

31

Studies in Passionist History and Spirituality

CHINA: ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 19- 20TH CENTURIES

**Fr. Robert E. Carbonneau, C.P.
December 2, 2002
Provincial Chapter, South Korea**

Rome, 2005
Passionist Generalate
P.zza SS. Giovanni d Paolo, 13

CONTENTS

Introduction

Part One: Unequal gu~nxi: Christianity and Catholicism before 1900

Part Two: Era of *Luan*, 1900-1949

 First Period: Fragile Foundation, 1900-1918

 Second Period: Hope and Reorganization, 1919-1934

 Third Period: Growth and Survival, 1935-1945

 Fourth Period: Witness, 1945-1949

Part Three: 1949-1976, Suffering

Part Four: 1976-2000, the Quest for Reconciliation

China: Passionist Presence,1921-1955

Introduction

Part One: Zeal and Loyalty to Church and Gospel, 1918-1929

 Beginnings: 1921

 One Day at a Time: 1924-1928

 Missionaries Murdered: 1929

 Citizenship, Missionaries, the Holy See, and the United States Government

 The Sign Magazine: The Hunan Mission Story in Print

Part Two: Mission Life, 1930-1950

 Bishop Cuthbert O'Gara

 Sisters of Charity

 Sisters of St. Joseph

 Japanese Internment: 1941-1945

 A Passionist meets Mao Zedong

 Faith during Wartime: 1945

Part Three: Post-War China, 1946-1951

 Hope: 1947-1948

 Quiet Diplomacy and Public Relations

 Suffering: 1949-1951

Part Four Passionist Prisoners,1951-1955

 Hunan News: 1950-1956

 Bishop O'Gara: Prisoner, 1951-1953

 Fathers Marcellus White and Justin Garvey: Prisoners, 1953-1955

Part Five: Passionist China Diaspora, post-1955

 Bishop Cuthbert O'Gara: Dry martyr

 Fathers White and Garvey: Apostles of Reconciliation

 Father Caspar Caulfield: Mission Secretary

 Fathers John Nien and Bede Zhang

Success and Failure of the Passionist China Mission,1921-1955: Lessons Learned

Part One: China: Dynamics surrounding the personal missionary experience

Part Two: China: success and failure and the road to wisdom

Part Three: China and Passionist history

The Catholic Church in China: Future Relationships

Selected Background Reading on Chinese History and Religious History - 2003

China History

American Catholic Mission History

European Catholic Mission History

Future Relationships with Catholic China

Protestant and Catholic American Archival Source book

Protestant Missionary History

Sisters of Charity, Convent Station, NJ

Passionist Sources

Appendix: Passionist Hunan Mission Statistics

1922: Vicariate of Northern Hunan, Changteh, Hunan

1925: Prefecture of Shenchow [Chenzhou], Hunan

1930: Mission of Shenchow [Chenzhou]

1940-1941

Passionist Missionary Groups sent to Hunan, China

Introduction

“Let China love you.” This advice to me in 1974 by Passionist priest Linus Lombard, a twenty year (1934-1954) veteran missionary to Hunan, China changed my life. I was born in 1951. My image of China was rooted in evil, not love. United States education reinforced this. Neither my public high school, nor my Catholic college from which I graduated in 1973 with a history degree, offered any study of Chinese history. Furthermore, good Catholic faith required hatred of Communism. Growing up, I was told to pray to the Blessed Mother for the conversion of Russia. On the other hand, Communist China was simply an atheistic place of persecution.

You can imagine how surprised I was in 1973 when I learned that the Passionists had been missionaries to China. So I started to ask questions. Someone told me the Passionists had archival documentation. When I saw the documents, I realized that I could use my B.A. in history to uncover the story. Father Bonaventure Moccia, C.P. encouraged me to talk to former China missionary Father Linus Lombard. As a novice, from 1973 until 1974, I lived with him. One day I remember sitting in his room. He wore his black Passionist habit. He had white hair and a Buddha-like stomach. Excited, I told him how I saw the China archive documents and had made a decision to learn everything about China. That was when he paused, smiled, laughed and told me: “let China love you.” He proceeded to share his wisdom. “China is bigger than you” he said. He went on to say that my quest to learn everything about China would kill me. Why? Because I might learn facts and ideas but in the end possess no spirit. In essence, if I wished to learn about China I should, he advised, not aim to control China. Rather I should let China embrace me, see it as a gift, and develop a living vibrant relationship. Only with an open heart would I find some understanding of China. As time went on I learned this advice on China’s richness also offered an insight into God’s omni presence. Perhaps if I let God love me, then I might gain a peaceful heart.

Please remember two points during formal presentations over the next three days. First, keep the advice of Father Lombard as the foundation for my reflections with you. I am honored to be in South Korea for the first time. I am honored to be in your presence. I am honored to share with you my knowledge of China.

Second, I am historian, and less so a theologian or missiologist. Therefore, I will keep to my assignment and offer a blueprint to understand the immediate past and immediate future of Catholic China. To do this I will concentrate almost exclusively on basic Chinese history and Catholic Chinese history. Of course, special interest throughout will be on the Passionist relationship to the story. In other words, I will not speak much about Scripture or theology. I presume you will discern future actions based on both these areas where appropriate. Also, I presume, as Passionists in Korea, you will, in time, know how God will speak to you about your future relationship with China. Chinese history and culture as well as Chinese Catholic Church history will serve as the yin and yang of our understanding together these next days.

Part One: Unequal *gu~nxi*: Christianity and Catholicism before 1900.

All Confucian-Asian based life is based upon relationships. Known in Chinese as *guangxi*, it applies to many levels: personal, social, and business exchange. *Gu~nxi* presupposes time, testing and negotiation. When it works, all participants benefit in some way.

Pre-1900 Catholicism sought *gu~nxi* within China with mixed results. Nestorian Christianity arrived and was banned during the Tang dynasty (618-907). It was re-established in the Yuan dynasty (1279-1321). The efforts of Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) facilitated acceptance of Christianity by the end of the Ming dynasty (1644). However, within the first century of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) the Chinese Rites Controversy caused a setback for Christianity when in 1704 Pope Clement XI forbid Chinese Catholic participation in rituals which honored Confucius or family ancestors.

The quest for *gu~nxi* re-emerged from 1800 until 1900. Twentieth-century Chinese and non-Chinese historians admit that Christianity's evangelistic efforts to China, which included the efforts to reach Catholics, was forced. This Christianity was brought into China by an influx of the foreigners known to the Chinese as *wai-guo*. More often than not Chinese leaders perceived them as barbarians and imperialists. One might say that a simple reason why *gu~nxi* failed was because the relationship was not mutual.

In 1800 there were 21,000 Catholics in China. The 1801 Napoleon-Vatican concordat provided Catholics a prominent base for future French ventures in China. In 1803 the first China Synod took place in Chongqing, Sichuan province. However, Catholic growth remained slow due to nineteenth century Chinese political turmoil on several fronts. First, the Opium War (1839-1842) was fought over the opium trade. China wanted the drug trade banned. Britain refused and went to war in order to continue the trade. When China was defeated by Britain, the former was forced to submit to the 1842 Nanjing unequal treaty. This opened five Chinese treaty ports and gave protection to Christian missionaries who the Chinese saw as imperialists. Second, the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) is a continual reminder to the Chinese of how uncontrolled belief in Christianity might overthrow the nation. Taiping leader Hung Hsiu-ch'uan (1813-1864) had read a missionary tract and thought himself to be the younger brother of Jesus Christ. In 1851 Hung proclaimed the new Taiping dynasty. Years of reform and chaos followed until Chinese and western troops defeated Hung in 1864. Third, long-time anti-Christian sentiment in North China led to the 1870 Tianjin massacre of Catholic missionaries. These three examples show how, by the end of nineteenth century, Catholic Christianity was in China but *guangxi* had failed to take root.

Part Two: Era of *Luan*, 1900-1949

The Chinese term *luan* offers a fluid means to interpret the history of the Catholic Church within China from 1900 to 1949. The 1930 *Matthews Chinese-English Dictionary* defines *luan* as "Disorderly; reckless, Rebellion. To confuse." Such disorder and malaise permeated China and had direct influence upon Catholic mission efforts of the period. These uncertain Chinese political and social conditions often imposed limits of participation for foreign missionaries and Chinese Catholics. While stable and healthy development of a Chinese Catholic Church was a goal, *luan* necessitated that Catholics be adaptable in gospel witness and societal contributions. Compounding the issue was the Chinese view that Catholicism possessed *wai guo* or foreign status and a skepticism as to how a *ben guo jiao hui* (native Church) would function over time. Four periods describe *luan* between 1900 to 1949.

First Period: Fragile Foundation, 1900-1918.

In 1900 there were 720,540 Chinese Catholics in 41 vicariates and Prefectures Apostolic. Of the 1,375 priests, 471 were Chinese and 904 were foreign. By 1910 Catholics increased to 1,292,287 in 47 regions. 638 priests were Chinese and 1,438 were foreign.

Such growth is deceiving because the 1900 Boxer Uprising accentuated *luan* and challenged the fragile Catholic Church foundation. More than anti-foreign and anti-Christian persecutors, new scholarship tells us that the Boxers also represented political and social rebellion among Chinese. Almost one hundred European Catholic missionaries and over thirty thousand Chinese Catholics were killed before foreign troops put down the rebellion. Catholics called the faithful killed by the Boxers new martyrs for China. Yet, throughout the twentieth century, missionaries always feared that a new wave of persecution might arise in China again. Furthermore, in the late 1940s, Chinese Communists concluded that the Chinese Boxers killed by foreign troops in 1900 symbolized true opposition to the imperialist missionary. It did not help that a consequence of the 1900 defeat of the Boxers by the foreign powers was the imposition of an indemnity system on China. In effect, another layer of *luan* was added.

Chinese political chaos continued. The end of the Qing Dynasty (1911) and the beginning of the new China Republic (1912) saw provinces seek greater independence. Confucian tradition was reexamined in light of western influence and business. Warlords and bandits caused havoc, instability, violence, and death.

Still, Catholics tried to maintain their presence. More rural than urban, Catholicism had a foothold in most provinces by 1911 through the missionary efforts of priests, sisters, and brothers from European religious orders. They, of course, depended greatly upon lay catechists. Chinese Catholic converts, unlike Protestants, tended to be poor; families more than individuals. Likewise, application of the Chinese Rites still required that Chinese Catholic converts cease the practice of their traditional or “pagan” rituals. Overall, Catholics emphasized secondary schooling, established hospitals on a limited basis, and began to develop greater attention to orphanages. During this period Chinese catechetical tracts were printed and Aurora University was founded in 1903. In the early 1900s almost all financial support for China came from Europe. In addition, many European missionaries took advantage of the unequal treaties to own mission property in China. Sometimes these same treaties allowed countries to create political policy which had a direct impact upon evangelization. For example, France curtailed mission initiatives in China sponsored by Propagation Fide in Rome. Also, France and other European governments told many foreign missionaries to leave China and return home because of World War I (1914-1918).

But China was not totally abandoned. Father Vincent Lebbe (1877-1940) sought a new voice for Chinese Catholics. Beginning in 1901, he promoted an authentic Chinese clergy and Church, and an end to European ecclesiastical imperialism. At Tianjin in 1914 he urged lay Catholics to dialogue about the wider issues facing China. In 1915 Lebbe founded a daily paper *Yishi bao*. Other prominent Chinese Catholic voices included Shanghai businessman and benefactor Joseph Lo Pa-hong [Lu Bohong] (1875 -1937) who founded Catholic Action in 1911. He remained influential until he was assassinated in 1937. Notable also was Chinese Catholic diplomat Lu Zhengziang (1870-1949). Later known as Lou Tseng Tsiang, a Benedictine priest, he went on to promote increased contact between the China and the Vatican.

Nevertheless, it would be correct to say that between 1900 and 1918 Chinese Catholicism maintained a fragile foundation. The Chinese Catholic Church was controlled more by Europeans than by the Chinese themselves. European missionaries said they welcomed Chinese growth but did not implement any indigenous organization plan to achieve such an end.

Second Period: Hope and Reorganization, 1919-1934.

In 1920, 52 regions served 1,994,483 Catholics; there were 963 Chinese and 1,417 foreign priests. In 1928 there were 2,527 Chinese sisters and 414 brothers. By 1930, there were 2,498,015 Catholics, 1,438 Chinese priests, and 2,164 foreign priests.

The hope and reorganization in this period occurred on several fronts. First, Papal Encyclical *Maximum Illud* (1919), shaped in part by Father Lebbe, ushered forth a new *post-guerre* worldwide mission impulse and hope for Chinese Catholicism. Second, *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1926) created a native episcopacy when six Chinese bishops were installed on October 28, 1926. This indicated that perhaps a new era or a new policy was in place whereby the Chinese Church would now take on a more Chinese face in leadership. A third, and very important factor is that success in the above areas was a direct result of the leadership enacted by Apostolic Delegate to China, Bishop Celso Costantini. From 1922 to 1933 he advocated a new vision for Catholic China that was less foreign. At the same time, this less foreign Catholic Church in China still required the influx of zealous American and European missionaries. In a sense, the hope was that this new wave of missionaries, coupled with their increased greater financial resources, would revitalize and internationalize the China mission. Even more, it was hoped that the Chinese leadership would develop a voice.

Costantini did leave his mark. He called The Council of Shanghai in 1926 to reorganize mission priorities. Clearly, nationality and citizenship were secondary to preaching the Gospel. Furthermore, Chinese clergy and missionaries were to have equal rights; Chinese was proclaimed the primary language for all missionaries; religious women should educate girls; education in schools and universities was affirmed; Chinese custom was not to be criticized, and Fu Ren University was established in Peking in 1926. To implement indigenization, The Commission Synodale (1928) was inaugurated.

Costantini, however, walked a political tightrope. In 1927 a decision was made not to request indemnity or “compensation for the blood of martyrs” for murdered missionaries in China. On the one hand, this showed that the Holy See was less imperialistic. On the other hand, diplomats from many foreign countries in China who valued the extraterritorial rights of the long-standing unequal treaties were upset. What, they wondered, would happen if missionaries did not follow directions from their respective diplomatic envoys in China? So the question remained. Where then did missionary allegiance reside? Citizenship or gospel? Unresolved, this question haunted missionaries through the 1950s. Due to ill health Costantini left China in 1933 and was replaced by Bishop Marius Zanin who served as Apostolic Delegate from 1934 until 1946.

