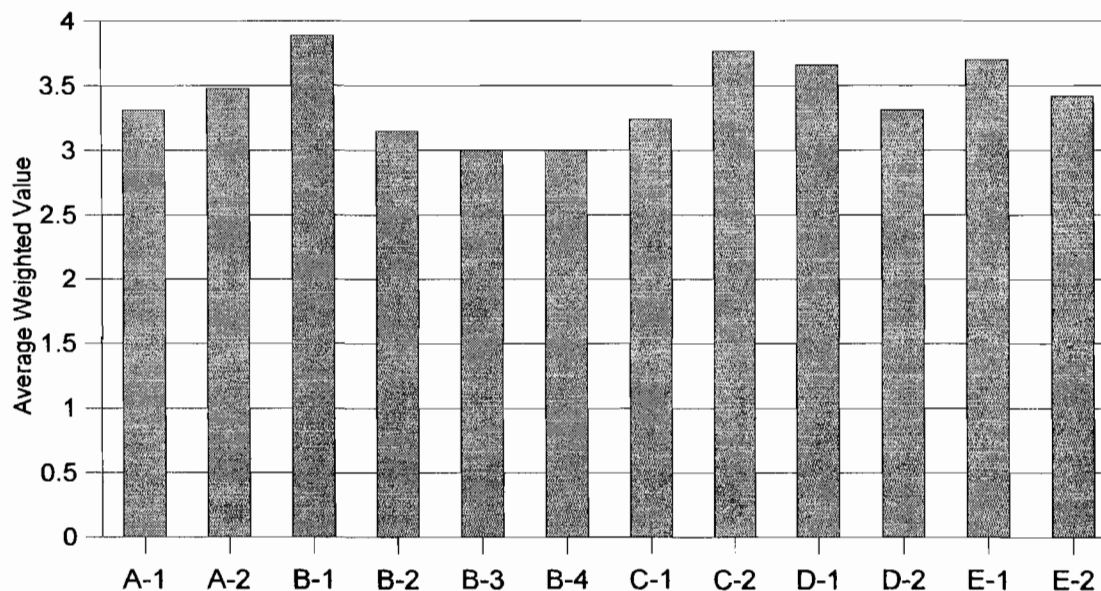


Figure 12. Opinions concerning “Chinese Intellectuals”

Legend: A-1 = Chinese house church leaders; A-2 = Missionaries and intellectuals; B-1= Henan province; B-2 = Shandong province; B-3 = Guangdong province; B-4 = Hunan province; C-1 = Rural area; C-2 = Urban area; D-1 = Male; D-2 = Female; E-1 = Older generation; E-2 = Younger generation

Both foreigners and Chinese house church leaders ranked this factor as fourth.

The two groups have high expectations for overseas Chinese intellectuals to be an

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.,10-11.

essential part of future house church leadership. Chart 15, on the next page, reveals that the evaluations of foreign, urban, male, and old-generation leaders are higher than those of their counterparts. The groups' maturity or ability to predict the future would help explain this result. The Henan house church leaders' evaluation is much higher than that of the other provinces. Henan-province leaders are at the forefront of the house church movement. The Henan leaders have higher expectations of overseas Chinese intellectuals than do the others because they probably are more interested in the future of the Chinese house church.

### **Political Factors**

The Chinese Communist government has been anti-foreign and anti-Christian since its establishment in 1949. The Communist Party connects Christianity with Western imperialism. The regime's efforts to break the Chinese church's ties with the West and to place it under the party's control brought about the emergence of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, in response to which the underground house church movement was started. After Mao Zedong's death in 1976, China began to adopt more moderate policies under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. His Open Door Policy welcomed Westerners to help save and reconstruct China from its prolonged turmoil. Deng Xiaoping's basic ideology was still communistic, although his methodology for China's reformation was very different from that of Mao Zedong. His goal was constructing a Communist society through China's modernization. Economic development was the top priority of Deng's New China. Social stability and foreigners' investments were crucial for economic growth. The People's Liberation Army cruelly crushed the 1989 Tiananmen student protest despite the world's criticism. The government's religious

policy was maintaining the balance between religious freedom and loyalty to the country through the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. The government's persecution intensified as the house church movement rapidly grew. Deng's successors, such as Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, followed this policy. For social stability, the Chinese government still ruthlessly represses any political protest. There was a cruel crackdown during 1998-2001 on the Falungong meditation practitioners, for example. Local governmental officials still persecute the unregistered house church Christians.<sup>28</sup>

According to the analysis of the sixteenth Communist Party Congress in 2002, there will be no major changes in the direction of economic development and in religious policy under political stability until the next congress in 2007. The party will continue to drive the nation toward modernization and economic development, especially in China's western regions. There will not be any significant structural political reform because social stability must take priority over everything else. The party instead will try to transform itself from a "revolutionary party" into a "ruling party." The government will not allow any general democratic elections or the emergence of competing parties. The congress broadened the party's constituencies to add capitalists, scientists/intellectuals, and entrepreneurs to the earlier proletariat, such as workers and farmers.<sup>29</sup>

China's religious policy will not significantly change in the near future.

Facing the 2007 WTO entry and 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics, the Chinese government does not tolerate any kind of religious activity outside its control. The 2008

---

<sup>28</sup>Jonathan Chao and Susanna Chen, "The 16<sup>th</sup> Party Congress: Its Influence on China's Future and Missions," *China Ministry Report* 154 (January-March 2003), sec. 1-2 [journal on-line]; accessed 17 September 2004; available from <http://www.cmi.org.tw.english/cmr154.htm>; Internet.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, sec. 2.

Beijing Olympics will present a great opportunity for introducing Christianity to the Chinese people for both Chinese Christians and overseas Christian visitors. On the other hand, there will be more governmental regulation during the Olympic period. There might be “cult campaigns” before and after the Olympics, and house churches may be affected by the persecution. Religious toleration is given in the framework of the TSPM. House church activities are considered as legal violations, which result in persecution. The Chinese government defines house church activities as “cultic activities.” If overseas religious or human right groups oppose the religious persecution, the Chinese government will reply, “This is not a matter of religious freedom but a legal matter.” Overseas efforts to assist house churches will also be categorized as “illegal activities.” Deportation or imprisonment will result.

Figure 13 shows that foreign missionaries and intellectuals consider this factor to be more significant than do Chinese house church leaders. In the previous section’s analysis, foreigners ranked the factor as second, while Chinese house church leaders classified it as fifth. Chinese house church leaders do not consider political factors, like pressure to register and persecution, as hindering church growth like the foreigners do. They do not pray to change China’s Communistic regime. They accept the current leadership as God’s providence. They pray for the Chinese government’s understanding and approval. The house church leaders also are nationalistic and willing to contribute to the nation’s reconstruction. They want their government to know that Christianity is not a threat, but an element of the country’s modernization. There is a significant difference between the genders, while there are no generational differences. It is interesting that female house church leaders are more sensitive regarding political



factors than are their male counterparts. The fact that leaders from urban areas are more concerned about political matters than are rural leaders is understandable.

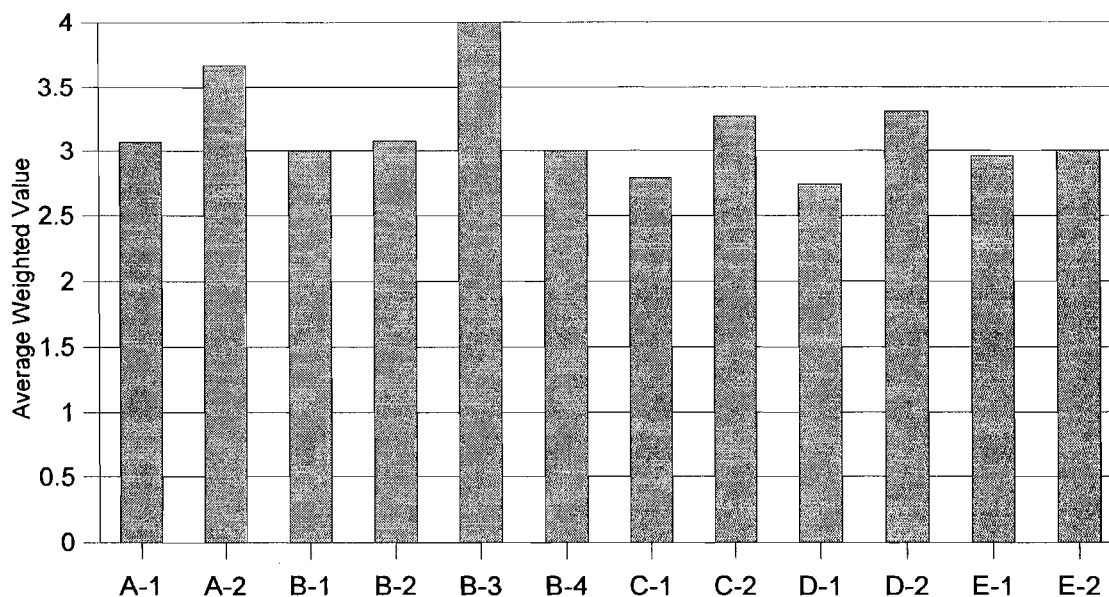


Figure 13. Opinions concerning “Political Factors”

Legend: A-1 = Chinese house church leaders; A-2 = Missionaries and intellectuals; B-1= Henan province; B-2 = Shandong province; B-3 = Guangdong province; B-4 = Hunan province; C-1 = Rural area; C-2 = Urban area; D-1 = Male; D-2 = Female; E-1 = Older generation; E-2 = Younger generation

Uniquely, Guangdong-province house church leaders evaluate political issues more highly than do the others. The researcher assumes that one of the reasons is the fact that house churches in the province were experiencing severe persecution from local officials. Additionally, world-renowned house church leader Samuel Lamb (Lin Xiangao), who was imprisoned for twenty years because of his faith and released in 1978, openly ministers in a big house church in Guangzhou despite continuous pressure to register with the TSPM.

## **Influence of Four Leaders**

Four indigenous Chinese church leaders—Wang Mingdao, John Sung, David Yang, and Watchman Nee—had a great influence on the house church movement. The anti-foreign and anti-Christian movement swept the country during the first half of the twentieth century. Chinese Christians sought to indigenize their churches in response to this trend. These four spiritual giants, who were all contemporaries in age, led the way to an indigenized Chinese church during Chinese history's decisive decades. All of them endured hardship for their churches for a long time at the hands of the Japanese or Communists. Their powerful preaching and sacrificial lives prompted church revivals wherever they visited. This chapter summarizes their influence on the house church movement, while previous chapters covered their ministries. Their influence still remains in the house church movement—in the fields of theology, church organization, and worship practices.

**Wang Mingdao (1900-1991).** Wang Mingdao was a renowned Chinese revivalist and contemporary model of suffering and triumph. His powerful preaching was based on conservative evangelicalism, which emphasizes people's thorough repentance, faith, and regenerated life before baptism. Numerous Chinese people became Christians through Wang's revival meetings and the ministry at The Christian Tabernacle in Beijing. His uncompromising spirit caused him to suffer first at the hands of the Japanese invaders and to be imprisoned later for more than two decades by the Communist regime. Wang's fight against TSPM leader Ding Guangxun is famous. His faithfulness and final victory have given courage to Chinese house church Christians to endure decades of hardship under Communist rule. Wang's evangelical teaching

significantly influenced the shaping of a major evangelical group among Chinese house church Christians.

**John Sung (1901-1944).** John Sung (Song Shanjie) was a powerful Chinese evangelist. His fearless preaching was also conservative evangelical, like that of Wang Mingdao, and emphasized thorough repentance. Sung preached to more than 400,000 people with the Bethel Evangelistic Band. It is said that more than 18,000 individuals were converted through his preaching. He extended his evangelistic ministry to Southeast Asia. Numerous Christians in China and Southeast Asia attribute their conversion to John Sung's preaching.<sup>30</sup> His converts also contributed to shaping an evangelical group among Chinese house church Christians. Sung's fearless preaching style and itinerant evangelism became one of the Chinese house church characteristics.

