

Going Back to Church: Reencountering and Rediscovering Taiwan's Christian Communities

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Introduction

The only constant is change: that well-worn phrase captures the nature of religious life on Taiwan and particularly apt in suggesting the evolution and present day nature of the very different kinds of churches that make up Taiwan's present day Christian/quasi-Christian community.

This essay is an attempt to expand on work this researcher has done on Taiwanese Christianity over the course of more than thirty years, since he first arrived in the ROC as a Fulbright Senior Lecturer in 1979.

I begin this essay with a presentation of Taiwanese Christian history through bibliography. Rather than simply discuss important works on the history of Christianity in China and on Taiwan in the order in which they were published, I take what can be seen as determinedly a-chronological approach to the books and articles and sources themselves. I focus on "period" or "stage" of Christian development and present those books and articles that cover a given stage, regardless of when those published materials were written.

In the second section I present what I see is a new and more realistic and functional way of looking at that Christian community. After long contact with and immersion in the various church communities that make up the complex and sometimes contentious Christian community on Taiwan, I have come to the conclusion that I must expand the accepted definition of what that community is really like—a definition I spelled out in my first book, *The Protestant Community on Modern Taiwan* (1991). By doing so I guarantee that observers on Taiwan and in the west who are theological purists and are all too often, hard-nosed and dogmatic fundamentalist and charismatic scholars, theologians and pastors will present critical rebuttals of my new and more functional and inclusive model. I describe the major actors in that larger and more diverse and complex community setting them in spectrum(or continuum) that is a clear and dramatic modification of and expansion of an earlier and more narrow Protestant-biased model.

In the third and final section of the essay, I show how the indigenous Taiwanese religious communities "push-- back" at the evangelical efforts of the Christians in part by means of "appropriation" by adopting Christian styles of media and , to a lesser degree Christian models of social and humanitarian activism and sometimes direct political involvement. I also spell out the various ways that some churches, the more active indigenous Taiwanese/Chinese churches, have made use the ROC as a base area to expand their evangelistic and their church planting activities to the United States and beyond.¹

Section I. A Bibliographical /Historiographical Approach to Study of the Christian Community on Present-day Taiwan

In this section I move step by step through Taiwan's formal history discussing the various forms of Christianity that were planted on Taiwan at given points in time. As I do so I discuss, albeit briefly, important books written about aspects of each distinctive stage or each mission or church that was established and then develop during these stages and beyond. As I suggested in my introduction, I do not discuss *only* the books written in that period or soon after it. In terms of bibliography, I take a decidedly a-chronological or non chronological approach to the existing bibliography of a period. This is done as a way of giving the reader a strong sense of both the classical works in that period and the modern books that have been written about it. Thus I that provide a data base of sorts of primary works and try to give and a good sense of the directions that the contemporary scholars in each period-based subfield have taken or are taking in their research and in the publications based on this research.²

What are the general contours of the history of Christianity on Taiwan?

I think this has to be charted out in rough fashion before we look at each stage in more detail and with major contemporary works by missionaries or other observers or works of history by formal scholars working with available sources and data sets discussed or made mention of.

There are four major periods of the western Christian encounter and involvement with Taiwan and its complex mix of peoples. The first stage was clearly the stage of colonization by the merchants, military men and missionaries of the Batavia-based Dutch East India Company³ The Dutch established a presence on the south western area of the island in a region that they term Zeelandia and the Chinese would refer, once they gained control as Tainan county and Tainan city. EIC military forces would carve out a place for themselves in this area populated by a variety of groups of tribal peoples of Austral-Asian origin and find, from the very start that struggles for military supremacy and socio-economic and cultural space would be the norm until the final painful days of the occupation and their long battles with the Sino-Japanese warlord and defender of the Ming Dynasty they called Koxinga. The Dutch period on Taiwan writ large was explore in context the larger Dutch relationship with the Ming and Qing by John Wells Jr. in his now classic work, *Pepper, Guns, and Parleys*.⁴ A newer and quite stunning and important recent book on the EIC decades is Tonio Andrade's *How Taiwan Became Chinese*.⁵ Andrade gives us a good feel for the period writ large but also gives us a clear idea of the work of the Dutch missionaries who worked among the aborigine populations and were able to establish a solid community that did, sad to say, die out after the Dutch were forced out. However as the Columbia University –based anthropologist Myron Cohen has show us recently, the Romanized form of the tribal peoples language was not forgotten and was used into and after the 18th century as the written language of legal discourse.

Each of these books was, to some degree, based on the fascinating compilation of materials from the early to mid 17th century that was compiled, edited and published by the pioneering English Presbyterian missionary, William Campbell. Campbell published his very important source book, *Formosa Under the Dutch Described from Contemporary Records* in 1903⁶ It was constructed from records and accounts of EIC colonization of 17th century Tainan and nearby areas of in southern Taiwan. One can see the Dutch period as the starting point of the Taiwan Missionary history and the book about this period, written almost 250 years later is

the first formal book in the sub-sub-field of Taiwan Missionary Studies. His 619 page compilation of sources translated from Dutch into English provides the modern historian and lay leader and student of missionary studies with a rich body of original material. It covers a number of events, issues and topics related to the various Dutch activities, military, economic, cultural and religious that the VOC military men, bureaucrats and Dutch Reformed pastors/missionaries were involved in. For the modern reader it is a fascinating and very detailed window to this more than forty year long period in the 17th century. Carefully used, as Tonio Andrade has shown us, it makes the Dutch EIC's dramatic and ultimately unsuccessful imperialistic enterprise quite understandable as human drama.⁷

Other scholars and observers dealt with the Dutch period as well, in the context of larger works about the island. A more general and far more substantive book was written by an American diplomat. It is the first long and detailed work we have about Taiwan and it too dealt with aspects of Christianity on the Island. This book is J. W. Davidson, *the Island of Formosa: Past and Present*.⁸ Davidson was the American Consul and spent considerable time on the island and his book reflects his deep and broad study of the island. It is a monster of a tome and is a quite impressive and beautiful in many ways. He starts with the centuries before the 16th century and gives us a history of the Dutch, Cheng, Qing, Treaty Port and early Japanese periods. As he comes closer to his present, his range of topics becomes wider and the detail becomes ever richer. This book remained a must-read for those interested in Taiwan before the appearance of the large synthetic works or edited histories of the late 20th Century. What Davidson does give us is a solid account of the Dutch period and a description of the work of the Dutch Reformed missionaries were an important element in the overall East India Company enterprise.

A soon to be published edited volume also deals with the Dutch EIC enterprise in many of its manifestations and deals as well with the impact of this effort on the Dutch back home in the Netherlands. This is Llyn Scott, ed. *Scenes From Dutch Formosa*.⁹ It covers the nature of Dutch life on Taiwan, the nature of *yuanzhumin* life as seen by the Dutch, the role of the Dutch missionaries in the larger Dutch EIC colonial enterprise and way the Presbyterians who followed the Dutch Reformed missionaries two hundred or so years later saw the work of their predecessors.

The second phase of Christianity on Taiwan Studies begins with the coming of the Presbyterian missionaries to Tainan in 1865 and to Tamsui in 1875 and with the arrival of western diplomats to Taiwan during roughly the same span of years to both northern and southern treaty ports on the island. The missionaries and the China merchants loved to write letters home and to write richly detailed journals that became fascinating and very interesting memoirs and travel diaries. Earlier in the 19th century, Herman Melville had published such books and then used them as the basis for his difficult and eternally fascinating masterpiece *Moby Dick*. The books that the Taiwan-based merchants and missionaries wrote were not on the level of *Moby Dick* or even of *Typee*, but are certainly well written are fascinating in their own ways.

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The second phase of the Christian presence began in the 1860s when Taiwan became a treaty port as the result of the British victory in the Lorch Arrow War (the Second Opium War and the two treaties that made legal the western Treaty Port System, the Treaty of Tianjin (1858) and Treaty of Beijing (1860). A missionary clause in each of these treaties, drafted by the Americans Samuel Wells Williams and William Alexander Parsons Martin, opened Taiwan and other areas of coastal mainland China to missionaries as well as merchants and diplomats. Presbyterian missionaries based in the southern Fujian city of Xiamen took advantage of this dramatic new opening to parts of China heretofore closed off and established a missionary presence in Tainan. A decade later missionaries from Ontario Province in Canada, headed by George Leslie McKay established a presence in Tamsui, a river town just north and west of the Taipei Basin. A dramatic new phase in Protestant history had begun.

However, the Presbyterians were not alone. Catholic mission orders took advantage of the new Taiwanese Treaty Ports, as well and established themselves in northern Taiwan, not far from the area that they had set up a mission during the Dutch period, a mission that the Dutch attacked and drove out the island they then considered theirs. The two great and mutually antagonistic schools/forms in Western Christianity were now in place in a difficult and as both sets of missionaries would discover, often antagonistic and hostile to evangelization and church planting.

Both the Presbyterian Church and the Roman Catholic church have been able to develop a presence in the island from the mid 1860s forward in the face of local Han opposition, the general wariness and then, after 1937, outright hostility of the Japanese colonialists who gained the island as spoil of war and then modernized it and made it serve as breadbasket(or is rice bowl the better term)—and also testing ground for their larger imperialistic project.

The Presbyterians developed a substantial presence in the south working with and gaining the trust of Minnan speaking Han and working with the *yuanzhumin* on the plains and further into the hills and mountains. The pioneers Campbell and James L. Maxwell set up clinics, a seminar—that still stand today, a middle school/high school that is now a junior college as well, and an all-important publishing house that produces the Presbyterian Church News, a newspaper with more than century of publishing history behind, and with many scars caused by

battles, most recently, with the Guomindang in the 1970s. They also established the Southern Synod of their church, a body that brought its scattered churches together in governance, as was the Presbyterian practice in the west

The northern church—what became the Northern Synod of Presbyterian Church—was founded by George Leslie McKay, a wonderfully eccentric and tireless man who married a local woman (rumor has it a *yuanzhumin*) and who practiced a unique form of dentistry as he went into the Taipei Basin in search of converts.

It is McKay who gave us the first of the set of Presbyterian autobiographies.

It is titled *From Far Formosa: The Island, its People and Missions*¹¹ and is a book that is constructed of an interesting amalgam of elements. It begins on a deeply personal note about how the great missionary pioneer of the Taipei Basin feels about his adopted home of many decades and about his early years in country. It then shifts from autobiography to detailed overview of the island's geology, flora and fauna, historical development, population, patterns of governance and then his own experiences from his first years there in the early 1870s to the mid 1890s when he returned to Ottawa and his home in Sora with the body materials that would be turned into this book by a dedicated and admiring editor that was published a year or so later. It gives us the man as he sees himself and an example of what I have called in a paper-turned article, "Missionary Orientalism."¹²

A second such memoir/autobiography is Reverend William Campbell. His own book covers four decades on Taiwan and is titled *Sketches From Formosa*. It is a book that resembles the Canadian Mackay's in some ways but it does not contain the chapters on geology, flora and fauna and the human ethnic and sub-ethnic landscape. Rather it is a detailed look at the development of the British Presbyterian mission in southern Taiwan and the way the missionaries helped nurture a Taiwanese pastored and Taiwanese run church that was, to a fair degree, independent or at least not so dependent upon churches and missionary societies in the west.

There is also an important book in Chinese that scholars should consult. This a volume that deals with James Maxwell, the medical missionary and the church founded in his honor, the Maxwell Memorial Church. This is perhaps the only book I know that deals with a missionary movement, the British Presbyterian Church by focusing on one key missionary and then focus upon the church that Maxwell efforts helped to create. It takes us from a mission at work to a Taiwanese Christian community tutored and advised by a British mission and one of its founders and the evolution of an independent church that still wanted missionaries to help out and advise them, even as they governed their own church synod and the island wide church that, over time became a major force for good in Taiwanese society. The book is a microcosm of a larger process and cover the years from 1865 to 1995.¹³

We have one window to the Catholic missionary effort in the Treaty Port Era in a book written by an ambitious young British citizen who rose from nothing to great prominence in the British diplomatic and merchant communities. This man is W.A. Pickering.

Pickering, wrote an often fascinating memoir titled *Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures among Mandarins, Wreckers and Headhunting*. His career was Horatio Alger-like. It was the story of a man who rose from a young member of a ship's crew, to, "the protector of the Chinese", to use his formal title in the British-held Straits Settlements—the modern nation of Malaysia.

Pickering tells this story very well and we come to like him for he is, by his own account, a spirited young man with a talent for languages who learns about the Chinese Southeast coast, the island of Taiwan and British South East Asia. He is a good observer and a skillful right and an adventurous soul and his book gives the reader a good sense of Taiwan in the Treaty Port era as seen through the eyes of a real player, young though he was at the time.

He was not a missionary but his account of his years on Taiwan does describe the work of the Catholics, the monastic missionary order of the Dominicans, who came in the late 1850s.¹⁴ Pickering became friends with Catholic missionaries who were located in southern Taiwan. Adventurous soul, that he was, he Pickering wanted to see more of the island than the Treaty Port he was based in. Thus on a number of his expeditions into the rural areas of Taiwan he was guided by these missionaries. They gave him a firsthand look at a Taiwan only the Dutch, two hundred years before, had been able to see.

Let me step back a bit and consider these memoirs, from the perspective of see Saidian Orientalism. The biases found in the Mackay and Campbell books and the Pickering book, though not formally Christian missionary in nature as well as the famous book by the missionary and amateur anthropologist Arthur Smith

Chinese Characteristics the presence of what I have termed, in homage to Edward Said, a man I knew and respected, "Missionary Orientalism." In paper first presented at a conference on Mackay held in Toronto in the mid 1990s, then given at the Princeton Seminary a few years later and, finally, published in the proceedings of a conference on Taiwanese Christianity held on Taiwan in the late 1990, I spelled out the nature of "Missionary Orientalism. What I suggested was that Mackay, Campbell, and, most clearly Arthur Smith, creatures of their times and of the then triumphant Western cultural imperialism of 19th and early to mid 20th Centuries. Thus their books show how their vision of a Taiwan stuck in time and thus inferior to the advance and aggressive and modern west. To be fair, each does present a different degree of respect for awareness of appreciation of cultural differences between the West and China/Taiwan that were not all favorable to the West. What we do find in these books and in the formal record of Presbyterian history is that the Presbyterian drive for their Taiwanese churches independence and indigenization suggests that a tempering of hard "Orientalism" had taken place. This was in fact realized Edward Said, after discussion with students of the missionary enterprise, including this author and one can see this in his second and more moderate and more subtle book on Orientalism, *Culture and Imperialism*.¹⁵

One final and important book by a Presbyterian missionary puts the Presbyterian effort on Taiwan within the context of the larger Presbyterian church planting experience in China. This is Edward Bands's exhaustive *Working His purpose out: the History of the English*

Presbyterian Mission, 1847-1947.¹⁶ It is a grand work that captures the ebb and flow of the Presbyterian effort as seen by an insider and it remains a major work that is of great value to students of PCT history.

The third major period in Christian history began in 1895 and lasted until the middle of 1945. This was Japanese Colonial era, a dramatic and sometimes painful period in which the Japanese attempted to make Taiwan the perfect colony of an aggressive and expanding Japanese empire in the making. It is fair to say that the Japanese military men, civilian administrator and high level businessmen were engaged in project that now would be termed both “regime change” and “nation building.” The Japanese created and implemented a transformation of Taipei into the colonial capital of Japanese Taiwan and renamed the city Taihoku. They introduced a modern educational system that went up through middle school and high school and built a university in the capital, but one only the children of Japanese officials could attend. They also developed highway systems and railways that moved people up and down the island’s western coastal plains. They introduced modern industries and by doing so built the base of what would be Taiwanese post war developmental miracle. Finally, and perhaps most importantly for them and for Taiwan, they also re-organized agriculture and by doing so made Taiwan the Japanese breadbasket—or rice bowl.

What the Japanese did not do was stop the PCT from its work. They looked upon PCT missionaries as kindred souls—modernizers and educators and thus allowed the church to continue to operate primary, middle, and high schools that the Taiwanese could attend. For much of the period of Japanese rule the PCT and its churches, seminaries and education network, was able to enjoy life as normal.

What we do see in PCT development is this: The PCT took shape under the watchful eye of the Japanese and the western missionaries whose core goal was the creation of a Taiwanese ministered and administered church. The two synods did unite but until 1937 real power remained in the hands of the western missionaries, dedicated to indigenization though they may have been.

We will return to this PCT narrative in a bit later, but first we must discuss other church communities that came to Taiwan during the Japanese decades. The first of these was the Holiness Church. This product of the English-Methodist related evangelical spirit—that also spawned the Plymouth Brethren, the core church of the Assembly Hall Movement (the Difanghuei) begun by Watchman Nee in China before the Second World War and James Hudson Taylor’s China Inland Mission, the most dynamic and adventurous and quixotic of all the Protestant missionary bodies.¹⁷

That church, the Holiness Church had gained members in Imperial Japan and in the 1910s moved to Taiwan and began its work in the city of Taichong along the western coast facing Fujian. It is still a part of the church scene in Taichong, though it is far smaller than its indigenous Chinese/Taiwanese rival, the more energetic and active True Jesus Church.

The True Jesus Church was founded by a number of Shandong ren who had heard the preaching of charismatic missionaries in north China in the 1910s. By the mid-1920s this church

with its use of glossolalia and its Saturday as Sabbath (Sabbaterian) worship had spread to Fujian, the mother province of Taiwan and it was a short, if dangerous cross strait voyage that brought its brethren to Taiwan to begin to plant this dynamic “charismatic” church. There is a body of evolving literature on the True Jesus Church.¹⁸

Let us return to the Presbyterian Church. Its missionaries were driven from Japan during the years from 1937 to 1945 and during these years, Taiwanese took control. After the war the basic laws of the church were rewritten and Taiwanese and *yuanzhumin* pastors and lay people took control and allowed the western missionaries back as advisors. The history of church from its origins, its evolution and a semi-independent church in the years from 1900 to 1937, its painful but necessary, reorganizational period of the 1940s, and its struggles against the KMT from 1947 until the late 1980s and after are recounted in Murray A. Rubinstein article “Mission of Faith/Burden of Witness: the Presbyterian Church in the Evolution of Modern Taiwan” in the Phillip Clart and Charles Jones edited volume *Religion in Post-war Taiwan*.¹⁹

The coming the KMT to Taiwan marks the start of a fourth period in the history of Christianity on Taiwan. It would be a period of expansion of the Christian presence but would also be a period that brought the well established churches deep troubles and battles with the KMT’s totalitarian and alien government. By alien here I mean, *waishenren*—mainland Chinese who began to come in 1945, but who came in much larger numbers—over two and a half million, when the ROC regime in China was defeated by PLA forces and its rule collapsed in 1949. The KMT, I must add, began its rule of Taiwan in harsh and brutal fashion. This rigid and often process of consolidation of its power on Taiwan, from 1945 to 1948, was often wrongheaded and brutal and lead to conflicts with the Han Taiwanese who had colonized the island in the EIC, Koxinga (Cheng Cheng-gong) and Japanese periods. The core event was the revolt of the Taiwanese in late February of 1947.