Further complicating Costantini’s vision was China itself. The *wai guo* remained suspect during the nationalistic and independent May Fourth Movement in 1919. In 1921 the Chinese Communist Party was founded. Questioning political unity, Chiang Kai-shek’s [Jiang Jieshi’s

]Nationalist party launched the Northern Expedition (1926-1928). But unity was a facade. Political and social chaos remained in China. Missionaries had to evacuate many interior missions in 1927. “Reds”, bandits, and warlords were often indistinguishable. Some missionaries were killed. Others were held for ransom. Occasionally, missionaries negotiated local disputes and cared for wounded soldiers. It did not help that regional flooding and famine often conditioned the degree of evangelical success. And in 1934 the Long March of Mao Zedong allowed the Communist party to survive in Yanan. Ultimately the Nationalists and Communists co-existence would not hold and they would fight again.

Even with all the above tenuous factors in operation, the myth of the Chinese missionary was at its zenith abroad. Hope reigned. Faithful Catholics throughout the world desired to save pagan babies, pray for martyrs, promote the missionary vocation, dispel communism, and read mission literature of the French Holy Childhood Association or the United States Catholic Student Mission Crusade.

So, despite the reorganization of the time, Chinese Catholicism possessed foreign, more than native status within the Chinese psyche. Consequently, during this second period the attempts at inculturation made limited progress.

Third Period: Growth and Survival, 1935-1945.

Catholics increased to 3,262,678 in 1940. The 138 regions had 2,091 Chinese priests and 3,064 foreign priests. Still, *luan* remained the national pulse in China. Mao established his Communist Yanan base in 1934 and the Xian Incident in 1936 heightened Nationalist-Communist tension. The 1930s worldwide economic depression undercut financial support for Catholic missionaries in China. Christians and Catholics supported Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek who had declared himself a Methodist in 1932. In 1937, an increased European fear of Communism led Pope Pius XI to issue his encyclical *Divino Redemptoris* against Atheistic Communism. Little thought was given as to how Russian Communism might differ from Chinese Communism. Nevertheless a positive decision, for practical reasons of the Catholic Church survival in Japan, was that the Chinese Rites Controversy came to an end in 1939.

During the initial years of his administration, Apostolic Delegate Zanin organized new dioceses and vicariates. But the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) impeded progress. Missionaries were interned. Some were killed. In some locales Catholics tried to work with the Japanese invaders. In other regions the same invasion meant an influx of refugees to the region. National flags painted on mission compounds were supposed to offer protection, but Japanese cared little about neutrality and destruction of missionary property from bombing was common. Protests to the Japanese did little good. The December 8, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor threatened safety even more. In 1942 the *S.S. Gripsholm*, a refugee ship filled with many missionaries, symbolized how Catholic and Protestant missionaries instead of going separate ways, cooperated during disaster in China.

World War II did allow for progress on the diplomatic front. In 1943 news that Mr. Cheou-kang Sic presented his credentials to the Pope as the first Chinese minister to the Vatican indicated maturation of Chinese Catholicism. However, the *China Handbook 1937-1945* shows that Catholicism retained respectful though conditional acceptance under the Kuomintang or Nationalist government. Catholicism and Protestantism, the handbook stated, were “Christian movement[s],” and not one of the five accepted Chinese religions. An essay entitled “Catholic

Missions” praised the over 100,000 “mission helpers, catechists, teachers, nurses and doctors.” Despite such great efforts and praise *luan* continued. This meant that the Nationalist Chinese government imposed regulations. Catholic Church Bishops were “ordered... to cooperate with the Chinese Government in the national emergency” as they conducted refugee and medical relief, child welfare and educational work. Missionaries who made the “Supreme Sacrifices” before the Japanese, Communists, and robbers were extolled. Father Lebbe received special recognition. Still, in 1944 only 25 of 123 Catholic bishops were Chinese. Moreover, foreign missionaries’ allegiance remained suspect. Of the 6,000 Catholic priests in China, over 500 Italian and German nationals were labeled as “enemy aliens” during the Pacific War, though “most” were allowed to preach by the Nationalists. By 1945 Nationalist-Communist conversations were underway for a peaceful nation. But many unresolved issues would lead to civil war from 1945 until 1949. And both parties had a sense of understanding whereby freedom of religion should have limits: “Religious beliefs and political ideologies should not be allowed to interfere with school and college administration.”

Overall the early 1940s left Chinese Catholicism in a crippled state. Catholic sympathies were with the Nationalist government exiled in Chongqing, China. And given government limitations the efforts of Bishop Paul Yu-Pin are notable. A member of The Association of Religious Believers in China, and China’s Who’s Who, he was President of the Chinese Catholic Cultural Association. The organization was founded in 1941 to teach European and American Catholic culture about Chinese Catholicism. It published *Christian Life* and *Religion and Culture*. Still, religion and politics blurred in the Chinese mind when Catholic priests served national armies as military chaplains. Nevertheless, the Chinese Catholic Church survived and grew. Priests, sisters, and Chinese Catholics offered heroic assistance to refugees. However, by 1945 *luan* was still the norm. Both China and the Catholic Church were emotionally and economically exhausted.

Fourth Period: Witness, 1945-1949

By 1948, 3,374,470 Catholics practiced their faith in 20 Archdioceses, 88 Dioceses and 36 Prefectures Apostolic with 3,015 Chinese and 2,676 foreign priests. In 1947, 5,112 out of 7,463 sisters in China were Chinese. The appointment of Cardinal Thomas Tian Jingshen in 1945 and a small number of Chinese bishops in 1946 did follow the pattern of indigenous development put in place in the earlier decades but left many Chinese Catholics with the notion that hopes for strong indigenous leadership would be a slow and long process. The 1946 appointments of Bishop Antonio Riberi as Apostolic Internuncio (he held the post until 1959,) and Mr. John Wu Jingxiong as Nationalist representative to the Vatican fostered hesitant optimism. It increased already turbulent relations during Nationalist-Communist civil war from 1946 until 1949.

Part Three: 1949-1976, Suffering

In 1949 Mao Zedong and the Communists gained power in China. This liberation/revolution forced the Nationalist government to move to Taiwan. To maintain control of mainland China, Mao instituted harsh economic, political and social reforms. As a result, all Chinese suffered in the creation of this new China. From 1950 until 1953 the Korean War took place. From 1951 until 1952 China endured an anti-corruption purge. Those with western ties were persecuted in the 1957 Hundred Flowers Campaign. The 1958 Great Leap Forward sought national economic

stability and caused instability for many Chinese. All this went from bad to worse during the Cultural Revolution from 1966 until 1976 when cultural, political, and personal chaos was the norm. During this last period China was dead to the rest of the world.

Hope had been that the end of World War II would bring peace to China. But beginning in 1949 until 1976 the Chinese Catholic Church entered into a period of unexpected suffering. Freedom of religion, especially a foreign religion, remained theoretical. The strong devotional piety of Chinese Catholics to The Legion of Mary, continued Nationalist-Vatican diplomatic relations, and the presence of foreign missionaries in China during the Korean War made the Communists suspicious of Chinese Catholics.

Statistics from the February 1957 *Mission Bulletin* tell part of the harsh story. Yes, persecution of Catholics was widespread. But let us remember that the rationale, details, and method of this persecution demand greater study. My preliminary research on this period indicates that Catholic response to Communism was diverse. Each locale has its own experience and story. Foreign missionaries and native Chinese Catholics faced a difficult choice: evacuate with the Nationalists or stay with the Communists. *Ai-guo* (Love of country) was a question for all. In fact, many foreign missionaries had become culturally Chinese. Usually foreign Catholic missionaries were expelled. Indications seem to be that indigenous Chinese Catholics loyal to Rome were imprisoned, tortured, or killed. Other Chinese Catholics made the choice to live and cooperate with Communism. In other words, expression of faith, suffering and hope in this new China under Mao was in painful redefinition. Living out one's citizenship and practicing the Gospel proved to be a critical dimension in the 1950s. Let us be clear. Both groups had strong faith. Similarly, both groups had mixed success under the Communists. Furthermore, these past choices and decisions were the genesis behind the split which has been part of the Chinese Catholic Church since 1949.

Analysis and interpretation of this dual Chinese Catholic experience from 1949 until 1976 is complex and emotional. Oftentimes, the ordinary worldwide Catholic and commentators become trapped by terminology such as "open church" and "underground church." In reality, the definition of these terms have remained fluid and vague. With a heart open towards future reconciliation of both these open and underground churches, I would like to suggest that we see this period of suffering as a time when the Chinese Catholic Church had one faith expressed in two different ways.

Still, some facts merit our attention. In 1952 Vatican Internuncio Riberi moved from Hong Kong to Taipei, Taiwan. In 1954 Pope Pius XII promulgated *Ad Sinarium gentes*. This comforted faithful Chinese Catholics loyal to Rome and criticized the Chinese Government Three Self Movement imposing Chinese Catholic loyalty solely to the state. In 1955 Archbishop Gong Pinmei of Shanghai, about 40 priests, and 1000 Catholics were accused of not being loyal to the government and in open communication with the imperialist non-Chinese. In 1957 241 Catholics and government representative met in Beijing and formed the Chinese Patriotic Association. In 1958, the first Chinese bishops were consecrated without approval of the Holy See. While this is condemned by Pius XII in his letter *Ad Apostorolum Principis* we must remember that elections were valid but illicit. In 1959 Monsignor Caprio was appointed Second Pronuncio in China. He resided in Taipei. In 1962 an Assembly of the Patriotic Association in Beijing closed Catholic churches and sent many Chinese priests to jail or labor camps.

From 1962 until 1965 China received minimal information on the Second Vatican Council. Beginning in 1966 the Red Guard of the Cultural Revolution caused further destruction of Catholic Churches and even more Catholic leaders were imprisoned. When China entered the United Nations in 1971, Catholic Mass was allowed once again, for foreigners only, in South Church, Beijing. In 1972 diplomatic walls broke down when President Richard M. Nixon visited China. This raised religious hopes. Another sign of hope was in 1975 when the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples established the Centre for Chinese Studies of the Institute of Missionary Research of the Pontifical Urban University in Rome. As one might expect, the 1976 death of Mao ZeDong prompted questions about the political future of China. Likewise, Catholics worldwide wondered whether the Catholic Church in China was alive or dead?

Part Three: 1976-2000, the Quest for Reconciliation

The quest for spiritual and diplomatic reconciliation on all levels of the Chinese Catholic Church has been the overriding theme these last twenty-five years. As in the past, success goes hand in hand with political realities. Certainly, the economic overtures practiced under the leadership by Chinese Premier Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s and the 1980s set the stage for multiple layers of social interaction that softened long-standing religious prejudice. In practice foreign relations were welcome, but always with government approval and sanction.

This approval-sanction policy has continued to dominate the religious sphere. From 1976 to 1988 foreigners learned that the open church, underground church, Chinese Patriotic Association, and Religious Affairs Bureau of the Communist Party came together to create the day to day pulse of Chinese Catholics. Foreign organizations began to monitor the situation. On the one hand, the Hong Kong based Holy Spirit Study Centre, founded in 1980 looked with realistic hope and dialogue for reconciliation among Catholics in China. On the other hand by the early 1990s the Cardinal Kung Foundation in the United States highlighted the anti-Communist position towards Catholics in mainland China. As a result, I would suggest that the ideological and experiential differences that plagued the Catholic Church in China were transported to Catholics outside mainland China. Sadly, this has only added another difficult layer in the quest for spiritual reconciliation. Of course, no one anticipated the events of Tiananmen Square in 1989. It certainly compounded ongoing life for Chinese Catholics in China and foreigners interested in making a difference inside China.

For the sake of time, rather than provide a list of religious related events, it would be beneficial to characterize the period since the mid-1990s as a fragile quest towards reconciliation which has taken place on several different levels. First, Chinese Catholics inside and outside China renewed family and social interaction. Second, Catholic missionary societies once in China renewed old contacts. Third, the Holy See and the Religious Affairs Bureau spoke more openly about differences. Consequently, this has continually led observers to wonder if diplomatic reconciliation is on the horizon. Fourth, a large percentage of Chinese Catholic bishops have been reconciled with Rome. Fifth, human rights and religious rights receive increased attention in the same breath. Sixth, some Chinese Catholic priests, sisters and seminarians are now permitted to receive theological training in Europe, the United States and Asia. Seventh, professional and gospel witness of foreign Catholic priests, brothers, sisters, and lay people has

increased as long as the respective organizations adhere to the government policy on religion. As might be expected, enforcement, particularly of this last area, often depends first, upon the shifting nationwide political winds and second, on local religious policy in each province.

The statistics for the Chinese Catholic Church in 2000 are as follows. China has a population of 1.2 billion. Catholics number 10 million. There are 138 Catholic dioceses. The Chinese government recognizes 70 bishops. 39 bishops are publicly unofficial or not government sanctioned. Another 20 bishops are not publicly known. Of the 2,200 priests in China in 2000, approximately seventy-five per cent have been ordained in the past twelve years. At the same time there were 1000 seminarians. They were trained in 19 major seminaries and 5 preparatory seminaries approved by the government. An additional 700 seminarians may be being trained in unapproved seminaries. There were about 2,000 sisters, mostly young, plus another 2,000 unofficial sisters. In forty government approved convents there were 1,500 novices and postulants and perhaps 1,000 with unapproved status. Altogether estimates are that there are 5,000 churches and chapels in China.

In conclusion the above information indicates that through all the historical movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries God's love for the Catholic Church in China has remained present and active. We must respect this legacy of understanding in the future.

CHINA: PASSIONIST PRESENCE, 1921-1955

Presented by Fr. Robert E. Carbonneau, C.P.

December 3, 2002

Provincial Chapter, South Korea

Introduction

Passionists make history. Their mission experience in Hunan, China from 1921 until 1955 confirms this without question. Almost thirty years ago I began the slow and diligent process of uncovering this Passionist past. Through the years I have learned, sometimes painfully and other times with unexpected excitement, that there are numerous ways to research and tell this story. Among them is detailed facts, statistics, institutional and cultural narrative, military and diplomatic histories, biography, dramatic and symbolic interpretation, praise, and criticism. All are interpretative models that hold a grain of truth. Blended together they become the nourished food of knowledge about China from which we Passionists continue to eat.

An old Chinese proverb is that it is bad luck to break one's rice bowl. This is so because it is from the rice bowl where we gain daily food. Allow me to apply these diverse grains of historical interpretation so that we may fill up, eat, and be satisfied that the rice bowls of our Passionist missionary ancestors have not been broken. In fact, history reminds us that the bowl is still full.