**David Yang (1898-1966).** David Yang (Yang Shaotang) was a prominent pastor and educator. His famous evangelistic ministry, known as the Spiritual Action Team, encompassed numerous churches scattered throughout China. Unlike other indigenous Chinese church leaders, he acknowledged the missionaries' contributions to China. Yang worked with China Inland Mission leaders as well as with John Sung to establish indigenous Chinese churches. Wang Mingdao invited him to preach at his church in Beijing. Yang also served later as a seminary professor in Shanghai as well as pastor of a church in Nanjing. Soon he gained nationwide influence by conducting many

---

<sup>30</sup>Samuel Ling, "Sung, John (1901-44)," in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, ed. A. Scott Moreau (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 918.

conferences.<sup>31</sup> Yang additionally influenced the formation of an evangelical group among Chinese house church Christians through preaching, publishing, and education.<sup>32</sup>

Yang made a great contribution to the Chinese church in the area of indigenous-leadership training. He emphasized four basic requirements for leadership training: (1) life commitment, (2) doctrinal firmness, (3) spiritual gifts, and (4) ethical integrity.<sup>33</sup> These requirements remain as strong elements of Chinese house church leadership training. Yang experienced a deep fellowship with other indigenous Chinese leaders and with foreign missionaries. His cooperative attitude is a good model for Chinese house church unity.

**Watchman Nee (1903-1972).** Watchman Nee (Nee Tosheng) was a talented preacher, revivalist, theologian, and author. His preaching tours and prolific writings influenced the Chinese church-revival movement. Nee's publications, such as *The Spiritual Man* and *The Normal Christian Life*, have had a worldwide impact. Watchman Nee's theology has been controversial. His theology of salvation had three dimensions in order: first of spirit when a person is born-again, next of soul through sanctification, and last of body through resurrection. He insisted on one church per location (localism), the central role of the Lord's supper in worship, lay leadership, and anti-denominationalism. He was imprisoned in 1952 and died in 1972. His writings and sacrificial life for the

---

<sup>31</sup>Peace Kim, *A History of the Chinese Church* (Seoul: Morrison, 2003), 223-27.

<sup>32</sup>Samuel Mau-Cheng Lee, "A Comparative Study of Leadership Selection Processes among Four Chinese Leaders" (D.Miss. Diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1985), 29-36.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*

indigenous Chinese church influenced house church Christians on mainland China and a number of Christians outside China. Now Nee's followers—known as Little Flock or Assembly Hall—form one of the three major house church groups. Watchman Nee's controversial theology has significantly affected on the house church beliefs and practices because the majority of top house church leaders are his disciples.<sup>34</sup>

The four abovementioned indigenous Chinese leaders shared the following characteristics. (1) They separated their churches or organizations from Western missions, even though they were strongly influenced by Western missionaries. (2) They established their own independent church organizations. (3) They possessed strong spiritual authority and preaching talents even though they did not receive any formal theological education. (4) Although they revealed some theological weaknesses, their sermons and teachings were indigenized and unique from one another.<sup>35</sup> It is crucial to consider the four indigenous Chinese leaders' legacies in developing Chinese house church leadership-training strategies.

Figure 14 indicates that foreign missionaries and intellectuals consider the four leaders' influence to be just slightly more important than do Chinese house church leaders. Foreigners ranked the factor as seventh, while Chinese house church leaders classified it as sixth. Most respondents do not seem to have much knowledge about the four indigenous leaders except for those in Guangdong province. This probably shows that there has not been enough teaching regarding their legacy in the house churches, although the Chinese house churches stand on it. Foreign missionaries and intellectuals

---

<sup>34</sup>Samuel Ling, "Nee, Watchman (Ni Tuo-sheng) (1903-72)," in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, 672.

<sup>35</sup>Kim, *A History of the Chinese Church*, 229.

also may not have much understanding of the four leaders due to lack of publications concerning their legacy. Guangdong-province house church leaders mark this factor to be the most important one because Samuel Lamb's influence is very strong in Guangdong province.

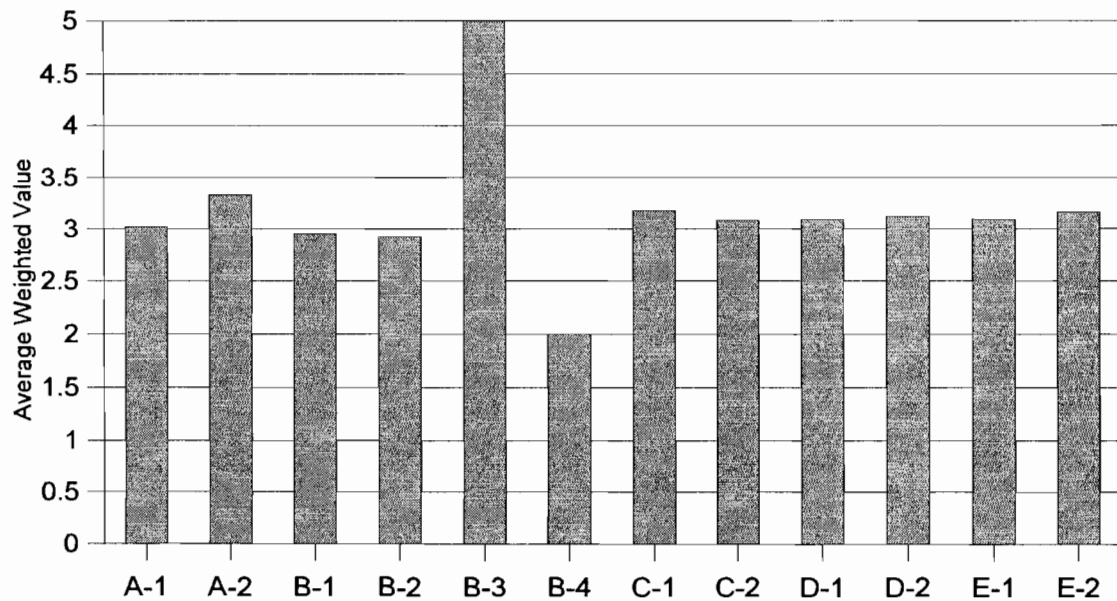


Figure 14. Opinions concerning “Influence of Four Leaders”

Legend: A-1 = Chinese house church leaders; A-2 = Missionaries and intellectuals; B-1= Henan province; B-2 = Shandong province; B-3 = Guangdong province; B-4 = Hunan province; C-1 = Rural area; C-2 = Urban area; D-1 = Male; D-2 = Female; E-1 = Older generation; E-2 = Younger generation

**Samuel Lamb.** Samuel Lamb (Lin Xiangao), who is in his 80s, is a Chinese house church leaders well-known all over China and to foreign visitors. He was born in Macao as the son of a Baptist pastor. Lamb attained a high level of English fluency while he studied in Hong Kong during his youth. Lamb, who was arrested with Wang Mingdao, suffered in prison and labor camps for more than twenty years. Lamb started a

house church in Guangzhou when he was released in 1978. His fame spread throughout China and the world as his church rapidly grew to become a three-thousand-member one. Lamb has never surrendered to the government's pressure to join the TSPM. The authorities could not openly persecute him or his church because of his worldwide fame.<sup>36</sup>

Lamb's Damazhan Church became a model Chinese house church, which foreigners publicly can visit. Countless foreigners, such as diplomats and journalists, has come by the church. For instance, an official from United States' President Ronald Reagan visited the church to present a presidential gift (a pen) in 1986. Evangelist Billy Graham also dropped by to encourage Lamb in 1988.<sup>37</sup> Lamb's fluent English and prolific writings have enabled him to become a world-renowned leader, compared with other house church leaders with similar testimonies—such as Allen Yuan, Moses Xie in Beijing, and Li Tianen in Shanghai.

Lamb's theology is strongly evangelical because of Wang Mingdao's influence on him. His faithful testimony and evangelical teachings—with particular emphasis on the Lord's Second Coming based on premillennialism and Christian suffering—have affected numerous Chinese house church leaders, especially the ones in Guangdong province. Lamb's teaching pamphlets have been circulated widely among Chinese house church leaders.

When this researcher met Samuel Lamb in 2004, he acknowledged the four leaders' significant influence on the Chinese house church movement. House church

---

<sup>36</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 61-65.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

leaders in Guangdong province—under this outstanding leader’s direct or indirect influence—probably feel the same way. A young, female house church leader in Hunan province does not acknowledge the four indigenous leaders’ importance. One reason could be that she has limited knowledge of their legacy because she became a Christian just several years ago. The fact that Hunan province has been outside of their influence could be another reason. Obtaining an overall understanding of the four leaders’ influence on the house church movement is crucial in developing Chinese house church leadership-training strategies.

### **Korean People’s Role**

Jonathan Chao says that Korean churches will play an essential role in China’s great harvest.<sup>38</sup> Because of this conviction, he has recruited and trained Korean missionaries in a branch of China Ministries International<sup>39</sup> in Korea for Chinese missions. According to the report of the Korea Research Institute for Missions (KRIM), 781 Korean missionaries were working in China in 2000.<sup>40</sup> It is said that this number jumped to more than one thousand by 2004. Korean missionaries have experienced many trials and errors since they entered China. As soon as China’s doors opened to foreigners, Korean missionaries—most of whom were not trained—rushed into China’s

---

<sup>38</sup>Sungjoo Park, “Missions to China in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” *From the Region of Sinim* (July/August 2004): 1 (in Korean).

<sup>39</sup>Jonathan founded China Ministries International to assist Chinese house churches. It now has branches in several countries, such as the United States, England, Canada, Australia, the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Korea, as well as the headquarters in Taiwan.

<sup>40</sup>Steve S. C. Moon, “The Recent Korean Missionary Movement: A Record of Growth, and More Growth Needed,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 27 (January 2003): 12.



northeastern provinces, such as Jilin, Liaoning, and Heilongjiang. The first targeted people were twenty thousand Korean Diaspora, who have lived there for a century, because they could be taught in the Korean language. Some Korean missionaries tried to shelter North Korean escapees that numbered more than one-hundred thousand people in spite of the Chinese government's interference. They shared the gospel with North Korean escapees. Converted North Korean escapees often return to share the gospel with their families, risking their lives. This has become a delicate diplomatic and human rights issue between China and North Korea as well as between China and South Korea. The Chinese government has intensified the punishment for anyone who harbors North Korean escapees, despite the world's criticism. Other Korean missionaries tried to help Chinese churches with the Korean Chinese people's interpretation. Their partners have usually been the TSPM churches. Now, many Korean missionaries are coming to central China, which is at the heart of the mission field, because they have enough language skills and experience to target Han Chinese people.

According to Steve Moon, Korean missions are passing through a transitional period at the beginning of the twenty-first century: (1) from quantity to quantity with quality; (2) from imitation to innovation; (3) from competition to cooperation; and (4) from noninterference to systematic care.<sup>41</sup> The researcher agrees with his argument. Other transitional directions of Korean missionary work are observed as follows: (1) from northeastern provinces to central and southern provinces, (2) from Korean Chinese to Han Chinese, (3) from TSPM churches to house churches, and (4) from church planting to leadership training.

---

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 12-14.

Korean missions have the following merits for Chinese missions.

**Increasing missionary numbers.** Korean missionary numbers have rapidly increased throughout the world since the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics. The goal of having ten thousand missionaries by 2000 was almost achieved. The total number of overseas Korean missionaries rapidly increased from 1,645 in 1990 to twelve thousand in 2004, while Korean churches have experienced stagnated church growth since the 1990s. The Korean church currently sends more missionaries than any other country except for the United States. The Korean church's missionary vision has grown quickly and matured. There are more than 160 Korean and international agencies (sometimes both) in Korea. Missionary mobilization still has momentum, and many missionary training centers have been built fast for cross-cultural missions maturity. Missions preparation and orientation have developed rapidly. The number of missionaries has increased at a greater rate in China than in other countries.<sup>42</sup>

**Enthusiasm and dynamism.** Korean missionaries have fearless enthusiasm, which sometimes causes trouble, but is a very valuable asset for Chinese missions. Missionaries in China must work in a hostile environment because the Chinese government does not allow any missionaries to enter the country. Dynamic, breakthrough-producing missionary work is impossible without such enthusiasm. The Korean missionaries' fearless spirit should not be discouraged despite the trouble it can cause. Korean churches also possess such enthusiasm toward Chinese missions. Most churches, which consider Chinese missions as God's calling for the Korean church, are

---

<sup>42</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 387-89.

willing to support missionaries. How this enthusiasm can be used for effective missionary work is the challenge to be met.

**Cultural similarity.** Korea and China have similar cultures. Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and shamanism have affected both cultures. Koreans use Chinese characters with Korean pronunciation as well as Korean. Educated Koreans understand many Chinese characters' meaning. Their people resemble one another. The Chinese people did not recognize the researcher as a foreigner, even though I was speaking Korean while I traveled in China. They seemed to consider Korean to be one of the dialects that they do not understand. This cultural similarity is beneficial for assisting house churches. For security reasons, Chinese house church leaders prefer Korean missionaries' help, as opposed to that of Western missionaries. It is easier for Korean missionaries to adapt to China's culture than to those of other countries. Koreans learn Chinese Mandarin more easily and thoroughly because they already know many Chinese characters. Chinese Christians have experienced persecution under Japanese and communist rule, while Korean Christians have undergone similar persecution during the same time period. Thus, Korean Christians can understand the Chinese Christians' suffering. Korean church growth encourages them. The gospel that Korean missionaries are sharing helps to remove Christianity's foreignness from the Chinese people's minds. Fortunately, the Chinese historically favor Korean people, while they dislike the Japanese and Americans. The recent Korean fever (Korean culture boom) in China has helped Korean missionaries to reach the Chinese people.