While the new rulers of Taiwan were wary of the PCT, they welcome other missionary groups and churches that were active in China and now found they were targets of PRC repression. What resulted was a missionary invasion that transformed the face of the evolving Taiwanese Christian community.

Before returning to our look at the existing literature it is useful to introduce some of these new Christian players, both Catholic and Protestant who moved from their missionary bases on the Chinese mainland and retreated to Taiwan under the welcoming, if watch full eye of the KMT government after the occupation/Retrocession that in 1945.

One of the first of these mission bodies was the Southern Baptist Convention. As its own mission history shows us, it was a major player first in South China and then beyond in a missionary presence that began in the years before the first Opium War. As a number of scholars have shown us, primarily Jonathan Spence in his magisterial, *God’s Chinese Son*, while American Board missionaries gave him Christian tracts, it was missionaries working for SBC, such as Issachar Shuck, who educated him and made him a member. All of this resulted in a set of dramatic and ultimately destructive consequences that no one could have imagined.²⁰

The Southern Baptists established themselves in Taipei and developed a network of churches that spread out into the suburbs. The church did grow among the mainlander community and in the 1950s the Southern Baptist bought land in what was a rural corner in the most southeastern section of the city and built a seminary complex there. Little did they realize that in nearby hills were the graves of Taiwanese and mainlanders who had died at the hands of the KMT regime in its earliest and most paranoid and brutal years. Over the course of the last year, Linda Arrigo, now a professor at the Taiwan Medical University has worked with students to find these graves of the victims of the White Terror.” I find there is a sad irony of this overlapping of holy space and killing grounds—or, more precisely burial grounds of those the state wished to eliminate in the early 1950s.

The SBC did not expand its evangelization to the Taiwanese community and this proved fatal to their hopes for expansion of church membership. On the days that followed would church leaders realize their error.

Such mainstream denominations such as the Methodists, the Anglicans, the Lutherans and the Assemblies of God all moved their missionaries to the island. For the most part, these missionaries worked among the people they knew best, the newly arrived mainlanders who had been part of or related to the KMT, or who were large scale business men or in finance on the mainland—fearful of CCP treatment of their roles in Chinese society. The other group of mainlanders was members of the ROC’s defeated armed forces. In the eyes of these missionaries, who were immigrants to Taiwan as well, these newly arrived communities need ministering to and thus became the center of their efforts. In effect they left the Taiwanese and Hakka communities who had developed the island since the 1620s to the Presbyterians and to some of the indigenous churches such as the True Jesus Church.

There were other churches which moved from the Chinese mainland to Taiwan during these years. The most important one, as things would turn out, was the Assembly Hall Church. However its founder, Watchman Nee, the man who made use of the model of Plymouth Brethren Protestantism to organize his church and define its theology, died in the new PRC. The church on Taiwan was founded by followers of his major assistant who was based in Los Angeles, Witness Lee. This church would grow dynamically over the decades that followed as I shall suggest in my profile that the church in Section II.

Another church was the Church of the Latter day Saints which had done evangelical work and missionizing in China and then decided it had develop a presence in a place that was more welcoming to Christians and to western missionaries.

Where does one find one strong source good data on this and early periods in Taiwan’s Christian history. The answer is Hollington Tong’s important book published in 1960, . This was the first large scale, and still the only history of Christianity on Taiwan. The author, a former diplomat, begins with the Dutch effort in the 1600s and takes the story up until the late 1950s. The book is very well organized and the coverage is well balance, for many of types of churches and missions are covered. His chapters on the Presbyterians demonstrate this, as do the

chapters on the Catholics and on the indigenous churches. I see it as a starting point for research on this topic.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, missionaries on Taiwan were seeing a decided leveling off of church growth in the island. Some missionaries decided to gather data and discover just how deep and widespread this problem of leveling out was. They then proceeded to write a number of studies of the progress of their western faith on Taiwan.

Individual missionaries such as Allen Swanson, a professor at the Taibei Evangelical Seminary wrote two such books, *Mainline Versus Independent Church* and the *Church on Taiwan: Profile 1980*.²¹ Each is important to students of the Christian missionary enterprise on Taiwan and to students of Taiwanese religious history.

A second Taiwan-based missionary, Dorothy R. Raber, wrote another important study, *Protestantism in Changing Taiwan: Call to a Creative Response*.²² This is an interesting book that deals with the harsh reality that missionaries faced in the 1970s. Their western faith, which had increased its number of conversions in the 1950s and early 1960s, had now begun to lose ground and that growth in numbers had leveled off. Raber's book examines this important problem and tries to come up with solutions—but as the later history of Christianity on Taiwan shows, the numbers remained steady and only about three percent of the population describe themselves as Christian.

A fourth book by a missionary, Robert J. Bolton, and one also published by the William Carey Library, the press arm of the Fuller Theological Seminary, is *Treasure Island: Church Growth among Taiwan's Urban Minnan Chinese*.²³ It is a useful book on an important subject.

These were missionaries who came to know the large religious systems to be found on Taiwan. The men and women who did this work were missionaries themselves and they studied and write books as a way of understanding the people they were trying to bring to Christ. The early Presbyterian missionaries observed and wrote about Taiwanese religion as they knew it. In 1940s, the 1950s and 1960s and beyond, the missionaries from the various western churches that made up what would label, the "missionary "invasion of the late these three decades came to know Taiwan, learned about its culture and try to win its people from those religious traditions they came to know very well.

Let us look at two other more focused books by missionary that take aim at what might be called "knowing your enemy." These books each dealt with Taiwanese religion but in rather different ways. Some members of these Western missionary bodies became pioneers of sorts, like the secular anthropologists whose work I have discussed, in the study of Taiwanese religion in all its fascinating, and often perplexing—and to missionaries, paganistic, glory. Two books published in the 1960s on Taiwan demonstrate this.

The first of these is a book first published in Taiwanese under the title *Ki-tok-to Kap Tai-on Koan-siok* and was titled, most tellingly, in English as *A Guidebook for Christians On Taiwanese Customs and Superstitions*. The English translated into English by a Taiwanese scholar, Go Sin-gi and a pastor/missionary in the Lutheran Evangelical Church, Rev. Ardon

Albrecht and published on in Taipei in 1965. The book is good on details and is thus useful as starting point for reading about the ritual year and patterns of popular religion. It is also valuable as a take on the missionary mindset for after each description of ritual, it states that Christians should not believe in a certain god or participate in the rituals described. The “true believer” mindset that makes many Taiwanese uncomfortable with Christianity, is on full display here.

A more careful, and more objective, approach the *minjian* traditions and rites can be found in *An Introduction to Taiwanese Folk Religion* written by Gerald Kramer and George Wu.²⁴ It, too was designed as a guide to the newly arrived missionary or the interested American or European businessman, but provides a starting point for scholars and for western students as well. It is brief but comprehensive and gives the reader a good sense of what he or she is witnessing. These are not scholarly books, but each is a book that would be researcher could have used.

We can look at the 1960s and the 1970s through the lens of the more evangelical missionaries and Chinese Christians as we have now done. What I must also note is that these churches were often strong supporters of the KMT and did not want to take hard stands about political issues. They represented those who were in the ruling elite of the island after 1949.

We can examine these decades in a quite a different way, by seeing it through the eyes of the more liberal churches. Here the best example of this broader and more political activist church is the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan. Another example of a more activist and more Taiwanese-centered community is made up of mission stations run by the Maryknollers, the missionary society that was founded in the United States in the early 20th Century. These missionaries had concentrated their work in Fujian and knew the languages of Southeastern Fujian, primarily the Minnan dialect.

The two groups, the PCT leadership and the heads of the Maryknoll Chapterhouse worked together, quietly, to thwart the efforts of the KMT to weaken their impact on the Taiwanese community. The battle raged over the course of the 1970s and into the 1980s and did not end until the KMT began to reform and democratize itself during CCK’s last years. The events are examined in a number of books by members of the PCT and also are found in the Rubinstein article found in the Clart /Jones volume.

I can say, in all modesty that my monograph of *The Protestant community in Modern Taiwan*, a book that, one critic felt was pioneering work, served to sum up the history and development of the Protestant community before 1991 and did deal to some degree with the PCT. My later essay in the Clart and Jones book expands on this and spells out the PCT history and its battle with the KMT state in some detail. I will make reference to that article when I present a profile of the Presbyterian Church on Taiwan in Part II of this essay.

It may be useful to end this history/historiography here. Over the course of the next two decades important work was done on the Christian community. In the next section, one consisting of profiles of the key churches as they evolved over the 1990s and the years from

2001 to 2011, I will make use of this new body of work and also the new sites now available on the internet that provide a great deal of data that I attempt to digest while not chocking on it.

Now to the core question of this essay: What are the churches like now, as this researcher began “going back to church”?

II. When You Go Back to Church. What do You See?: Locating and Profiling the Christian Churches in Contemporary Taiwan

In the *The Protestant Community in Modern Taiwan*(1991), your author developed a spectrum of church types—based on the concept of what he can now call a “Western-connected/Indigenous dyad” that was designed to embrace the Protestantism as I had found it on Taiwan. What he realized over the years is that other church communities had also played a large and at times very different set of roles in Taiwanese life. By excluding these for a variety of practical and emotional reasons, I had no done justice to the nature of Christianity writ large in this small but very important island nation. What he also realized over the course of the initial research period and the months since then that he was figuring out just what the nature of his article on this GBTC should and would be like.

What he realized is that one really needs not one, but two spectrum (spectra??) to be able more clearly lay out, in diagramatic form, the more accurate and more inclusive nature of Taiwan Christian Community. This second spectrum would suggest the nature of the theologies that each church or church-related set of organizations followed or self developed that differentiated them from other such church or church-related bodies.

My objective in this section and in the article writ large is to transcend certain doctrinal and organizational and culture bound limitations and that some Western Christians and Chinese Christians see as necessary to preserve the purity of what they see as “true” Christianity. That “exclusivist bias”, as I see it now, was somehow integrated into my own worldview, subliminally perhaps, and I accepted it and made use of it in that 1991 attempt at mapping the community. Here I reject what I had done in by having only one spectrum by adding another more classic spectrum. What I also do here is reject what I had done in the 1991 book and by removing from that first version of the indigenization spectrum what I now realize was it’s all too convenient elimination of those Christian churches that had been deemed flawed or even non-Christian or Christo-pagan in the eyes of the more orthodox—and more “westernized” Protestants on Taiwan and in groups in the west who looked and continue to search for what they see infection by outside elements i.e. native/indigenous individuals and ecclesiastical polities attempting to fit Christianity in to their local cultural/spiritual norms and modes of thinking. Such critical “watch dog/gatekeeper like sites are all too numerous on the internet and make for some fascinating reading, even as they convince a community of those willing to reject a more global and integrative form of Christianity. Let us begin by spelling out these two spectrums and by doing so diagram the Taiwanese Christian Community in two different ways.

One such spectrum, the new one I now introduce, defines the Christian community (and not simply the Protestant community) in terms of a liberal-to-conservative theological belief

system. I must admit that this is the more or less conventional one (and the one that excludes both the Roman Catholic and Mormon churches) that most journalists and students of church history and church ecclesiology would find most useful.

In this spectrum we have on the left side, the mainline churches such as the Episcopalians (Anglicans) and the Presbyterians. If truth be told, the Anglican church did not survive on Taiwan as a viable entity, beyond the 1960s or 1970s, as the historical record shows us.

Next would be the Presbyterian Church on Taiwan, the oldest of the western-related, but today independent/autonomous churches on the island. Then would be the Lutheran Church, with its rich history and theology going back to the very birth of the Protestant Reformation itself.

The Southern Baptist Convention, the southern breakaway segment of a church that evolved in England in the 17th century and in the British Colonies in North America during the 17th and 18th centuries, would occupy a central position in American missions and served as a counterforce to the more theologically and socially liberal and abolitionist churches that joined together to form the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.²⁵ It had a long history in China along with its northern or American Baptist Church that went back to the mid-19th century. As we have seen this church was based in the cities of Taiwan's western coast.

The next group of churches were those that grew out of the Methodist Movement which was itself a product of the Pietist movement in 18th England and Western and middle Europe. The Methodist church was based in Taipei, on Xinsheng Nan Lu, and north of the Church Row area that was Xinsheng Nan Lu south of Xinyi Lu and across from the Taida Campus.

The 19th and early 20th century saw the development of a new religious movement sweeping England and the United States. One of these churches was The Holiness Church, more evangelical and pietistic version of the Methodists. This church that had done missionizing and had based itself in Japan and came to Taichung in the 1910s. Next in order and a more evangelical and pietistic church—based on the Plymouth Brethren, another product of the late 19th Century English Protestant ferment. This was the indigenous Chinese church, the Assembly Hall Church or Local Church (Difanghui).

The Assemblies of God was next. It was a Pentecostal Church whose roots lay in the United States and the grand evangelical movement that swept both Black and Caucasian lower and lower middle class communities in the first two decades of the 20th century.

Finally there are two indigenous Charismatic churches. The first of is the True Jesus Church which evolved in the late 1910s in Shandong and then spread south to Fujian and came to Taiwan in the 1920s. A similar, if much smaller church had its roots in the radical and charismatic theology of a Shanghai singer who moved to Hong Kong after the victory of the CCP. This was the New Testament Church and its Sabbatarian worship and Gifts of the Holy Spirit/Speaking in Tongues, among other things make similar in kind, if not in politics with its

older sister church, the True Jesus Church. It too has a conservative and exclusivist philosophy as did the TJC.

This a fairly conventional spectrum based on theology that moves from “liberal” to more conservative and strictly Biblical (inerrant) in nature.

There is a second spectrum, the one I spelled out in *The Protestant Community On Modern Taiwan*. Here the range defined is from mission-centered to mission/western church linked (i.e. working relations with British and American Churches and membership in the World Council of Churches) to independent and indigenous Taiwanese/Chinese churches. Here I will broaden the spectrum spelled out in my 1991 book and include the “church of all “ and the church that many see as the mother church in the west, the Roman Catholic Church. On the left—the most Western church-related—part of the spectrum lays the Roman Catholic Church. Next to it lays the Southern Baptist Church, the “mother church” and theological watchdog/mother hen of the Taiwan Baptist convention of Taiwan. Similar to the SBC is the Assemblies of God. In its approach and mechanisms of control this large American Pentecostal church to the SBC, though its Taiwanese network of churches are smaller than that the SBC has created. The church is part of a large and still active American Church that lies, as does the SBC, in the southern American heartland. It began and still thinks of itself as the church of the dispossessed, though in truth, in this observer’s view it is very much a middle-class, and politically conservative body.

A third American church that continues to exert strong control on its churches on Taiwan is the LDS—the Church of Latter Day Saints—the Mormon Church. There is a caveat here, for, in the eyes of some western missionaries, churches such as the True Jesus Church and the New Testament Church are seen as something less than Christian—as “Christo-pagan” to use of the negative verbiage of some western evangelical, Holiness, and Pentecostal commentators. One can see this negative and very critical view unfolding in the US press as Mitt Romney comes ever closer to winning the Republican Party’s nomination for president and run against and equally controversial opponent, a Black Protestant with a Moslem first and last name and hybrid (American/Kenyan) parentage.

Occupying the middle of the spectrum is the largest and strongest of the Taiwanese churches, the Presbyterian Church on Taiwan (PCT). This church had western roots—it was founded as we have seen by British and Canadian missionaries, but missionaries who fostered the idea of an independent church—with some connections to the west. The Presbyterian Church on Taiwan also occupies this middle ground with its strong relationship with the American, Canadian and British and Scottish Presbyterian churches. But it is now very much a Taiwanese church, if not totally indigenous-. I use indigenous here as a church with its own mode of Christian thought and worship, a mode that reflects its local—on- the ground culture.

Another church-related body that occupies a middle ground is the China Evangelical Seminary, located in Taipei across the street from the Taipei Military/Veterans Hospital and right next to Christian-run Morrison Academy.

On right end of the spectrum is found the major indigenous churches—the Assembly Hall Church, with its western theological roots, the True Jesus Church and the New Testament Church.

The major churches on Taiwan –as defined by number of members and degree of presence in the larger Taiwanese society each have their own niches and their own ethnic and socio economic audiences. I will deal with a number of these. Each is a church that I have come to see as important in its own unique way. Given the limitations of space, I will present brief pictures of each church, seminary or mission body and then move on, in Section III, to deal with a number of larger issues that Christian community now deals with and a number of activities that are examples of the new directions these church bodies must move in in a changing Taiwanese religious, cultural and political environment.

In these profiles of the churches and denominations that follow, I will make use of Spectrum # II, The Western-connect-Indigenous Spectrum as a starting point that better reflects the positional realities of the Taiwanese Christian Community. Our starting point, in terms of the pattern of Spectrum # II – a spectrum. I have suggested, is one that ranges from Western-connected and Western and governed churches to the middle ground of churches that are connected to western and Taiwanese bodies and have a foot in each socio cultural matrix to independent and indigenous churches has to be the quite glorious monster(or is it the 800 pound gorilla in the room and the home of the anti-Christ (i.e. the Pope) as some hyper evangelical churches such as the SBC would have it) the Roman Catholic Church.