Part One: Zeal and Loyalty to Church and Gospel, 1918-1929

Beginnings: 1921

“The Secretary of Propagation [Fide] remarked to us that our [Passionist] monastic life should be especially attractive to the Tibetans. The mission he offers us consists of a church, school, and orphanages. It may be presumed that there is also a residence for missionaries.” This February 1921 letter from General Consultor Father Alfred Cagney to St. Paul of the Cross Provincial Justin Carey concerning Tibet sets the stage for our Passionist China story.

While Passionist interest in China dates back to 1781, the modern China Passionist experience came to life quickly in seven steps between May 1920 and December 1921. First, the new mission encyclical *Maximum Illud* inspired the May 1920 Passionist General Chapter to offer their services for the China missions. Second, Rome responded by wanting to apply our contemplative spirit, United States money, priests, and English language in order to establish a mission in Patna, India on the Tibet border. Third, desiring only China, the Passionists refused Tibet. Fourth, in August 1921, Rome, it appears had upset the Spanish Augustinians when, without their consultation, they made the Passionists an offer to assist them in Northern Hunan, China. Fifth, by November 1921 Augustinian-Passionist tensions were resolved. Finally, in late December 1921, with unquestioning loyalty to the church and gospel, the first six Passionists left the United States for China. In early March 1922 they arrived at their final destination Shenchow, [Chenzhou] Hunan, China. In the mid-1930s the town was renamed Yuanling.

In 1922 the North Hunan Vicariate had 7,600 Catholics out of a population of 11,000,000. In 1922 three more Passionist priests joined the first six missionaries. Five more followed in 1923. Certainly, preaching the Gospel to Chinese pagans, (as they were usually referred to before Vatican II) was a heroic task. Let us not underestimate how church loyalty, love for the Gospel, adventure, romance, apostolic zeal, and the unknown fueled the hearts of these first missionary groups.

One Day at a Time: 1924-1928

The name of Passionist Father Cuthbert O’Gara is synonymous with the Hunan mission. Two aspects about his 1924 arrival in China (he came with thirteen other Passionists from both United States provinces) teach us about the early day to day inconsistencies of the Hunan mission. First, the Passionists sent and publicized to the United States public at the departure ceremonies that Father O’Gara was being assigned to China in order to be the English-speaking secretary to Apostolic Delegate Celso Costantini. However, only when O’Gara arrived in China did he learn that the secretary post was unavailable. This mis-communication depressed him for several months. The confusion represents a classic case of the inability of the Passionists, in general and Dominic Langenbacher in particular, to know and interpret a communication with the Apostolic Delegate. Initial dialogue or communication does not always result in an absolute plan of action.

The second aspect is the immediate immersion of Passionists into a daily culture of suffering. On September 9, 1924 Father O’Gara had completed his very first day in Shenchow. That evening he typed a long letter to Provincial Stanislaus Grennan. The last paragraph began: “I have just witnessed a very harrowing scene.” O’Gara then told of a seeing a boy come down the street with a Chinese sign around his neck announcing a public execution. “We hurried down to the river’s bank” he continued, “to find a large crowd of the idle natives gathered about a prostrate figure. A handkerchief was spread over his face, the body was stark and rigid; the head had just been severed by the public execution.” O’Gara proceeded to explain told how the head was sewn with needle and thread on to a tree trunk to the interest of the spectators. “The children ran in and out as though it were a common occurrence. These people are going to take a lot of civilizing; it is not going to be the work of a day.” This execution may be symbolic in that it occurred at the end of O’Gara’s first day in Shenchow or Yuanling. In another way the event marks the beginning of the social and personal suffering O’Gara and other missionaries witnessed daily and he, himself, would experience personally in China until he left in 1953.

The Third Meeting of the Passionists in Hunan, held in Shenchow from November 21 to December 9, 1925 to coincide with the installation of Father Dominic Langenbacher as the Prefect of Shenchow highlights how the quest for a stable theory of mission was still underway after almost five years experience. Minutes reveal the missionaries continuing effort to implement the encyclical *Maximum Illud*; wrestle with a means to foster native clergy by establishing the preparatory seminary in Shenchow; develop a Catholic elementary school system; operate a minimum year long school program for catechists; finalize principles for catechumenate’s entry into the faith which included the “demand that the family renounce their idols and bring these to the mission for disposal.” Other topics included the division of the mission territory; the difficulty of sustaining the full monastic observance; praise for prayer in common when possible; the approval to wear the full religious habit in the mission; hold an annual retreat; recite the short office; promote public devotions and use prayer books commonly used throughout China; buy a cemetery plot; nurture financial benefactors; standardize a budget, donation, shipment, and money transfer system; care for deeds and documents, coordinate

purchase or repair of buildings; and most important promote the China missions by writing for *Sign Magazine* which ran a regular feature: "With the Passionists In China."

Furthermore, the mission experiences of Father Dominic Langenbacher and Brother Lambert Budde accentuate a fourth area: the diverse occupation, tensions, and interpretation of everyday mission life in Hunan during the 1920s. In 1925 Langenbacher was installed as the first Passionist prefect of Shenchow, Hunan. By 1929 he had resigned. He was emotionally exhausted. Many of his fellow missionaries said he had been indecisive dealing with missionary evacuations during the 1927 Nationalist Expedition through Hunan. His leadership ability had been taxed to the limit. Notable also is that Father Langenbacher's small 1925 installation cross on display at the Passionist monastery in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania is constructed from melted Mexican silver coins which were of great value in China. Do we wish to interpret the price of making such a cross as a sign of high church art or might we wish to see it as a symbol of financial imperialism and religion in one of the poorest areas of China? Interpretation of such symbols indicates how we and others evaluate the Passionist historical past.

A 1921 missionary to China, Brother Budde from Holland, also serves as a symbol. He was the only Passionist brother assigned to work in China. While illness was an important factor in his leaving the mission in 1930, others have suggested that daily priest-brother tensions may have also been a cause. This requires more study. Yet, because Brother Budde was a trained architect his blueprint designs of the mission presents an opportunity to contemplate the important place of religious architecture and art in bringing to life the gospel in a respective culture.

Missionaries Murdered: 1929

On April 24, 1929 bandits at Hua-chiao, [Huaqiao] Hunan, blew a bugle. It signaled death. Passionist Fathers Walter Coveyou and Clement Seybold had both been shot through the head in quick succession. Seconds later, Father Godfrey Holbein was executed the same way. All three bodies were dumped in an abandoned mine shaft. The Chinese Mass servers and carriers who were nearby and had accompanied the priests on the journey were set free. Immediately they returned to Yuan-chou [Yuanzhou] and Ch'en-ch'i [Chexi] to report the deaths.

Together, Fathers Seybold, Holbein and Coveyou represent the full missionary experience. Seybold arrived in China in 1924 and made the cultural adjustment with ease. Language skills proved adequate. His health and psyche were so strong that he refused to evacuate Hunan in 1927 because the political chaos had not reached his region. Therefore, Seybold represents an acclimated, time-tested missionary who developed poise and confident zeal to minister. Also arriving in China in 1924, Holbein, on the other hand, represents the tenuous struggling missionary. Fragile health, difficulty with the language and culture, and introspective piety produced an obsession to understand himself that occupied as much time as the zeal to preach the Gospel. In fact, Holbein asked to return to the United States in 1928, but ineffective communications of the era postponed a decision.

In 1928 Coveyou came to China. Because he was murdered the next year it is more correct to see him as a symbol of mission support back home in the United States where he was a preacher and fund-raiser since the early 1920s. For Coveyou, the foreign missions were as

close as the next person to whom he preached. It points to the significance of home support for foreign missions. Many people longed to experience missionary life but could only give money or prayers. While they might be faceless and nameless individuals to those in China who relied on their support, as a promoter at home Walter Coveyou gave supporters of the Passionist foreign missions a face.

As these three bodies were recovered and brought to Shenchow for burial, the mission received more shocking news. Father Constantine Leech, a missionary in China since 1923, died of typhoid in Yungshun! [Yongshu]. In two days four Passionists had died.

Citizenship, Missionaries, the Holy See, and the United States government

The 1929 murders proved to be a social and political event. Several days after the murders the Passionists decided they would not, under any circumstances, request a money indemnity from the Chinese government. Instead, the Passionists sought only the capture and punishment of the military bandit leader who did the killing. Several weeks later they were notified that the culprit Ch'en Tzu-ming had been captured and executed. The Passionist decision not to seek indemnity upset the United States Department of State which believed that some political action should be taken against China in conjunction with indemnity treaties in order to show the strength of the extraterritorial treaties and protect other United States citizens.

In reality, the Passionist response to the murders highlighted the ongoing and real tension over citizenship. Did missionary allegiance exist first to their respective national government or to Holy See and Gospel values? Beginning in 1927 the Holy See, under the direction of Costantini, had decided it did not wish "any indemnity as the price of blood..." The Passionists in China followed this policy.

The Sign Magazine: The Hunan Mission Story in Print

From 1921 until 1982 St. Paul of the Cross Province published *The Sign Magazine*. This Catholic monthly journal started with 500 subscribers. By 1942 there were 120,000 readers, most of whom were in the United States. All editors of the magazine were Passionist priests. From 1921 until 1950s the monthly feature "With the Passionists" allowed *The Sign* readers to become armchair missionaries because they saw pictures of mission, read articles written by the missionaries, and most important, donated monies and offered prayers in order to support the Hunan mission. *The Sign* writing style was direct and easy to read. Photo and art work was simple and usually accentuated the written articles. This relationship was all the more true when it came to promoting the China missions. Readers were given first hand accounts by the missionaries themselves. Photos from the mission heightened the drama.

Readers were unaware that the magazine, right from the start of their effort to promote China, was in the midst of an internal public relations controversy. While all parties admitted the value of the "With the Passionists" series, the missionaries in Hunan had two complaints: they felt under too much pressure to write articles, which, when written were often edited too severely; and their second point was that the published pictures often made life in the missions look worse or better than it truly was. A later conflict centered on who controlled the monies raised for the China mission? Did it belong to *The Sign*, the Passionists, or Bishop O'Gara and the Yuanling

diocese? Even with such ongoing debates, there is no doubt that *The Sign* was an essential educational and financial tool for the Hunan mission from 1921 until the 1950s.

Part Two: Mission Life, 1930-1950

During this twenty year span the Hunan mission was shaped by numerous forces. They were mission leadership, social-political change, ministry with religious women, Japanese internment, special missionary projects, and an ongoing hope for the future.

Bishop Cuthbert O’Gara

Father O’Gara had shown leadership ability throughout the 1920s. Still, Hunan in 1930, wrote O’Gara, “was experiencing an intense nationalistic and anti-foreign spirit” from the Nationalist government. Overall relations with the Nationalists improved during the 1930s, but a new threat: Communist leaders Ho Lung and Mao Zedong, harassed the mission in 1934. That same year Father O’Gara was named bishop of the new Yuanling missionary diocese. In mid-1935 O’Gara returned to the United States for medical attention and successful fund-raising. By 1937 he was encouraged to begin a medical program for the Yuanling area. At the same time, the start of the Japanese-Chinese War, also in the same year, postponed the beginning of a language study program in Peking for newly arrived Passionists. This program would not be instituted until the early 1940s. Also exhausting for the Passionists was the difficulty of the United States government to pursue legal claims against the Japanese bombing of the Hunan mission. Still, with all the difficulties, the heroic efforts of O’Gara to serve the Hunan people led him to be known as the “Stretcher-Bearer Bishop” during the Japanese bombings. Later, the Passionists allied themselves with the pro-Nationalist Hunan Salt Gabelle to provide assistance to the refugees. The Gabelle had a foreign and Chinese commissioner. The latter, interested in relief work, supported the Passionist effort led by Father Paul Ubinger to care for over 1000 refugees. While the Ubinger ministry demands greater study, in 1941 the Passionists notified the refugees that they could no longer support them. Many a refugee had become self-sufficient and a new Gabelle Commissioner cared less for the Passionist efforts. Fortunately some help came from Bishop Yu-Pin’s National Relief program. In 1941 O’Gara wrote: “at the present time our only avenue of approach to the authorities is our educational and humanitarian work. It is under this cloak that we can carry on our primary work.” Politics, refugee work and catechetical efforts were tied together. Educational and humanitarian efforts were the only link with the government and only reasons that Westerners were allowed to buy property. Between August 1938 and August 1941, financial expenditures on practically all levels increased 2000%. From 1941 until 1945 interior Yuanling became the new home to refugees, relocated banks and educational institutions, and military leaders. All came from more progressive areas of China with new ideas. Yuanling became a quasi-metropolis during World War II.

Sisters of Charity

Certainly, the success of the Passionist mission was linked to their collaboration with the Sisters of Charity and St. Joseph. The first five Sisters of Charity from Convent Station, New Jersey arrived in China in 1924. On the way into the interior they met the young Chinese woman Maria Tuan. She eventually entered the community. From 1924, until they were expelled by the

Communists in 1951, the Passionists and Sisters of Charity worked well together. Of the 20 Sisters of Charity who ministered in China, three were indigenous Chinese. Early Charity ministries consisted of a girl's school, a dispensary, and embroidery project. Like the Passionists, the Sisters faced all the same questions of social and political adaptation. Except for some minor changes, the Sisters of Charity, and all Sisters as was the custom of the time, always wore their full religious habit and headdress. Early success of the Sisters in the Chenki mission was hampered by a fire in their Shenchow convent in 1932. During the 1930s the Sisters ministered in Wuki [Wuxi] and Yuanling, Hunan. When political tensions necessitated that they travel, the sisters, for example did work in Hankow, China. Health care and catechetical instruction to the Chinese usually was the area that required their utmost attention over the years. Eventually, Chinese students had the possibility to obtain their primary education in the Charity—run Wuki school and later schooling in Yuanling. By the late 1930s plans were underway for a Yuanling hospital. However, the Sino-Japanese War from 1937 until 1945 turned the priority to refugees. A 1941 direct hit on Yuanling by the Japanese did hinder the Sister's work for a short time, but by 1943 the Sisters were in charge of three doctors and a professional nursing staff and assistance from seven Grey Nuns from Canada. To insure safety, part of 1944 and 1945 were spent in the city of Kunming. But by 1946 they were back in Yuanling where a hospital building was finally dedicated in 1948. Hope for the future was short-lived because in 1949 the Communists took control. On March 28, 1951 the Sisters of Charity left Yuanling, Hunan.