**Geographic proximity.** Korea has geographic proximity to China. A scale of cooperation between Korea and China in many fields is becoming more significant as the Chinese economy grows. There are more and more Korean businessmen and students in China. Numerous Korean factories already have moved to China. Koreans establish churches wherever they go. There is at least one Korean church in nearly every major Chinese city, including Beijing, Shanghai, Shen Zhen, Hong Kong, and Guangzhou. The presence of Korean churches and Christians in key cities helps Korean missionaries to adopt the cities and work effectively, even though Chinese people cannot attend those churches. Korean students have poured into China's best universities ever since the 1990s. Many of them are Christians who attend Korean churches in the cities. They are sharing the gospel with Chinese students and inviting them to secret Bible-study groups. Korean-owned factories hiring countless Chinese workers can be strategic mission fields for spreading the gospel throughout China. Factory workers are usually young people who have left their hometowns to find jobs. The impact will be enormous if they are trained as church planters or house church leaders. Because people still do not understand Mandarin in many regions, they must be reached with their own dialects. Learning Mandarin is already a heavy burden for foreign missionaries. Factory workers can reach individuals in such areas. Some Korean Christians devote themselves to establishing private schools, orphanages, or medical centers to reach children and young people who are forbidden to hear the gospel.

Korea can be a good place for formal seminary training in the field of house church leadership. Geographic proximity will save both time and money. Cultural similarities will help with adjustment issues. There are approximately 280 theological

institutions in Korea.<sup>43</sup> They possess a willingness to assist Chinese house churches with scholarships. There are numerous mission-minded Christians and churches, to which Chinese church leaders can be connected for help. The Korean church's spirituality and system are more appropriate than are those of the Western world.

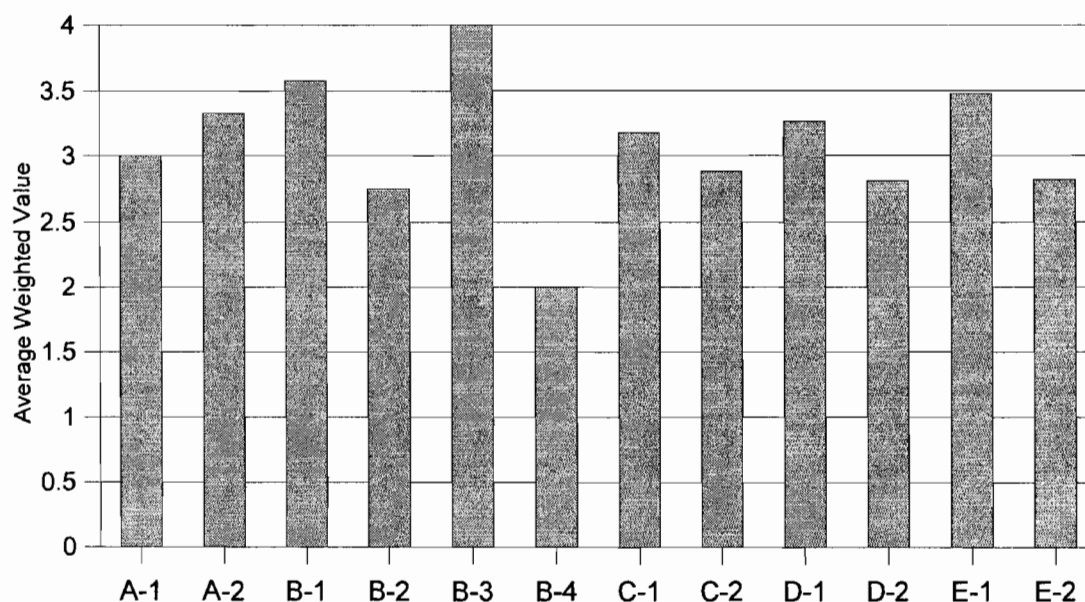


Figure 15. Opinions concerning “Korean People’s Role”

Legend: A-1 = Chinese house church leaders; A-2 = Missionaries and intellectuals; B-1= Henan province; B-2 = Shandong province; B-3 = Guangdong province; B-4 = Hunan province; C-1 = Rural area; C-2 = Urban area; D-1 = Male; D-2 = Female; E-1 = Older generation; E-2 = Younger generation

Figure 15 reveals that foreign missionaries and intellectuals regard the role of the Korean people to be somewhat more important than do Chinese house church leaders. Foreigners ranked the factor as sixth, while Chinese house church leaders

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 388.

classified it as seventh. Male, older generation, and rural leaders are more sensitive than are their counterparts. This result probably relates to maturity for discerning its importance. There are large provincial differences. Provinces where Korean missionaries are more active and visible, such as Guangdong and Henan, earn higher values. Korean missionary activities in Shandong are rapidly being increased along with Qingdao city's development. Hunan province is one of the most unreached areas by any kind of missionary activity.

As the Chinese house church's "Back-to-Jerusalem" vision was introduced to the Korean church, it began to recognize the Chinese church as a world-missions partner. The Korean church's abundant well-educated human resources and their enthusiasm are God-prepared assets for Chinese missions. Cooperation with the Korean people is one of the essential factors for developing an effective leadership-training strategy in the Chinese church.

### **Groups in the House Church**

**Three major groups.** Chinese house churches can be divided into three groups (sects) according to their theological characteristics.<sup>44</sup> One is the evangelicals. They are usually the people who such revivalists as John Sung and Wang Mingdao influenced during the first half of the twentieth century. Their ministry is relatively focused on Bible teaching, and their theology is biblically sound. Evangelical house church groups have been developed in mostly urban areas throughout China. There is a group of individuals who Wang Mingdao influenced in Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, and

---

<sup>44</sup>Tony Lambert, "Counting Christians in China: A Cautionary Report," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 2003): 8.

Hebei province. Allen Yuan and Moses Xie, in Beijing, are their prominent leaders. There is another group under the influence of Li Tianen in Shanghai, and in Henan, Anhui, Jiangsu, and Shandong provinces. There is also a group of people who have been influenced by Samuel Lamb around Guangzhou, in Guangdong province. The Independent Church Movement has influenced a group in Wenzhou, Zhejiang province. Yet another group has separated itself from the TSPM churches in the cities. These evangelicals are the largest group in the Chinese house church movement, probably comprising more than one-third of all the house church Christians.<sup>45</sup>

Another group is made up of Watchman Nee's followers, who are called the Little Flock, Assembly Hall, or Local Church. According to *Operation World*, their number encompasses twenty million, including members and affiliates. They have a very strong influence on the house church movement, because most top-ranked house church leaders belong to this group. They take strong pride in the legacy of their founder, Watchman Nee. Little Flock churches thus have exclusive and historically strong anti-denominational sentiments. This group claims some controversial doctrines on salvation, the church, the Lord's supper, and the Holy Spirit. Their exclusive nature and deviation from biblical doctrines have made foreign missionaries reluctant to fellowship with them.

The other group is classified in the category of charismatics, or the *Ling-En* Sect. Dennis Balcombe—an American missionary to China, who had been influenced by the charismatic movement—introduced charismatic teachings to Fangcheng Fellowship, one of the largest house church networks in Henan during the latter half of the 1980s.

---

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

Zhang Rongliang and Ding Hei, the Fangcheng Fellowship's top leaders, first eagerly embraced Balcombe's teachings as their group's essentials. Their group meetings emphasized spiritual gifts—such as speaking in tongues, prophecy, divine healing, and exorcism—baptism in the Holy Spirit, and a Pentecostal worship style. Along with the Fangcheng Fellowship, other large house church networks—like the Tanghe Fellowship (China Gospel Fellowship), Wenzhou, and two Anhui networks—accepted the teachings. The result was that more than one-third of the Chinese house church Christians became charismatics within a decade of Balcombe's first teaching. This charismatic character was rapidly added to the existing characteristics of the Chinese house churches, causing more confusion and division. The charismatic group's influence has been strong in rural areas, such as Henan, Anhui, and Zhejiang provinces, which are the house church movement centers. Charismatic teachings are spreading to other parts of the country.<sup>46</sup>

Other groups—like the True Jesus, Baptists, and Lutherans—exist in China as minor groups.<sup>47</sup> Understanding them and dealing with each one separately are crucial for developing effective house church leadership-training strategies.

**Born-Again Movement.** The Born-Again Movement (the Word of Life Movement, *Chongsheng-Pai*, the Full Scope Church, or the Weepers) emerged as one of the largest house church groups in the 1980s under the leadership of Xu Yongze (Peter Xu). Some observers say that this group has four-to-eight million members, while

---

<sup>46</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 74-86.

<sup>47</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 160; Lambert, "Counting Christians in China," 8.



*Operation China* reports twenty-three million, including affiliates.<sup>48</sup> The movement emphasized a born-again experience and a repentant, moral lifestyle along with evangelism. It urged followers to engage in spiritual retreats to thoroughly repent of their sins. At such retreats, controversially, weeping was encouraged as evidence of the Holy Spirit's work in their lives. Consequently, the group began to be called "the Weepers." Even though many house church leaders—such as Zhang Rongliang and Brother Yun—respect Xu for his heroic fighting against governmental persecution, some house church leaders like Samuel Lamb define the Born-Again Movement as a cult because of its erroneous salvation doctrine.<sup>49</sup> Xu recently succeeded in escaping from China to Germany. He continues to spread his influence to Chinese Diaspora and world Christians. Xu's followers have managed the Chinese movement since his escape from China.

**Marginal groups.** Isolation, lack of Bible knowledge, immature leadership, and the rural believers' low educational level have opened the way for many marginal groups in the Chinese house church movement. These groups are spreading over much of China. The marginal groups constitute about 5 percent of the house church Christian population in such areas as Henan province. Most of them, like the "Shouters," are legalistic, syncretistic, or mystical.<sup>50</sup> There are also some extreme groups, like "Eastern Lightning."

One of Watchman Nee's disciples—Witness Lee (Li Changshou)—started the

---

<sup>48</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 160.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 86-89.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 164.

“Shouters” group, which is also known as the Local Church. Nee sent Lee to Taiwan, in 1949, for overseas ministry because of the coming Communist government’s persecution. Nee was arrested in 1955 and remained in prison until his death in 1972. Meanwhile, the Little Flock grew to be a large overseas Christian group under Witness Lee’s leadership. In 1962, Lee moved to California. He has made his group a worldwide movement with 250,000 members.<sup>51</sup> Some have questioned the group’s teaching on the Trinity and the church.<sup>52</sup>

A strange quasi-Christian cult, called “Eastern Lightening”—which appeared in 1989 or 1990 in Henan province—has targeted house church leaders since the mid-1990s. Cult adherents claim that the latest Jesus incarnation appeared as a Chinese woman in Henan province. This fanatic group kidnapped thirty-four top house church leaders of the Tanghe Fellowship (China Gospel Fellowship) in April 2000. They were beaten, water-drugged, and sexually seduced for as long as two months. The group’s purpose was destroying the house churches’ top leadership. Some leaders failed to resist the threat and temptation due to their drugged, weakened physical situation. It is said that this group took over 80 percent of an Inner Mongolian house church group. These incidents have alerted house church leaders to protect their congregations.<sup>53</sup>

Figure 16 does not offer any significant insight except that foreigners are more interested in house church groups than are Chinese house church leaders. Understanding various groups in the house church movement is a crucial element for strategic

---

<sup>51</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 237-38.

<sup>52</sup>Paul W. Carden, “Confronting Cults on World Mission Fields,” *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 36 (April 2000): 188-89.

<sup>53</sup>Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 239-44.

leadership-training planning.