The Roman Catholic Church

In 1859, the Roman Catholic Church came back to Taiwan, an island they had been driven from during the era of Dutch East India control in the early 17th century.²⁶ Spanish missionaries settled into Jilong and Tamsui in 1626 and develop a presence there among *yuanzhumin* living in the area for a decade or so. Their arch rivals, the VOC and its allies, missionaries of the Dutch Reformed (Calvinist) church that had begun work among the Fujian immigrants working with the Dutch in what Andrade has called co-colonization as well as among Plains Aborigine from southern Taiwan. The Dutch hated the Spanish and were in the midst of a long, many-decade-long war for complete liberation from Spain's control. Taiwan became another theater in that war that rage around the world. The Dutch, well armed and allied with Yuanzhumin, carried on a campaign against the Catholic invaders, as they saw them, and won the mini-war handily. The Dutch lost their own control of the island in the 1660s after a long battle and siege by the forces of the Han-Japanese warlord, Koxinga who drove the Dutch back to the base Batavia and with the , the Dutch Reformed missionaries who had begun, one a number of levels, the westernization of the tribal peoples. Certain elements of this civilizing project had worked. More than a century later, as the anthropologist Myron Cohen has shown us in his work on Taiwanese contracts in Qing Taiwan, contracts written by the aborigines in southern Taiwan used both a Romanized script and Chinese characters. This work among the *yuanzhumin* of the central highlands would continue once again, beginning in 1859 when the second wave of Catholic missionaries (Spanish Dominicans who were based in the Philippines) had moved to Fujian and from there came to the southern Taiwanese cities of

Gaoxiong and Tainan in 1859. For the next three decades these missionaries represented were part of the Fujian Apostolic Vicariate. That vicariate was divided into the Northern (Fuzhou) and Southern (Amoy (Xiamen) vicariates and Taiwan was a part of the Southern Vicariate until July of 1913 when it became separate. Of course, this was a Taiwan that was no long a part of China: in 1895 it had become of colony of Imperial Japan by the terms of the treaty that ended the Sino-Japanese War. Two Spanish prefects apostolic served on the island led the church (first Monsignor Clemente Fernandez and then Monsignor Tomas de la Hoz) until they, like the Presbyterian missionaries were driven from the island by hyper- imperialist Japanese administrators in 1940.²⁷

Once the Second Sino-Japanese and the larger conflict, World War II was over and the Japanese surrendered the island to the ROC government, Rev. Tu Min-chen, a Taiwanese priest was appointed minister of the Taiwanese prefecture. However, Western missionaries began to return to their respective churches Catholic, Presbyterian and Holiness, but the nature of their roles in the Taiwanese church community depended on what churches they were in. Taiwanese Presbyterians made it clear that they were in control and that the missionaries would have to serve as advisors. They rewrote church bylaws to formalize this process as a number of church historians such as the former British Presbyterian, Elizabeth Brown has shown us in her Oxford MA thesis on the history of the Taiwanese church she had served for many years. She served as one of those western advisors (as the Assistant General Secretary) in the critical decade of the 1970s and early 1980s work with the head of the church pastor Gao Zhun-min.

The Catholic hierarchy was not ready to follow the Presbyterian lead (and are not yet ready to this day, in any real way) and on March 5 of 1948, Jose Arregui OP (check—Philippino) was appointed the new prefect of Taiwan. Two year later, after the ROC control of the Chinese mainland ended and many Catholic priests and lay people migrated to Taiwan, Rome decided to divide Taiwan into two prefectures. One, Westerner (Spanish), Arrgeui was again was given the reins of leadership in Gaxiong and a Chinese pastor, Joseph Kuo CDD was appointed for the post of Prefect of Taibei. At the same time a prefecture was established in Taizhong. . William F. Kupfer, MM, a Maryknoll missionary was made head of the Taizhong prefecture two years later. The Maryknoll order had done important work in Fujian and many of its priests and nuns came to Taiwan and were based at first in Taizhong. The Maryknoll Chapterhouse is still there and very active to this day.

These were but the first steps taken and as the 1950s went on personnel were added as Roman Catholic membership continued to increase. What must be noted is that during Retrocession it was the order Spanish Dominicans who played the largest role and as years went on and the pool of missionary talent and regular parish style priests were needed to man the new congregations the order's role was diminished.

One such key missionary order was that of the Maryknollers—the Catholic Mission Society in America. This order was the first American missionary order and it was founded in the early 20th century. For most of its history it was located in Lakehurst, New Jersey but in the 1950's it moved to land in the town of Ossining in the western part of New York State's Westchester County in the Hudson River Valley. Here it remains to this day.

The central building is a vast and impressive structure that seems to blend Western and Asian styles of architecture. That building contains administrative office, a substantial library, primarily devoted to Asian books and a film archive as well. Nearby are to be found the housing facilities for the men and women who serve in the order. I know the site well and have made good use of its libraries over the decades. My working relationship with Maryknoll extended to Taiwan as well. I have also stayed at the Maryknoll Chapterhouse in Taizhong over the years, and used it as base when studying the other major churches who had headquarters in Taizhong, the Holiness Church and the True Jesus Church.

I have also been able and visited other sites. The most important of these, is a church run by two Maryknoll priests that was located in a town in the central mountains east of Taizhong. That church/mission served the needs of the Yuanzhumin community nearby, in the heart of Taiwan's tea growing area.

I felt at home at Maryknoll in the United States and on Taiwan and got to know the men who served it and the nature of the order's role and presence on Taiwan during the critical years of the 1970s and after. Many of those Maryknoll priests (shenfu) that I met and worked with embraced a form of Social Gospel and/or Liberation Theology which made these individuals sensitive to the belief system and the political/human rights efforts of the Presbyterian Church on Taiwan and also with the Taizhong-based True Jesus Church, an indigenous church that usually was wary of Western churches. The TJC was one of the largest churches on the island and worked among both the Taiwanese and the Yuanzhumin communities. This shared work and feelings of loyalty to the people of Taiwan that evolved quietly and under the radar between Catholics, Presbyterians and True Jesus leaders provided common ground that was sufficient to produce a quiet alliance of sorts in the battle with what members of all three Christian organizations considered an oppressive, and sometimes violent and dangerous, KMT dominated state structure.

Other Catholic orders did not share the Maryknoll view of the world. One reason for this was that the communities that these orders, such as the Jesuits, worked with the immigrants from Mainland China. The American priests in that order, I discovered during the year I taught in the Graduate faculty at Furen Catholic University, were political conservative and were Cold War hardliners. These priests major center was the Tian Center located near the Tai-Power stop on the MRT, on Roosevelt Road but a few blocks from Taida and the Xinsheng Nan Lu's Church Road district.

Let me step back here and state that there were Jesuits and there were Jesuits. My professor at St. Johns University (New York) in the 1960s, Father Thomas Berry (the uncle of Elizabeth Berry, a major figure in 15th and 16th century Japanese history and a former president of the Association of Asian Studies) and, for example, was a scholar of Chinese religion and a devoted friend of that major figure in Catholic life Teilhard de Chardin. Father de Chardin was an archaeologist who studied the Beijing man and later became a philosopher/theologist of the future in his wonderful and much criticized book the *Phenomenon of Man*. At the Tian Center, for example, there existed a research center run by a Belgian priest, father Benoit Vermander, a Jesuit, who represented a very different strain of Catholicism. He was from the great Belgian

university of Louvegne and gathered around him young scholars such as Elise Devito and Ann Heylen who were the very opposite of my conservative Jesuit colleague at the Furen History Department.

The Tian Center was a long block away from Church Road (the southern most stretch of Xinshen Nan Lu . “Church Road” is my own term and it reflects the reality of this area. When one walks down Xinsheng Nan Lu from north of Renai Lu Hoping Lu staying on the west side of that grand thoroughfare that once was a Taibei dividing ditch, one finds church after church— from Methodist to Lutheran to Southern Baptist to Catholic on the western side of the Road. One also finds the grand Taibei Mosque as well. A few short blocks west of Xinsheng Nan Lu and near where it meets Roosevelt Road and end-- is the new seven storey building that serves as headquarters of the PCT. When one adds the Jesuit Tian Center and the Catholic church that is part of that complex and the China Evangelical Seminary a few blocks from the Tian center, on Tingzhou Lu one discovers that the area is dominated, in terms of working sites, at least, as the Christian hub of Taiwan. Let me note, however, that that same area has its share of Buddhist temples and *minjian* temples as well. It is, for you Taibei hands, a few blocks from the night market just south of the sprawling Taida campus that is north of Roosevelt Road.²⁸

What Hollington Tong shows us in his important, but forgotten, book of 1961, *Christianity in Taiwan: A History*, is that the Catholic Church , with its fine-honed organizational skills and its very different and able set of missionaries representing different orders, was able to “seize the day” and gather in a larger and larger flock. The Diocesan church and the leadership of that church was primarily mainland in makeup, but with orders such as the Maryknollers in place working down island and based in Taizhong and Gaoxiong, and with the SVD, the Brothers of the Divine World, a German order helping to recreate a Chinese Catholic University, Furen, in a township in Taibei County just west of the city, Zhongli (check) the number of Catholics grew at a rate that challenged that of the PCT. By the early 1960s , the Catholics stood at 170,000 up from 8,000 in the late 1940s. I must add that the number of Protestants had increased as well during this same period, so the immediate post war period was one of dramatic growth.

The half century that followed would prove to be more difficult for the Roman Catholic Church writ large. The expansion was certainly steady of not spectacular as in the late 140s and the 1950s. What we do see over these decades is institutional growth and a steady process of Sinicization and Taiwanization. Our window to this process of Catholic growth in membership and institutional expansion is large format soft-covered book that the Taibei Archdiocese prepared and published in the celebration of the 150th year of its continuous presence as a religious body on Taiwan.

This is rather amazing, quite detailed and comprehensive overview of this truly universal church in all its varied dimensions and as the 150th History volume show us it is very much a part of Taiwan. It is an attempt to show believers, other Christian churches and communities, the Government of the ROC and the people of Taiwan writ large all that this church is and just how much of a role --Taiwanese societal, cultural and spiritual --the RCC plays in the island’s daily life.²⁹ I shall make use of this volume and a number of related pamphlets,

web sites and secondary sources as means of describing the Roman Catholic Church on Taiwan in 2012.

We must begin with ecclesiology—church organization. In the words of the Profile of the Catholic Church,³⁰ “The Catholic church is a big family in human society. On the administrative side it is an organization with a system. The detailed rules and regulations of the catholic Church can be found in the ‘Code of Canon Law’. In general it includes the Pope, the Holy See, bishops , priests, Christian faithful(i.e. Catholic) religious communities (the formal “orders” of the church, many of them evangelical/missionary organizations), and associations of the faithful (usually termed lay organizations). “

There is one archbishop on Taiwan he is the leader of the Taiwan Roman Catholic Church in Taiwan today (January, 2012) . He is Hung (John) Shan-chuan, the head of the Taipei Archdiocese. He was appointed Archbishop by Pope Benedict in 2007. Taipei is the only archdiocese on the island. The rest are diocese and thus exist on a lower rung of church organization. Taiwan now is made up of the Taipei Archdiocese, and the Jiayi Diocese, the Xinzhu Diocese, the Hualian Diocese, the Gaxiong Diocese, the Taizhong Diocese and the Tainan Diocese. Each of these is head by a bishop who report to Archbishop Shan.

When look at the 150th Anniversary Volume, we see that the book is, in its longest section divided into sections that cover in some detail the history of and some of the characteristics of the Taipei Archdiocese and each of the diocese. The history of each of these administrative units is unique as these sections of anniversary volume show us. A more general timeline/chronicle of Taiwan RCC history is provided by the Church in “Taiwan, Roc: Brief History”³¹ and by making use of both publications one can get a good idea of how the church did develop over the last sixty five years. Hollington Tong’s book also provides useful information on the years from 1859 to 1961 and provides us with valuable and clearly spelled out narrative of these crucial earlier periods and years.

He begins not with history , however, but with the present—and here I mean the grand ceremony that marked the anniversary. This was held at the grand cathedral in Taipei and brought together the archbishop, the bishops of each diocese, the parish priests who were on the ground level, and members of the missionary orders of priests and nuns who worked in the various institutions that the individual orders or combinations of orders ran. The pictures are ablaze with the colors of the robes and headgear that are akin the US Marine Corps formal Dress Blues and they capture the sheer size and magnificence that is found only in a grand Catholic cathedral (and in some Anglican ones as well). The RCC leaders here and elsewhere know that at essence high church religion is a show given in as large and glorious a theater as possible. The larger scene is caught in the DVD’s that accompany the Anniversary Volume and making for a richer sense of the event and of the sheer glory of the RCC on Taiwan. For an outsider such your author, this visit or observation and participation in such services and rites is part of the fun of doing work on large scale religious bodies. No I do not accept the wafer and the wine—the Body and the Blood. That for me is a step too far. Only a synagogue like those found on NY’s fifth avenue or in Jerusalem can be any match for what I saw in the Catholic churches I visited Taipei and elsewhere...and no other form religious can compare in terms of

the music one hears at such an RCC site. Paris on a Christmas week at various grand cathedrals comes to mind.

As we turn the pages of this book we come to what I see as its core --- the presentations information about each of the of each diocese. We first see photographs of the men who served as the bishop of each diocese. Even a cursory review shows the degree to which Sinfication has taken place. We then read the history of each diocese. Each of these has rich information about its respective history and each shows what makes its experience different from the others. History—or better, annotated chronicles can go only so far and the authors and editors of the anniversary volume realize this. Thus , in a section on a given diocese, the book's authors also give us a sense of what is now going on there and just what the major churches and centers look like and do. We see present life unfold.

The volume as a whole is quite rich in the number of photographs it contains and these are not simply pictures of cathedrals or churches or hospitals or schools for university complexes. Rather we see sites/buildings with people in them engaged in worship, study or experienced a given large-scale spiritual event.

But these sections do not capture all of RCC life. Another very rich section highlights the worship of the Virgin Mary, the human mother of god (*Yahweh*???) as incarnation. I would argue that this focus on Mary is way of recapturing Mary for Catholics in China for has been clear for centuries now that images of Guanyin, the Goddess of Mercy were base on earlier images of Mary....now in my eye, at least, Mary has a distinctly Guanyin cast to her features and celebrations of Mary have a quasi Buddhist flavor. Is this a catholic counter-theft of what many priests, centuries ago, saw an appropriation of Roman Catholic iconography. I am just throwing this idea out there. This section of the Anniversary volume has pictures that give some weight to this conjecture.

The Taiwanese Catholic educational network is also impressive. Furen is the crown jewel of the system and I came to know it well in the 1879 -1980 school year as a professor there. It was a useful and exciting experience and I enjoyed my fellow instructors company and discussions and comradeship and my students as well. From what I have gathered from various sources , it remains a strong institution. There are also high schools and lower level schools at various sites throughout the island including Gaoxiong. The PCT has its own network and so church versus church competition for students is as real here as is church versus state run competition.

The Catholics also have networks of clinics and at least one major hospital, St. Josephs (where???). Furthermore some of the orders, most notably Maryknoll, with its Taiwanese constituency have vocational programs of various sorts. The Maryknoll Chapterhouse in Tazhong is also the home a school for the study of the Taiwanese language as I learned in the various times I roomed there while doing research on Protestantism on Taiwan. I would add that after a long week of attending the vigorous services of the True Jesus Church, with its collective speaking in tongues, attending Sunday services at the Maryknoll chapterhouse was like coming home again, for the RCC mass mirrors the Shabbat service of American Reform or

Conservative Jews. I let myself enjoy the service and felt a calm I never did in the TJC church about a mile away in downtown Taizhong. If some thus see me as quasi-catholic in spiritual outlook or emotional connection so be it, but I must add that I have felt the same comfort level and feeling of larger spiritual power in various Mazu temples on Taiwan and certain Zen temples in and near Kyoto. The more one studies religion, the more one recognizes, on an emotional, if not an intellectual level the areas of common ground.

What I have presented thus far is a generally positive view of the Roman Catholic Church. There are more critical views that present the church in what can be a more realistic than mine. The most important of these is a paper presented at a conference in Ireland in September of 2011. It is by Richard Madsen, a Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Chinese Studies at the University of California/San Diego. The abstract that follows sums up this important paper:

There was a large influx of Chinese and foreign Catholic priests, bishops, and nuns into Taiwan from mainland China in the years immediately following 1949. During the 1950s, there was a subsequent rapid increase in the number of conversions to Catholicism as well as a rapid growth of Catholic institutions. But the conversions tapered off in the early 1960s, and the number of actively practicing Catholics went into a steady decline. Today, many large church buildings in Taiwan are largely empty of Taiwanese on Sundays. If they are filled at all, it is with guest workers from the Philippines. The rapid rise and steep declines were based on a confluence of factors: the socio-political context, internal tensions within the Catholic clergy, and changes in local culture. This case study, based on archives from the Maryknoll Fathers, has some interesting parallels with the decline of the Catholic Church in Ireland over the past generation. A comparison of the two might contribute to general theories of religious growth and decline.

The paper by Professor Madsen is very rich and very important one that is presented by a scholar who is a classic insider/outsider. Using a variety of sources, including Maryknoll archives and his own personal and hard-won knowledge that was gained as a member of the Maryknoll Mission on Taiwan decades ago, he presents a portrait of the RCC on the rise on Taiwan and then on the decline. The reasons for both the rise and the decline are spelled out clearly and do show, as I suggested earlier in this section on the RCC on Taiwan, that the rosy portrait presented by the 150th anniversary volume is exaggerated and does not present the deep and painful truth of Catholic core membership—that it is far, far smaller than the Anniversary volume suggests. Why this is the way it is spelled out in “The Spectacular Growth and Precipitous Decline of the Catholic Church in Taiwan”³²

Now let us move to the largest of American denominations that has planted and continues to control and finance churches on Taiwan is the Southern Baptist Convention

The Southern Baptist Convention, the Taiwanese Baptist Convention , and the Smaller Baptist Denominations

The SBC is the largest and most powerful American Protestant denominations. It had a long history in China along with its northern or American Baptist Church that went back to the mid-19th century.

When the mainland fell, Southern Baptist members and their missionary allies moved to Taiwan and reestablished a central headquarters for the Southern Baptist Convention in Taipei. In the next decade or so, with the help of more missionaries from the United States, and the support of the Richmond, Virginia-based denomination, they were able to also plant a number of churches and in Taipei city and its suburbs and then plan congregations among the recently arrived Mainlander population in the major cities along Taiwan's western coast . By the early 1950s, when it was clear that Taiwan was supported by and protected by the United States they purchased land in the then underdeveloped southeastern are of Taipei city, an area at the edges of the range of hills and mountains that surrounded much of the city, and built a seminary with its own chapel, school buildings, a library and housing for students and faculty. That seminary is still there, but as we know the city now surrounds most of that attractive, but walled and gated teaching facility. The SBC also purchased land on Yangminshan and there they held, and continue to do so, Bible Schools for the children of their congregations and summer camps as well.³³ As we shall see, other churches followed their lead and bought property on the mountain with its panoramic views of the Taipei Basin that unfolds below them.