Sisters of St. Joseph

While more background on these Sisters from Baden, Pennsylvania is required, we are able to construct a basic narrative. After the first group arrived in 1927, one of the Sisters died. Chinese political instability caused their first mission and orphanage at Yuanchow, Hunan to be a struggle. By the mid-1930s the care of orphans and catechetical instruction in Chihkiang [Zhijiang], Hunan was their primary mission. In 1939 their convent was severely damaged by Japanese bombers. While other sisters died they also received Chinese members. By the end of World War II the United States members concluded their mission to China.

Japanese Internment: 1941-1945

On December 25, 1941, the Japanese military attacked Hong Kong. Bishop O'Gara, in the city for medical attention, was one of many prisoners taken at the Maryknoll House in Hong Kong. British and Canadian soldiers were asked to step forward. The eleven soldiers who did were led around the bend. Screams echoed as they were bayoneted to death. The remaining prisoners were asked whether they were American or British. Nervously, O'Gara pondered. For all practical reasons he was an American since he came with American missionaries. At the same time he held a British passport because Canada was part of the British Commonwealth. Before the Japanese could act, word was received that Hong Kong had surrendered. Eventually, O'Gara, and two other United States Passionists, in another location, were released. O'Gara's imprisonment shows the brutality of the Japanese military, and once again we see the relationship of citizenship to life and death. O'Gara was a Canadian citizen. He had a British passport. The Japanese were very interested in his Irish heritage. At the same time he had United States connections, and was a Catholic priest.

In 1943 six Passionists studying the Chinese language in Peiping were sent to the Weihshien, Shantung internment camp until the end of World War II. In 2002, fellow prisoner and author Pamela Masters sent the Passionist Historical Archives the following impression. Father William

Whelan “and his fellow ‘Passionists’ won the hearts of everyone in Weihsien Prison Camp -- and that’s saying a lot, because we had a huge contingent of Protestant missionaries from all over China. When it came to work assignments, there wasn’t a dirty detail they wouldn’t perform, and there were many of them in a crowded camp such as ours. But I know what really endeared them to all of us was that they were outstanding softball players...Ms. Masters concluded: “I guess what I’m trying to say is that the Passionist Fathers from Peking were the most ‘human’ beings in the camp!”

A Passionist meets Mao Zedong

In May 1944 Father Cormac Shanahan, C.P. had the experience of a life time when he joined a group of western journalists visiting Mao Zedong’s Communist base in Yanan. Shanahan represented *The China Correspondent* and other Catholic publications. The 1944 report by United States China diplomat Edmund E. Rice to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, published in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1944* is most instructive in that it serves as a reminder of the value of precise and balanced reporting. Shanahan, wrote Rice, “states that as a Catholic priest he is unfriendly to Communism, and he visited the territory partly because he wished to ascertain the status there of the Catholic mission property and the Catholic communications. While the tone of his remarks seems to indicate that he approached the Communists in a spirit of some suspicion, he does not hesitate to cite those accomplishments which he considers praiseworthy.”

Let us pause for a moment. How can a Catholic priest visit the Communists! Furthermore, how can he see anything positive! Even more surprising is that several years before his death in 1987 Father Shanahan gave me his diary of that trip. Now in the Passionist Historical Archives in Union City, New Jersey it awaits greater historical study.

Faith during Wartime: 1945

The Pacific War ended in August 1945. In January 1945 Bishop O’Gara was back in the United States for fund-raising purposes when he and Passionist Provincial Carrol Ring received the following telegram from the Hunan mission. By printing it exactly as it was written we are able to get a valuable insight into the compact and direct way information was exchanged. It is a living reminder of how much information had to be shared during war time when the abilities for communication were limited. Notice how the various layers of mission life combine together. In a few short lines we have a request for money, followed by a personnel report whereby we learn how important is the working relationship between the Augustinians, Passionists, Sisters of Charity, and Sisters of St. Joseph. We also hear of living conditions, and furlough. The telegram was sent by Fathers Raphael Vance and Paul Ubinger in Hunan: “YEARS PROBABLE ESTIMATE EIGHTY GRAND RUNNING VICARIATE WITH TEN RETAINED PRIESTS. COMPUTING ALSO ONE AUGUSTINIAN PRIESTS THREE SISTERS FIVE FRANCISCAN PRIESTS THREE BROTHERS AS REPLACEMENTS. ALL MISSIONS AND INSTITUTIONS STILL FUNCTIONING. SUGGEST MICHAEL AND SIX CHARITIES REMAIN WENDELINS PLACE IN RENTED HOUSE. COULD BE SELF SUPPORTING, NOMINAL RENT AND INCIDENTALS OUR ONLY EXPENSE. WENDELIN CASPAR KIERAN SELF SUPPORTING. JEREMIAH CYPRIAN LEONARD RETURNING

HOMELAND. ALSO PROBABLY MARK MARY ROSARIO. STILL REQUIRING FIVE THOUSAND FOR THEIR PASSAGES. CASHED JANUARY BUDGET. PRESENT FUNDS SUFFICIENT PROBABLY UNTIL APRIL. ALL WELL HERE.

Upon his return to China, Bishop O’Gara went to Chungking [Chongqing, Sichuan], the Nationalist capital and saw Nationalist government officials and Zanin, the Vatican Apostolic Delegate to China.

Part Three: Post-War China, 1946-1951

Passionist mission outreach continued after the war. It proved to be a time of new hope in Yuanling, behind the scenes mission support and diplomacy in the United States, and sudden suffering in the mission.

Hope: 1947-1948

The 1947 establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in China resulted in Bishop O’Gara being named Bishop of Yuanling. Moreover, the appointment of bishops at this time, even those who had been named previously, also signaled the end of the China as a missionary territory. Present at his Yuanling mid-May installation by Archbishop Antonio R uber were numerous government officials and local gentry. All respected the Passionist’s success in humanitarian, famine, refugee, hospital, dispensary work. Heightened Nationalist-Communist conflict did not deter the Passionist from opening a new language study program in Peiping in the summer of 1947. In July 1948 eight Passionists arrived to study. And in the fall of 1948 Provincial Father Gabriel Gorman, C.P. was positive after a visit to the missions. At Nanking, he was received by Madame Chiang Kai-Shek and later by United States Ambassador Leighton Stuart. But all was unstable. “The situation” remembered O’Gara “just collapsed” by October 1948.

Quiet Diplomacy and Public Relations

Father Ronald Norris, C.P. arrived in China in 1929. During World War II he was Director of the Catholic Medical Services in China and supplied medicines and hospital equipment from the China coast which made it’s way into the interior. Also, he was a strong ally of Cardinal Yu-Pin and was instrumental in organizing the Chinese Cultural Society. After 1945 he returned to the United States where his fellow Passionists called him the “Vanishing American.” Why? Because one day he would be in the Union City, New Jersey Passionist monastery and the next day there was a report that he had a meeting with someone at the White House, the FBI, or with government officials at the State Department. No one knew exactly how he used the political contacts of his Massachusetts family to assist the Passionists in China. His was a subtle, diplomatic and educational effort during some of the most treacherous times in the Passionist missions: the post-1949 period when many Passionists were imprisoned. From 1948 he served as liaison with the U.S. State Department and the Superiors General of the Passionist Congregation in Rome. He was director of Public Relations for St. Paul of the Cross Province from 1948 to 1972 and authored a small booklet entitled *Passionists In China* which told of his being captured by the Japanese in 1941 in Hong Kong. He also authored *Passionist Centenary in America*, the 1952 commemorative book. Father Norris represented *Sign Magazine* at the National Press Club and the Overseas Press Club. He was also a member of the American Writers Association, worked with Catholic Charities and the United States Bishop’s War Relief Office, had an office at the Institute of Chinese Culture, Washington, D.C., was an Associate Editor of *China Monthly*,

and a trustee of the Sino-American Amity Association of New York City. Through all these relationships, newspapers, and radio he gave the Passionists a world face and a voice in world politics.

Suffering: 1949-1951

By 1949 the Passionists had constructed a big hospital, built a new building for the girl's high school, with government authorization organized a nursing school, built a new church, and were contemplating building a boy's school. But the Communist's arrival in Hunan in September 1949 changed hope to suffering. From December 1950 to January 1951, the Passionists and Sisters of Charity in Yuanling endured Foreigners Humiliation Weeks. Soon after Easter week 1951 the Sisters of Charity were expelled. Because public services could not be conducted by foreign priests Bishop O'Gara gave greater leadership responsibility to two inexperienced Yuanling diocesan priests: Father John Nien ordained December 1949; Father Bede Zhang ordained in 1950.

Part Four: Passionist Prisoners, 1951-1955

The prison experience of the Passionists from 1951 until 1955 under the Communists was the final and defining era of the Hunan mission. Between 1952 and 1954 ten Passionists experienced varying degrees of house arrest and imprisonment. Yet, it was the superb Passionist public relations campaign which allowed the names of Bishop O'Gara and Fathers Marcellus White and Justin Garvey to make the prison experience come alive for the public.

Hunan News: 1950-1956

The 1949 Communist takeover forced Passionist Father Anthony Maloney to leave China for Hong Kong in 1950. From January 1950 until January 1956 he edited *Hunan News*. This regularly published newsletter was comprised of letters sent to Maloney from Passionist missionaries remaining behind in China. Though no former China missionary or historian has ever done an in depth analysis of the newsletter, even a basic reading of the material points to its value. The raw data of the Communist takeover, the suffering and death of the Chinese people, the Passionist house arrests and imprisonments, and the incredible gospel spirituality during this time of trial was captured in each issue. Frequently, the *Hunan News* brought the Passionist China story to life as it was publicly read to Passionists as they ate their monastic meals in contemplative silence. Not surprisingly, this information was taken to evening prayer by the priests and brothers who had listened to the readings. In the end, Father Maloney and the *Hunan News* did much to develop the link between the suffering Passionist prisoner in China, Passionist spirituality, and an upsurge of anti-Communism in the early 1950s.

Bishop O'Gara: Prisoner, 1951-1953

On June 30, 1951 Bishop Cuthbert O'Gara was arrested in Yuanling. In his 1957 deposition to the Department of State he described endless interrogations, hunger, illness, moments of kindness, fears and hopes. The Communists, at the height of the Korean War, proclaimed him an "imperialist under the cloak of religion," because he had met Nationalist leaders and had contact

with officials of the FBI in Washington, D.C. Kidney problems in 1953 prompted his release. The Communists did not wish him to die in prison. Finally on April 26, 1953 O’Gara arrived in Hong Kong. At the end of this journey O’Gara was told that he had to walk, but he said that such was impossible. Coolies then were called out, but they refused to carry O’Gara. A discussion ensued. An officer insisted. Eventually the coolies carried the stretcher. It was carried across the bridge to British positions and left there. From there he was picked up by Red Cross ambulance and transported to Kowlung Wharf.

Fathers Marcellus White and Justin Garvey: Prisoners, 1953-1955

Father Justin Garvey was arrested on December 21, 1951 and Father Marcellus White was arrested on February 24, 1952. Both went to the Yuanling, Hunan jail. Both endured solitary confinement. All their actions were monitored even to the point of their standing or sitting. Declared imperialists, both men were released on November 19, 1955 into Hong Kong, most probably as a result of negotiations taking place in Geneva, Switzerland.

Part Five: Passionist China Diaspora, post-1955

Though the last Passionists left China in 1955 their legacy continued. Various missionaries kept the legacy alive from opposite ideological perspectives. One can not disregard the faithful expression of faith by the Catholics of Hunan who have kept the faith alive to the present-day.

Bishop Cuthbert O’Gara: Dry martyr

At Bishop O’Gara’s 1953 welcome home Mass in the United States after his release from prison and later at his funeral on May 17, 1968 world-wide orator Bishop Fulton J. Sheen of the United States proclaimed the China missionary to be a “dry martyr.” A wet martyr dies for the faith while a “dry martyr are those who suffer a thousand deaths and yet never die.” Communism, continued Sheen, particularly led to an increase in dry martyrs. From his release in 1953 until his 1968 death Bishop O’Gara preached what I have labeled the “Gospel of Anti-Communism.” Through these years he was a strident voice against international Communism. Whenever he spoke, audiences did not find it too difficult to have strong anti-Communist, particularly anti-China sentiments.

Fathers White and Garvey: Apostles of Reconciliation

On the other hand, Fathers White and Garvey pursued a path which desired reconciliation with Communist China. Prison, Father White told me in 1989, was the highpoint of his priesthood because he had to accept the gift of absolute trust in God. Simply put, he let God love him. This was freeing to him. How? He accomplished such freedom of spirit and heart in prison by reciting childhood prayers and devotions, remembering his Passionist novitiate and seminary prayers, saying the Rosary, and constantly calling to mind the love of his fellow Passionists, friends, family, and Chinese people. In prison he was free to let God love him. Before, he informed me, he had always been told to love God. This was a simple thought and also a command. In prison such a command was reduced to a kind of emptiness which required that he let God into his life. In essence, he, Father Marcellus White, was freed in prison! Released, he emerged with more zeal. It was the freedom of this prison experience that allowed China to become his spiritual home. Similarly, Father Garvey till his death in 1997 spoke with hope about China.

Father Caspar Caulfield: Mission Secretary

In 1951 Father Caulfield was expelled from China by the Communists. After a short time in the United States, from 1953 until 1982 he was assigned to Rome as Secretary General of Missions for the Passionists. In this position he brought a living memory of the Hunan mission into new mission ventures. It would be of interest to study how much China influenced his decision-making in Asia, Africa and South America? His 1990 publication, *Only A Beginning: The Passionists in China, 1921-1931* indicated his zeal to make known the early years of the Hunan experience.

Fathers John Nien and Bede Zhang

Both diocesan priests of Yuanling, Hunan represent the struggle of faithful Chinese Catholic witness under post-1949 Communism. Father Nien was arrested in the early 1950s and unwilling to side with the Communists eventually died of starvation in the mid-1950s. Father Zhang followed more closely the Communist Party line. Still he suffered during the 1950s and during the Cultural Revolution. From the 1950s until his death in 2001 he did his best to minister as a priest and build upon the Passionist legacy. His openness to the Communist government was a problem for many Catholics who remained loyal to Rome. At the same time, Father Zhang was a key person in the renewal of Passionist ties with their former Hunan mission from the mid-1980s until the present.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF THE PASSIONIST CHINA MISSION, 1921-1955: LESSONS LEARNED

**Presented by Fr. Robert E. Carbonneau, C.P.
December 3, 2002
Provincial Chapter, South Korea**

On one occasion, reflection on the Passionist history in twentieth century China caused me to cry myself to sleep. This happened in late May 1989. My first trip to China was coming to a conclusion. For over three weeks I had gained an invaluable understanding of China, particularly Hunan province, because Passionist Father Marcellus White had been my guide. The next day we were to return to Hong Kong. While we were eating together in a Guangzhou, Guangdong restaurant I confidently I took the opportunity to share with the *lao shen-fu*, the old-respected Catholic priest, how the trip had allowed me to finally see the relationship between the Passionist China archives, Chinese history, and the Chinese language. This unity of knowledge provided me with peace even as the demonstrations in Tiananmen Square were broadcast over the Communist sponsored television.