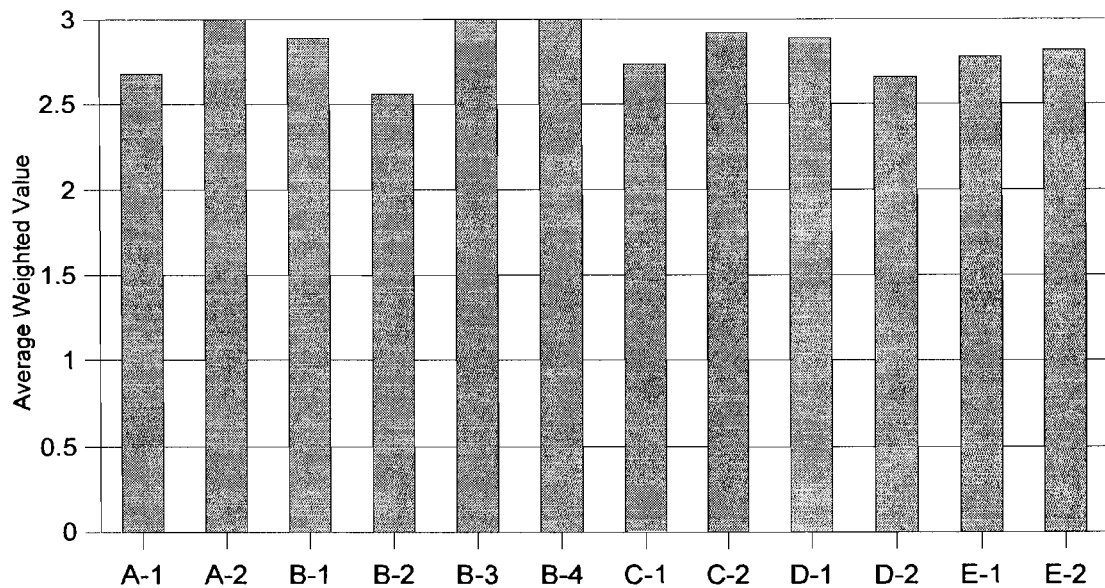


Figure 16. Opinions concerning “Groups in the House Church”

Legend: A-1 = Chinese house church leaders; A-2 = Missionaries and intellectuals; B-1 = Henan province; B-2 = Shandong province; B-3 = Guangdong province; B-4 = Hunan province; C-1 = Rural area; C-2 = Urban area; D-1 = Male; D-2 = Female; E-1 = Older generation; E-2 = Younger generation

### Women in Church Leadership

A significant number of women hold Chinese house church leadership positions, unlike it is in other countries’ Christian churches.<sup>54</sup> It is said that 80 percent of house church Christians and 70 percent of itinerant evangelists are women. Increasing numbers of women—who, in some seminaries, comprise more than half of the trainees—are being groomed as prospective house church leaders, while most top leaders

<sup>54</sup>Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 164.

of house church groups still are male.

Traditionally, the women's status in Chinese society has been much lower than that of men because of the gender ideology of Confucius. The Communist regime under the leadership of Mao Zedong, however, liberated women from housework to mobilize them for national construction. Chinese women have often been found in the leadership of every field in society since then. Because the house church meets in a home—where a woman's influence is strong—can be an explanation for the female leadership of Chinese house churches.

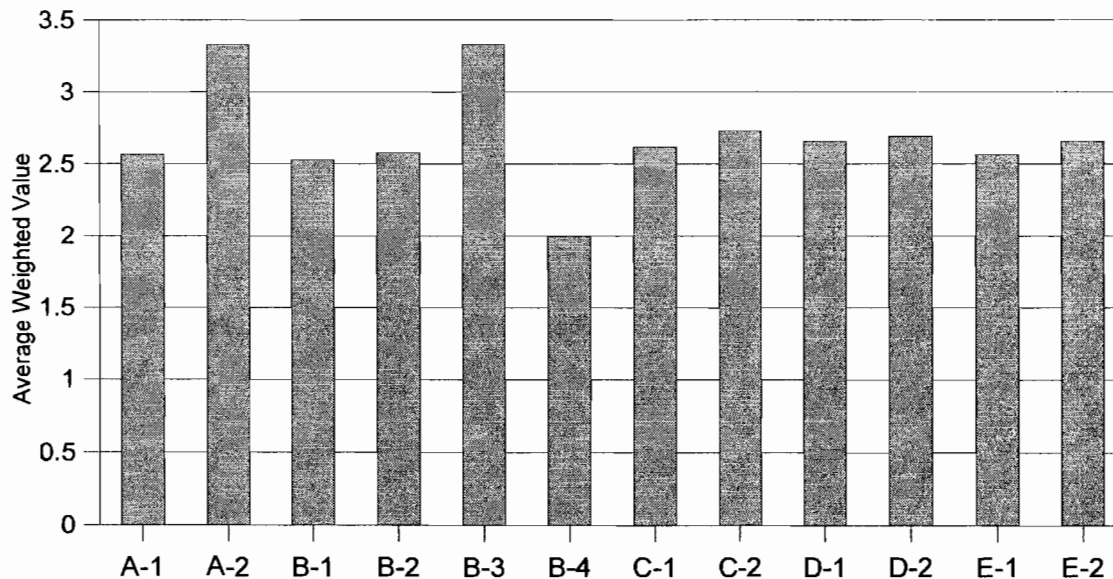


Figure 17. Opinions concerning “Women in Church Leadership”

Legend: A-1 = Chinese house church leaders; A-2 = Missionaries and intellectuals; B-1 = Henan province; B-2 = Shandong province; B-3 = Guangdong province; B-4 = Hunan province; C-1 = Rural area; C-2 = Urban area; D-1 = Male; D-2 = Female; E-1 = Older generation; E-2 = Younger generation

The fact that the majority of house church Christians are women could be another reason for the phenomenon. This situation makes Western missionaries—

particularly those from conservative theological backgrounds—uncomfortable, working in cooperation with female leaders as their partners. This trend will be intensified in the future. A theological consideration of women’s leadership must be made when a Chinese house church leadership-training strategy is developed.

Figure 17 reveals that foreign missionaries and intellectuals regard this “female leadership in the house church” issue to be more important than do Chinese house church leaders. The foreigners rank the factor as fifth, while Chinese leaders classify it as ninth. It is more correct to say that Chinese people generally do not feel there is any problem with female church leadership. The reason that Guangdong province leaders evaluate this issue as much higher than do the other provinces might be strong Western influences in the province due to its proximity to Hong Kong.

### **Effect of the “One-Child Policy”**

The government designed the “One-Child Policy” as a draconian means of reducing China’s huge population growth. It disregards human rights issues and has produced tragic social consequences, such as widespread divorce, ten million abortions a year (nearly all girls), female infanticide, and female-baby abandonment . All these problems are related to the Chinese people’s preference for sons. Consequently, young men outnumber young women by 30 percent to 40 percent in some areas. There already were ninety million marriageable, unmarried men in 2000. This significant gender unbalance has caused fast-growing rates of rape, abduction, female slavery, incest, prostitution, AIDS, and suicide. Rural people, who cannot be satisfied with only one child, bear more than one. A number of children are not registered to avoid heavy fines. If there is just one child in a family, that child usually is pampered, particularly in the

case of a son. This generation tends to be selfish and unskilled in interpersonal relationships.<sup>55</sup>

Children and young people who are under 18 years of age number more than five-hundred million. There are three million university students. Most of this generation has not had any religious education because Chinese law does not allow the young people to attend any religious organization. Atheistic teaching brainwashes them. Both the Chinese TSPM and house churches lack experience and materials for working with these young people. There are also about one million young students who study abroad. These young people are the key element for the Chinese church's future.

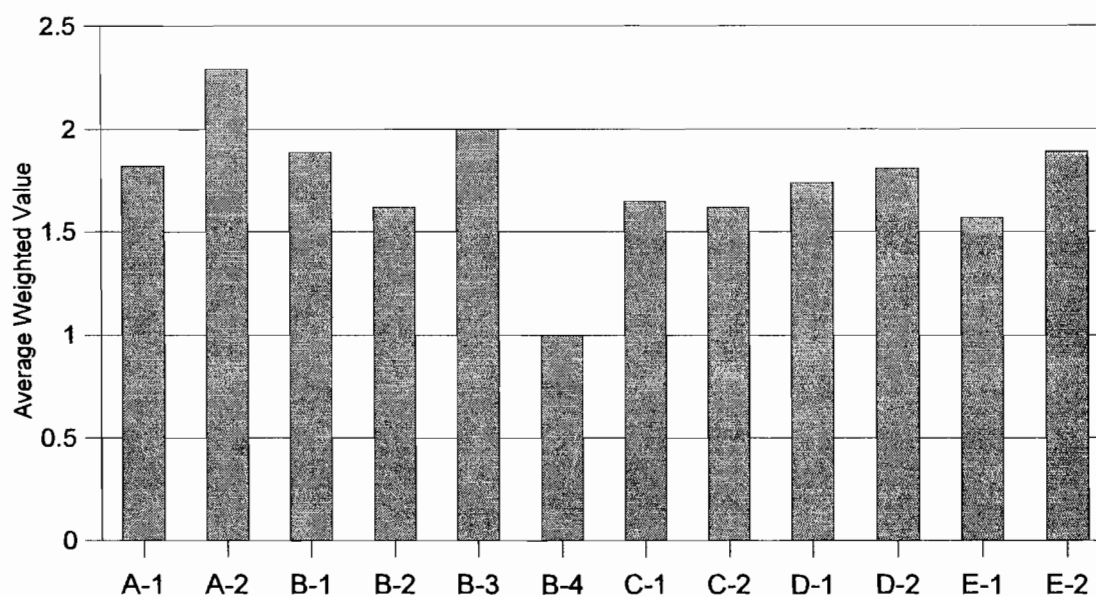


Figure 18. Opinions concerning “Effect of the ‘One-Child Policy’”

Legend: A-1 = Chinese house church leaders; A-2 = Missionaries and intellectuals; B-1= Henan province; B-2 = Shandong province; B-3 = Guangdong province; B-4 = Hunan province; C-1 = Rural area; C-2 = Urban area; D-1 = Male; D-2 = Female; E-1 = Older generation; E-2 = Younger generation

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 162.

When these young people are trained to be house church leaders in the future, they might have the same difficulties as their fellows despite their faith in Christ. There might be many single, male church leaders in the future because of the serious gender unbalance. There must be strong Christian teaching about sexual conduct. This generation might not sacrifice themselves for the church as did the older generation. A very careful strategy should be developed for effective leadership training.

Figure 18 shows that foreign missionaries and intellectuals regard this “One-Child Policy” issue as more important than do Chinese house church leaders, although both groups rank the factor as tenth—the lowest. The younger generation feels more sensitive concerning this issue than does the older generation. Provincial differences cannot be explained.

### **Suggested Models**

Wise appreciation of the abovementioned ten factors will be crucial in developing effective Chinese house church leadership-training strategies. Considering those factors, the researcher recommends the following Chinese house church leadership-training methodologies.

#### **Providing Annotated Bibles**

Mass Bible production in China enables house church leaders to own at least a Bible, but they cannot interpret it properly without any commentaries, dictionaries, or literature. Furnishing such books to every house church leader is not a simple task. Supplying annotated Bibles, however, can reduce time and money with somewhat the same effect. House churches cannot gather together for worship or Bible study whenever

the Chinese government prohibits any kinds of meetings of more than twenty people because of some national-security concerns. Chinese house church Christians can study the Bible themselves, in their own homes, if they have annotated Bibles. This prevents heretical teachings in Chinese house churches.

Annotated Bibles in Mandarin recently began to enter China, mainly through Hong Kong, because Chinese house church leaders are eagerly asking for them. They already know about the annotated Bible's effectiveness. A growing number of people carry this kind of Bible in their suitcases when they travel into China. In addition, governmental authorities are aware of possible impact on Chinese people as well as on Chinese Christians. They thus are dealing with this issue much more harshly than they are with the issue of regular Bible smuggling. The government fears that Christian teachings on human rights or freedom would affect the Chinese people. This annotated Bible will help solve teaching-material famine in Chinese house churches, especially with regard to leadership training.

### **Leadership Training through Radio**

Christian radio has been very successful for Chinese pre-evangelism and Christian teaching. Now almost every home has a radio, which offers an inexpensive and convenient environment for listening to its programs. Systematic-theological education by means of radio can be regarded as an effective tool for reaching every region of China. Listening at a fixed time is an obstacle to systematic teaching, which the act of frequent rebroadcasting can solve. After finishing the education under the current restricted environment, it is difficult to verify the listeners' qualifications to be church leaders. FEBC and TWR have had a great effect on the Chinese church's



growth.<sup>56</sup> A radio broadcasting network reserved for Chinese church leadership training is needed. Because theological education must be broadcast in numerous Chinese dialects for rural house church leaders. Many more broadcasting hours are needed.