I studied the SBC over the course of the 1980s and 1990s and got to know a number of the missionaries working with it and one key leader of the Taiwan Baptist Convention, Zhou Lianhua. I was also able to attend services at churches in the Taipei Basin and also in Taizhong. In the 1980s those working in the church proved to be very open and were willing to give me time and talk to me about the church and its development. Pastor Zhou was one of these leaders and I learned much from our conversations while he was still active in the church and years later when he was working with the larger Chinese Protestant community in East Asia. He was honest and gave me the strong impression that the SBC had made gains in creating a viable church in its first decades on Taiwan, but that growth in members had leveled off over the course of the 1970s, 80s and nineties. This was what Alan Swanson had said in his two books and Dorothy Raber had said in hers. It also parallels the argument of Taiwanese Catholic decline that Richard Madsen discusses in his important conference paper of 2011. What gave Pastor Zhou hope was what he saw happening in the Chinese Mainland. He discussed this and related matters when we met at conference on Christianity in China and Taiwan held at the Hong Kong Baptist University in early 20000.

In 2011 . I attempted to meet with missionaries and seminary faculty members while I was doing my fieldwork for this essay. I met a firewall of sorts and was not able to talk to anyone. They were wary of this strange westerner and kept me at arm's length. In a period in which evangelicals in the US are very much in the spotlight, it seemed like a paranoid reaction. I say that because members of other churches were more open and gave me both publications and interviews and in two cases, the opportunity to attend their Sunday morning services.

These churches open to me included the Presbyterians, the Assembly Hall Church, the Mormons and the Catholics.

This lack of hands on and face-to-face research did not prevent me from obtaining useful data on the SBC. The SBC and the TBC do have their websites and these provide useful information on the present day state of the Southern Baptist Protestantism in present-day Taiwan.

What we find on Wikipedia is a short but useful article on the SBC. What we see, in outline form, is the history of the early years that Hollington Tong has covered. By the 1972, there were enough Chinese churches to support a formal convention. A self-supporting and self governing body of churches had evolved and the missionaries stated that they had no formal role in their operation. Yet missionaries remained in place, serving to provide advice as requested. This pattern of helping churches beyond the United States to develop into autonomous units is what the Presbyterians had done on a large scale and other western churches on Taiwan had done as well.

The Seminary did develop as a small but active presence for training preachers in the SBC, but had problems. The key one was that of non recognition by the ROC 's government. In effect, those who obtained degrees as pastors or ministers were not recognized as holders of higher degrees. This was a serious problem for the other seminaries on the island until 2005 when a resolution was passed that gave recognition to such seminaries as educational establishments of higher learning and recognition that their graduates had an advanced and a specialized education in religious studies and administration of a church or religious school.

Before this resolution was passed and this new policy became reality, those in the SBC and other churches, including the PCT had to go to the west to study at the major seminaries or divinity schools such as Harvard, Princeton, the Union Theological Seminary (with its ties to Columbia), Yale , and the Fuller Theological Seminary, a center for Pentecostals and evangelicals. On my visit to the Taiwan Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church I met faculty members who had done precisely that. The two men I had met had gone to Princeton for their training. Other, older PCT pastors I had met had gone to seminaries in Germany to get the credential the government would recognize while those younger and more evangelical had gone to Fuller in Sacramento.

While the SBC did not have as large a number of members that it wanted to, it did have some political clout for both Jiang Jieshi and Jiang Jingguo had their connections to it and to its Chinese pastors. This was seen most clearly in the mid 1970s when Zhou Hualian gave the formal eulogy for the Generalissimo.

One reason the SBC did not expand as much as its leaders thought it would lies in the decision they made in the 1950 to work only within the mainlander community. Only decades later did they begin to branch out to the other Han populations and to the yuanzhumin and attempt to convert members of those communities. Given the plateauing of church growth on Taiwan this may be far too late.

Other American Baptist denominations also move to Taiwan and their churches can be founded scattered through Taibei. One of the most important of these was the Conservative Baptist Church. It was established on Taiwan in 1953 and was lead by Ralph Covell, a missionary, historian and theologian who did much to create a solid presence for his church in areas outside of Taibei. He and his fellow worked in Nanto and Yulin Counties and then established themselves in Zhanghua and Taizhong. By 1960, there were five congregations of the Conservative Baptist church in the ROC. Reverend/Doctor Covell went further, however and established a Bible college to for his church as well as a church press.³⁴

When Ralph Covell left Taiwan, he became one of the major figures in the within –the church students of Chinese and Taiwanese Christianity and his books are considered to be classic works in their various subfields. Over the years, at various conferences on the missionary enterprise in China and on Taiwan, I got to know him and understand why he has become a master in his field and beyond.

Other Baptist churches and church related groups also became part of the Taibei and greater Taiwan church community. One such organization was the Bible Baptist Fellowship. Its representatives came to the island in 1951 and by decade's end had planted two congregations. Yet a fourth such body, the Emanuel Baptist Mission, came a few years later , in 1958 and later became part of the North American Baptist Association, the theologically more liberal wing of the umbrella of Baptist bodies. This group founded one church.³⁵

The China Evangelical Seminary

The China Evangelical Seminary is the training ground for pastors and lay workers of the various independent more Evangelical churches that are found primarily in Taibei. The seminary was founded by both Chinese Christians and western missionaries. The first president of the Seminary was Hudson Taylor III, the great grandson of James Hudson Taylor, the founder of the Plymouth Brethren related-China Inland Mission (today, the Overseas Mission Fellowship). As we will see a bit later, the OMF is a powerful actor In the larger Protestant community as heir to the CIM.

The president that followed James Hudson Taylor were Chinese with strong scholarly and church backgrounds. His first successor was Timothy Lin(1911-2009).Timothy Lin had a long and exiting and productive career in the Chinese and ,later, the Taiwanese (or, more accurately, the Waishenren) Protestant community. Let us look at his career.

Lin was a member of an Anglican family from Jejiang and studied at a seminary in Nanjing. According to his biography on Wikipedia, he only went through a deep and formal conversion process when he was nineteen years old. I see this comment in this online biography as strong suggesting that the piece's author was an Evangelical to whom conversion marks the inner reality of an individual's faith. It is very much a code that those outside the field of Protestant Studies would not necessarily pick up. Lin in did show, the biography's author states that he was a deeply spiritual young man who was also intent on gaining knowledge of the roots and evolution of Christianity and his own church and its rich almost five-century long history. He soon discovered that he was by nature more conservative a Christian than his

Anglican family, and disagreed with the liberal tilt of the seminary's approach to studying the Bible. He believed in Biblical inerrancy and the 19th century school of textual analysis was too scientific, too accepting of the German school of the historical critical approach. He felt such and approach and was anti-scriptural—ie against “original meaning.” This is akin to the American political right-wing's approach to the United States Constitution. These scholars and justices were intent on finding the original meaning in the America constitution and disregarding much of the a long history of interpretive change through case law and supreme court decisions that relied on interpretation based in the present day realities, not the realities of a mythical founders past. He left the seminary to serve as pastor in various churches, and religious schools working within the Christian and Missionary Alliance, a evangelical body that had its headquarters in Rockland County in New York's Hudson Valley (your author's home ground). This was during the early years of the Second Sino Japanese war and during the war lost his wife and children while working in Nanjing. He was able to leave China for American in 1940 he attended Concordia Seminary and the Washington University and received what would be the first and second of a number degrees in western schools belonging to the well regarded Evangelical and Brethren related wings of western Protestantism. When he returned, he degrees and experience in Christian education provided him with more opportunity and he became dean of the Shanghai Baptist college and after the war was appointed president of the Hangzhou-based East China Theological College. In 1948 he was able to go back to the United States and to obtain Bachelor of Divinity and the Master of Sacred Theology at the Faith Theological Seminary. He then went on to Dropsie College, a Jewish institution and received a Ph.D. in Hebrew and Cognate Language. These years of study in the United States were fortuitous for he did not have to experience the painful final years of the Chinese Civil war.

In the years that followed he pursue a career as a scholar of Christianity in the west working in some of the more conservative religious colleges and seminaries as well as a pastor in more evangelical churches in various parts of the United State. Given his degrees and his own take on the nature of faith and on interpreting the Bible, this was the only practical path he could take.

He was a member of the faculty of Bob Jones College a famous (or infamous) Christian college and then taught at the Talbot School of Theology and then the Trinity Evangelical Seminary. He proved to be a solid scholar and strong and charismatic lecturer and was seen as an strong representative of the conservative wing of the American Chinese Community. His choice as the second president of the China Evangelical Seminary was a logical choice. I was able to meet with him and found to be an interesting man to interview. I sensed that at the CES he found a perfect home for given his beliefs and his strong education within the Evangelical community. He took his post at CES in 1980, succeeding Hudson Taylor III and remained at the seminary in 1990.³⁶

Reverend Lin's successor was Paul Lai. He was followed, in 2011 by Peter K. Chow. Each man is a scholar in his own right, with degrees from Westminster Theological and a Ph.D from Temple University.³⁷ Both of these leaders have worked to keep James Hudson Taylor III's commitment to serious scholarship deep faith alive as they ran and now run CES. Given the new

theological realities they are finding on Taiwan, this scholarly emphasis may be challenged as I shall suggest at a later point in this discussion of the CES.

The CES faculty is equally broad based, though OMF people seem to serve the longest continuous tenures. The administration was able to convince missionaries based on Taiwan to serve there and to see the CES as a center for research and scholarship as well religious education and pastoral training. I have been fortunate to work with or interview a number of them since the 1980s.

As I suggested, the CES has hired or made use of the services of some important westerners as well. Alan Swanson was one of this and what follows is a brief portrait of the man and his work, a man who I knew and became both an important and good friend whose life and work I admire, though we see the world and the nature of religion very differently. I see him as mentor who allowed me to learn much about the Christianity community on Taiwan from a very sophisticated scholar and deeply pious and devoted man who came to love Taiwan and his own Lutheran flock and the larger community with a quiet but very deep passion.

I met Allen Swanson in 1983. He had come to Taiwan with the Lutheran church and his own scholarly as well as pastoral sensibilities—and his comfort with the evangelical tradition had made a good fit to teach at the CES. He had by then begun to explore the great problem all missionaries and Taiwanese and Waishen ren Christians, whether pastors or lay leaders faced—how account for and deal with the failure of the Christian community in the ROC, in the face of serious efforts at evangelism and the founding (or planting) of new churches to maintain high levels of growth, growth that match the percentage growth of an expanding and ever more sophisticated Taiwanese economy. His three books, *Mainline versus Independent Church Growth*, *the Church in Taiwan: Profile 1980* and *Mending the Nets*,³⁸ were all contributions to the understanding of the various issues the missionaries and their allies in the Chinese and Taiwanese churches faced.

Swanson was also a man who was aware of larger trends in East Asian Christianity. One such movement was the crusade of the Korean pastor or a mega church, Paul Chou. In the 1980s he attempted to teach these ideas to Christian workers in the hope that this charismatic movement would take hold. I went with him to a small Christian complex in Miaoli and saw how he was able to get his ideas across and have these Taiwanese Christians promote a charismatic revival on Taiwan. He was an excellent teacher and advocate and the revivals that did occur among various churches were so successful, they scared the leaders of the more liberal and less revival oriented churches. Taiwanese Presbyterians I talked to were wary of the new movements and felt that some of the yuanzhumin churches were involved in such revivals with their explosive “gifts of the Holy Spirit” and were ready to leave the more sober, more structured and more social service oriented churches that the Presbyterians had helped to found and nurture. Swanson was excited by the results he saw and believed that such strong

and loud and emotional revivals were ways of bringing more people into the churches or back to them.

I must add here that I learned something of the power of this Korean Charismatic movement when I attended a meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies held in a bible school located near the shore community of Huntington Beach. I had become a friend of the Provost of the Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, a seminary that was shifting from evangelical to Pentecostal forms of Christianity, and my friend was a Pentecostal. He was working with a Korean-American businessman who was closely allied with Paul Chou's church and this man gave me a good sense of the nature of what Paul Chou and his mega church did. I also learned how strong the links and relationships between Korean and American evangelicals and Pentecostals were becoming. I saw this movement as an important and fascinating one and now see it as a early sign of the expansion of East Asian (here Korean) forms of independent Christianity was becoming. I shall deal with this issue of Taiwanese Christian outreach and expansionism in section three. I have mentioned here because it shows how far ahead of the curve Allan Swanson was and much he thought that East Asian forms of emotional, "Holy Spirit Driven forms of Christian might change the dynamics of church life and promote church growth on Taiwan. Here Swanson was at one—was on the same page with my American Pentecostal seminary administrator friend—and a powerful student of Latin American Pentecostal and Charismatic movements and his Korean-American player and intermediary who helped bring together Korean and American men of religious power and influence.

Swanson was a pastor and church leader who became a scholar and a teacher. There is another individual, another American scholar and pastor, G. Wright Doyle, who also taught at and played an important role in the development of the China Evangelical Seminary and I will now examine, albeit briefly, his interesting career.

Dr. Doyle, now the General Director and a Senior Research Associate at the Global China Center in Virginia. He did undergraduate degree at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, his M. Div at the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria Virginia, and his Ph.D in Classics at the his undergraduate university, the University of North Carolina. He wrote on Augustine of Hippo, one of the major (magisterial) figures in the theological/doctrinal history of early Catholic/Christian Church. He then moved to Taipei to learn Chinese at the Taipei Language Institute so as to be able to teach at the China Evangelical Seminary. and began his work on Mandarin at the Taipei Language Institute. He then became a professor at CES and taught there from 1980 to 1988. He taught courses on the New Testament, Greek, and Ethics. It is fair to say that he came to know Dr. Lin, the then president of CES well. Im sorry to say I never met him over the years

When he and his family returned to the United States, he founded China Institute, an evangelically oriented organization that engages in evangelism and teaching among educated Chinese, and then also Global China Center, a think tank that focuses on the study of Christianity in China. He is a strong scholar and over the years has written books on China and on American Christianity and a theological study of evangelical leader Carl Henry. He

has also written books published in Chinese.

The CES occupies an important place in the Taiwanese Protestant community. Its students come from a range of smaller evangelical churches and denominations, both Chinese and western. This large umbrella neatly coincides with the CIM/OMF profile for men and women of very different denominations served in it over its more than a century and a half of existence.

I have also been in the position to use the CES as a base during the initial stages of my research on the Protestant community on Taiwan and did interviews of a number of students as well. I made it my business to visit the CES almost each year I was in Taiwan from 1983 to the summer late spring of 2011 and try to talk to faculty and students and obtain various in-house publications. During my last visit I spent a morning there and did interview a member of the western faculty, Andrew Butler who had been at CES since its very beginning.³⁹

But what were the reasons for the CES? What students did it serve the and what are they like now? How did CES change over time? What the trends we see in its development and just what is like now and what role does it play in the life of the larger Christian community. On January 25, 2012, I conducted an interview/dialogue with G. Wright Doyle and over that span of time he helped me to obtain a more clear and precise sense of CES history. Many of the questions I posed are based on his comments and I shall make use of these comments and insights to round out this portrait of CES. I shall also return to G. Wright Doyle and his sense of things in my conclusion.

When the China Evangelical Seminary began it was seen by James Hudson Taylor III as a means of serving churches that did not have access to an evangelical, but not narrow denominational seminary. That idea of Christian community and not separatism was at the heart of the CIM/OMF sensibility. That idea was important to President Taylor. What was also important was scholarship. There was great emotion in the Christians of Taiwan, but there was not the deep knowledge of the Bible and of the history of Christianity that a person needed to reinforce the fact that he was now not only Chinese but something more and that he lived within Chinese civilization and now within a universal Christian culture as well. Thus he worked to bring in faculty that would train pastors and teachers and active and involved lay people who would know their faith as well as feel it and practice it. The presidents who followed Taylor continue this core idea of making its graduates both intellectuals and deeply sincere and devout members of the evangelical community writ large.

In some ways, Prof. Doyle suggests, the CES did too well. Churches within its umbrellas decided it was a good model to follow and in the next twenty to thirty years build their own denominational seminaries. When the smoke cleared there were a number of new seminaries but the one that still led the way was CES.

In the 2000s, CES and other seminaries have begun to face new challenges. The first is their status in society. They are now beginning to be recognized as educational institutions and their degrees and degree programs have a formal and more viable status. The seminary will be able to offer a true master's degree, for example. Because they are being given this new status,

they have to meet the various regulations and qualifications by the Jyauyubu, the Ministry of Education.

One such qualification that has become a game changer is this. Each seminary must have certain number of acres so one can have classrooms, faculty office space, student housing facilities and libraries if certain size and capacity to house books and related materials. This has forced the seminaries, including CES to find new space out side of the central city. This they are doing. The Southern Baptist had done this from the start as had both Synods of the Presbyterian Church on Taiwan. Now a new CES is being born.

Why was this change in status put through. The answer is not simple, but includes these factors: Seminaries wanted to offer degrees that were recognized by the Ministry of Education, so that their students could go onto secular schools for advanced degrees. Second, Christian leaders had seen the surge of Christianity in China and were aware that Chinese students wanted to obtain theologically related degrees. Taiwan was now going to be the place where they could get that degree and better serve the now one hundred million Chinese Christians.

As all of this began to change, a new challenge appeared. The drive to create a stronger intellectual base was one of James Hudson Taylor III's objectives. The newer faculty, like those of the Taiwan Theological College and Seminary, are better trained in the United States at the major evangelical seminaries such as Fuller and Trinity and Wheaton also at the major Ivy

League seminaries, as has been the case of the TTCS. However, there are some indications that many of the students coming in are not as interested in this strong intellectual and scholarly tradition. They were caught up in the charismatic fervor one saw and the Lingliang Tang (Spiritual Bread church) (a charismatic Church) as well as what one saw at the TJC and the Difanghuei. That has begun to create a new culture clash and the faculty and new President of CES, Dr. Peter Chow (Zhou Gonghe), a scientist and theological scholar by training will now have to bridge the divide.

Professor Doyle has given us, as you the reader can see, important insights to the CES. If these conflicts can be successfully managed, he sees a stronger seminary coming out of this change, a seminary that will meet the needs of the Taiwanese Evangelical community. He remains a minor player, returning to visit friends at the seminary almost every. He served his school and his larger community well and his students have come to play an important role in the lives of the church members they work with to this day.

The Presbyterian Church on Taiwan (PCT)

Over the course of this article, I have suggested and spelled out, in outline form, PCT history and its role in Taiwanese life from the early 1860s to the present. We will now see how it developed in the years after the lifting of Martial Law in 1987.