After my reflection Father White began to lecture me. He told me that my published writings on the Passionist missions in China were an embarrassment to the Chinese missionaries and the Passionist Congregation because they revealed too much sensitive historical detail. I was shocked! As calmly as possible, I explained to him that my reading of the Passionist archival documents and the opportunity to speak with old China hands of the past had only increased my respect for his and their experience. Still, he was not satisfied. He offered the opinion, without going into detail, that not all of the Passionist China story was suitable for public consumption. Fortunately, by the end of the meal both of us had reached a tranquil appreciation of our intellectual positions. Yet, so traumatic was that encounter that I gave serious thought to switching my dissertation topic: the death of the Passionist missionaries in 1929. Moreover, I was so upset that I cried myself to sleep. However, by the end of the next day I had come to the conclusion to both continue to write about the China missions with objectivity and to stay with my dissertation topic.

I share this incident because in three ways it sets the context for information shared in this third talk: Success and failure of the Passionist China mission, 1921-1955: Lessons Learned. First, both Father White and I did possess an operative vision of the Passionist mission to China. His vision was protection of the integrity and reputation of the mission. My vision was full disclosure and historical analysis in order to teach future generations. Both views were and remain necessary. Only when they are combined does the possibility exist for an accurate vision of Passionist experience in China to emerge. Consequently, I urge us all to name our personal and institutional vision of China. Second, Father White, having been a China missionary, knew first hand of the romance and drama of the missionary life. I affirmed that idea but wanted to move to another level so as to understand the realities and struggles inherent in the China mission. Today, in a world church we are all missionaries. Consequently, I am of the belief that the legacy of the missionaries to China challenges us to blend romance and struggle together and to face our own personal identity in mission. Thus, I believe now is the moment for us to describe our own personal missionary character: the romance, drama and struggles. Third, Father White's protective devotion to the China mission story left me aware that there was then, and remains so today, no operative model to discuss Passionist history, particularly Passionist mission history.

Attention to this topic can only assist the growth of the Passionist Congregation and strengthen its voice in the world Catholic Church and among world religions.

For the sake of clarity I have organized my observations into three parts. First, I will note the dynamics surrounding the personal missionary experience in China. Next, I will concentrate on the China event as an experience on the road to wisdom. Finally, the past mission to China serves as a mean to appreciate Passionist history. Most of the material presented here has never been expressed in any public forum. Therefore, it should not be considered the final word. Rather the hope is that the ideas will serve as a catalyst for future discussions.

Part One: China: Dynamics surrounding the personal missionary experience.

The Passionist Mission to China: Success or Failure?

Let us begin with the most difficult question first. Was the Passionist mission to China a success or failure? The question has haunted me for over twenty five years. As an historian my honest answer is that it was a failure because the Passionists were expelled in disgrace. The shock of this expulsion only confirmed the worse. As the years passed it became obvious that the Passionists would never get back into China to evangelize. Also, the missionaries had to live with the interpretation by historians in the west and in Communist China that their preaching of the Gospel also represented imperialism. Furthermore, the overall subsequent silence about the China experience by the Passionist missionaries themselves, and the Passionist congregation at large, confirmed failure. China was in the past. With reluctance I would whisper the answer yes to failure. And I would do so only when asked directly.

However, since the mid 1980s I have been able to see that the mission's success speaks of a lived human faith experience that academics have readily overlooked. As mentioned in my previous paper, this perspective was first gained by listening to Passionist Father Lombard and deepened through patient solitary study in the Passionist China archives. The interpretation of success was confirmed in concert with historians of Maryknoll, the Society of Jesus, and eventually some contemporary historians in China. In addition, my trips to China, where I witnessed faith on the part of Chinese Catholics; the hope-filled examples of Passionist Fathers White, Garvey, and Sister of Charity Carita Pendergast; and finally the willingness of the Passionists in Korea to explore new ventures gave the China mission a human face and a voice of success.

Oddly, however, when I do answer yes to the question: were the Passionists successful in China? I am surprised that a significant number of people, a good number of them Catholics, remind me about failure. They do not want to hear of that the legacy may have to be reinterpreted with some awareness of success. Rather, I suspect they ask the question, because they wish me to confirm their evil impression of China. I often wonder? Would these same people miss an opportunity to travel to China and see the Great Wall? And in some cases, they may not want to hear of success, because they possess a bias that western Catholic experience supercedes Asian Catholic experience. Success of the Gospel in China and Asia does, after all, force the reality of a world church. In sum, as an academic historian it is essential to acknowledge how the Passionists failed. As a teacher of present-day Catholic realities, it is likewise essential to admit that the Passionist presence helped lay the foundation for a vibrant contemporary Chinese Catholicism.

The China experience and the Passionist Missionary Character:

Zeal for the Gospel compelled these loyal sons of St. Paul of the Cross to go to China in 1921. It would do us well to ponder on the array of missionary characters that came to life by the time the mission closed in 1955. As we listen we may very well see aspects of our own personalities. First, *volunteers* anchored the China mission experience. Like a modern day St. Paul they loved the Gospel, craved the romantic image of converting pagans and were willing to be martyrs for the faith. Imagination mattered much more than detail of learning a new language. Volunteering meant going to the foreign or overseas mission for life! In fact, many a young man who entered the Passionists with the hope of volunteering for the missions never fulfilled their dream. In some cases, *overseas missionaries were appointed by the Province*. Leadership saw in them particular missionary qualities or in some case just needed to reinforce the overseas mission ranks. These individuals found assignment to the missions both a shock and an expression of God's will working in their life.

The China mission reminds us of the diversified experience in the mission field. A good number became *well-adjusted missionaries*. These missionaries, such as Father Clement Seybold, for example, successfully struggled through the new language and adapted to the ever changing social, political, and evangelistic realities. Frequently, their stubbornness became an important ally in their will to succeed. The well-adjusted missionary was able to successfully mourn the loss of his own culture, learn new ways of cultural interaction, and most important gain the respect of the indigenous peoples. Sustaining this is an evolving spiritual life. On the other hand, there existed *the anxious missionary*. While no one doubts his determination of spirit, this missionary type, similar to Father Godfrey Holbein, simply was overwhelmed by the mission. Culture shock was never successfully negotiated. Language and adaptation became a burden. Sometimes illness, their irascible personality or that same quality in their fellow missionaries led to disillusionment, sickness, a mental breakdown, or even reassignment home. Fortunately, implementation of a furlough program addressed some of these concerns. Less acknowledged has been the *missionary promoter at home*. The China mission was a success because Passionists, like Father Walter Coveyou, and in some cases lay people promoted the overseas missions at home. Mission stories had a two-fold purpose. One was education about the mission—this often was accompanied by simplistic and dramatic pamphlets, slides, and mementos. The other was raising money. While the present day importance of the missionary promoter at home has not diminished, and in fact may be more essential than ever before in the Passionist experience, a worthwhile inquiry would be an understanding of the operative relationship between mission education and fund-raising.

Without a doubt, the *martyr* has been the most dramatic image presented by the China mission even if the 1929 murder of the three missionaries may not have fit the exact criteria for theological martyrdom. Theological discourse mattered little when the public opened up their newspapers to read that missionaries had been killed by bandits. The possibility of martyrdom still remains part of the blood pulse for every missionary and ever increasingly so for every devoted lay person in service to the Gospel. Still, we must remember that less dramatic, but more common, has been the experience of the *missionary who has died from mission exposure*. The death of Father Constantine Leech in 1929 from typhoid calls to mind missionaries who have died from disease, sudden injury from an accident or disaster. In more recent years we might be able to include missionaries who died peacefully in the mission after years of service.

On another front, the China mission legacy prompts study on the *diverse models of leadership* in the mission. The Passionist's initial quest to get to China at all costs, the mix up over the assignment of Father Cuthbert O'Gara, and the indecisiveness of Monsignor Dominic Langenbacher shows the fragile struggle inherent in zeal and solid decision-making. Over time, it has become increasingly clear that the hopes for mission were realized under the direction of Bishop O'Gara even if in the process one interpretation might identify him as a kind of Catholic mandarin bishop. Less clear, is how the over arching leadership of the Passionist provincials in the United States, the delegates on visitation, the Passionist leadership in Rome, and the policy of the respective Apostolic Delegates impacted O'Gara and overall mission policy. Furthermore, full understanding of leadership requires more attention given over to the such topics as the refugee ministry of Father Paul Ubinger, the cooperation between the Passionist priests and the respective congregations of religious women, and most important, how the Chinese catechists and mission workers gave the Gospel a Chinese voice in way that we may never truly appreciate. In the end, it is the study of leadership on all these levels which truly brings to life the Passionist mission in China.

Also important is the example of Father Cormac Shanahan as the *free spirit missionary*. His trip as a representative of the Catholic press to visit Mao in Yanan is an ever present reminder that missionaries may participate in controversial assignments—in this case visiting an atheistic Communist leader. On the other hand, during the 1940s some missionaries expressed their free missionary spirit and patriotism as military chaplains. This has led some to wonder about the relationship between church and state.

Notable also is the *diplomatic missionary*. Father Ronald Norris, for instance, shows that the behind the scenes dialogue with United States diplomatic officers were crucial in helping China missionaries get released from prison. Also beneficial was his expert use of public relations to keep the face of the China missionary before the public. Overall, Norris' diplomatic skills accentuate the fact that the missionary life is related to the world political stage. Finally, the *suffering missionary* has become synonymous with the China mission. Expulsion, house arrest, and the prison experiences of Bishop O'Gara and Fathers White and Garvey are in one sense high drama. Passionists have found the suffering missionary in China a living reminder of the passion of Jesus Christ.

Although the China mission closed in 1955, I would like to conclude this section with two post-China missionary characters. Numerous missionaries left China only to eventually be reassigned in the other Passionist ministry sites throughout the world. In one respect the China experience made these *reassigned missionaries* invaluable. In another respect that same experience sometimes prevented their adaptability to a new mission. In a world church the reassigned missionary has become quite common place. A reassigned missionary may lead a new area of evangelization into the future or in other cases prevent new opportunities for ministry to develop in a successful manner. Why? Because of an inability of the missionary to let go of the culture of the past assignment so as to embrace a new culture and people. We must admit that this is a most demanding challenge given the present day mobility of church ministers world-wide.

A second character is what I would call the *tourist missionary*. While this image is not directly related to China, my study of China mission history, attendance at conferences, and listening to

present day mission experiences have allowed me to see the possibility of this type of missionary in a world church environment. Such a missionary can be either from an established church region or a new emerging and developing church region. What concerns me most about this person is the out of proportion attention given to the simple function of ministry whereby dispensing the sacraments is the priority. In a world where access to cultural and historical understanding is widespread one who is a tourist missionary misses the responsibility to cull those sources and apply them in order to engage in adequate ministry preparation. Of course, the opposite of the tourist missionary is the *educated missionary* who knows that mission of today requires multi-layered cross cultural preparation and dialogue. Note carefully, this is not a question of book knowledge. It is a question of the apostolic heart. To end this section I wish to share a fear. It is a fear that manifests itself, most usually when I am sarcastic. It is that the tourist missionary might care more about the accumulation of frequent flyer miles than preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Part Two: China: success and failure and the road to wisdom

People of the world quest wisdom. As Passionists we seek to comprehend the wisdom of the Cross rooted in the Sacred Scriptures. The Confucian world permeates Asia. For generations it has offered us a route to wisdom known as the *dBo* or the tradition of the Way. Moreover, when all of us are lost in contemplative life I dare say that we see ourselves as wisdom figures. Perhaps it is as Jesus teaching in parables or as a respected Confucian scholar. Paradoxically, to attain wisdom we must travel on a road where the signposts are life, suffering and death, resurrection and peace. While all of us are willing to travel this road, honesty forces us to admit that we would rather ride in comfort than walk with anxiety.

You as South Koreans, and all of us who love South Korea and Asia at large, know that appreciation of Korean wisdom means walking a road which is always in sight of China. China is always far away. China is always close by. Such an omnipresent relationship between Korea and China makes us fortunate that we have the ability to study the success and failure of the Passionist China mission as we travel our road to wisdom. Thus, for the remainder of this second section we will explore three umbrella issues which arise from Passionist success and failure in China. They are citizenship and Gospel, spirituality, and finally, mission management. While I have studied the theme of citizenship and Gospel for many years, the topics of spirituality and mission management are new areas of inquiry undertaken for this Korean Provincial Chapter.

Citizenship and Gospel:

Earlier you learned that the 1929 murders of Passionists in Hunan required a response from diplomats in China, the United States, and the Holy See. Similarly, Passionists under house arrest and imprisonment during the 1950s were only released through diplomatic channels. These past events conjure up for us today the unresolved question of the meaning of allegiance. In other words, what is the relationship between one's national citizenship and the Scripture call to be a citizen for Christ? What comes first?

This question goes deeper than theological reflection. In fact, this question of religion and citizenship is now an international question. Passport identity matters more than ever in this fragile world since September 11, 2001. Delving more into the issue I cite two points concerning travel in China. Ongoing unresolved diplomatic issues between China and the Holy See limit the ability of foreign priests and religious workers to proselytize. All of us who have gone to China

know this. We also know from our direct experience that evangelization, Christian witness, and multiple levels of financial and spiritual support are possible in contemporary China. Nevertheless, to operate and respect these limits keeps the allegiance question directly before us. A second aspect is the quite common practice of getting into discussion with various Chinese people we meet about one's national origin. For us United States citizens, discussion with a Chinese person may be part of their quest to practice English or my quest to test my Chinese; a mutual desire to make a connection for the future; or even at certain levels facilitate ideological education oftentimes in praise or defense of one's nation.

History teaches us that China has always maintained parameters on foreign religions. All indications are that this will continue. Given this condition it would be well-advised that all South Korean Passionists who work or travel to China, and for that matter Passionists or friends of Passionists, chronicle their experience and share them with the South Korean Passionist leadership. Over time this could become a valuable deposit of wisdom of ministry for the future even if Vatican-China relations do not attain full diplomatic reconciliation. I suggest this as a signpost on the road to wisdom because one of the failures of the Passionist China mission in the post 1955 era has been the lack of readily coordinated information which describes the day to day expression and application of how questions of citizenship and Gospel come to life in contemporary Chinese society. In other words, we first learned about citizenship and Gospel from the drama of the Passionist China mission and making tangible connection between these two concepts is still of vital concern.