### **Leadership Training through Books, Tapes, VCD, or DVD**

An efficient way to assist the Chinese church is providing a package of books—such as Bible-study tools, commentaries, and major theological books. Another effective systematic-theological-education method is to producing and distributing cassette tapes, VCDs, and DVDs containing religious teachings on various subjects and in different dialects (primarily in Mandarin). Stephen Tong's videotapes and audiotapes are already making an impact on the Chinese church. Video projects for theological education—like Yuan Zhiming's *The Cross*—will be powerful tools, especially for the younger generation. Almost every home in China has a television set, and VCD players and computers are rapidly becoming popular.<sup>57</sup> There were an estimated ten million Internet users by 2000. VCDs and DVDs are easy to convey to China. Their effectiveness will be enormous, although production costs a huge amount of money. Videos can also be spread by utilizing the Internet.

### **Opening Small Shops, Clinics, Factories, or Schools**

China wants foreign business investments, particularly if they involve setting up a factory that can employ many Chinese workers. The country wants to solve its huge

---

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 167.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 166.

national unemployment problem with foreigners' assistance. To enhance foreigners' investments, the Chinese government gives foreign investors some degree of freedom that can be used for evangelizing Chinese workers. The nation welcomes medical, educational, and social projects, like establishing a private school or a medical clinic for poor villages. Social projects involve drilling wells, running orphanages, conducting disaster-relief work, etc. These services help change the negative impressions of Christianity people have learned from their anti-Christian textbooks. Christian business people can also nurture Christian ethics, or provide new converts in their offices with discipleship training. Opening small shops, factories, clinics, business offices, or schools offer excellent Chinese house church leadership-training bases.

These are some examples of possible ways to help Chinese house churches in training their leadership besides formal or informal theological instruction inside or outside China. More innovative methods can be developed in conjunction with the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics.

### **Conclusion**

The Chinese church—consisting of both TSPM and house churches—has rapidly grown to make China the world's largest Christian country, with almost one-hundred million believers. The Christian population, however, comprises just 7 percent to 8 percent of the nation's total population. China remains the biggest mission field in human history. The Chinese church still needs outsiders' assistance even though it does not want too much interference from outsiders, which could cause dependence or division. Historically, the Chinese people have had a strong anti-foreign sentiment—sometimes because of their pride, sometimes because of their humiliation. In

the modern era, this was demonstrated as the anti-Christian movement due to Western imperialism. The appearance of the Communist regime was a product of Chinese nationalism in overcoming national chaos, which foreign interference had caused.. In the Communist regime, Christianity has embedded an image of the Western invaders' religion. This image remains strong in the Chinese people's mind, especially in the intellectuals' mind.

More and more Chinese intellectuals have become interested in Christianity, though, since the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. Many leading overseas Chinese intellectuals, such as Yuan Zhiming and Xie Wenjie in America, have contributed to removing Christianity's foreignness from the Chinese people's mind. Chinese people are still receptive to the gospel. Jonathan Chao estimates that this openness might last another five to ten years. Then, Chinese missions' golden opportunity will be significantly lessened because of the people's rapid secularization along with the nation's economic development, even though China's doors might be more open politically while facing the 2008 Beijing Olympics. The Chinese church's future will significantly depend on leadership training.

As this dissertation's conclusion, the fifth chapter explores the ten factors that should be considered for developing Chinese house church leadership-training strategies, particularly concerning outsiders. They are as follows: (1) economic and geographic factors, (2) relationship with the TSPM church, (3) cultural and historical factors, (4) Chinese intellectuals, (5) political factors, (6) influence of four leaders, (7) Korean people's role, (8) groups in the house church, (9) women in church leadership, and (10) effect of the "One-Child Policy." The factors are related to one another, although the

researcher covered each one of them separately. Considering these factors can prevent or reduce the errors that may be caused by the strategy developers' ignorance in selecting a certain house church group, choosing a proper method, and establishing curriculum. The researcher hopes that this dissertation may contribute to the Chinese house church's growth and the realization of the "Back-to-Jerusalem" vision.

APPENDIX 1  
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES

Billy Graham School of Missions, Evangelism and Church Growth  
2825 Lexington Rd.  
Louisville, KY 40280

Dear

Greetings in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ!

I am a doctoral student at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky. In order to collect data for my dissertation, I would like to ask your participation in this study.

The purpose of this study is to develop effective strategies to meet the urgent need of the Chinese house church leadership training. My thesis is that when outsiders, like Western missionaries, develop strategies for the Chinese house church, many factors should be considered. I suggested ten factors. This survey is to confirm my assumptions.

Please be sure that all responses will be held in strict confidence and that no individual will be identified in any way in the publication of results.

Sincerely Yours,

Jong Keol Yoo



4. Are there any differences of the situation among areas, such as coastal rich cities (Hong Kong, Shanghai, Shen Zhen, etc.), central urban areas (cities), and rural areas?

If yes, what are they?

5. What is the influence of Chinese indigenous four leaders, who are John Sung, David Yang, Watchman Nee, and Wang Mingdao?

6. How many major groups in the Chinese house church? What are they? What are their characteristics?

Ex) Little Flocks, Evangelicals, Charismatics, Jesus Family, etc.

7. What is the relationship between the house church and the TSPM church?

8. What is women's status in the Chinese house church? Are there many women in the leadership positions?

9. What do you think of the future of the house church?

10. In your opinion, what are the major factors that should be considered in developing an effective leadership-training strategy?

11. In your opinion, what is the most important role of the Western missions in developing an effective leadership-training strategy?

12. What do you think will be the impact of 2008 Beijing Olympic Games on the Chinese house church?

**Please circle where you fit under.**

\* Age: ( 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61-70 71-80 81-90 )

\* Gender: ( Male Female )

\* Ethnicity: ( Mainland Chinese Hong Kong Chinese Chinese American  
Chinese Overseas Taiwanese Korean Westerner Japanese )

\* Education: ( Under High School High School College  
Beyond College Doctorate )

\* Church Location: ( Coastal City Central Urban Area Rural Area )

\* Church Position: ( Pastor Elder or Deacon Evangelist Missionary Other )



## APPENDIX 2

### SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES (IN CHINESE)

在主耶稣基督里问候,

我是肯塔基州路城市南方浸信会神学院的博士生。为了收集博士论文数据,需要您的参与。

本论文的目的在于符合中国家庭教会现状而培养领导,并建立有效的战略。本论文主要谈论了当外界人士(比如西方传教士)训练中国家庭教会领导的时候必需得考虑的因素。我提出了一共十个因素,此调查是要证实我的假设。

保证所有的答复严格保密,其发表结果在任何的途径绝不包含个人信息。

此致敬礼。

柳雅各

## 调查问题

1. 你认为什么是当前中国教会最急迫的需要？

2. 你认为训练家庭教会领导的现状是如何？

3. 在建立有效的中国家庭教会领导人训练战略过程中，你认为那些是西方传教士要考虑的最重要因素？（在每个因素之前，请填以下括号里的数字）

（ 5 . 非常重要    4 . 很重要    3 . 重要    2 . 一般    1 . 无相关 ）

\_\_\_\_\_ 文化和历史因素 （中国是历史悠久的国家，所以中国人的民族自尊心强。很多人认为基督教是西方的宗教，甚至误认为是中国殖民化的拥护者）

\_\_\_\_\_ 政治因素（中国共产党只接受马克思主义）

\_\_\_\_\_ 经济和地区因素（比如沿海发达城市，西部未开发地区）

\_\_\_\_\_ 四名中国教会领袖的影响（比如宋尚节 [John Sung], Yang Shao-tang [David Yang], 倪柝声 [Watchman Nee], 王明道 [Wang Ming-dao]）

\_\_\_\_\_ 中国家庭教会的不同派别（比如福音派，小群派，灵恩派）

\_\_\_\_\_ 家庭教会和三自教会之间的关系（互相不信任关系）

\_\_\_\_\_ 女人在中国家庭教会领导人中的地位

\_\_\_\_\_ 计划生育（只生一个）孩子政策的影响

\_\_\_\_\_ 国内外的中国知识阶层

\_\_\_\_\_ 韩国传教士的作用 ( 比西方传教士更容易接近中国信徒 )

4. 不同地区的家庭教会状况有什么区别? ( 比如说沿海发达城市, 内地城市, 农村地区 ) 如果有, 是什么?
  
5. 谁是比如宋尚节 [John Sung], Yang Shao-tang [David Yang], 倪拆声 [Watchman Nee], 王明道 [Wang Ming-dao]? 请说明他们对中国教会的影响。
  
6. 中国家庭教会有几大派别? 请讲出它们的名字。它们都有什么特点? ( 比如福音派, 小群派, 灵恩派, 耶稣家庭 )
  
7. 你认为家庭教会和三自教会之间的关系如何?
  
8. 现今中国家庭教会中, 女人的地位是什么? 在领导阶层中女人所占用的比例是多还是少?

9. 你认为中国家庭教会的未来会是怎么样？

10. 你认为要训练中国家庭教会领导人，应该要考虑的最重要因素是什么？

11. 你认为训练中国家庭教会领导人过程中，西方传教士所起的作用是什么？

12. 你认为 2008 年北京奥运会对中国家庭教会能带来什么影响？

.....  
 年龄 ( 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61-70 71-80 81-90 )

性别 ( 男 女 )

所属 ( 中国大陆 香港地区 在美华人 国外华人 [除美国]  
 台湾地区 韩国 西方人 日本人 )

教育程度 ( 高中以下 高中 大学 大学以上 博士 )

教会所在地 ( 沿海城市 内地城市 农村地区 )

教会职分 ( 牧师 长老或执事 福音传教士[evangelist]  
 传教士[missionary] 其他 )

### APPENDIX 3

#### SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES (IN KOREAN)

Billy Graham School of Missions, Evangelism and Church Growth  
2825 Lexington Rd.  
Louisville, KY 40280, U.S.A.

귀하

예수 그리스도의 이름으로 문안드립니다.

저는 미국 켄터키주 루이빌시에 있는 남침례신학교에서 박사과정에 공부하고 있는 학생입니다. 저의 박사 논문을 위한 정보를 모으기 위하여 귀하의 도움을 요청하고 싶습니다.

이 논문의 목적은 중국에 있는 가정교회가 긴급히 필요로 하고 있는 교회지도자 양성을 위한 효과적인 전략개발을 위한 것입니다. 제 논문의 강조점은 서양 선교사들 같은 아웃사이더들이 중국의 가정교회를 위한 전략을 수립하려고 할 때 많은 요소들이 고려되어야 한다는 것입니다. 저는 10가지를 제안했습니다. 이 연구를 통해서 저의 제안을 확인해보고자 합니다.

모든 주어진 결과는 철저한 비밀이 보장될 것이며, 이 논문이 출판될 때에 개인정보는 어떠한 형태로든 노출되지 않을 것입니다.

주 안에서 승리를 빌며

유종걸 올림

## 설문 조사 내용

1. 중국의 가정교회가 가장 긴급하게 필요로 하는 것은 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

2. 중국의 가정교회의 지도자 양성에 대한 현재 상황이 어떻다고 생각하십니까?

3. 당신의 의견으로는 서방의 선교회가 중국의 가정교회를 위하여 효과적인 지도자양성 전략을 수립코자 할 때 무엇이 가장 중요한 요소들이라고 생각하십니까?

( 5: 극히 중요하다, 4: 매우 중요하다, 3: 중요하다, 2: 중요하지 않다, 1: 관계없다)

\_\_\_\_\_ 역사와 문화적 요소

\_\_\_\_\_ 정치적 요소

\_\_\_\_\_ 경제와 지역적 요소

\_\_\_\_\_ 중국교회의 토착화를 가져온 네 지도자의 영향: 존송 (John Sung), 양샤오탕 (David Yang), 워치만니 (Watchman Nee), 왕명도 (Wang Ming-dao)

\_\_\_\_\_ 중국의 가정교회 안에 있는 분파그룹

\_\_\_\_\_ 가정교회와 삼자교회와의 관계

\_\_\_\_\_ 중국 가정교회 내의 여성 지도자들

\_\_\_\_\_ “한 자녀 낳기 정책”의 영향

\_\_\_\_\_ 중국 본토와 해외에 있는 중국의 인텔리들

\_\_\_\_\_ 중국선교를 위해서 증대되고 있는 한국 사람들의 역할

4. 지역별로 상황에 차이가 있다고 보십니까? 예를 들어 해안의 개발된 부유한 도시들 (홍콩, 심천, 상해 등)과 본토 내륙의 큰 도시들과 농촌지역 사이에 . . .

만약에 있다고 생각하시면, 그 차이는 무엇인지요?

5. 중국교회의 토착화를 가져온 네 지도자( 존송, 양샤오통, 워치만니, 왕명도)들의 영향은 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

6. 중국의 가정교회 내에 얼마나 많은 주요 그룹들이 있다고 생각하십니까? 그 그룹들은 무엇입니까? 그 그룹들의 특성은 무엇입니까?

7. 가정교회와 삼자교회의 관계는 어떠하다고 생각하십니까?