When one looks at the history of the PCT writ large one sees that from its founding on "Formosa," the Presbyterian mission—and later, the Taiwanese—run Presbyterian Church had focused on building up—through aggressive and sometimes unusual-modes of evangelism, and ,

once that “flock” had be taken in and organize, then meeting the needs of its the two populations of distinct and often antagonistic body of members—the Taiwanese and yuanzhumin. The core church bodies—the synod, in the south in Tainan, and in the north in Tamsui and the Taipei Basin, set up churches, western-styled schools, hospitals and clinics and seminaries and by the 1980s there were such social-work related, information-related, educational, medical and church related services in key areas throughout the island of Taiwan.

The educational effort, both secular and religious, was central to the PCT agenda and this has continued from the late 1980s to the present (2012). The Tainan Synod had paved the way in education and continues to do so. The middle school/high school/junior college located on a large and impressive campus in a busy neighborhood near central Tainan demonstrates this, as I saw first-hand in early June of 2011. I was paying a visit to an old friend and one of the “grand old men” of the PCT, Pastor John Tin, a witness to the 2-28 tragedy—and its effects on Taiwan and on the PCT. He was now in his nineties, a pastor, scholar and activist. He remained active monitoring human rights-related issues from his office on the Tainan school campus. He has been deeply involved in the PCT struggle against the KMT state and I see his life and work encompassing much of the PCT history since the Retrocession. I must add that it has been my honor and my great joy to know him and learn from him since the early 1980s.

The seminary of the PCT in Tainan, the southern seminary, is an impressive and classic piece of property that goes back to the 1860s and 1870s, the decades the PCT mission established its presence on the island. It contains a school, a small guesthouse/museum, the church’s publishing house, a chapel, classrooms and an administration center and one knew that the local authorities were monitoring all westerners and Taiwanese who went there after the KMT-PCT battles of the 1970s and early to mid 1980s.⁴⁰ When I have been there in the 1980s , the 1990s , and in the 2000s I had a deep sense of visiting holy space that was also a vital and living educational/ecclesiastical and socially oriented body. It was here I met and had long conversations with Pastor Xiao, who later served at the “god box” –the Interchurch Center on that abuts the Union Theological Seminary in NY’s Upper West Side and Barnard College/Columbia University. Pastor Xiao’s daughter is the famous DPP leader Xiao Bhi Khim, a member of the Chen Administration and a woman still active in the DPP this election year. I have mentioned this to show just how close the PCT is to the DPP.

The Presbyterians also have a secular school system and a seminary in the territory of the Northern Synod. The grand old school based in Tamsui is the Tam Kang Middle School/high school and it served, as had the school complex in Tainan to meet the needs of the PCT members and others who had been denied middle school and high school by the Japanese. The most famous graduate of this school is Li Denghuei, the former KMT President of Taiwan from 1988 until 2000. As we know, Li did convert to Presbyterian Christianity and evidence of his faith—as well as his adoption of or integration of Zen ideas—a result of his years as a college student and a member of the Japanese Army --can be found in some of his speeches and writings.

The PCT also has the second of its three seminaries in the Taipei area. The Taiwan Theological College and Seminary (hereafter TTCS) is located halfway up Yangmingshan. It is a college/seminary with a long history as the PCT center for theological education for the North Synod. The campus is a beautiful, very classical one that is laid out in tiers there is a library, a chapel, and administration building with offices for the college president and faculty, a number of think tanks and buildings that house faculty and their families and the college's students. After spend time in crowded Taipei, it was a great pleasure to take the bus up the great mountain that guards the city and breathe the fresher air while one takes in the trees and lush greenery, all but missing in the Taipei that lies below.

The PCT has worked hard to maintain its links with the World Council of Churches and the central organizations of the Presbyterian Churches of the UK, Canada and the United States and that cosmopolitan flavor can be found when meeting the members of the faculty. The core of instructors is Taiwanese and come from families within the church. While many did their primary, secondary and college/university educations in Taiwan and some of their theological training on the island in the Taiwan Theological College and Seminary and the Tainan Theological Seminary, many went to the United States, to the UK or Western Europe. There were such schools as Princeton mentioned by the faculty I met in early June of 2011 as well as Heidelberg. as Oxford and the University of Edinburgh. There are also westerners on the faculty. It was made clear to me that most were, like their Taiwanese comrades/faculty mates from major universities in the United State or from Western Europe or from some of the grand old colleges and universities in various parts of the UK. The setting of this small, but quite beautiful theological center was bucolic and felt like being in the quiet, low energy countryside, but its faculty were clearly fueled by hi-octane educations and intellectual ambitions. Given what I learned of these individuals and their scholarship, they would fit in at any major university or elite college anywhere in the western world or in the major centers of East Asia or the Commonwealth powers of New Zealand or Australia.

The TTCS faculty and administrators, over time, have developed a strong and rounded education for its would-be pastors, seminary and church administrators of specialists in PCT-run outreach centers. The student body seems relatively small but dedicated and they will become, in time the leaders of this powerful force for good on Taiwan.

One can get the favor of life at the TTCS by reading, as I have, issues of the *Taiwan Shenxueyuan* (Taiwan Theological College and Seminary) *newsletter*. I have in hand issues 134 to 138 and these cover the period from April, 2008 to November 2009. These give me much of the arc of the school year and thus flavor of what the school is like as defined by its Principal, its faculty, and its students. This a well written and carefully produced English language publication has opened up, for me at least, an important and most useful window to this major PCT educational center, with its strong library facilities and its provocatively-name think tanks. Each issue I read began by a comment or thought piece from the colleges Principal, Lin Hong-hsin, his colleague, and acting Principal, Tsai Ling Chen. They are strong pieces and show both a depth of knowledge of the larger world and real sense how faith can define who people are.

Many of the other articles provide profiles of the Taiwan TTCS faculty, both Taiwanese and western and newcomers and old hands. One can see the variety and one can get to know these people through their profiles, written in either first person or third person. There are also articles on new initiatives and on yearly classroom events and activities. One major piece spelled out the opening and dedication of a downtown Taipei campus of the TTCS. This was an important expansion of the college/seminary and provided easier access for those living in the urban space and not the mountain home that was the TTCS main campus. There are three departments and programs located at the downtown Taipei facility. They are the Department of Theology, the Department of Church and Society, and the Urban Mission Center. I think, as a student of PCT development that this is a very good move and that the departments located in the urban center are designed to meet the need of outreach to city's population and also put this faculty within a short distance by MRT of the PCT headquarters near Taida, and a few blocks for two MRT Red Line Stations (or subway stops, a New Yorker might say). I don't think it is much of a stretch to say that in this case we see the PCT following the example of Tamkang University which had its main campus in Tamsui and a city campus of near the Yunkong Jye area that faces the Mormon complex and the old Vatican Apostolica. I must add that the Vatican does not formally recognize the ROC and thus the Taiwan-based RCC, but that is another long and sad story.

I did do things in 2011 that I do each year that I am in Taiwan. I visited the headquarters of the PCT and did go to my church about a mile away and north on Xinsheng Nan Lu.. At the PCT head quarters, I interviewed various church official and staff, Taiwanese and western and got their sense of what was going on in a set of conversations and interviews. It has become a ritual of sorts for me since I first learned about the PCT in 1979 and got to know its leaders, its administrators, its pastors and a number of its members. I have become its western chronicler of sorts and thus visit central offices. It is one of my favorite places in all of Taipei.

The Sunday before that visit to the PCT HQ I went to services at my home church in Taiwan. The small, but important church is located off Xinyi Lu and it had been the home of Lin Yixiong, the lawyer and , the DPP leader who had been a major defendant in the Gaxiong Incident Trial (the incident was in December of 1979) of 1980. Counselor Lin's mother-in-law and twin daughters were murdered in a quite brutal fashion in the spring of 1980 as the trials related to that important clash between the Dangwai and the thugs put in place by the Jiang Jinguo-led government were taking place. The criminals are yet to be arrested and put on trial, and it is now thirty-one-years later. This church the Ghi khang Church is a martyr's church that gives it a very special place in the PCT church community writ large. I was introduced to the church by Pastor John Tin, now in 90s; an important figure in the church that is theologian, philosopher and activist and is still involved monitor political events and sending articles out to old friends. I would add that I did see Pastor Tin at his offices on the campus the PCT's middle school. High school, junior college facility in downtown Tainan. I made the trip south and back to Taipei in one day because of the modern miracle of the new high-speed rail system. It was, I know now, a pilgrimage to visit a man who I love and respect and see as one of the lesser known struggles of the PCT in its war of words and more with the KMT government from 1947 to the coming to power of President Li Denghui and his successor, President Chen Shuibian.

The services each Sunday are carefully spelled out and are in Taiwanese. Even without the mastery of the language, I can follow the service, step by step with the program that is given out and then sing the hymns that are in the Romanized *Taiwanhua* that the Presbyterian missionaries first developed when they worked in Xiamen in the middle years of the 19th century. I can also follow the reading of the biblical text. And having spent about twenty seven years attending these services, I have a good sense of what is taking place and what messages and words of faith are given to the congregants. I have met with them over the years and each time meet new people and see old friends. One is Joyce Chen, an administrator at the PCT HQ and a woman who, with Pastor Gao Junming, then the leader of the church, helped to hide the Dangwai leader, Shi Mingde. As a result of this she was arrested with Pastor Gao and spent years in an ROC prison, as did her friend and boss. Like Pastor Gao, and John Tin, who did introduce me to the church the year it opened in 1984, Joyce is one of Taiwan's lesser known heroes.

I find the Sunday worship service meaningful and enjoy the whole gestalt of the event and the lunch that is served afterward. I go as an act of admiration and respect for this church and its members and the PCT, as an institution, and feel connected to the Presbyterians and their long history and their strong advocacy of Taiwanese identity and selfhood. Can an observer and chronicler/historian be an advocate as well? I would answer yes. I may be passing over some invisible yellow line here (like the ones in TV professional football broadcasts--Go NY Giants in Super-bowl, 2012), but will take the risk. It is what I see that I must do.

We must all make choices and mine is to support the PCT and its wide-ranging efforts in helping the people of Taiwan and their complex society.

The Methodist Church and its "Children": From the Wesley's Church to the New Testament Church

The next group of churches were those that grew out of the English Methodist movement which was itself a product of the Pietist movement in 18th England and Western and middle Europe. The Methodist movement was developed by the brothers Wellesley as a middle class challenge to and a reform of the Anglican Church. The Anglican's were seen by the rising working and middle classes as an ecclesiastical monopoly that defended the power, on local and regional and national levels, of the aristocratic land-holding elites. The Methodist church was a "low church" reform that made put Anglican forms of religiosity more comprehensible and comfortable to a larger number of the working poor and the rising urban and small town bourgeoisie.

Methodism came to Taiwan in 1953 and was able to plant congregations and involve them-selves in evangelism, church planting and related forms of church work in the major cities along Taiwan's west coast. Missionaries involved themselves working with other churches in summer camp and bible school sites on Yangminshan. The most substantial of Methodist church of that early period church was built on a site at 113Xinsheng Nan Lu, section 1. It is the Wesley Church and it had space for one thousand congregants.

In 2003, the Methodist Church celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in Taiwan. A short article by Lin Yiying spelled out the history of the church and what it was like in that moment of time, March 8, 2003. Missionaries representing the United Methodist church began their work in 1953 with ninety two mainlanders who had migrated to Taiwan. The work of establish the denomination's presence and building a community of churches continued to 1972. This was seen by Lin as the first period of its development. During the second period that began that same year and ended in 1986, the Chinese members of the church began to take control and the missionaries began to limit their work and remove their own mechanisms of governance. The final period, from 1986 to 2003 and beyond is that of a Taiwan based and Taiwanese mainlander church that is independent of American Methodist control. Ties with the larger Methodist world remain in place much in the fashion of the PCT's own connections to the United States and the WCC.

In 2003 there were thirty six congregations of Methodists and the church ran the Dongwu Seminary to train its own ministers, teachers and lay workers. The total number of congregants stood at three thousand. In its modest way, the Methodist Church, as an independent, but no indigenous church entity, may be considered a success, but given the plateau of church growth in the 1970s, it is probably not as large as the missionaries and their Taiwanese mainlander brethren would have hoped.⁴¹

The Wesley Methodist Church lies north of the Church Row area that was to be found on Xincheng Nan Lu south of Xinyi Lu and across from the Taida Campus. It remains an important center to this day I got to know about its activities in the earliest months of my research on Taiwanese Christianity. By luck or fate I lived on a street, Linyijye that lay near that Methodist church and was but a few blocks away from the complex that housed the largest of the True Jesus Church in Taipei.

A second wave of revivalism hit England in the late 19th and early 20th century. What one saw was the development of a new, Methodist-based religious movement that swept England and the United States—and later China as well. One of the new Methodist based churches was The Holiness Church, a decidedly more evangelical and pietistic version of the Methodists. This is the church that had come to Japan in the early 20th century and its missionaries had created a body of believers there. This church later moved, in the 1920s to Taiwan and based itself in Taizhong in the 1910s. It would later find a rival in yet another church with links to Methodism, their own Holiness movement and the Charismatic/Pentecostal movement born in the United States and moved to China--during that same span of years in the early 20th century. This was the True Jesus Church, and independent Chinese/Taiwanese church born out the preaching of American Pentecostals in northern China in the second decade of the 20th Century.

The Holiness Church that we find on Taiwan today has not grown as much as those missionaries and early Taiwanese members hoped that it would. It was planted by Taiwanese students studying in Japan and these men moved to back to Taiwan in 1926 to the Gaoxiong. Here working with a dynamic Taiwanese leader, Zong Tienjing, they established a church in that Taipei on the major north south thoroughfare of Zhongshan Road and began to establish

what grew in a church in numbers. Church members then moved south to Gaoxiong where they established another Holiness congregation, this one on Gaishang Street. Over the course of 1926 and 1927, Pastor Zong evangelized tirelessly, according to the Wikipedia account and a congregation was formed in the southeastern coastal city of Taidong. Zhong then moved back north to the port city of Jilong and in that same year, 1927, he founded yet another congregation of Holiness believers.⁴² That pace of development could not continue but over the next three decades, one may assume that steady, if not spectacular progress was made in building the size of the flock. I must note that the PCT and the TJC were strong rivals with their own well organized churches and methods of evangelism.

While the church did have presence on Taiwan, it seems to be little studied, as I discovered in my own Google search. What I did find is that it has been working with the Overseas Mission Fellowship, the new name of the CIM and has worked with the OMF in a variety of projects. The OMF website contains useful information on its joint effort with this church whose tenure on Taiwan has been long but not all that successful.

What the OMF's editors do say is interesting and useful. They see the church as a mature one and one that has evolved on its own to a fair degree. It is self governing and self propagating and has been growing over almost 90 years since it was begun in Taipei. There are now eight THC on Taiwan and the OMF report states, with what I see as an overly optimistic comment that there will be 160 THC by 2016. The church does have a seminary in Taizhong and the OMF helps in this effort. This is the Central Taiwan Seminary. The THC is also involved in running the network of elementary/middle/high schools know as the Morrison Academy. There is the original campus in Taizhong that is k-13 and two K-9 schools—one in Taipei and one in Gaoxiong and a KK-5 school in Jiayi.

It seems clear that this partnership has served each of these grand old Western /East Asian religious organizations well.⁴³

Next in order and more evangelical and pietistic variants of the Methodist and Holiness Church, churches that were based on the Plymouth Brethren, and a related set of Brethren style churches that were also product of the late 19th Century English Protestant ferment. One organization that evolved out these related movements was the China Inland Mission. The CIM, was one of the boldest and most unusual of all western missionary organizations in China. It was founded by a devoted and personally charismatic dynamo of a man—built along Napoleonic lines, in terms of height and organizational brilliance, James Hudson Taylor. Hudson Taylor's movement has been dealt with a great length and detail in a recent study published by a Canadian scholar, Alvyn Austin, *China's Millions*.⁴⁴ As I mentioned earlier in this essay in my discussion of the China Evangelical Seminar, the great grandson of the CIM found, yet another James Hudson Taylor was the first president of that important interdenominational Taipei based seminary. Thus Taiwan is part of the larger CIM world.

On Taiwan, the English Brethren movement, or more precisely a mainland Chinese-developed variant of the Brethren movement was planted by Witness Lee. Lee was the most powerful and determined and well-organized of the

lieutenants of Watchman Nee. Nee, a man who studied the Brethren movement in its home base in England was the founder of what became known as the Assembly Hall Church or the “local church” (defang Huei) (Difanghuei).⁴⁵

The Church was founded in China in the 1920s and developed its own modes of organization and its own take on theology using the Brethren movement as a model, but not aligning itself to any one western church. Nee was successful in planting churches and holding on the ‘local ideal even as the church expanded its membership. Fred shows us in his first substantive chapter that he has been able to develop an outline of development of the church overtime but could not probe deeper. Thus what we do have is based on his use of Watchman Nee’s own narrative and other forms of data, but there are no outsider and more critical portraits and thus we see the church as its leaders wanted us to see it. I encountered this same wall of doubt and quality of guardedness when I tried to obtain data in the 1980s. Church works on theology and on Local Church analysis the books of the bible area extensive. What I do remember is that the church press was by the 1980s and a large scale operation. When I visited it again in early June of 2011, I learned how much bigger it had become—and it had to do so to meet the needs of a larger body of followers. What I did not obtain, as others may have, was access to archives and publications of the Assembly Hall’s older publications. The church kept the outsider at arm’s length and Morris Aaron Fred suggests this in his dissertation. The access to materials one had when one studied the True Jesus Church was very different. Here one could obtain rich materials and could thus develop a more detailed picture of church history.⁴⁶

Fred did gain that access and thus his dissertations takes us step by step through aspects of the AHC from its often tangled history, through its organizational schemas to the nature and dynamics of the church’s theology to the details of its church services. I made use of his work in studying the church in the 1980s and returned to it for a deeper reading in 2011 when working on this paper. What I have seen is how the church has changed, in some dramatic ways over the intervening years. That change can be seen most starkly in the nature and the scope of the Sunday service held at AHC headquarters in Taiwan.

For purposes of comparison, I will discuss one such service I attended in the 1980s and another I attended in early June of 2011. The difference between each of these services, in nature and scale, is quite dramatic.

The service I went to in the 1980s was held in a middle sized room at the church’s headquarters. There were 20 to 30 people in attendance and the style was fluid and open ended rather than very formal with each stage carefully choreographed for maximum effect. I will state here that I see church service or services at Jewish synagogue or at a Buddhist temple as religious performances, with each leader and each more experienced believer/congregant fully aware of how the ritual/performance is meant to unfold. What I can see here is that over the intervening year, most probably because the very size of AHC membership has increased substantially, changes from between each of these two services were dramatic. The 1980 service resembled what I remember seeing and experiencing in a Society of Friends (Quaker) service in the United States. It was really free-form and after some initially comments

by an elder, there was silence until someone felt the power of the spirit and then spoke describing what he or she was feeling or why each person was there that day and what that person hoped to take and was taking from the service/gathering/ meeting of somewhat kindred souls. There was a subtle feeling of power in the room, but it is difficult to neatly and easily explain.