The second point pertinent to levels of discussion pertaining to national origin necessitates that any sound future with China will probably mean one has to take a position on their own national identity. Recall some of the historic issues mentioned in my two previous talks. From 1921 until 1955 Passionist identity and United States identity were so linked by questions of extraterritoriality; United States flags were painted on buildings against Japanese bombings; linkage existed between the principles of education, and ideological defense of United States. Over time both aspects were presented to the Nationalists as well as the Communists. Given this dynamic, when the Chinese political winds changed, the United States missionaries to China could represent the best and the worse of United States history and culture. Let us learn from this Passionist mission experience in China

In the future, when traveling through China it is quite possible that South Koreans will have moments when all of Korean history and Chinese history are the main topic of conversation. And even if this is not commonplace, part of the wisdom offered to us from the Passionist mission to China is the reminder to always respect one's own cultural story. This is especially appropriate now that Korea has attained province status in the Passionist congregation. My study and teaching of Korean history has impressed me in several ways. I have become conscious that Korean history is a singular and respected field of study. Even so, it will always be a challenge to integrate the meaning of Chinese history and culture. While much more work can be done on the relationship of Korean history and Korean Catholicism, a quick look back serves as a reminder that Catholicism, similar to its experience in China and Japan, arrived with foreign overtones. For example, the 1984 Harvard University Press Edward W. Wagner translation of Kim-baik Lee's *New History of Korea* refers to Catholicism, in the index, as "Western Learning" or *s4-hak*. While Korean Catholics are to be rightfully proud of their Catholic ancestors who died for

the faith during the Catholic persecutions of 1801, 1839, and 1866, it has also crossed my mind that if the Holy See was more open to an Asian inculturation process pertaining to the Rites Controversy (Catholics were prohibited from participating in Confucian rituals in most Asian nations), which remained in force well into the twentieth century, then Korean Catholics may have been able to live in a more harmonious atmosphere in their own country. Consequently, the intensity of Catholic persecution may not have been so severe and Catholic might not have been perceived as a threat by the Korean nation. In the future, Koreans and Chinese might also have to engage in discussions about the Chosŏn (Yi) era from 1392-1910; such events as the role of Neo-Confucian thought; the unequal 1876 Treaty of Kangwha with Japan. Discussion of twentieth century Korean history might hit closer to home and necessitate one take a stand or explain such events as the Japanese aggression from 1910-1945, the patriotic March First 1919 Movement, the Korean War in the early 1950s or the experience of martial law from the 1970s through 1980s.

I mention all the above because a failure of the Passionist experience in China may have been the inability to explore the impact of citizenship and Gospel on the mission. Future recollection on this topic, especially as it pertains to one's preaching and national identity will continue to be a valuable signpost as we travel the road to wisdom.

Spirituality:

We know from the appendix in the second paper that the percentage number of Chinese converts to Catholicism in reference to larger population of West Hunan was small. Despite this fact, my research and travels in China have taught me that a greater appreciation of personal faith stories is necessary in order to bring statistics to life. The lessons of spirituality emerge through the diversity of these stories. One group of stories goes to the heart of cultural spirituality. These are the stories of those whose Chinese Catholicism was linked to *clan and family religious tradition*. Increasingly, I am under the impression that a study of the family names in the Yuanling, Hunan baptismal register in the China archives back in the United States would reveal that a percentage of Hunan Catholics owe their faith and spirituality to the Spanish Augustinians. The Passionists inherited these Chinese Catholics as their base community. It is a matter of pride to be able to trace one's faith and spirituality back several generations. Second, up until the 1930s the Passionists relied almost exclusively on their *Chinese catechists and their converts* to implement a process of conversion to Catholicism. This was truly counter cultural. Confucian "idols" had to be destroyed. A time of indoctrination was required. A quick read of the China documentation offers the notion that both the catechists and those who received their instruction experienced a personal and cultural metamorphosis of faith. It would be helpful to understand this change. What kind of instructional texts were used? What kind of prayers were taught? What Catholic devotions were highlighted? What did the Latin Catholic Mass mean? Attention to the personal stories of the Chinese catechists and converts might teach us why Catholic Christianity was more attractive than Protestant spirituality. Furthermore, the China mission history reminds us that *we know little about the faith stories and spiritual transformation of individual Passionists, Sisters of Charity and Sisters of St. Joseph*. There has been a missed opportunity to ask how much time in the mission was required before one took on Chinese characteristics in attitude and cultural expression. In other words, in what way is cultural assimilation on the part of the missionary an asset or a liability? For example, did a Chinese person or a fellow western missionary get embarrassed if a westerner became too Chinese or a Chinese person became too western? While the three above-mentioned scenarios were given slight attention, if any, during the China mission

era, they might be historical questions of inquiry which may be applicable in discussions on the current mission spirituality of the Passionist congregation.

A second group of faith stories exists in the public domain of mission consciousness. They are literally the life blood of missionary spirituality. We took them for granted during the China mission era and still do so today. Certainly the *rice-Christians* stands out. What percentage of non-Christians in the village became Christians to enhance their social status with minimal attention to their spiritual life? Did their conversions stand the test of time? Historians and missiologists love this debate. At the heart of this, even for today, is the role of social service outreach as a gospel value. The *death-bed conversion or baptism* has always been high mission drama. Often times this was very moving to the missionary, a Chinese family member, and most notably the benefactors back home. Rarely did it matter if the convert was young or old. What mattered was their new spiritual condition of the person who was baptized. These personal faith stories may be closest in style to our familiar healing stories in Sacred Scripture.

Another kind of faith story has been *conversion during chaos*. Characters include the refugees who converted. They had some similarities with the above rice Christians but, I would suggest, through a different intensity of faith experience. Another group were converts and those who deepened their ecumenical vision when they met Chinese Catholics or priests and sisters in internment experiences, for instance under the Japanese. Related to this group are western converts who entered the faith during the experience of war. They knew Passionist military chaplains or sisters in the hospitals.

By far the most compelling faith stories are the *Passionist suffering narratives*. In this group are the three martyrs in 1929 and the prison suffering of Bishop O’Gara and Fathers Garvey and White. Without a doubt these two events, though decades apart stirred the spirituality of those in China and throughout the world. I have read in detail about the 1929 murders, and more recently about the O’Gara imprisonment. Furthermore, I was fortunate enough to gain personal insight from Fathers Garvey and White about their prison experiences. Lately, knowledge of these events has made me wonder if we Passionists have been the ones who were never released from prison. Concretely, I wonder if the power and myth of these two events have paralyzed us to a point where our personal respect and shock of the experiences have muted our ability to proclaim freedom for the captives. Perhaps our contemplation on the wisdom from these two events can serve as the basis of spirituality with our Passionist efforts as an Non-Governmental Organization. We need to be reminded that suffering narratives are timeless. We know this from our Easter liturgies. These Passionist suffering narratives are a helpful reminder that people suffer. So often, institutions blur this reality for us. A success of the China mission is that we have this legacy of spirituality. A failure may be the inability to use our spiritual imagination in present day to day ministry.

The China mission offers us a third perspective on spirituality: *understanding world religions*. On the one hand, I feel I am preaching to the choir when I raise this point. On the other hand, we all know that there are moments when any choir needs to attract new members and learn new harmonies. It is in the latter sense we might take the past Passionist China and present day Asian experiences as a reminder to reflect on the contemporary meaning and ministry of Passionists in non-Christian dialogue. Recently I learned that the 1948 meeting, on a boat to China, of a

youthful Passionist Father Tom Berry with a then young Fulbright scholar to China and future Asian scholar Wm. Theodore de Bary was one of the numerous influences that led our fine Passionist thinker to develop his respected world vision. Perhaps all of us should welcome with greater spiritual, historical, intellectual, and cultural passion the opportunity to learn about and embrace the peaceful insights of Confucian thought, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and other world religions. The pre-Vatican II culture never allowed our China missionaries that option. Creative application in this arena might stretch the existing interpretation of Passionist spirituality and ministry.

Mission Management:

Successful day to day mission operations were required to make the Passionist mission in Hunan work. In all honesty, the study of this area has been a challenge for me, because I have found biography, as well as Chinese political and cultural history more interesting. However, more recent historical investigation has led me to the conclusion that knowledge of mission management is an additional signpost on the road to wisdom. Allow me to list a variety of themes that may stimulate our thinking process and also require more analysis.

A successful evangelization effort requires continual motivation and renewal. From 1921 until 1948 both the Passionist priests and sister's congregations capitalized on the *mission departure ceremonies*. Obviously, this ritual symbolized zeal. However, a more subtle process was in place. These ceremonies let the missionaries say goodbye and allowed those who were present or read about them in newspapers or magazines to feel an actual part of the missionary experience. They also kept the China mission alive in Passionist and Catholic life. In effect the mission departure ceremonies were the first step in successful mission management. Closely related was *public relations*. For instance, while *Sign Magazine* proved to be an effective tool in the public eye, we now know that participation by the China missionaries was a constant struggle; debate ensued over the use and cost of photos as well as an accurate portrayal of the Chinese people. In some cases *Sign* might have been too dramatic when it described famine and too reserved when it discussed Chinese and United States politics of the time. In any case without public relations a mission effort may die.

Key of course to mission management is *the relationship between ministry and money*. Currency exchange, cash flow, and bank accounts create the process of fiscal management and stewardship required to keep the missionaries in the field. At the time, the Passionists and public knew little about the connection between ministry and money. While a sense of institutional prudence has to be maintained, the China experience reminds us that modern day Passionists and those associated with our ministries should possess and agree upon a plan of basic economic awareness. No longer is this the sole responsibility of the mission procurator. Much of that money sent to China was used to build clinics, schools, orphanages, churches, and convents. *A sound and diversified building program is a necessary part of mission management*. As a means for future dialogue I would suggest that we employ the infrastructures in the mission as a symbol to examine how service and sacraments have evolved in the expression of ministry during the 20th century. We might be conditioned to think that the priests ministered the sacraments and sisters usually performed teaching and social services. But upon closer scrutiny we may have to admit that *the priests and sisters in China may have actually expressed a more hybrid form of ministry*. Missionary life required that both groups possess a continual fluid understanding of ministry. At the same time, obvious by their absence, for a variety of reasons are skilled Chinese and western

laity. The Passionists and sisters could have followed the example of their Protestant brothers and sisters in this effort.

Finally, vocational recruitment goes hand in hand with mission management. Initial study shows that the religious sisters in China addressed the admittance of Chinese members with more openness than did the Passionists. Part of this was due to a debate over whether the first priority should be new Passionist membership or priests for the Yuanling diocese. The latter opinion won out. Over the decades, two seminarians received theological training in the United States, one in China proper and another in a number of Asian locations. Two out of the four were ordained for the Yuanling diocese. Notable is the fact that both men trained in the United States found the cross-cultural adjustment a challenge. In sum, the history of Passionist vocational ministry in China serves as a reminder of how much respect must be given the creation of an indigenous Passionist religious life and spirituality.

Part Three: China and Passionist history

In the limited time remaining I wish to offer several broad stroke observations which will encourage our understanding of Passionist history and mission studies. First, the existence of the China archives in the United States is a simple reminder of the value of Passionist historical documentation. We can not study our history unless it is preserved. All Passionist provinces should gain wisdom from the existence of China documentation to reaffirm their obligation to principles of sound archival preservation, management and educational outreach.

Second, it is my impression, that since the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council, that the greater portion of Passionist reflection has concentrated on historical theology and spirituality. This has fortunately provided us with more knowledge about St. Paul of the Cross and the theological underpinnings of our charism. Hopefully, one of the dimensions that we can agree upon from our present background about China is that the China mission does indeed possess a mythic meaning for the Passionists. The power of this statement is all the more powerful when we remember that the mission only existed for thirty-four years! My point is that other mission efforts have lasted longer. Case in point: the Passionist effort in South Korea was founded in 1964; so it has already lasted longer. And a random look at other foundations tell us Bulgaria was founded in 1781, Ireland in 1856, Peru in 1913, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1930. Perhaps the time has come for the Passionists to undertake a comparative Passionist mission history project. I mention this because I believe this issue was at the key of Father White's 1989 concerns over the content of my published articles on China.

Now might be the time to name the strengths of Passionist missiological efforts. I would suggest that when we examine much of the existing Passionist missionary literature in the 20th century we have an abundance of dramatic mission stories and historical chronicles which have served us well for self-understanding and mission fund-raising. However, less developed is the meaning of Passionist missiology. The China mission serves as a clear reminder that the histories of Passionist missions in such places as Asia, South America, and Africa, also have their untold story. By delving into their unique missiologies we can not but learn more about the histories of the sending provinces.

Yes, in 1989 the study of the Passionist China history led me to cry myself to sleep. Now in 2002, our opportunity to study and hear about, really for the first time ever, the success and failures of China mission leaves us with a cry for increased Passionist understanding of missions. Confidently, we can admit that this increased knowledge allows us to look back and see the distance we have traveled on the road to wisdom. Consequently, as we Passionist look to the future we may ask how we will cry out and invite peoples of the world to participate with us, and learn from them, in our missionary vision to live out and witness the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHINA: FUTURE RELATIONSHIPS

Fr. Robert E. Carbonneau, C.P.

December 4, 2002

Provincial Chapter, South Korea

“Stop taking pictures. It is time to get back on the bus!” With dutiful reluctance I followed this command given to me in 1989 at a roadside rest stop between Changsha and Yuanling, Hunan, China. In retrospect, at that moment, long-time friend of the Passionists John Zheng, who died from cancer on September 2, 2000 in Beijing, taught me what I would consider to be a first principle about a future relationship with the Catholic Church in China. It is, do not exploit Chinese realities. Respect Chinese realities.

Later, he clarified his order that I stop taking pictures and get on the bus. He informed me that by my taking too many pictures at close range I had overstepped boundaries in the social relationship at that moment. While taking photographs was not wrong in itself, I had violated the Chinese principle of *liǎn*, i.e face or reputation, in that I had rushed into the moment much too fast. That instant became symbolic for me. I began to realize that bringing the Gospel to life in China constantly required that I possess the zeal of the photographer with the patience to know the pulse of people, learn from them and with them, and then ideally see myself in a situation where we might both wish, based upon the established relationship, desire to take pictures of one another.