8. 중국의 가정교회에서 여성의 지위는 어떠합니까?  
교회의 지도자 위치에 여성들이 많이 있습니까?

9. 가정교회의 미래에 대해서 어떻게 생각하십니까?

10. 당신의 의견에는 중국의 가정교회를 위한 지도자양성 전략 수립을 위하여 어떠한 주요 요소들이 고려되어야 한다고 보십니까?

11. 당신의 의견에는 서방 선교회들이 중국의 가정교회 지도자 양성을 위하여 전략개발을 할 때 무엇이 가장 중요한 역할이라고 생각하십니까?

12. 2008년 북경올림픽이 중국의 가정교회에 미치는 영향은 무엇일 것이라고 생각하십니까?

해당되는 곳에 ○표 해 주십시오.

\* 연령: ( 21-30      31-40      41-50      51-60      61-70      71-80      81-90 )

\* 성별: ( 남자      여자 )

\* 국적: ( 한국인      미국에 사는 한국인      중국에 사는 한국인      홍콩에 사는 한국인 )

\* 교육정도: ( 고등학교 이하      고등학교      대학      대학원      박사이상 )

\* 교회의 위치:

\* 교회의 직분: ( 목사      장로나 집사      전도사      선교사      기타 )



APPENDIX 4

TABLES AND FIGURES FOR THE GROUPING A ANALYSIS

Table A1. Profile of respondent grouping A-1  
(Chinese house church leaders)

Age	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51+
	3	51	5	15	2
Gender	Male	Female			
	40	36			
Ethnicity	Chinese	Hong Kong	Taiwanese	Koreans	Westerners
	75	1	0	0	0
Education	Under High School	High School	College	Beyond College	Doctorate
	38	35	2	1	
Church Location	Coastal City	Central Urban Area	Rural Area		
	11	24	41		

Note: Total respondents = 76; Unit = number of people

Table A2. Survey results of respondent grouping A-1  
(Chinese house church leaders)

<i>What are the most important factors in developing leadership-training strategies for the house church?</i>	extremely important (value: 5)	very important (value: 4)	important (value: 3)	less important (value: 2)	not related (value: 1)
Cultural and Historical Factors	17	22	15	18	4
Political Factors	10	18	21	22	5
Economic and Geographic Factors	14	30	21	22	3
Influence of Four Leaders	14	17	14	19	12
Groups in the House Church	3	16	21	26	10
Relationship with the TSPM Church	20	16	26	8	6
Women in Church Leadership	3	14	20	25	14
Effect of the "One-Child Policy"	3	1	12	23	37
Chinese Intellectuals	15	17	26	13	5
Korean People's Role	8	16	30	12	10

Note: Total respondents = 76; Unit = number of people

Table A3. Average weighted values of respondent grouping A-1  
(Chinese house church leaders)

Factors	Total Weighted Value	Average Weighted Value
Economic and Geographic Factors	272	3.57
Relationship with the TSPM Church	264	3.47
Cultural and Historical Factors	258	3.39
Chinese Intellectuals	252	3.31
Political Factors	234	3.07
Influence of Four Leaders	230	3.02
Korean People's Role	228	3.00
Groups in the House Church	204	2.68
Women in Church Leadership	195	2.57
Effect of the "One-Child Policy"	138	1.82

Note: Total respondents = 76

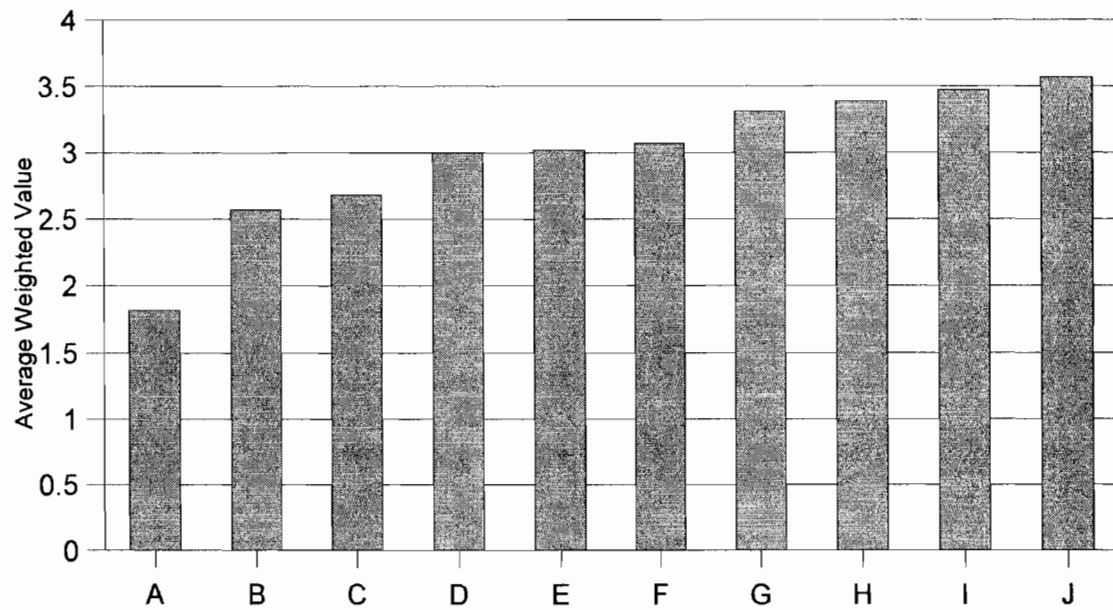


Figure A1. Survey analysis of respondent grouping A-1  
(Chinese house church leaders)

Legend: A = Effect of the “One-Child Policy”; B = Women in church leadership; C = Groups in the house church; D = Korean people’s role; E = Influence of four leaders; F = Political factors; G = Chinese intellectuals; H = Cultural and historical factors; I = Relationship with the TSPM church; J = Economic and geographic factors

Table A4. Profile of respondent grouping A-2  
(Missionaries and overseas intellectuals)

Age	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60
	0	4	6	7	4
Gender	Male	Female			
	16	5			
Ethnicity	Chinese	Hong Kong	Taiwanese	Koreans	Westerners
	3	0	2	12	4
Education	Under High School	High School	College	Beyond College	Doctorate
	0	0	4	13	4
Status	Missionary	Pastor	Elder	Professor	Student
	14	1	1	1	4

Note: Total respondents = 21; Unit = number of people

Table A5. Survey results of respondent grouping A-2  
(Missionaries and overseas intellectuals)

<i>What are the most important factors in developing leadership-training strategies for the house church?</i>	extremely important (value: 5)	very important (value: 4)	important (value: 3)	less important (value: 2)	not related (value: 1)
Cultural and Historical Factors	2	15	4	0	0
Political Factors	3	9	8	1	0
Economic and Geographic Factors	3	6	10	2	0
Influence of Four Leaders	5	2	9	5	0
Groups in the House Church	2	4	7	8	0
Relationship with the TSPM Church	1	5	9	6	0
Women in Church Leadership	1	7	11	2	0
Effect of the "One-Child Policy"	0	2	5	11	3
Chinese Intellectuals	3	7	7	4	0
Korean People's Role	0	11	6	4	0

Note: Total respondents = 21; Unit = number of people

Table A6. Average weighted values of respondent grouping A-2  
(Missionaries and overseas intellectuals)

Factors	Total Weighted Value	Average Weighted Value
Cultural and Historical Factors	82	3.90
Political Factors	77	3.67
Economic and Geographic Factors	73	3.48
Chinese Intellectuals	72	3.43
Women in Church Leadership	70	3.33
Korean People's Role	70	3.33
Influence of Four Leaders	70	3.33
Relationship with the TSPM Church	64	3.05
Groups in the House Church	63	3.00
Effect of the "One-Child Policy"	48	2.29

Note: Total respondents = 21

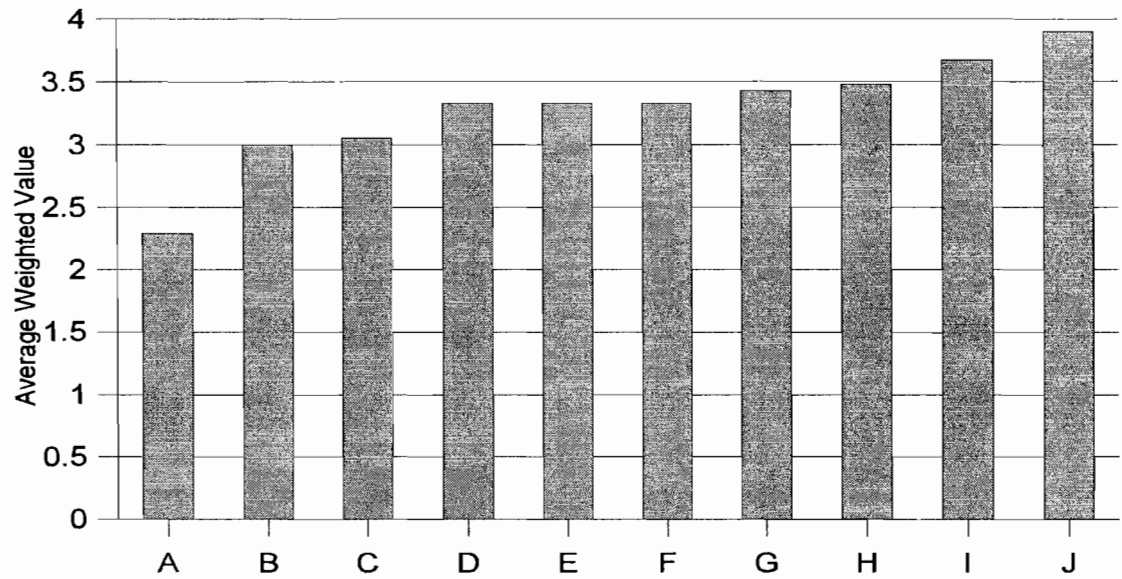


Figure A2. Survey analysis of respondent grouping A-2  
(Missionaries and overseas intellectuals)

Legend: A = Effect of the “One-Child Policy”; B = Women in church leadership; C = Groups in the house church; D = Korean people’s role; E = Influence of four leaders; F = Political factors; G = Chinese intellectuals; H = Cultural and historical factors; I = Relationship with the TSPM church; J = Economic and geographic factors



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books and Essays

- Adeney, David H. *China: The Church's Long March*. Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1985.
- Aikman, David. *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity Is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2003.
- Allen, Roland. *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962.
- Andrews, Richard N. H. *The China Awareness Seminar Hand Book*. Littleton, CO: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1992.
- Banks, Robert. *Paul's Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in Their Historical Setting*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1988.
- Banks, Robert, and Julia Banks. *The Church Comes Home: A New Base for Community and Mission*. Sutherland, N.S.W.: Albatross Books, 1989.
- Barna, George. *Evangelism That Works*. Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1995.
- Bates, M. Searle. "The Theology of American Missionaries: 1900-1950." In *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. John Fairbank. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974.
- Bliss, Edwin Munsel. *The Missionary Enterprise*. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908.
- Branick, Vincent. *The House Church in the Writings of Paul*. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1989.
- Brewer, Monroe. *Leadership Development in the Largest House Church Movements in China*. Minneapolis: Crystal Evangelical Free Church, 2002.
- Brierley, Peter, and Heather Wraight. *Atlas of World Christianity: A Complete Visual*

*Reference to Christianity Worldwide, Including Growth Trends into the New Millennium.* Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998.

- Brown, G. Thompson. *Christianity in the People's Republic of China*. Rev. ed. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1986.
- Cha, James Shih-Chieh. "The Christianity of China in the Recent 170 years" (in Chinese). In *Essays in Memory of Christianity in China in the Last 170 Years*, ed. Peter Lin, 1-29. Taipei, Taiwan: Cosmic Light, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Concise Biographies of Important Chinese Christians* (in Chinese). Taipei, Taiwan: China Evangelical Seminary Press, 1983.
- Chan, Stephen C. T. *My Uncle, Watchman Nee* (in Chinese). Petaluma, CA: Chinese Christian Mission, 1970.
- Chan, Tze-Hsin. *A Brief History of Watchman Nee* (in Chinese). Hong Kong: Gospel Room, 1973.
- Chao, Calvin C. Y. *Fifty Years of Chinese Church and Politics*. (in Chinese) Taipei, Taiwan: Chinese for Christ, Inc., 1981.
- Chao, Jonathan. *The China Mission Handbook: A Portrait of China and Its Church*. Hong Kong: Chinese Church Research Center, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Chinese Church Expansion and Church Growth*. Hong Kong: Chinese Research Center, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Chinese Communist Policy toward Christianity*. Hong Kong: Chinese Church Research Center, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Education and Leadership." *The New Face of Evangelism*, ed. Rene Padilla, 193-204. Downers Grove, IL: I. V. P., 1976.
- Chen, Fu J. *The History of the Early Christian Evangelism in China*. Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1972.
- Cheung, James Mo-Oi. *The Ecclesiology of Watchman Nee and Witness Lee*. Fort Washington, PA: Christian Literature Crusade, 1972.
- China Church Research Center, ed. *China and the Church Today*. Hong Kong: CCRC Ltd., 1983.
- China Ministry Department, ed. *Aspects of the Church in China*. Hong Kong: Christian Communications Ltd., 1989.