What I saw was different from what had gone on a typical Southern Baptist service or Catholic service, such as the mass I attended at the Maryknoll Chapterhouse or the Sunday worship service held at the Ghi Khang PCT

Church just north of Xinyi Dong Lu that I described in my section on the Presbyterians. I was entering a different realm of religiosity in which the force of Holy Spirit acting on the members was there to be witnessed, if not understood by an outsider

I believe that one important way of understanding any church—or any religious body that holds formal services or ceremonies is to simply attend that religious event. Churches on Taiwan have been usually welcoming to strangers and this was the case in the 1980s and again in June of 2012. My June 2011 visit was on a Sunday and what I saw was very different from what I had seen in the 1980s.

The services were no longer held in a modest sized room. They were held in a very large room on the second floor in the Assembly Hall administrative center/bookstore that seated about 250 to 300 and that had standing room for another fifty or so more. On that Sunday the meeting room was filled to capacity. It was also set up so that all in the room could see and hear the speaker even though were not in the line of sight of the podium. Preaching was at the heart of the service that day and it was, as it turned out a very carefully organized event. There was some singing of hymns but preaching and messages about the work of the church center stage. During the last forty minutes of a two hour long service members gave witness to the nature of their spiritual lives and of the impact of church in what they were becoming. A film on the large scale activities was also presented. That film and the evidence of the witnesses gave me the impression of how much this church had grown on Taiwan and in the wider world. While many churches had reach a certain growth level and stayed there, this church continued to gain members and had also been able to expand in the west.

I did meet a few members and there seem to be a mixture of Waishenren and Bendiren. The person I talked to most was a Mainlander and a scientist and security specialist, a man in his sixties, who had been educated on Taiwan and who had been in the ROC Army. He had recently become a member of the *difanghuei* and had been convinced by his family to do so. What he said—what he gave witness to—was that he felt the need for something spiritual in his life and he rejected the traditional Taiwanese faiths. He enjoyed being in the local church and was studying its doctrines. It was a very useful meeting for I was able to see the process of this large congregation's worship service and then got a sense of why this one, well educated man had joined it.

Witness Li, the man who took over the church established its presence in Los Angeles before going to Taiwan to direct the development of church whose members relocated

themselves, realizing that their home church and its leader, Watchman Nee would be under attack in the PRC . The new regime was a hostile to most church especially the more independent—and sect –like indigenous churches. By remaining behind, the Assembly Hall’s founder realized he was in danger and , met his death some years later. By founding a church in the western United States, Li had created a base for what would become an expanded church community in the decade that followed. However, as we shall see, in the next section, by entering the crowded and competitive American Christian community, this Indigenous Chinese church opened itself up to criticism by American evangelical watch dog groups who saw this new arrival as heretical in some of its major doctrines and wrote about this in its publications and on its website

The Assemblies of God was yet another church that came out the Methodist/Holiness/Brethren tradition. It was a Pentecostal Church whose roots lay in the United States and the grand evangelical/charismatic movement that swept both Black and Caucasian lower and lower middle class communities in the first two decades of the 20th century. This rather small Taiwanese church community is related to the largest of the United States based Pentecostal churches that has its denominational headquarters in the Springfield, Missouri. The Assemblies of God church is part of a large and still active American Denomination that is located, as does the SBC in the southern American heartland. The AOG began and still thinks of itself as the church of the “dispossessed,” though in truth, in this observer’s view it is very much a middle-class, and politically conservative body.

Itinerant American evangelists who came out the first wave of the Midwestern and West coast-based Pentecostal/Charismatic movement , such as Amy Semple McPherson, later the founder the Foursquare Gospel Church, an institution that can be seen as a proto –mega-church, went to China during the early decades of the 20th century. A number of Chinese who heard these missionaries preach founded their own indigenous charismatic/Pentecostal styled churches. The largest and most famous of these is the True Jesus Church, a church that began in Shandong, grew and spread down the China coast to Fujian. In the early 1920s, members of that Fujian branch crossed the Taiwan Strait and found a branch and later branches of the True Jesus church. Its members based the church not in Japanese dominated Taipei, the capital of their colony, but in the smaller the Taiwanese-dominated city of Taichong.

As luck would have it that city was and remains the home of the mission and the seminary of the Holiness Church. Thus two churches founded as result of the Methodist revivals came into direct confrontation with each other. By the 1980s, the available statistic made it clear which church had won the war for converts. It was the True Jesus Church.

The True Jesus Church found a home in Taiwan in the 1920s . It began to expand during the Japanese period and once the war was over has continued to spread to most corners of the island The Wikipedia article on the TJC, written, I assume by TJC members and historians of the church, gives the reader a clear idea of its progress and the nature of its activities, though in all too brief a fashion. Present day scholars such as your author, the historian Mellissa Inouye, the pastor/theologian, David A. Reed, the church historian, Gordon Melton and the sociologist have all done important work on the church within their respective disciplines. Its major religious

center is Taizong and, it is fair to say, it is the dominant church and most active church in that city. It also has important centers in Taibei and has congregations throughout the island.

The TJC has defined its own vision of Christianity over the years since the mid 1910s and its own distinctive modes holding formal services and making use of the patterns of glossolalia. A typical service in Taibei or Taizhong, the two sites I visited and did fieldwork in, separates men from women—more or less in the style of Modern Orthodox Jews, and makes good use of a mixture of preaching (in Taiwanese and Mandarin), singing of hymns, and “speaking in tongues”. The major service is held during the day on Saturday—the Jewish Shabbat. Services are also held each evening, through the number of members in attendance is far smaller. I have been to ten gospel meetings in the United States and to services held by Black churches as well and the power and emotion of these services mirrors what I have seen in the True Jesus service and the services held by the assembly hall churches as well. One feels the depth of feeling and the sense of pure spiritual joy—even to this skeptical—and reform Jewish observer.

The church has grown on Taiwan and well beyond Taiwan’s borders. It now has begun to play a role in the life of people in the PRC and among Chinese communities in America and beyond. I will explore this process of expansion and TJC outreach in my final section.

A much smaller church had its roots in the radical and charismatic theology of a Shanghai singer who moved to Hong Kong after the victory of the CCP. This was the New Testament Church and its Sabbatarian worship and Gifts of the Holy Spirit/Speaking in Tongues, among other things make similar in kind, if not in politics with its older sister church, the True Jesus Church. It too has a conservative and exclusivist philosophy as did the TJC. However, rather than work with the state or, at least stay within the law, the NTC saw itself as above the law and above all man created governments and only obey what they saw to be God’s law.

The church had begun in the mind of a popular singer who had moved from Shanghai to Hong Kong and there founded a church that was small and exclusivist and developed a quasi Old Testament vision that did center, as most conventional Christian churches did on the person of Jesus. Like the TJC, the new church stressed speaking in tongues and also in the absolute power and the founder or her successor. As I have spelled out in a long article on the NTC, the church came to Taiwan under its second leader, Elijah Hong and declared that it was building a new Mount Zion in Yuanzhumin lands east of Tainan County. There he and his followers built a community and orchards and grew and processed fruit to support themselves. They also preached against the KMT state and damned its leaders in the harshest terms possible. I was there at a long, long, long Shabbat service and heard the violent rhetoric that called upon God/Yahweh to bring death to the members of the Jiang family. The government tried to drive them off of their mountain until an Academia based sociologist (and old friend), Zhu Haiyuan served as intermediary between the Elijah Hong’s church and the ROC government. The conflict was ended, but not the NTC’s rhetoric and fiery mode of preaching.

What I saw in my weekend with the NTC on Mount Zion and what I read in the church’s literature was clear evidence that this was cult, whose leader was a servant and prophet of God and whose interpretation of both Testaments was only correct one. All other churches were

inferior and were seen as enemies of this one true church. The problem was that to a nation with a small Christian population that took threats against its government seriously, all Christian churches were now seen as a threat and quiet of real backlash against all churches took place. I was attending the Taiwan Missionary Fellowship meeting that year and discussed the impact that the NTC and its radical stance and ongoing battle with the state was having, and most pastors there voice their concern about the danger this radical and very angry church did pose to their own network of churches and church-run organizations.

The church has not grown and remains small and outside even the indigenous Charismatic main-stream. However, like those other indigenous Taiwanese churches, it has found an audience and new members in Chinese and Taiwanese churches in the United States. For me, as a student of this church this American (and New York City) connection proved very valuable. It was the Queens, NY branch of the church that gave me the literature I needed to learn about the NTC and begin to understand its doctrine—and it was this NYC branch that told the NTC members on Mount Zion that I was coming to Taiwan to learn about and write about their besieged church in the winter of 1993. Whatever their feelings about the KMT state, they were a welcoming group of people and excellent hosts: It was because of that kindness I was able to meet them on their holy ground, hear their prophet speak and come to understand what this fascinating, if difficult, religious body the New Testament Church really was.⁴⁷

I must end this introduction to the Methodist/Holiness/Pentecostal/Charismatic churches with this personal anecdote. A decade or so after I had begun my study of the Protestant Community on Taiwan, I was invited to give a paper on the Charismatic/Pentecostals on Taiwan at a conference on missionaries at the Billy Graham Center at Wheaton College in Wheaton at a college and seminary/research center that is called, by some—in distinctly tongue-in-cheek fashion—the Evangelical Protestant Vatican. In my presentation I argued that the rise of the True Jesus Church was caused, to some extent, by the degree of congruence some Taiwanese saw between this indigenous church and the Taiwanese *minjian* tradition of the role and value of the shaman. That degree of similarity/congruence, I argued, made this indigenous Christian church that much more attractive to the local Taiwanese population one that was one of the largest church bodies (of about 50,000) in the 300,000 strong Taiwanese Protestant community.

One of those commenting on my paper on that panel turned out to be an American pastor who a high ranking member of the Taichong-based Holiness mission hierarchy. The pastor had problems with my very positive picture of the rise of True Jesus Christianity and he attacked me for taking this Taiwanese church so seriously. He thought that I was defending and publicizing an indigenous Taiwanese church that, in his view as a member of a rival church, was not really Christian at all, but Christo-pagan. In his eyes, the True Jesus Church was a false church.

His ideas, I would discover, were more widespread than I would have imagined and in the years that followed I would find that a host of American Protestant think-tanks and web-based religious sites were harsh in their criticism of this and the other Indigenous Christian churches I am discussing in this section. It seems that in this is one example in the realm of

religion of what Samuel Huntington termed in often illuminating and very controversial book, *The Clash of Civilizations*.

The Church of the Latter Day Saints: Mormonism on Taiwan

The Mormons present the United States and Taiwan with a host of challenges and problems for they are a religion unlike any other. They seem to be Christian and do use a number of classic Christian texts but they also introduce a body of their own texts that are of deeply questionable origin. Their theological concepts are again alien to mainstream and evangelical forms of Christianity, as a wide range of scholars stated in a New York Times article published on Sunday, January 15, 2012. When one looks at their organizational patterns and their perception of what a faith believing and practicing Moron is like, one also finds patterns and practice that make them seem like a society removed from anything resembling the American mainstream. In this regard they have patterns of behavior and dress closer to those of the Haredi, the Ultra-Orthodox Jews who by their own set of practices and their attempt to force their values and modes of life on the other 90% of Israeli Jews and the Modern Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Jews who live in neighborhoods in the New York suburbs that they are invading and transforming into 17th century Poland. I would add that a New York Times article again on January 15, discussed the deep rift in the culture of Israel created by the rise of a Zealot faction of Haredi. Mormons and Haredi seem to be the cutting edge of a new and bizarre trend in world religiosity. A similar article on the growing rift in the American Jewish community between Hardi and the other more mainstream and American –society-friendly forms of Judaism appeared a week before that one in *The Jewish Weekly*, the major voice of metropolitan New York’s large and complex Jewish community.

One further note is necessary here: the fact that the leading candidate for the Republican presidential candidate is a practicing Mormon has energized the evangelical base of the more conservative and “Christian” Republican party and what amounts to a cultural war within the GOP seems to be looming. I would add that Liberal Democrats feel, like your author feel much the same sense of wariness and nervousness of toward Mormon candidate and this can only strengthen Obama’s bid for a second term. The Economist loves Romney and a call for tolerances sounds out in its latest issue, but it is, for all its brilliance, a British publication whose home nation has its own issues with religious and ethnic and class tolerance.

Mormons on Taiwan are like Mormons in their core areas in Utah and anywhere else they have settled and colonize. They bring their architectural style, a seemingly “Americanized” cultural style, and American diet (minus tea, coffee or Coca Cola and Pepsi) their modes of dress—down to the sacred underwear—and their aggressive missionizing style with them recreating a little piece of the holy space of Temple Square in Salt Lake City where ever they go.

The deeply alien nature of the faith and its patterns of life are hidden by a veneer of affability and seeming openness and they are skillful in making the case that their core values of family and marriage and devotion to faith and to formal and strongly patriarchal leadership see to mirror a given nation’s traditional values. Certainly this is the case they make in the material they hand out to interested visitors to Taipei Temple Square or people they pass on the street.

Only a deeper reading of the costs of conversion to the individual or to the unwary family of outsiders as well as reading of more mainstream studies of the Mormon faith and practice system, will show how deeply different they are.

What they do give the new member is a deep sense of security and fellowship once one acceptance the religion without question. You become part of a powerful in-group who have leaders who deal with problems doubts you have and friends to protect you against the harsh realities of modern life. Here again the comparison with the Haredi is a strong one. Add a strong misogynistic strain that keeps women in their place as handmaidens of their fathers and spouses and you have religion that seems to fit better in days past or in an ideal past and not the chaotic, changing and seemingly dangerous present. To be fair other forms of Christian on Taiwan speak to some of the same values, but do so *sotto voce* and not with the sound of pounding kettle drums.

Over the last six decades, the Mormon Church has grown on Taiwan and those officials in the LDS (the Church of the Latter Day Saints) I talked to in early June of 2011, were happy to give me data that suggested how strong the Mormon presence on Taiwan has become and how willing other religious groups they once considered their enemies, most notably the Taiwanese Roman Catholic Church, are cooperating with them in various initiatives. Given the sad state of the RCC that Richard Madsen has shown us, one can understand the Catholic leadership's decision to talk to representatives of faith/sect/cult that they, the Catholics, knew hated them. One wonders how far such talks will go and whether attempts to create more viable and larger Catholic and Mormon communities on Taiwan will prove successful.⁴⁸

Part III. Push Back and Expansion: Taiwanese Christianity and its Place in ROC, greater East Asian/South Asian and Trans-Pacific Life

How do we pull all of this together? What patterns and trends have emerged from this long essay thus far? What directions can one see for the future of Christianity in all its different forms on Taiwan? These are some of the questions I will address in this third and final section. I will focus four processes, with each set of two clearly linked, that allow us to understand key patterns and trends and allow us to see just where Christianity fits into Taiwanese life and also, we will find, life in the western nations that sent their missionaries to East Asia, to use convert, to use the China Inland Missions' motto, "China's Millions." These processes are "push-back and appropriation" and "expansion and outreach".

Let us begin by looking at the Christian missionary enterprise in Taiwan in its modern historical context and see these linked processes at play. After the missionary invasion of the late 1940s and early 1950s and the resurgence of a restructured Taiwan Presbyterian Church and the major indigenous church, the true Jesus Church, a window of opportunity opened for western Christians and Taiwanese and mainlander Christians alike. During the difficult decades of adjustment to KMT rule, as the government and its American advisors developed means to rebuild and restructure the islands war torn infrastructure and its bomb damaged industries, Taiwanese church leaders and the newly arrived mainlanders and the remnants of the Chinese flock, found they could now reach Taiwan's people. The Hokklo, Hakka and *yuanzhumin*

populations were willing to listen to the message of the Christian gospel and were now willing to go to the church centers. One reason for this new willingness to explore Christianity was that forms of humanitarian aid and medical and social services were being funneled through these church groups, aid the ROC government could not yet provide. But there was more to the appeal of Christianity than the fact that missionaries provided food, clothing, medical care and job training services—as some churches did. For some populations such as the Mainlanders, the Mainland-centered churches such as the Southern Baptists and the Assemblies of God gave the new arrivals they comfortable environments that removed them for their immersion in the larger population, a population that by the 1950s had come to fear and hate them and their alien regime. The Taiwanese community writ large also came to the Presbyterians and True Jesus churches that offering both solace and facilities—from church run schools, to medical clinics to job training programs during stressful and even chaotic time. Many members of these populations came to church and many committed themselves and their families to these Western forms of faith.

In an odd way, this humanitarian religious effort was being undermined by other Americans who represented the secular, and not the religious, communities. These were the men and women working for the Agency for International Development. These and other experts associated with the American Embassy and Fulbright Senior Lecturers came on stage and worked closely with governmental officials—the new generation of technocrats and working together, the individuals helped provide and fund the foundation and explosive process of industrial, educational, and economic development that is now called the Taiwan Miracle.

The results for the economic sector and the society at large were quite spectacular. Taiwan was able to build a strong infrastructure, improved the school system from elementary schools to high-tech engineering universities and liberal arts and sciences graduate programs. They were also able to convince American companies to set up factories on Taiwan. Small and middle sized companies worked these foreign companies and the economy boom as the working class and the middle class saw opportunities and incomes rise dramatically. All of this did not bode well for those who wanted to bring Christ and his church—in a seemingly myriad of forms to Taiwan. Thus, the results of the “miracle” for the Taiwanese evangelists and church leaders and the missionary co-workers were, as they soon learned, disastrous, and severely damaged their attempts to make it a Christian Taiwan.

What the various ethnic populations on Taiwan came to realize was that one did not have to go church to gain the material goods or the services that insure their individual and personal survival. This recognition of the new reality—that Taiwanese and mainlanders did not have to become “rice Christians” proved damaging to the Christian missionary religio-cultural offensive.

The local populations did not abandon religion—they simply began to listen again to local religious actors, to thank gods they already knew, and return to faiths deeply embedded in their culture. I term this process of Taiwanese populace’s re-recognition of traditional forms of religiosity “push-back.