In other words, the content in this final talk returns to the theme I developed in my first presentation: *guangxi*. However, in this context I wish to explore it in a slightly different manner by concentrating on the identification of a variety of pastoral relationships which permeate contemporary Chinese Catholicism and may shape its future.

Before I proceed, be advised that three guiding principles impact this analysis. First and foremost, I do not want to miss the opportunity to clearly express to you my profound respect for the manner in which the Passionists in South Korea, PASPAC, and in Rome have combined their resources in order to breathe life again into the Passionist relationship with China. While I have traveled and studied China realities, I am well aware that your lived experience there the last several years is in itself wisdom. Please never fail to use that wisdom as a resource as you listen to this final talk and contemplate a possible future in service to the Catholic Church in China. Second, as an historian I must remember that I study the past. I can not tell the future. Consequently, I reflect on the relationship between history and the future in a way which offers the opportunity to look at long term and immediate trends so as to serve as a stimulus for dialogue, discussion, and planning. Third, I suggest that all of us keep in mind that China’s size,

cultural diversity, and regionalism are a reminder that our observations about China are always true at someplace and sometime.

What follows, in no particular order of priority, are some of pastoral relationships which are applicable to develop a mature future relationship with the Chinese Catholic Church. Moreover, to increase the possibility to stimulate personal imagination, group discussion, creativity in service, and if need be, responsible planning I have opted to use more of a story—lesson learned approach rather than a factual, statistical narrative. Should one wish to pursue the latter trajectory I would be most willing to identify resources or organizations.

Confucian Relationships:

Teaching Chinese and Asian history requires students learn about the traditional five Confucian relationships: prince and minister; husband and wife; father and son; elder brother and younger brother; friend and friend. For centuries, they have served as a guiding cultural and political compass for China. However, given the past century of dynastic, ideological, and economic change in China, especially under Communism, might it be worthwhile to see a Chinese, and perhaps an Asian future expressing itself in a post-modern Confucian relationship? Let me rephrase my point. Are we living through a transformation of these Confucian relationships to a yet unnamed reality? For example, has not the China one child policy reconfigured the premise of established Confucian relationships? If true, might we consider that religious motivated relationships may become increasingly attractive to the Chinese people as an auxiliary means to sustain and maintain social harmony? Consequently, we might begin to acknowledge the possibility that future Gospel-oriented pastoral relationships will be expressed to a Chinese people who hold a new social and political compass in their hands. It would be most important to reflect on how the Chinese Catholic Church might apply Gospel social values in a Chinese society which in itself is in social transition. Discernment in this area might be the difference in serving a kind Catholicism which is compatible with the Chinese future realities rather than Chinese past realities.

Vatican-China Diplomacy.

It is quite common to hear commentators speculate about the future of Vatican-Chinese diplomatic relations. For years, numerous experts throughout the world have done their best to encourage reconciliation on this issue. While important, generally, it is has been safe to assume, and remains so even today, that future pastoral relationships with Chinese Catholics will continue with minimal interference from such diplomatic ventures. Catholic visitors who travel to China and utilize their common sense will be able to see and participate in a wide range of ministry options. To express it another way, the diplomatic discussions and discussions about religion in the villages and churches are often times related in a web of relationships.

For example, you can imagine my surprise when I was told that the October 1, 2000 canonization of the 120 Chinese martyrs from 1648-1930 by Pope Paul II might have slowed down the publication of a Chinese language three volume history of the Passionists in Hunan, China entitled *American Missionaries In Hunan*. Let me explain. Beginning in 1996, myself, Professor Edward McCord, Ph.D. of George Washington University, Washington, D.C., and Professor

Zhou Qiuguang from Changsha, Hunan collaborated to compile a first-time Chinese history of the Passionists with the endorsement of the Hunan Educational Committee. Professor Zhou, and all of us associated with the effort, knew the importance of taking documentation from the Passionist Historical Archives in the United States and translating it into Chinese in order to present an accurate understanding of missionary experience. Professor Zhou concluded his introduction as follows:

As a result, readers should be warned in reading these volumes that these missionaries often took a hostile or biased attitude toward the political transformation in China and Hunan at the time and toward the Communist Party. Our faithful translation of their writings is not meant to suggest approval of their views, but to provide objective historical materials for people today to use as a reference in understanding the past.

This event pertains to future pastoral relationships in China four ways. First, it serves as an example of the value of scholarly collaboration on history, theology, Scripture, and non-religious topics. Second, the honesty of Professor's Zhou's introduction indicates that intellectual inquiry in China is slowly moving beyond the long-time Communist oriented analysis of history. No doubt future interpretations by scholars from the west will have to be open to embrace these insights in their own interpretations of Catholic missions in China. Third, and most important, is that over the past year I have learned when the October 2000 canonization of the martyrs took place it meant that the government-sponsored distribution of the Chinese language Passionist history became too politically sensitive. As a result, the books sit in a Chinese warehouse. Indications are they will be released in a more opportune climate between the Vatican and China. Finally, I believe that this event awakens us to in fact see that we must not be surprised in the way that Vatican-Chinese diplomatic decisions may have sudden unexpected repercussions on existing pastoral relationships in China. Again, the impact of the canonization on the proposed Passionist history was an indirect event rather than an immediate event which would make its way into the public domain. In this case, the good graces of the canonization of Chinese Martyrs did result in a postponement of a local pastoral opportunity. Given this reality, it might be appropriate that any future Passionist pastoral considerations include a process whereby regular feedback on the China ministry to PASCAC does, after suitable discernment, find its way to educate those who formulate policy on the topic of Vatican-China relations. Diplomatic policy initiated either in Rome or Beijing always has the possibility to influence local realities.

Multi-layered diocesan government in China:

Future pastoral relationships with any Catholic diocese in China, assumes that, as in the past, one interact with the respective bishop. However, this level of *guangxi* may be eventually short-sighted if it does not lead to a greater knowledge as to the variety of multi-layered diocesan government structures which the diocese has in place to proclaim the Gospel message. In effect, it is time to admit that the Chinese Catholic church promulgates the Gospel with all bureaucratic tendencies of any Catholic diocese world-wide.

To illustrate, let us take a look at the Catholic diocese of Shanghai. Bishop Aloysius Jin's leadership has been a reminder that the bishop holds an important position among Catholics and often times must maintain a genuine rapport with Chinese government officials especially those of the Religious Affairs Bureau. However, closer scrutiny of the diocesan structure reveals a diversity of diocesan services. The Shanghai Cathedral retains its symbolic and real meaning as center of Catholic worship. The diocesan printing press and bookstore operated by Chinese

Catholic sisters print Bibles. Foreign donations help finance the project. The Christ the King Computer school is self-supporting and offers a three month technical program, with some liberal studies courses, which result in students' reception of a diploma recognized by the municipality of Shanghai. Great potential exists at the Shanghai Research and Publishing Center where foreign books are translated into Chinese. Copyright permissions for use of these foreign books and clearance by Chinese government censors to publish are always a hurdle. Future hopes include developing a mission statement which will underwrite increased computer and technical upgrades, as well as translation and publication projects which promote lives of the saints and devotional material for Chinese Catholics. In July and August approximately 2-3,000 children from ages 8-13 participate in educational programs at the Center.

Since the mid-1980s seminary education has been a priority in all Chinese dioceses. The efforts of Sheshan seminary in Shanghai is representative of this challenge. Ongoing issues are adequate food and housing for the seminarians, use of skilled Chinese teachers, as well as the ability to employ foreign experts to teach theology or other necessary subjects. Adequate development and maintenance of library and computer capabilities is essential. At the same time, there is continual dialogue with the Chinese government as regards permissions to send priests abroad to Europe or the United States for graduate studies.

Of course, many Chinese Catholics have great reverence for the Sheshan Marian shrine. Pilgrims from both the underground and open church visit this location. Less known is the Guang Qi Spiritual Center Retreat House of Shanghai. This modern facility was dedicated in 1998. When I visited there I was told that one of the scheduled retreats that year was for Korean Catholics. In addition to the obvious requirement for financial support, some of which has come by way of European Jesuit benefactors, the retreat house faces the challenge of any retreat movement: identification of its clientele and adequate religious and catechetical programming. The busiest time is May, June, July, and August. During Easter and Christmas many Chinese Catholics participate in their parish celebrations.

Another service of the Shanghai diocese is their commitment to a retirement center for elderly Chinese sisters. On another level, there has been increased attention paid to the religious formation of young sisters.

Certainly, not every diocese operates with multi-layered structures parallel to that of the Shanghai diocese. Nevertheless, the diverse pastoral efforts in place in Shanghai (local parish structures are presumed here), clearly indicate that any future pastoral relationships with the Chinese Catholic Church must anticipate a modern church governance structure along the above-mentioned lines. Catholics outside China may, in some cases, offer valuable assistance to the respective dioceses of the Chinese Catholic Church as it adapts its bureaucratic vision to assist Chinese Catholicism of the future. Thus, any future pastoral relationships may do well to support and participate in present or existing bureaucratic structures for the purpose of enhancing or fine-tuning developing ministries. The desire to create new structures for the Chinese Catholic Church has to be worked out in conjunction with the Chinese themselves. Furthermore, it might be surprising how joint cooperation on the diocesan structural levels may provide the leaven for us outside of China to reevaluate our own tired bureaucratic structures and tendencies.

Chinese Faith Stories:

In a conversation on September 23, 2002 with Mary O'Brien, the sister of Passionist missionary to China Father Marcellus White, I was reminded that listening to Chinese faith stories remains an essential pastoral concern and will be so in the future. We both recalled how easily Father Marcellus cried when he spoke of his China experience. While some reacted to his crying as being somewhat dramatic, in reality the opportunity to hear his story and see his graced tears was a clarion call to participate in the continuing suffering, death, and resurrection faith experience of the Chinese Catholic Church. We must never grow tired of this desire to listen. In fact, an invaluable ministry as Passionists might be our ability to discern the operative dynamics behind the China faith stories. Allow me to share five examples.

In 1989 Sister of Charity Carita Pendergast returned to Yuanling, Hunan 38 years after being expelled. It was a most joyful reunion between her and the long-time Hunan Catholics. Tears flowed. When Sister Carita asked them how their life had been one woman responded with the term *chǐkǔ*. Translated this means to “eat bitterness” or “suffer hardship.” Witnessing that moment is precisely when the memory of Christ’s passion has the possibility to become one with our Passionist story. In such a situation what is the creative immediate pastoral response? Moreover does an opportunity exist for a more sustained response?

Four other situations come to mind. In 1999 I was fortunate to serve as a resource person in the Fulbright program for a Chinese professor from Xian who wished to study religion and diplomacy. Given the fact that few textbooks or even articles exist on the subject, I suggested archival research as an option. This was indeed a scholarly challenge for him not so much because of the linguistic hurdles but rather because education under Communism hindered the full development of a scholarly imagination which is so vital as an analytical tool when using archives. I learned this when, with great emotion, he told me about how his personal educational process enshrined information over creative inquiry. This made me wonder, if this is true for someone trained in history what impact does such a pedagogical approach have upon theological inquiry and faith development?

More recently, when teaching a class on Chinese history I offered an explanation of the Communist view of history. This resulted in one SVD priest from China and another from Vietnam becoming quite excited to know that their educational legacy—being taught by the Communists—was a legitimate model even if it was incomplete in its ability to go beyond the limited economic and social ideology of Communism. As part of their excitement they shared faith stories of their families growing up under Communism. Before my eyes I saw them go through a process of understanding and reconciliation. As they became more cognizant of their Communist education they were able to see why their parents and grandparents told them to nourish their minds in a Communist school but to never forget, at the same time, that they possess and need to nourish Catholic hearts of faith. From this I learned how one might be a good citizen and at the same time a good believer.

During my 1999 visit to China I crossed paths with a young Chinese deacon in southwestern China. While most welcoming to me and the other United States gentleman who served as the translator I was struck by the deacon’s lucid critique of Catholic practice in China. In a hopeful tone he spoke about the good and bad of Catholic seminary training in Beijing. It was bad when religious policy proved stifling and prevented the lack of continuing education. It was good because the same experience provided him with a ready sense of mission. Notable, however, was

his concern over the increasing strain between Chinese Catholicism and Chinese culture. His faith story looked to the future. How, he wondered, were Catholics going to make choices as to whether to follow their moral principles of participate in the quick money-making opportunities of heroin smuggling? He also pondered aloud how increased accessibility to materialistic opportunities might add depth to the Chinese people? Moreover, he was beginning to recognize that his faith story of priesthood will address inculturation: how will China progress spiritually and culturally? Then with insight and poise he stated that he saw the mission before the Chinese Catholic Church as one that is not just to the people but also one that should add depth to the overall Chinese culture. Specifically, he hit my own conscience when he suggested that part of the dilemma is that so much United States assistance arrives in China similar to fast food and does not have depth to nourish. Listening to his faith story in China was an outright challenge to my own faith story in the United States. Is my Catholicism too safe? Has it lost its ability to be a social and healing voice? Concretely, this encounter once again made clear that a listening to Chinese faith stories will lead one to reflect on their own faith story in their respective culture.

A fourth faith story is an example of ever present excitement and desire to express the basic tenets of the Catholic faith to Chinese Catholic priests, seminarians, and laity. A Chinese priest student in my class, who now holds a leadership position in the local Chinese seminary, consistently spoke throughout the course with realistic hope about Sacred Scripture, liturgy, the meaning of the Second Vatican Council, catechetics, and the value of devotion and ritual as the way to bring to life a mature Chinese Catholicism. This was in rather sharp contrast to a concern expressed by his classmates from other parts of the world who wondered if the ongoing debate over theological and scriptural orthodoxy and the uneven implementation of Vatican II was slowly diluting depth of spiritual expression in the United States. Furthermore, such debates might have already bankrupt any long lasting voice for the theology of liberation in Latin and South America. My point here is to highlight how genuine is the excitement of the Chinese to truly learn basic tenants of Catholic faith at a time when some Catholics highlight disillusionment. Future pastoral relationships in China will require appreciation of how the Chinese excitement and remnants of disillusionment move ahead.

Multi-dimensional faith stories are the last group. Future pastoral relationships require that close attention be paid to this category because they are so commonplace that their impact may become numbing. The genesis of these multi-dimensional faith stories is the residue of the past generational tension surrounding the underground and open church. Passionist experience over the past years in Guiyang, Guizhou province and Yuanling, Hunan province are excellent examples to ponder and serve as a reminder that the diverse stories will be part of the Catholic landscape into the future.