- Chun, Ho Jin. *Korean Church and Mission*. Seoul: Emmau Press, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *A Vision and Cooperation of Korean Church Mission*. Seoul: Emmau Press, 1992.
- Chun, Tack Bu. *The History of Korean Church Development*. Seoul: Christian Literature Society Publishing, 1987.
- Clark, Charles Allen. *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1929.
- Clark, Donald N. *Christianity in Modern Korea*. New York: The Asia Society, 1986.
- Clinton, J. Robert. *Leadership Emergence Patterns: A Self-Study Manual for Evaluating Leadership Selection Processes*. Pasadena, CA: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983.
- Coulson, Gail V. *The Enduring Church: Christians in China and Hong Kong*. New York: Friendship Press, 1996.
- Covell, Ralph R. *Confucius, the Buddha, and Christ: A History of the Gospel in Chinese*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Liberating Gospel in China: The Christian Faith among China's Minority Peoples*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995.
- Crawley, Winston. *World Christianity, 1970-2000: Toward a New Millennium*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2001.
- David, M. D., ed. *Western Colonialism in Asia and Christianity*. Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House, 1988.
- Dehoney, Wayne. *The Dragon and the Lamb*. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1988.
- Douglas, J. D. "Taylor, (James) Hudson (1832-1905)." In *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*. Edited by A. Scott Moreau. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000.
- Engstrom, Theodore W. *The Making of Christian Leader*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976.
- Fenwick, Malcolm C. *The Church of Christ in Corea: A Pioneer Missionary's Own Story*. Seoul: Baptist Publications, 1967.
- Fiedler, Fred Edward. *Improving Leadership Effectiveness: The Leader Match Concept*. New York: John Wesley and Sons, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A Theory of Leadership Effectiveness*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1967.

- Francis, Lesley. *Winds of Change in China: Guidelines for Effective Service*. Sydney: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1985.
- Gale, James S. *Korea in Transition*. New York: Laymen's Missionary Movement, 1909.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Korean Sketches*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1898.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Vanguard: A Tale of Korea*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1904.
- Gates, Alan F. *Think China*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1979.
- Gerber, Vergil, ed. *Discipling through Theological Education Extension*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980.
- Gernet, Jacques. *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Goforth, Jonathan. *When the Spirit's Fire Swept Korea*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1943.
- Goforth, Rosalind. *Goforth of China*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1943.
- Graham, William. *Revival in Our Time: the Story of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Campaigns*. Wheaton, IL: Van Kampen Press, 1950.
- Grayson, James Huntley. *Early Buddhism and Christianity in Korea*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1985.
- Green, Michael. *Evangelism in the Early Church*. Guildford, Surrey, the United Kingdom: Eagle, 1995.
- Hamilton, Floyd E., ed. *The Nevius Method in Korea*. London: World Dominion Press, 1931.
- Hattaway Paul. *Back to Jerusalem: Three Chinese House Church Leaders Share Their Vision to Complete the Great Commission*. Carlisle, England: Piquant, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Heavenly Man: The Remarkable True Story of Chinese Brother Yun*. London: Mill Hill, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Operation China: Introducing All the Peoples of China*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2000.
- Hoke, Donald E., ed. *The Church in Asia*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1975.

- Houten, Richard Van, ed. *Wise as Serpent, Harmless as Doves: Christians in China Tell Their Story*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1988.
- Hsiao, Kung-Chuan. *Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960.
- Hsu, Francis L. K. *Americans and Chinese*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1953.
- Johnstone, Patrick. *Operation World: the Day-by Day Guide to Praying for the World*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1993.
- Johnstone, Patrick, and Jason Mandryk. *Operation World: When We Pray, God Works*. Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Lifestyle, 2001.
- Jones, Francis Price. *The Church in Communist China: A Protestant Appraisal*. New York: Friendship Press, 1962.
- Jung, Suk Ki. *The History of Korean Immigration through the Mission Perspectives*. Seoul: Qumran Press, 2000.
- Kane, J. Herbert. *The Christian World Mission: Today and Tomorrow*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A Global View of Christian Missions: From Pentecost to the Present*. Rev. ed. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Understanding Christian Missions*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982.
- Kang, Sung Sam. *21<sup>st</sup> Century Mission Guides*. Seoul: Word of Life Books, 2000.
- Kauffman, Paul E. *China, the Emerging Challenge: A Christian Perspective*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Confucius, Mao and Christ*. Hong Kong: Asian Outreach, 1975.
- Kim, In Soo. *Protestants and the Formation of Modern Korean Nationalism, 1885-1920*. New York: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Kim Peace. *A History of the Chinese Church* (in Korean). Seoul: Morrison, 2003.
- Kim, Si Don, ed. *Korean Mission Handbook*. Seoul: GMF Press, 1994.
- Kim, So Yoon. *The Direction of Mission for the Development of Korean Church*. Seoul: Voice Press, 1997.
- Kinnear, Angus I. *Against the Tide: The Story of Watchman Nee*. Wheaton, IL: Tyndale,

1981.

- Lam, Wing-Hung. *Wang Ming Tao and the Chinese Church* (in Chinese). Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 1982.
- Lambert, Tony. *China's Christian Millions: The Costly Revival*. London: Mill Hill, 1999.
- Lang, Olga. *Chinese Family and Society*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1946.
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *A History of Christian Missions in China*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*. 7 vols. New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944.
- Lawrence, Carl. *Against All Odds: The Church in China*. Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1985.
- Lee, Jang Sik. *Korean Church: Yesterday and Today*. Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1990.
- Lee, Jung Young, ed. *Ancestor Worship and Christianity in Korea*. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1988.
- Lee, Kang Chun. *The Era of Korean Church Mission in Year 2000*. Seoul: Duru Mission Society, 1989.
- Lee, Tae Woong. *Oversea Mission in Korean Church: Its Theory and Practice*. Seoul: Joy Mission Press, 1997.
- Ling, Samuel. "Nee, Watchman (Ni Tuo-sheng) (1903-72)." In *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*. Edited by A. Scott Moreau. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Sung, John (1901-44)." In *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*. Edited by A. Scott Moreau. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000.
- Lyall, Leslie. *John Sung—Flame for God*. London: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Phoenix Rises*. Singapore: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Three of China's Mighty Men*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1973.
- MacInnis, Donald E. *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989.
- Malphurs, Aubrey. *Advanced Strategic Planning: A New Model for Church and Ministry*

- Leaders*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999.
- McGavran, Donald. *Understanding Church Growth*. Rev. ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980.
- Min, Kyung Bae. *The History of Korean Church*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The History of Nationalism and Fighting Faith of Korean Church under the Rule of Japan*. Seoul: Christian Literature Society Publishing, 1991.
- Moon, Sang Chul, ed. *Korean Mission Handbook: 1998-2000*. Seoul: GMF Press, 1998.
- Nee, Watchman. *The Body of Christ—A Reality*. New York: Christian Fellowship Pub., 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Changed into His Likeness*. London: Victory Press, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Further Talks on the Church Life*. Los Angeles: Stream Publishers, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Love Not the World*. London: Victory Press, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Release of the Spirit*. Cloverdale,??: Sure foundation, 1965.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Rethinking Our Missions*. Shanghai: Gospel Book Room, 1938.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Spiritual Authority*. New York: Christian Fellowship Pub., 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Spiritual Man*. 3 vols. New York: Christian Fellowship Pub., 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *What Shall This Man Do?*. Fort Washington, PA: Christian Literature Crusade, 1967.
- Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christian Missions*. New York: Penguin Books, 1964.
- Ng, Lee-Ming. *Christianity and the Social Change in China* (in Chinese). Hong Kong: Chinese Christian Literature Council, 1981.
- Oh, Jae Shik. *Theology in Action*. Manila: Urban Industrial Mission, 1972.
- Orr, Edwin. *Evangelical Awakening in Eastern Asia*. Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, Inc., 1975.
- Palmer, Spencer J. *Korea and Christianity: The Problem of Identification with Tradition*. Seoul: Hollym Corporation, 1967.
- Park, Keun Won. *Maturity of Korean Church*. Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1986.

- Park, Timothy Kiho. *Missionary Movement of Korean Church*. Pasadena, CA: Institute for Asian Mission, 1999.
- Park, Yong Kyu. *The Evangelical Movement in Korea*. Seoul: Tyrannus Press, 1998.
- Patterson, George. *Church Planting through Obedience Oriented Teaching*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1981.
- Pierson, Paul E. "Nestorian Mission." In *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*. Edited by A. Scott Moreau. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000.
- Rees, D. Vaughan. *The "Jesus Family" in Communist China*. London: Paternoster Press, 1959.
- Richard, Lawrence O., and Clyde Hoeldtke. *A Theology of Church Leadership*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980.
- Smiko, Yamamoto. *History of Protestantism in China: The Indigenization of Christianity*. Tokyo: Tōhō Gakkai, 2000.
- Standaert, Nicolas, ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Stanley, Brian, ed. *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003.
- Starr, J. Barton. "Morrison, Robert (1782-1834)." In *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*. Edited by A. Scott Moreau. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000.
- Suh, Jung Woon. *Church and Missions*. Seoul: Tyrannus Press, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Spirituality and Theology in Mission: An Asian Perspective*. Seoul: The Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary Press, 2000.
- Sung, John. *My Testimony* (in Chinese). Hong Kong: The Bellman House, 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Spiritual Guide* (in Chinese). Hong Kong: Sheng Wen Pub. House, 1969.
- Tan, Che-Bin. "Theological Training: A Historical and Current Perspective" (in Chinese). *GCOWE '76 Compendium* (1977): 210-19.
- Terry, John Mark. *Evangelism: A Concise History*. Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1994.
- Terry, John Mark, Ebbie Smith, and Justice Anderson, eds. *Missiology: An Introduction to the Foundations, History, and Strategies of World Missions*. Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1998.



- Thomson, Phyllis. *China: The Reluctant Exodus*. Sevenoaks, Kent: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979.
- T'ien, Ju-K'ang. *Peaks of Faith: Protestant Mission in Revolutionary China*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993.
- Tucker, Ruth A. *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983.
- Wagner, C. Peter. *Church/Mission Tensions Today*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Your Church Can Grow*. Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1976.
- Wang, Mingdao. *The Fifty Years* (in Chinese). Peking, 1950. Reprinted in Hong Kong: Bellman House, 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Gospel: True or False?* (in Chinese). Rev. ed. Hong Kong: Sung-En Pub. Co., 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Spiritual Food*. Southampton: Mayflower Christian Books, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Treasuries of Wang Ming Tao* (in Chinese). Taipei: Conservative Baptist Press, 1978.
- Wang, Thomas, and Sharon Chan. "Christian Witness to the Chinese People." In *Perspectives*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., eds. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorn, 639-45. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1999.
- Wang, Xin C. *The History of China Christianity*. Hong Kong: Christian Literature Ltd., 1979.
- Wei, Wai-Yang. *Mission and Modern China* (in Chinese). Taipei: Cosmic Light Pub., 1981.
- Whyte, Bob. *Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity*. Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse Publishing, 1998.
- Wickeri, Philip L. *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988.
- Winter, Ralph D. *The Twenty Five Unbelievable Years 1945-1969*. South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1970.
- Winter, Ralph D., and Steven C. Hawthorne, eds. *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1981.

- Wright, Arthur, ed. *Confucianism and Chinese Civilization*. New York: Atheneum, 1965.
- Wood, J. L., and M. Jackson. *Social Movements: Development, Participation, and Dynamics*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1982.
- Wu, The Yao. *Roots of Chinese Culture*. Singapore: Federal Publications, 1980.
- Yang, C. K. *Religion in Chinese Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Yang, David S. T. *The Church and His Servant* (in Chinese). 1940. Reprint, Hong Kong: Gospel Book Press, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Course of the Church* (in Chinese). 1951. Reprint, Hong Kong: Christian Witness Press, 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *God's Workmen* (in Chinese). 1943. Reprint, Hong Kong: Christian Witness Press., 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Victory and Reward* (in Chinese). 1943. Reprint, Hong Kong: Christian Witness Press, 1961.
- Yang, Martin C. *Chinese Social Structure* (in Chinese). Taipei: Eurasia Book Co., 1969.
- Yates, Timothy. *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Yip, Ka-Che. *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927*. Bellingham, WA: Center for East Asian Studies in Western Washington University, 1980.