How do we define “push-back”? I would define it at its most basic level, as a collective, if unvoiced decision of many within Taiwan’s non-Christian population to rediscover and again embrace their classic traditions such as Buddhism and Daoism, their local syncretistic sects such as Yiguandao, and their local gods and island wide gods—of the *minjian* (popular) tradition (many of whom were brought by their ancestors from Southern Fujian and northern Guangdong. Many thousand did so to thanks these gods for blessing them with the new found wealth created by the governmental reforms that provided the foundation of Taiwan’s developmental miracle.

But is this “push-back” simply a product collective social will—a large scale atavistic response to thanks the gods? I would say yes. I would add that looking at it within the larger context of Chinese history what we see on modern Taiwan is the playing out a typical phenomenon that we have seen repeated again and again in Chinese and Taiwanese history that seems to have a life of its own. Do people in Taiwan return to their old faiths when times are good and go away from them and the gods of these faiths when times are bad—only to return again when things improved once more? On the surface one must answer yes.

But I think there is more to this. “Push-back” is to a degree a gut-level response to good times, but there is more. By the 1960s, Taiwan was becoming a sophisticated and modern nation with good elementary and secondary schools and an evolving network of good universities that had undergraduate and graduate programs. Religious leaders were products of this evolving and more sophisticated society. Many had also been exposed to the Christian churches and their methods of bearing witness and preaching the word. They saw the ways these churches distributed the word of the Gospel making use of varied media from the radio station to the new television stations to the printed word in the form of pamphlets and tracts. They also had the ability to the offer of food and clothing that people had need of. The missionaries and the Taiwanese and Waisheren pastors also gave many the strong messages that for Taiwan to modernize it had to Christianize. Modernization was built upon Christianization. However, many Taiwanese were coming to realize in day to day life that this was not the case. But the reality on the street was different. Church organizations were not promoting and then putting in place the mechanisms of modernization and the methods of economic growth. They were promoting a gospel of a non-Chinese god and presenting a seemingly simple message in a multitude of ways, denomination by denomination. What the Taiwanese man or woman in the street realized was that the true evangelists were Chinese and American technocrats who showed the way to development, modernization and a productive economy. They also realized that it was the American companies—not churches in the consumer electronics industry and in the textile industry and in the shoe industry that led the way to economic and social change and produced models company organization that could be copied and methods of production that could be learned and implemented. This modernization was not the work of a Christian god. It was a secular victory. The Christian god did not seem to have anything to do with it. But they wondered, did the Taiwanese gods have a role in the new wealth and the new opportunities for raising one’s social status. The answer they gave was yes. The reason they did so lay in the fact that Taiwanese religious bodies

learned what methods the Christian churches used and began to make use of them. Underlying Push-back is the process of “appropriation.

Appropriation, in this context, means using western Christian evangelical methods as models and then using these new methods as a way of making the case, on many levels for the viability and power and authenticity of local and tradition forms of Taiwanese religiosity.

Let me expand on this: What I am suggesting here is that the various bodies that make up the traditional Taiwanese religious community came to recognize there were new ways to respond to the Christian challenges to their faiths, challenges posed by the well-funded, and well executed missionary invasion implemented through the use of evangelistic campaigns launched by many different churches and missions to convert Taiwan’s millions. These campaigns used modern methods of communication to get these ideas across. Taiwanese religious leaders learned what these methods were and made use of them and thus responded to the missionary invasion by using these new methods against them. These were acts of “appropriation. “

We see this when we look at the many channels of Taiwanese cable TV. Christian missionaries preached their gospel first on radio and then on TV and then had large scale crusades and meeting along the American models. Buddhist monks did the same thing. Various monks fill the screen each morning and one can experience a Buddhist service this way. It is a copy of the good Protestant pastor preaching to his flock; only this pastor is in saffron robes and speaking in Taiwanhua. The good Christian or Mormons prepared attractive tracts that they gave to people and still give to people on the streets, almost like the Jehovah’s Witness I see each day I go to my local Metro north station and head for New York City. But there is another way to get one’s own library of religious books and tracts and even scriptures. It is to go to one of the smaller or larger temples in Taipei or other cities—my favorites such temple is the Longshan Si Taipei’s Wenhua district – join the throngs looking at the various Buddhist or Folk Buddhist or minjian tracts like those for Guangong or Guanyin and the actual Buddhist scriptures themselves. Many of these materials come with the Juyinfuhao letters so one can pronounce the classic terms on the page. These same books also have *baihua* translations that make it easy for people to understand these ideas. A major Chinese Buddhist temple/monastery near my home in Putnam County, New York has books of the same type, only many of them are translated into English. Here we see, I would add push back carried to its logical limits. If Christian church can placed in the Taiwanese countryside, why can’t a Shanghai or Taiwan based Buddhist association build a great complex in a forest one jour north of New York City?

The appropriation can be seen today in other ways. As Robert Weller and Julia Huang have shown us in their pioneering article on the Tzchi Benevolent Association in *the Journal of Asian Studies*,⁴⁹ the founder of that now very powerful and widespread Buddhist women’s movement followed the example of creating an organization of Buddhist lay women who join together to do good works and, when possible convert those women to their own vision of pragmatic Taiwanese Buddhism. The idea work and that Association has a large and powerful presence on Taiwan and a presence in Queens , New York as well.

We also see examples the “appropriation” process at the Foguanshan just outside of Gaoxiong. This a powerful Buddhist movement that brings together Chan and Jingtuo schools of Buddhism and creates wonderful amalgam of both that works for many people. The abbot who heads the movement is a charismatic figure who learned from the Catholics that religion was a show and that bigger and bolder is better when it comes to temples or evangelizing services. The Foguanshan site makes the bigger and bolder statement very well. It is fun to be there and get the tour and just drink it all in. one can then read the biography of Hsin Yung and read his works. It makes this eclectic form of Buddhism very clear and palatable and one can see why many on Taiwan and beyond are willing to identify with this movement.

One can also see, as I did, the wonderful evangelical style meeting, Foguanshan Buddhist style at a major Taipei venue. We were at the Sun Yatsen Memorial hall and I had been invited by an old friend, the scholar and now college administrator, Lai Tsehan, whose family were followers of the Abbot. The chanting and then the sermon were wonderful to behold and the clouds of dry ice combined with the classic robes on the attractive women believers added to the mixture of deep religiosity and the kind of show a Christmas service at a catholic cathedral often evokes. It is just good to be there and take it all in. My impression is that a Billy Graham Crusade had been copied by this energetic and ambitious Buddhist leader. It was “appropriation” at its best.

In his recent masterpiece, *Democracy’s Dharma*, Richard Madsen, a Distinguished Professor of Sociology at UC San Diego has been able to capture the depth and the power of the religious renaissance that has taken place on Taiwan. He shows us what the institutions I have talked about here have done and how they have become players on many levels in modern Taiwan’s society. If I read the book correctly, this renaissance has been a perfect example of “appropriation” and “push-back.”

What was the net effect of this linked process on the evolving Christian community on Taiwan? I would argue that to a large degree they were the major cause of the failure of Christianity to expand more dramatically than it did. What happened was that for the most part Christian numbers did not decline; they simply reached a certain plateau—a certain level that they never exceeded in the decades that followed. Missionary scholars have used the term “the plateauing of Christian growth” and I am following their lead.

To put this simply we can say that this process of returning to Taiwanese religious roots had the effect of slowing down the surge of conversions that had taken place in the 1950s and into the 1960s. By the late 1960s the missionary’s campaigns for conversion to Christianity had lost much of their appeal. Thus the transformation of Taiwan into a nation with a Christians as majority or, at the very least, a substantial minority of the population did not--and has not yet taken place.

I think it would be wrong to end this long essay on such a disturbing note. Christianity on Taiwan may be plateauing, but it is still alive and vital and a force in Taiwanese life. And what we find when we look at that modern community is that some churches within it and

some seminaries have become part of the larger Christian world and have found homes beyond Taiwan's borders.

To explain what has happen we must realize that there are two further processes at play during the period under discussion. These are "outreach" and "expansion." I must admit that a definition and description of these linked process will make it seem like I am talking against myself here and contradicting the very real existence and significance of the linked processes of Push -back and Appropriation that explain the plateauing of the missionary and church community's effort to convert Taiwanese and Mainlanders to Christian faith. What I have found through use of the internet, a body of new literature on Christian expansion and old fashioned field work though in New York and not in Taiwan am one can see both the "outreach" of and the expansion of a number of important indigenous Taiwanese churches.

What I shall argue is that some of the churches on Taiwan we have examined in this essay, most notably the independent and indigenous churches and church related institutions have found ways to expand not on Taiwan but in China, in Chinese communities in Southeast Asia and in America and Europe.

I will end this long, long essay by examining what these churches have been able to do and what the reaction of churches in American have been to this Taiwanese Christian "invasion of America."

What can be seen when one analyzes the Taiwanese Christian community from a distance and tries to see its contours is that the most vital and dynamic churches are those that are indigenous , though informed by and influenced by Christian communities in the west. These churches also recognized a new reality in Taiwanese life--that many Taiwanese individuals and families, for host of different reasons had move across the Pacific and had become part of Chinese and Taiwanese communities in the United States and Canada. Each of the three indigenous Methodist-related churches that we have profiled-- the Assembly Hall Church, the True Jesus Church, and the New Testament Church--recognized the opportunities for evangelization and church planting in the west. But these organizations were not alone: Two of the major Buddhist movements on Taiwan recognized the same migration phenomenon and also move to the United States and beyond over this same span of years, and it's a process that still is going on. Thus the "Taiwanese religious invasion of America" is a larger and more complex spiritual/cultural phenomenon than many realized . I must add, however that but that a scholars—primarily students of Chinese and Taiwanese religion, and also those individuals personally involved in the emerging American Buddhist community---those involved in writing for and editing and publishing *Tricycle*-- have begun to study and write about. Thus the competition for Taiwanese souls is as alive in the United States and Canada as it is in the ROC. Here I will focus on the three Taiwanese indigenous churches and leave the Buddhist and minjian realm to others such as Andre Laliberte and Vivian Nyitray and Angela Zito, for the time being at least.

The Assembly Hall Church was the vanguard of this invasion. As we have seen, Witness Li had come to the west coast and had founded his church in the Los Angeles area even as he

was beginning his efforts at evangelization and church planting in Retrocession-period Taiwan. These communities developed and Caucasians were attracted to the church as well in the years when the Jesus Movement was taking hold. Your author saw this at first hand. In the mid 1980s I was making my yearly trans-Pacific trek (“trek” sounds cooler than “flight”) and met a number of people in the 20’s that one might call, in 1960’s/Hair era terms, hippies . I asked them why they were going to Taiwan and they stated they were members of the Local Church and were going to spread the Gospel to the Taiwanese. I later found out that they—others of their flock—were doing so in a disturbing fashion. They would knock on a door, rush in and then drag those people who lived in the apartment to the bathroom to baptize them in the name of Jesus. I would add that my informants were Taiwanese church people and may have their own anti-Assembly Hall biases, but I did hear the tale from more than one person. Given what I had intuited about those young and very sweet but aggressive Americans, I think what I had been told later in Taipei was accurate. I must add that even if this were true then, in the 1980s, it does not represent what the Assembly Hall Church I saw on Sunday, June 5, 2011 was like. This was a well organized body, with mid- and upper level executives who were as polished as those I met when doing my research on the consumer electronics industry in Taiwan. Those who lead and manage the *Difang Hui* (Assembly Hall Church) represent the rise of the new Taiwanese entrepreneurial and technical middle class.

According to “Watchman Nee's Legacy, 10.6 Million Local Church

Leaders, “an article/PDF an extension of remarks in the Congressional Record, July 31, 2009,⁵⁰ the Assembly Hall Church has three hundred congregations in the United States. This ten percent of the world wide total of three thousand churches, including those in the PRC. I see it as a substantial achievement for a foreign church with a complex history and a record of controversies and fractures. The long and detailed article is a useful one and makes use of a number of evangelical church watchers and gatekeepers including Tony Lambert who has written on Christianity in the PRC and other scholars who have worked on AHC history. The report/article is critical of the American branch of the church for one the author thinks are not strong results of AHC evangelism and outreach. From what I can see, the church has made gains in a very tough and competitive Christian religious market. However the article does show how far the AHC has come in other ways.

Early on there was criticism of the church and it was attacked strongly for its various doctrines. These reports were then published in websites as a means of warning people about what was portrayed as an apostate church and one with major doctrinal flaws. A number of years later the tide had turned and some of these same critics apologized in print and on web pages of these criticisms. That a Chinese/Taiwanese church has gained this much scrutiny and attention may be a backhanded compliment but it is a compliment.⁵¹

The True Jesus Church expanded as well in rather dramatic ways. It now has the International Assembly of the True Jesus Church located in Garden Grove, California. That center also serves as a publishing house, the Department of Literary Ministry and it is where TJC tracts and other books and newsletters are produced. The TJC also has congregations scattered throughout the United States in or near communities where Taiwanese live and do list where

each church is. Unlike the more private/secretive AHC, they have a long history of publishing detail books and magazines that give their own take on their church's almost century long history and scholars such as Melissa Inouye and your author have found them very valuable sources.

The TJC has entered the age of the internet as well and the International Assembly has a very useful website that provides a list of each church it has in these two nations, organized by geographic region that contains the individual church's name and address and other contact information. In the US Eastern District there are eight churches that are to be found in Boston, in two towns in New Jersey, in Queens, New York, in Philadelphia, in Washington, D.C. and in two major cities in Florida, Tampa and Miami. There are listings for the Central District that takes in all of the middle of the US from congregations in Chicago, St. Louis, Austin, Dallas, and Denver. The third district is the West Region and there seven churches that cover most of California and two that are in Hawaii. Finally in Canada we have six churches that cover that most civilized of North American nations from Vancouver to Calgary to Edmonton to Toronto to Montreal. What is useful about the Canadian page is that each church is listed and has a map showing its precise location. Given the strength of Taiwanese communities in Canada, most especially in Toronto, the attention and detail given to this web page is right on target. I must add that the TJC also has churches and regional headquarters in South America, in Europe, in Africa, and in Oceania (the South Pacific). It has truly become a church that attempts to spread the Word of the Gospel to most of the world.⁵²

The publications produced by the Ministry are carefully done, well organized and very well written and are informative to the outsider and to the church member as well. The example I have studied, *Fall from Grace* (1995) demonstrates this.⁵³ The TJC website is also useful as a site where one can find TJC publications. The most important of these is the *Statement of Faith* which spells out in clear terms what the church believes in and how its scholars reads and he understands Judeo-Christian holy texts. It is a powerful statement, though challenging and controversial to some of the on-line American Evangelical gatekeeper organizations.

As had been the experience of the Assembly Hall Church, the TJC has come under attack by American online Evangelical gatekeepers. The attack dogs are called *Let Us Reason Ministries*, as is the fashion of such groups that is not what they do. The title of the article on the TJC? With its tongue in cheek or is it contemptuous question mark shows the direction the ten page long article that follows will take. By putting the question mark they challenge whether the TJC is a church at as the LURM theologians define what a church is Here they take on a church they define as non-denominational but do not place it where it is on a denominational /theological spectrum, as a charismatic independent church that came out the Methodist/Holiness/Pentecostal tradition that is their heritage, as your author has done. In my opinion leaders and members of the TJC are very much part of history but goes their own way in terms of organization of ecclesiastical independence and it has served the church well.

The LURM authors then present the various statistics they have on the TJC and show that the different figures they cite differ strongly. What I do know is that on Taiwan in the

1980s the church stood at about 50,000. It had to have growth in the intervening years since then and my guesstimate is that the TJC numbers in the multiple six figures. The authors blame the TJC for these varied sets of statistics and state they believe the real numbers of very low. The end this discussion by saying that, "if the True Jesus Church is of the Latter Rain it is barely a drizzle now." This is yet another statement that demonstrates the contempt the western theologian who wrote these words had contempt for this successful but independent Taiwanese Christian body. I don't think it is pushing to say that this and other comments the author's deep, but veiled anti-Chinese sentiment.

The attack continues in the sections that follow. The next topic is the meaning true in True Jesus. The author sees this as the claim that the church sees itself as the only "church" because, he states that the TJC says God restored it as the one true church. He then moves into related arguments about the meaning of salvation and the means of reaching salvation. The TJC, he argues, sees it as something men can achieve and he argues this a wrong interpretation and that only God can grant salvation. The methods of reaching salvation are related to the next topic -what the terms Believe. Here the argument gets very tricky and becomes a matter of semantics. At the heart of the argument is the author's sense that the TJC does not accept the reality of God's freely given gift of Grace. Rather he argues that members of the TJC theologians and members believe it must be worked for. To him, these are dramatic and damning mistakes in reading the texts as it should be read. Here, again, he attacks what he sees as the TJC's false interpretations of Biblical text.

The final topic is again a central one, repentance. The TJC believes that repentance means to admit to all one's sins. The author of the Let Us Reason Ministries piece says this is wrong and ties repentance with belief. He recognized that repentance of all sins is impossible and that there are means of ridding one's sins as one knows themselves. He also attacks the fact the TJC has not made use of the cross as a center of personal salvation. Here the blood of Christ becomes important, but it does not have as much power as it does in major western evangelical churches. Here and elsewhere his argument is much like Henry Higgins in the My Fair Lady song "Why Can't a Woman....." He is saying, why a member of the TJC can't be more like us— we and only we know the truth of the Gospel what it says. He is attacking the church at its core. He is playing his role as gatekeeper and is not willing to allow the TJC to possess the pure Christian faith that it says it does. It is similar to the position taken by the Agudath Israel, a small group of Haredim—ultra orthodox rabbis in the United States who say that because Reformed and Conservative Jews do not believe in and practice what this group says they should believe, they are not real Jews. I will put it simply here. the gatekeeper in LURM is wrong as is the head of Agudath Israel.⁵⁴

The third of these indigenous churches to find a place in the United States is the New Testament Church. According to its website, there are NTC branches in Los Angeles, New York, Baltimore, San Francisco and Honolulu. The TJC is and also in the major Canadian cities of Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. It has sites in Europe-- in London and in Bremerhaven but is not large as its two main indigenous rivals. It has always been a rather small church primarily

because of its controversial and radical theology and the fact that it seems always in attack mode against other churches and against governments as well.

When I searched the internet I find it is under attack there as well by Taiwanese Christians but not by any American gatekeeper groups. The only site one finds is named *The Awakening Truth*. It is a site that focuses upon Elijah Hong and his work and provides a careful reading about his ideas and where they can be seen as heretic. The site is by a disgruntled church member and is well produced. It is in English and may be a product of an American group, but my guess is that it is not.

Some Conclusions

We have come far in this long essay. I would hope that I have been successful in capturing the nature of the Christian community as it now exists on Taiwan. I also hope I have shown how the churches have dealt with the issue of the plateauing of church growth by becoming stronger as evangelical and pastoral institutions, and in a number of dramatic instances, have begun to reach out to the wider world and establish churches and church communities in one of the modern heartlands of Christianity, the United States.

There is something else here as well and it must be mentioned. The Taiwanese Church community has been active in spreading Christianity to the Peoples Republic. As they do they find that, as many have discovered on Taiwan that charismatic and less intellectual form of Christianity, Christianity perhaps more congruent with Chinese religious and cultural realities is winning the day. People in China who are Christian in their own eyes are becoming believers as G. Wright Doyle, an American evangelical who is both noted scholar and activist and has become a sophisticated student of the new post-Maoist and almost hype-capitalistic China has told us in his analysis of the history of the China Evangelical Seminary.

Taiwan saw a dramatic Push-back of Christianity in the 1970s and 1980s and saw the return to traditional forms of religion in response to the new found wealth of the people of the island. Now China sees a rising tide of Christianity, but it seems to be a Charismatic Christianity that believes that it is Christ and not the gods of tradition who have brought China the wealth and the better life people now have and it was evangelist from Taiwan, in the midst of their own quasi-Charismatic revival that is bringing that new Gospel of Yahweh and his other self, Jesus Christ--as the God of Wealth to China.

¹ Let me end this introduction with a bit of personal context that suggests why I am now approaching Christianity on Taiwan as I now do. I have observed, studied and interacted with the Taiwanese Christian community for over thirty years. Over the course of the 1980s I explored the Protestant churches that made up that community and wrote a study, published in 1991 that examined that community in some detail. I continued to study and write about different elements of that community over the course of the 1990s and wrote a number of profiles of some of the quasi-indigenous and indigenous, mainline and charismatic churches that played roles in the island's society and its politics.

As many of us in religious studies know so well, Taiwan is a wonderland of religions that range from the classical Sanjiao traditions to *minjian xinxiang* traditions to rather radical and eclectic independent groups and sects—what would have been termed heterodox sects that were seen as troublesome by the Nationalist government they often were willing to challenge. It was all too easy and lots of fun to involve one's self in the study this larger world of Chinese/Taiwanese religiosity—and its ties to the Fujian motherland and your author did so, as his articles and conference papers from these years suggest. Now with a push from my friend and one-time co-editor of an interesting book on religion and identity formation, Paul Katz, I have returned to the Christian community to once again take its measure. In the late spring of 2011, after presenting the keynote address at a conference on Taiwan Studies held at Jiadong University, I returned to my second favorite city—my first is my native New York, and over the course of a week or so immersed myself in the study the present day Christianity. I went to church services, visited seminaries and church headquarters and interviewed missionaries, pastors, lay leaders, theologians and seminary students. I also collected data from such churches as the Mormons, the Assembly Hall Church or Little Flock, the Presbyterians. Since returning to the United States, I have made much use of the web, gathering substantive amounts of material from church websites and on line publications and also used e-mail to questions friends related to the Taiwanese churches or who are students of Taiwan Church history and Christian life on the island. This essay gives the reader a strong sense of what I have learned from my travels, my digging up of material and from my own participant observations and on-site interviews. It was for me an enlightening visit to places I knew well and others I did not know before.

² Over the last forty years. China Mission/Christianity in China Studies has involved into a viable and evolving sub-field that reflects new scholarly trends and the reality of the growing presence of Christianity in China. As one who has been a contributor to that subfield, even before I began to work on Taiwanese Christianity, I have seen and written about this subfield even as I have done research and published in it. If there was a godfather it was John King Fairbank, the husband of a woman, Wilma---- who was born in China to missionary parents. He urged his students to study and write essays about missionaries using the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) archives located at Harvard University. His friend K.C. Liu prepared a quite valuable bibliography and archival guide that students throughout the US and beyond could use do their research on mission related topics and a book edited by K.C. made use of some these students MA essays. Each book proved to be a starting point for those of us, such as Suzanne Wilson Barnett, Kathleen Lodwick, Daniel Bays, and Jesse Lutz, followed Fairbanks' lead and wrote dissertations about missions and missionary institutions in China. I see myself as a Fairbankian once removed, for I did my graduate work at New York University, but did archival work at Harvard and got to know Professor Fairbank over the years. I saw him as an exemplar and mentor of sorts and feel my dissertation and book are very much the kind of study he wanted us to do.

A second father of the field, though some may not think of him that way, was Jonathan Spence Mary Wright's student and successor at Yale and the author of a bookshelf's work of important and readable—and sometimes quite brilliant books. His own book of biographies of westerners in China, *To Save China* had such mission portraits. As an graduate student then beginning to think of a dissertation, I wrote to him and asked him whether a biographical study of Samuel Wells Williams a famous American Board pioneer would be a good topic he said no. he suggested a portrait of the larger mission community that first came from England the US to Canton in the early 19th century. I took his suggestion and ran with it and that study became *Zion's Corner*. One of Spence's crowning achievements the near novelistic biography of Hong Ziquan , *God's Chinese Son* makes good use of missionary materials and various secondary sources. I had heard from Kathleen Lodwick that Prof Spence was interested in what I was doing with my dissertation and I sent him a copy of the revised version of my dissertation. That revised work became, a book that was published with the inelegant title, *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in South China* (1996), when he was writing that monumental study and he did find its material and approach to its subject useful and footnoted it. Spence was also the mentor of Ryan Dunch, whose path breaking book on the Fuzhou Christian community is one of the most important newer books in the sub-field.

Of course of one his most interesting and challenging books is the *Memory Palace* of Matteo Ricci, so, in his way Professor Spence was a Missionary Studies hand as well as one its father figures. I add this insider detail to give the reader some sense of the *guanxi* networks that make this and any subfield work to its fullest capacity.

The sub-sub field of Christianity in Taiwan Studies had a long and strange history , one that could be seen slowly evolving in the 1960s and 1970s as distinct subfield of missiology, the study of the theology of missions, as I will note later in this section, but its real roots, as does its mother field, China Mission Studies is born in the writings—the books, articles, and speeches of the China missionaries themselves for they were self-reflexive and conscious of the need to tell their audience what they were doing and what they saw and learned from the China all around them, even as they were working to convert the Chinese and save their bodies and minds by setting up clinics, printing presses, primary and middle schools and colleges and universities. They produced a rich literature and we rely on it to this day for the research we do. In a real sense, they were anthropologists of a sort and their works are telling and close to the ground pictures of the various sections of Chinese and the people of these regions they worked with over the almost four centuries of the Catholic/ Protestant China Mission enterprise.

In the late 1980s, your author wrote a long historiographical essay on the China Mission Studies: One Scholar's View of the State of an Evolving Subfield in a Taiwanese journal, *Newsletter for Modern Chinese History*, (1988). It was an attempt to sum up just where we in the subfield were. This section can be seen as an attempt to do much the same thing for Christianity in Taiwan Studies.

³ Batavia is the Dutch name for Java. It is the core island of what became the Dutch East Indies, and after 1948, the nation of Indonesia. For basic introduction see-----

⁴ John E. Wills, Jr. *Pepper Guns and Parleys: The Dutch East India Company and China, 1622-1681*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974). See also John E. will, Jr., "The Seventeenth Century Transformation: Taiwan Under the Dutch and Cheng Regime" in Murray A. Rubinstein, ed. *Taiwan, a New History : Expanded Edition* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2006

⁵ Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century*, (NY, NY: Columbia University Press, 2007).

⁶ William Campbell, editor, *Formosa Under the Dutch Described from Contemporary Records* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1903).

⁷ For an analysis of this book and its role in the Presbyterian effort and more see Murray A. Rubinstein, "Unpacking the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in Taiwan History: Its Forms and Uses" in Lynn Scott, editor, *Scenes From Dutch Formosa* (Portland, Maine: Merwin-Asia, 2012).

⁸J. W. Davidson, *the Island of Formosa: Past and Present* (London: Macmillan & Co., London 1903).

⁹ Lynn Scott, ed. *Scenes From Dutch Formosa* (Portland, Maine: Merwin-Asia, 2012).

¹⁰J. W. Davidson, *the Island of Formosa: Past and Present* (London: Macmillan & Co., London 1903).

¹¹George Leslie Mackay, D.D. , *From Far Formosa: The Island, its People and Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1896).

¹² Murray A. Rubinstein, "Missionary Orientalism and the Missionary Lens: Using a "Saidian "Mode of analysis to read the Western Accounts of the Protestant Presence on Taiwan," in *Taiwan Jidujiao Shi: Shi Ke yu Yanzhou Huiti* (Taipei, 1998), 353-393.

¹³ . See Taiwan Jidu Zhanglao Jiaohuei, *Taipingjing yama ge jinian Jiaohuei jou shishi yushi* (1865-1955) (Tainan, Maxwell Memorial Church, 1988).

¹⁴ W.A. Pickering, C.M.G, *Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures among Mandarins, Wreckers and Headhunting Savages* (London: Hurst and Blackett Ltd, 1898).

¹⁵ See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993)

¹⁶Edward Band, *Working His purpose out: the History of the English Presbyterian Mission, 1847-1947* (London, UK: 1948).

¹⁷ The China Inland Mission is examined in detail in a major study by the Canadian mission historian, Alwyn Austin. And See his masterful and exhaustive tome *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Erdmann, 2007). See also Murray A. Rubinstein's review of this and four other books on the CIM in *China Review International*, volume 16 #4, November 4, 2009, 459-490.

¹⁸ Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Protestant Church in Modern Taiwan: Mission, Seminary, and Church* (Armonk, NY: M.E Sharpe, 1991). Melissa Inoue, "The early years of the True Jesus Church (edit) Cambridge , Mass: Dissertation, History Department, Harvard University, 2009) Finally, see the work of Daniel Bays, "The Growth of the Independent Church in China" *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996) 307-316. Murray A. Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Churches of the Holy Spirit," in Daniel Bays, *Christianity in China*,353-366.

¹⁹ Murray A. Rubinstein, " Mission of Faith/Burden of Witness: the Presbyterian Church in the Evolution of Modern Taiwan" in Phillip Cart and Charles Jones, *Religion in Modern Taiwan: Tradition and Innovation in a Changing Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004),

²⁰ See Jonathan Spence, *God's Chinese Son.....*See also Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China* (New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1996)) 1996.

²¹ Alan Swanson, *Mainline Versus Independent Church* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1970) and *The Church on Taiwan: Profile 1980* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1981).

²² Dorothy R. Raber, *Protestantism in Changing Taiwan: Call to a Creative Response* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1978).

²³ Robert J. Bolton, *Treasure Island: Church Growth among Taiwan's Urban Minnan Chinese*. (Pasadena, CA (William Carey Library, 1976)

²⁴ Reverend Gerald Kramer and George Wu, *An Introduction to Taiwanese Folk Religion* (Taipei, 1966).

²⁵ This researcher has written a number of articles and monograph on ABCFM. He has also written a number of articles on the SBC mission in China and on Taiwan. See following

Murray A. Rubinstein , *The Origins of the Anglo American Missionary Enterprise in China* (New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1996).

²⁶ See Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century*, (NY: Columbia University Press----).

²⁷ The (Roman Catholic) Church on Taiwan, ROC: Brief History (Taipei, 2009) 19. See also Hollington Tong, *Christianity on Taiwan: A History*, cpt. 3, cpt. 29, cpt.30.

²⁸ I must add would that I lived near this area for many years further north on Xinsheng Nan Lu and Xinyi Lu, first an old and cheap hotel, the International House, served for western students and visiting scholars—such as Jerry Dennerline, Harry Lamely, and a host of others, as well as some of the weirdest American and British expatriates one could ever meet. It was near what was then the main Taipei exhibition center. It was also near the remains of an old Japanese era rat-warren of old homes, small stores and *minjian* temples and was great fun to wander through. When that complex closed and the entire area destroyed to make room for the new and much needed park complex, I discovered and moved to the OK Guest House, a modest hotel that was located a little further up and just west off Xinsheng Nanlu and close to Xinyi Lu and its many stores and wonderful Storefront Buddhist temple.. This area was my home area for more than a two decade and its location made my study of the Christian community very convenient and very pleasant for it meant a short bus ride on the Ling Nan—the Zero South bus that took me south on Xinsheng Nan Lu. Forgive me for reminiscing, but I wanted to share this small world that I came to know and was identified with by other friends and fellow scholars and with you, my readers .

²⁹ . See *The 150th Anniversary Celebration of the Catholic Evangelization of Taiwan (1859-2009)* (Taipei: RCC Publishing House, 2010).

³⁰ See “Catholic Church: Profile, p. 12.” This a handout of four pages I was given by a nun who worked at the information office of the Taipei Archdiocese administrative center in southeastern section Taipei city in early June of 2011. To one outside the Church like me, it is a very useful publication.

³¹ The (Roman Catholic) Church on Taiwan, ROC: Brief History, in *Taiwan Huei Zhongyao shi*---- (check character)39-62

³² See Richard Madsen, “The Spectacular Growth and Precipitous Decline of the Catholic Church in Taiwan”

³³ On the early years of the Southern Baptist presence on Taiwan see Hollington Tong, *Christianity in Taiwan*, 93.

³⁴ Hollington Tong, *Christianity in Taiwan* 93-94.

³⁵ . Hollington Tong, *Christianity in Taiwan*, 95.

³⁶ See Timothy Lin, biography in Wikipedia, the online encyclopedia. This a useful and relatively detailed portrait of this important figure in the Chinese and Taiwanese church and , though some editing is needed it contains important data , but data tht suggests the evangelical leanings of its author.

³⁷ “China Evangelical Seminary of Taiwan Names Peter K. Chow New President” in *The Gospel Herald*, (Global Gospel News Service) January 23, 2011.

³⁸ Alan Swanson:

Mainline Versus Independent Church (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1970) a

The Church on Taiwan: Profile 1980 (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1981).

Mending the Nets (Pasadena: William Carey Press, 1986)

³⁹My account of this research in the 1980s is spelled out in *The Protestant Community on Modern Taiwan* (1991). 95-109.

⁴⁰ On the PCT see Rubinstein, *Mission of Faith/Burden of Witness: the Presbyterian Church in the Evolution of Modern Taiwan*“Mission of Faith/Burden of Witness: the Presbyterian Church in the Evolution of Modern Taiwan“ in Clart and Jones, (2003)

⁴¹ See Lin Yining, “ Taiwanese Methodists Celebrate its Fiftieth Anniversary” in , *Taiwan Church News*, 2663, March 16, 2003.

⁴² . On the history of the Holiness Church in Taiwan see *Taiwan Holiness Church, Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*. The major problem with this article, useful though it is , is that it contains little if any information about the Holiness Church and its history on Taiwan after 1927. Let me admit that the search for more data on this church on Taiwan has been frustrating. There is a Taiwan Holiness Church in Pasadena, California, that has some information about itself, but little has found yet about the Taiwan based Holiness Church.

⁴³ See *One Mission: One Mission Society*. OMF (2011) website

⁴⁴ Alwyn Austin, *China’s Millions the China Inland Mission and late Qing society, 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: W.. B. Eerdmans, 2007).

See also this researcher’s long review of the Austin book and four other books on the China Inland Mission. See Murray A. Rubinstein,“Alwyn Austin, China’s Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832–1905; Laura K. Benson, *Across China’s Gobi: The Lives of Evangeline French, Mildred Cable, and Francesca French of the China Inland Mission*; Daniel W. Crofts, *Upstream Odyssey: An American in China, 1895–1944*; Robert Gardella, editor, *Missions*

to China's Heartland: The Letters of Hazel Todd of the China Inland Mission, 1920–1941; Arnolis Hayman, edited by Anne-Marie Brady, A Foreign Missionary on the Long March: The Memoirs of Arnolis Hayman of the China Inland Mission," in *China Reviews International* vol. 16, no. 4 (2009).

⁴⁵ My account of the Assembly Hall Church/ 'local church' makes use of books and tracts published by the Assembly Hall Church. It also draws from data and analysis that is found in the now classic, very rich, well written and insightful UC Berkley dissertation by the anthropologist, Morris Aaron Fred. Fred concentrates on this Taiwan and Los Angeles centered church as way of understanding the "local church" movement. My presentation is also based on my fieldwork and participant observation on the church carried out in the 1980, 1990s, and again in 2011 in Taipei.

⁴⁶ Melissa Inouye wrote a detailed history of the TJC on the Chinese Mainland. That history remains a Harvard dissertation that is available. It is a strong and fascinating and very well written piece of church history. I have read one key chapter of that dissertation and commented on it in a panel on the TJC that was part of a conference on religion, society and economic development held in Arlington, Virginia in April of 2011.

⁴⁷ On this church see Murray A. Rubinstein, "The New Testament Church and the Taiwanese Protestant Community," In Murray A. Rubinstein editor, *The Other Taiwan* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1994), 446-473

⁴⁸ Hollington Tong has given us solid data on the LDS in his book, *Christianity in Taiwan*. See Tong, *Christianity*, 100-104. One can see from this piece that he is wary of the LDS, presenting a clear overview of its work and then a somewhat critical discussion of its methods and its theology and modes of practice. He also makes use of the word, "aggressive" when he discusses the LDS's attempts to expand on the island. Aggressive is a negative code word when used by those outside the Mormon tradition. Tong also sees the LDS as Jesus-centered but not really Christian. It is also telling that he includes the profile of the LDS in the chapter in his book deals with Seventh Day Adventists and the Jehovah Witnesses two churches often seen in mainline and evangelical eyes as sects or cults.

⁴⁹ C. Julia Huang and Robert P. Weller, "Merit and Mothering: Women and Social Welfare in Taiwanese Buddhism," in *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57 (2) 1998: 379-396.

⁵⁰ Nigel Tomes "Watchman Nee's Legacy, 10.6 Million Local Church Leaders," (Toronto, Canada, : August, 2009) an article/PDF an extension of remarks in the Congressional Record, July 31, 2009.

⁵¹ See Collin Hansen, "Cultwatchers Reconsider: Former Detractors of Nee and Lee now endorse Local Churches" in *Christianity Today* (January 26, 2009). See also *Witness Lee and the local Churches: A Personal Testimony Refuted*. WWW. . local-church-cult.org/

⁵² see The TJC website section About Our Church, Find our Church section.

⁵³ Department of Literary Ministry, *Fall From Grace* (Garden Grove, CA: International Assembly of the True Jesus Church, 1995).

⁵⁴ On the issue of Agudath Ha Rabonim, see David Sable, "Stop Enabling Our Jewish Fanatics" in *The Jewish Week*, January 20, 2012, 20.