### Articles

- Barrett, David B. "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1993." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 1993): 22-23.
- Barrett, David B., and Todd M. Johnson. "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 2003." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 2003): 24-25.
- Bays, Daniel H. "Chinese Protestant Christianity Today." *The China Quarterly* (2003): 488-504.
- Carden, Paul W. "Confronting Cults on World Mission Fields." *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 36 April (2000): 184-89.
- Chang, Lingling. "The Current Situation and Leadership Training of Chinese House

- Churches.” *The Chinese Church and Missions* 10 July (2001): 35 (in Korean).
- Chao, Jonathan. “A Response: Yes, But We Must Learn to Work with the Chinese Churches.” *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* January (1995): 18-19.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Wang Ming Dao Today.” *China and the Church Today* (March-June 1980): 2-3.
- Cheng, May M. C. “House Church Movement and Religious Freedom in China.” *China: An International Journal* March (2003): 16-45.
- Choy, Leona. “From Iron to Steel: The Story of Wang Ming Tao—Crusader, Prisoner, Man of God.” *East Asia Millions* 88 (5): 258-61.
- Chun, Ho Jin. “Korean Church Growth: the Cause and Problems.” *Monthly Ministry* (1981): 60-65.
- Cliff, Norman H. “Watchman Nee—Church Planter and Preacher of Holiness.” *Evangelical Review of Theology* 8 (2): 289-97.
- Covell, Ralph R. “My Pilgrimage in Mission.” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 2003): 26-28.
- Fung, Ronald. “Paul and the Ministry of Women.” *A Life of Ministry* (1982): 200-35.
- Ha, Eun Lim. “The Chinese Church Needs Workers.” *China to God* 87 (Autumn 2004): 33-34 (in Korean).
- Kim, Byong Suh. “The Explosive Growth of the Korean Church Today: A Sociological Analysis.” *International Review of Mission* (1985): 59-72.
- Kim, Daniel. “The Effective Missionary Strategy for the Chinese House Church.” *The Chinese Church and Missions* 10 July (2001): 93-94.
- Lam, Wing-Hung. “The Perspective of the Ministry of Watchman Nee” (in Chinese). *A Life of Ministry* (1982) : 314-38.
- Lambert, Anthony. “The Mandate of Heaven: An Analysis of the Present Overall Situation in China.” *Global Church Growth* 2 (1989) : 79-84.
- Lambert, Tony. “Counting Christians in China: A Cautionary Report.” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 2003): 6-10.
- Lee, Ming Ng. “Christianity and Nationalism in China.” *East Asia Journal of Theology* 1 (1983): 71-88.

- Ling, Samuel. "Watchman Nee." *Bulletin of the Association of Chinese Theological Students* 4 (1975): 1-16
- Moon, Steve S. C. "The Recent Korean Missionary Movement: A Record of Growth, and More Growth Needed." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 2003): 11-17.
- Overmyer, Daniel L. "Religion in China Today: Introduction." *The China Quarterly* (2003): 307-37.
- Park, Sungjoo. "Missions to China in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" (in Korean). *From the Region of Sinim* (July-August 2004): 1-4.
- Pricskett, Ted. "Chinese Intellectuals and the Gospel." *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* (January 1993): 58-65.
- Shenk, Wilbur R. "The Origin and Evolution of the Three Selves in Relation to China." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 1990): 28-35.
- Wang, Thomas. "The Spiritual Significance of Chinese in the Diaspora" (in Chinese). *Chinese Churches Today* (January 1980): 9-12.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Wang Ming Tao and John Sung" (in Chinese). *Chinese Churches Today* (September 1983): 4-9.

### **Dissertations**

- Branner, John Ky. "Chinese Leadership Patterns and Their Relationship to Pastoral Ministry among Taiwan's Urban Masses." D.Miss. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983.
- Bush, Troy Lennon. "Effective Church Planting: A Qualitative Analysis of Selected Church Planting Models." Ph.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1999.
- Chao, Jonathan T'ienen. "The Chinese Indigenous Church Movement, 1919-1927: A Protestant Response to the Anti-Christian Movement in Modern China." Ph.D. diss., The University of Pennsylvania, 1986.
- Choi, Gyong-Oak. "A Study on Theological Education in the Church of China." Ed.M. thesis, Korean Kosin Graduate School, 1999 (in Korean).
- Chuang, Tsu-Kung. "The Factors Influencing the Conversion of Mainland Chinese Intellectuals toward Christianity in North America." Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1995.

- Chung, Mary Keng Mun. "Factors Influencing the Role of Women in Christian Ministries in the Chinese Church." Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1998.
- Downey, Raymur James. "Old Testament Patterns of Leadership Training: Prophets, Priests, and Kings." Th.M. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1981.
- Gopffarth, William. "A Study of the Functional Competencies of Southern Baptist Missionaries Who Originate Indigenous Churches in the Philippines." Ed.D. diss., University of North Texas, 1993.
- Harvey, Thomas Alan. "Challenging Heaven's Mandate: An Analysis of the Conflict between Wang Ming Tao and the Chinese Nation-State." Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1998.
- Holland, Fred. "Theological Education in Context and Change." D.Miss. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1978.
- Hung, Daniel Suet-Leung. "A Leadership Development Model for the Macau Protestant Churches." D.Miss. diss., Biola University, 1997.
- Jung, Timothy. "Strategizing for Leadership Training in Thailand." D.Miss. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983.
- Kowk, Pui-Lan. "Chinese Women and Christianity, 1860-1927." Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1989.
- Lam, Cyrus On-Kwok. *The Chinese Church: A Bridge to World Evangelization*. D.Miss. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983.
- Lee, Samuel Mau-Cheng. "A Comparative Study of Leadership Selection Processes among Four Chinese Leaders." D.Miss. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1985.
- Liao, David Chia-En. "The Third Self: Problem of Younger Churches in Self Propagation." D.Miss. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1977.
- May, Grace Y. "Watchman Nee and the Breaking of Bread: The Missiological and Spiritual Forces That Contributed to an Indigenous Chinese Ecclesiology." Th.D. diss., Boston University, 2000.
- Oak, Sung-Deuk. "The Indigenization of Christianity in Korea: North American Missionaries' Attitudes towards Korean Religions, 1884-1910." Th.D. diss., Boston University, 2002.
- Sills, Michael David. "Highland Quichuas: Discovering a Culturally Appropriate Pastoral Training Model." Ph.D. diss., Reformed Theological Seminary, 2001.

- Sun, Benjamin Ki Tat. "A Strategy to Develop a Lay Leadership Training Program with Pentecostal Distinctives for Ecclesia Bible College in Hong Kong." D.Min. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1997.
- Szeto, Paul Cheuk-Ching. "Suffering in the Experience of the Protestant Church in China (1911-1980): A Chinese Perspective." D.Miss. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1980.
- Wickeri, Philip Lauri. "Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement and China's United Front." Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1985.
- Worley, Charles E. "Training Resident Church Planters and New Church Core Groups: A Field Education Approach." Ph.D. diss., Denver Conservative Baptist Seminary, 1990.
- Yang, Young-Hak. "The Formation and Development of the House Churches in China." Th.M. thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1997.
- Yao, Kevin Xiyi. "The Fundamentalist Movement among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920-1937." Th.D. diss., Boston University, 2000.
- Yeung, Tin Yan Timothy. "Indigenous Church as an Offspring of Pneumatic Christianity: A Re-examination of the Development of Christianity in Modern China." Ph.D. diss., Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002.
- Yu, Danny Kwok-Leung. "A Consideration of Leadership style and Multiple Staff Ministry and Their Implications for Unity amongst Chinese Churches in North America." D.Min. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1975.

### Internet

- A Staff of *China Ministry Report*. "How to Equip Rural Pastors to Survive and Thrive." *China Ministry Report* 155 April-June (2003) sec. 1 [journal on-line]. Accessed 17 September 2004. Available from <http://www.cmi.org.tw/english/cmr1567.htm>; Internet.
- China Soul for Christ Foundation. *The Cross: Jesus in China: A Video Project by the China Soul for Christ Foundation* 1-8 [on-line]. Accessed 13 December 2004. Available from <http://www.chinasoul.com/e/news/proposal.htm>; Internet.
- Chao, Jonathan. "The Changing Shape of the Church in China (1979-2002) with Reference to the House Churches in Henan." *China Ministry Report* 155 April-June (2003) sec. 1 [journal on-line]. Accessed 17 September 2004. Available from <http://www.cmi.org.tw/english/cmr1567.htm>; Internet.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Church in China: Needs and Opportunities for Ministries," sec. 1 [on-line]. Accessed 17 September 2004. Available from <http://www.cmi.org.tw/english/need.htm>; Internet.
- Chao, Jonathan, and Susanna Chen. "The 16<sup>th</sup> Party Congress: Its Influence on China's Future and Missions." *China Ministry Report* 154 January-March (2003) sec. 1-2 [journal on-line]. Accessed 17 September 2004. Available from <http://www.cmi.org.tw/english/cmr1567.htm>; Internet.
- Kelly, Peter Julian. "Christianity and China" [on-line]. Accessed 21 September 2004. Available from <http://www.columban.org.au/China/cac.98july.htm>; Internet.
- Yu, Ronald. "Urban Mandate for the Rural House Church." *China Ministry Report* 155 April-June (2003), sec. 1 [journal on-line]. Accessed 17 September 2004. Available from <http://www.cmi.org.tw/english/cmr1567.htm>; Internet.

## ABSTRACT

### TRAINING CHINESE HOUSE CHURCH LEADERS: FACTORS INFLUENCING LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Jong Keol (Jacob) Yoo, Ph.D.  
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2005  
Chairperson: Dr. J. Mark Terry

There is an enormous, urgent, crucial need for leadership training to support the rapid growth of the Chinese house church. This dissertation examines ten factors that should be considered when outsiders, such as Western missionaries, develop effective strategies: (1) economic and geographic factors, (2) relationship with the TSPM church, (3) cultural and historical factors, (4) Chinese intellectuals, (5) political factors, (6) influence of four leaders, (7) Korean people's role, (8) groups in the house church, (9) women in church leadership, and (10) effect of the "One-Child Policy."

Chapter 1 mainly introduces the dissertation's thesis, the proposal's background, and the research methodology. Each of the ten factors is briefly explained as the thesis, and the purpose is clarified.

Chapter 2 presents an early history of the Chinese church, which is divided into three sections: (1) the early history of Christian missions to China, 635-1784; (2) imperialism and Protestant missions to China, 1807-1900; and (3) nationalism and the independent church movement, 1901-1949.

Chapter 3 deals with a history of the Chinese house church movement under



the Communist regime from 1949 to the present. First, the formation and survival of the Chinese house church movement under Mao Zedong's rule are explained. Next, the growth and current situation of the Chinese house church movement are described.

Chapter 4 identifies the urgent need for, and the current situation of, Chinese house church leadership training, compared with those of the TSPM church.

Chapter 5, as the dissertation's conclusion, explores the ten factors that should be considered in developing Chinese house church leadership-training strategies.

Besides authoritative sources, the survey results are used extensively to support my assumptions. Some effective models are suggested.

## VITA

Jong Keol (Jacob) Yoo

### PERSONAL

Born: 08 February 1959, Daegu, South Korea  
Parents: Kun Hee Yoo and Mu Saeng Kim  
Married: Suk Hee (Susie) Shin, 30 March 1984  
Children: Jae Gun (Kevin), 06 December 1986  
Jae Gil (Jack), 29 September 1988

### EDUCATION

Diploma, Osung High School, Daegu, South Korea, 1978  
B.S., Hanyang University, Seoul, South Korea, 1985  
M.Div., Sungkyul Theological Seminary, Anyang, South Korea, 1996  
M.Div., Canadian Theological Seminary, Regina, SK, Canada, 2000

### MINISTERIAL

Evangelist, Shin-Kwang Church, Seoul, South Korea, 1991-1994  
Founder and Pastor, Jesu-Sarang Church, Kunpo, South Korea, 1994-1996  
Assistant Pastor, Woo-Ri Church, Kunpo, South Korea, 1996-1997  
Assistant Pastor, Regina Korean Church, Regina, SK, Canada, 1997-1998  
Assistant Pastor, Regina Chinese Church, Regina, SK, Canada, 1998-2000  
Assistant Pastor, True Light Korean Baptist Church, Louisville, KY, 2000-2002  
Pastor, True Light Korean Baptist Church, Louisville, KY, 2002-