If your experience has been like mine there is a genuine desire to believe all personal expressions of Catholic life. Whether one has been part of the Catholic underground or open church, or has one foot in each group, listening to their story often details past relationships with western missionaries; the willingness of Chinese Catholic families and their Catholic neighbors to make personal sacrifices for the faith; as well as recollections pointing out the extent to which the Communist government imposes limits on the local Catholic church practice or at other times the same government assists the local Catholic church to prosper. The numbing effect has the possibility to occur when *guangxi* or the inherent relationship dynamics which are operative in

the listening of the above multiple faith stories blur the boundaries of objectivity. When this takes place sometimes we develop incorrect strategies of assistance. Instead, we must always keep before us the objective of assisting the multiple narratives of Catholic Church in China to find their own voice, articulate it, and work with each to achieve appropriate reconciliation with each other, the Chinese government, and world-wide Catholic Church.

Mature Spirituality for Ministry:

Over the past decade the priority of the Catholic Church in China has been seminary education. The majority of seminarians have been trained in open or underground seminaries in China. A minority of seminarians and priests —also from the open and underground churches—have been educated in Europe and the United States. In the more recent past visitors to China have been welcome to tour seminaries, many of which have taken the opportunity to secure the expert services of foreigners to teach English or theological subjects. Ministry relationships are now beginning to come to life based on this commitment to seminary learning and slowly spilling over into spiritual training for Chinese sisters and laity.

Certainly, future pastoral relationships with Chinese Catholic priests, sisters and laity will attempt to nourish spiritual maturity. Normally, non-Chinese can participate in this objective only when they are asked to participate in programs that have the blessings of the official institutional representatives of Chinese Catholic Church. Even so, more information about the quest for spiritual maturity is being disseminated by way of non-government venues which accentuate how individuals and religious institutions approach this need.

Three Chinese priests speaking at the 19th National China Conference (April 12-14, 2002, Techny, Illinois, U.S.A.) addressed this umbrella topic of spiritual maturity in ministry. One priest stressed how Chinese seminary education should be able to respond to both the needs of the Church and challenges of society. Such a vision requires spiritual formation conducted by well-trained spiritual directors understand the devotional life, human and intellectual formation, and the overall relationship to the laity.

Another priest offered a presentation on future parish life in China. Urban parishes differ from rural parishes. Priests and people are connected to the major feasts of Christmas, Easter, the Ascension, the Assumption, and Pentecost. Confession, the Eucharist, and Marian devotions remain important. Lay leadership is becoming increasingly important. On the positive side the future of parish ministry is vibrant because of the rich Chinese Catholic tradition upholding Catholic life, sacraments, and devotion. A future challenge is that Chinese parishes will have to create a new model of ministry for the future which respects past spirituality and welcomes new spirituality of the post-Vatican II era. Also, priests ordained about ten years now face the possibility of burn-out. These young priests, I heard one priest state, have continually lived with grandfather priests who have at times been paralyzed by their past experience of sufferings or hopes. Future spiritual maturity might require that the young priests step out of the shadow of the grandfather priests to cast their own shadow. Even if this is done will the lay Chinese Catholics follow or will they just substitute the shadow of the younger priests in the place of the shadow of the elderly priests? In other words, will priests, lay Catholics, and sisters jointly take responsibility and step into the light to cast their own shadow as well? Furthermore, all Chinese people, especially young people are challenged to be Catholic in a time of transition in the church and in society. Spiritual maturity and the existing day to day relationship with morality, the economy, and social relationships will demand increased attention.

Finally, the last priest speaker began with an overview. In 1999 there were 12 million Catholics out of 1 billion Chinese, 138 Catholic dioceses, 114 bishops, 2,500 priests, 3,150 sisters, 2,350 seminarians, and 2,560 novices all of whom worship in some 5,000 churches and chapels. However, behind the numbers are Catholics who face real pressures. He defined eight such pressures. 1) The majority of priests love God, their people, and their country. But why must someone join the China Catholic Patriotic Association? What are the benefits to such membership? 2) Why does the religious bureau in China need to control the procedure of selecting seminarians to get into seminaries? 3) Teaching pressures are real in the seminaries. Adequate educational tools such as books and computers are needed. 4) Most sisters have never attended theological seminaries. And, if they are taught, the content often reflects pre-Vatican II ideas. Furthermore, no matter what the theological content, good spiritual directors are needed to teach how spirituality relates to modern society and personal maturity. 5) More diverse church sponsored institutions, such as hospitals and schools, would be helpful. Implementation of this goal requires new training and thinking and an ability to bridge the intellectual generation gap established as a result of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). 6) The one child policy, while increasing creating “little emperors” and raising the value of a boy over a girl, also has direct relationship to Church natural law questions and the Gospel premise that each is a child of God. How can the church teach and express its message given limited freedoms? 7) HIV disease is increasing in China. How can this be addressed? 8) Drug and alcohol addiction are real. The clergy must respond to these questions but may without necessary spiritual rest and maturity itself suffer from depression or burn-out. This will lead some to leave the ministry.

The above information in this section identifies that future pastoral relationships will continue to be based upon *guangxi*. However, this may only be the first step. True future sharing in ministries increasingly has an obligation to look skillfully and with hope into the above areas so that a mature and spiritual Chinese Catholic Church will grow with integrity.

Religious Freedom:

Every couple of days I get email news summaries on the Catholic Church in China from the United States China Catholic Bureau News Service. More often than not the topic is the expression of Catholic religious freedom and the relationship of human rights. In 1989 I was awoken from my sleep in my Changsha, Hunan hotel room by gun shots and demonstrators around 2A.M. Immediately, I woke up Father Marcellus White. “Go back to sleep” he said, “its China.” In 1999, I watched security police arrest Falun Gong demonstrators in Tiananmen Square. I have been invited to preside publicly at Mass but have declined because my passport visa does not permit such actions. On one day I have heard Chinese Catholic leaders praise officials in the State Administration for Religious Affairs and on the next day the same Catholic leaders lamented over the level of bureaucratic interference.

At the same time, contemporary western and Asian scholars and China watchers interpret the relationship of religious freedom to human rights with an array of interlocking factors. For instance, Chinese social order insists upon church registration; distinctions do exist between “evil cults,” evangelicals and open and underground Catholic centers of worship in organization and expression; regionalism matters; monitoring the level of interaction between religious

leaders in China with religious leaders overseas is a priority; of particular interest to us gathered here is that China is increasingly putting imported religious ideas and doctrine from South Korea on the same level with the United States and Taiwan.

Credible discernment and planning surrounding the religious freedom-human rights question is necessary in any future ministry relationships Catholics in China, and for that matter Chinese Catholics world-wide. An illuminating perspective on the topic of religious freedom and human rights was offered to me in a passing comment by a Chinese priest studying and ministering in the United States. "Why," he asked "are people in the United States so angry with China? I read the papers and watch the news and see our problems. Where do I read about our successes and hopes?" We might do well to remember that naming and expelling demons may only be a first step. For a stony heart to give way to the natural heart we must participate on a long march, an exodus, or a pilgrimage which identifies true and precise means of healing and reconciliation.

Conclusion:

First of all I wish to thank all the various people involved in extending me the invitation to come to South Korea and who have assisted me in my planning. The opportunity to share my insights on the relationship of the Passionist in China these past four days leaves me with great peace. By now you are probably aware that I could continue to speak on this topic at even greater length! Be assured that comes from the excitement in my heart. But I have said all I can say for the moment and must trust it is enough. I hope some of this is now part of your heart.

Second, I believe it is important that we both recognize the fact that the material which I have presented covers diverse interpretations. You may find some areas clear. Other areas may require greater clarification. Whatever the situation, please know I am ready to assist in whatever way possible as you look to a future understanding and relationship with China. I trust the wisdom of your discernment process and time schedule.

Finally, I wish to close with two personal observations. I awake each morning in my room in Union City, New Jersey to see the cathedral-like dome of the former Passionist St. Michael's Monastery Church. The church is now a site of ministry for Korean Presbyterians in northern New Jersey. What is true for me has been that my being so close to an element of Korean culture has been a symbolic inspiration for this trip.

This above point directly leads me to my last observation. Overseas missions will forever be linked in Passionist memory with St. Michael's Union City. Consequently, it is my hope that as your province begins its new journey to share Passionist life and Gospel that you to will bring unity, peace, and justice to peoples of the world.

Thank you.

Selected Background Reading on Chinese History and Religious History
2003
compiled by Father Robert E. Carbonneau, C.P.

China History

1. John Hersey, A Single Pebble (New York: Bantam, 1956).
2. Andre Malraux, Man's Fate. Translated by Haakon M. Chevalier, (New York: Random House, 1984).
3. Mao Tse-tung, "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan." In Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol 1. 23-59, (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1967).
4. Jonathan D. Spence, The Search for Modern China. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990).
5. John King Fairbank, Merle Goldman, China: A New History (Belknap Harvard, 1998).

American Catholic Mission History

1. A.J. Cronin, Keys of the Kingdom. (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1941).
2. Greta Palmer, God's Underground in Asia. (New York: Appleton- Century-Crofts, 1953).
3. Thomas A. Breslin China, American Catholicism and the Missionary. (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980).
4. Eric O. Hanson, Catholic Politics in China and Korea. (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1980).
5. Sister Virginia Unsworth, "American Catholic Missioners in China after World War II." Missiology 8 (1980): 51-59.
6. Jean-Paul Wiest, Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918-1955. (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1988) republished by Orbis.
7. Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History (Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis, 1998).

European Catholic Mission History

1. Louis Tsing-Sing Wei, Le Saint-Seige et La Chine. (Paris: A. Allais, 1968).
2. Calude Soetens, Inventaire des Archives Vincent Lebbe. (Louvain-la-Neuve: Cahiers de la Revue Theologique de Louvain, 1982).
3. Andrew C. Ross, A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742 (Orbis 1994).
4. Jeroom Heyndrickx, C.I.C.M., editor, Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Ferdinand Verbeist Foundation K.U. Leuven, 1994).

Future Relationships with Catholic China

1. Donald E. MacInnis, Religion in China Today (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1989).
2. Hans Kung, and Julia. Ching, Christianity and Chinese Religions (Doubleday 1989).
3. Eric O Hanson,. The Catholic Church in World Politics (Princeton 1990).
4. Tang/Wiest, The Catholic Church in Modern China: Perspectives (Orbis, 1993).
5. Richard Madsen, China and the American Dream: A Moral Inquiry (California 1995).
6. Richard Madsen, China's Catholics: Tragedy and Hope in An Emerging Civil Society (California, 1998).
7. Jean Charbonnier, M.E.P., Guide to the Catholic Church in China 2000 (Singapore: China Catholic Communications, 2000) [email: leekhwee@cyberway.com.sg]

8. Eriberto P. Lozada, Jr. God Underground (Stanford University Press, 2001).

Protestant and Catholic American Archival Sourcebook

1. Archie Crouch, Christianity In China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States. (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1989).
2. Gerald Anderson et. al., Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement (Orbis 1994).

Protestant Missionary History

1. Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christian Missions. (New York: The Macmillan Company 1929).
2. John K. Fairbank, ed. The Missionary Enterprise in China and America.(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).
3. John Hersey, The Call: An American Missionary in China. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985).

Sisters of Charity, Convent Station, NJ

1. Sister Mary Carita Pendergast, S.C. Havoc In Hunan: The Sisters of Charity in Western Hunan 1924-1951. (Morristown, New Jersey: Sisters of Charity of Saint Elizabeth, 1991).

Passionist Sources

All the following articles are written by Father Robert Carbonneau, C.P.

1. "Beginnings of the Hunan Mission." The Passionist 6 (1978): 77-85.
2. "The Passionists in China, 1921-1929: An Essay in Mission Experience." Catholic Historical Review 66 (1980): 392-415.
3. "The China History Project of the Passionist Congregation." International Bulletin of Missionary Research 9 (April 1985): 69-70.
4. "Learning Compassion in China: The Passionists in China 1921-1955: Understanding History to Teach Compassion Today." Compassion 4 (Fall 1985): 15-18.
5. "Images of Missionary Life: The Lives of Passionists: Walter Coveyou, Godfrey Holbein Clement Seybold." The Passionist 26 (1993): 15-29.
6. "The Passionists in Twentieth-Century China: Politics and Mission." Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (K.U Leuven: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 1994): 76-85.
7. "The Department of External Affairs and the Release of Bishop Cuthbert O'Gara from Chinese Prison, 1951-1953" Historical Studies [Journal of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association] 63 (1997): 101-114.
8. "The Chinese Catholic Church and the Quest for a Reconciliation Narrative" 59 (1997) *The Proceedings of Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the Canon Law Society of America*: 105-122.
9. "It Can Happen Here": Bishop Cuthbert O'Gara and the Gospel of Anticommunism in Cold War America" Mission Studies 15-2 (1998): 119-146.

All the following are written by Father Caspar Caulfield, C.P.

1. Only A Beginning: The Passionists in China, 1921-1931. (Union City, New Jersey: Passionist Press, 1990).
2. “Yuanling.” In Missionlands of St. Paul of the Cross. Edited by Caspar Caulfield. 129-32. (Rome:Passionist Congregation, 1976).
3. “The Passionists In China.” The Sign 61 (November 1981): 10-14.

The following is a classic study on the Passionists in Hunan

Theophane Maguire, Hunan Harvest. (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1946).

The following is a general Passionist history

Roger Mercurio, C.P. The Story Of The Passionists. (Glazier, 1991).

Appendix: Passionist Hunan Mission Statistics

1922: Vicariate of Northern Hunan, Changteh, Hunan

Passionists assigned to work with the Spanish Augustinians who had been in the region since 1870.

Chinese Population: 11,000,000

Chinese Catholics: 7600

Churches: 19

Chapels: 57

Mission Stations: 8

Parochial Schools: 18

Orphan Asylums: 2

Number of Priests 30

Source: *Bolletino* (February 1922): 29

1925: Prefecture of Shenchow, Hunan

Established in 1925, it was approximately half of the Northern Hunan Vicariate. Passionist Father Dominic Langenbacher was Prefect Apostolic.

Chinese Population 5 million

Chinese Catholics: 1,978

Missions: 16

Catechumens: 4,974

Passionist Priests: 26

Passionist Brothers: 1

Sisters of Charity, Convent Station, New Jersey: 5

Preparatory Seminary Students: 4

Boys Primary Schools 19 with 802 students

Girls Primary Schools 11 with 296 students

Orphans 68

Dispensaries: 7 Number of Sick served: 19,000

Adult Baptisms: 309

Infant Baptisms 54
Baptisms Prior to Death: 84
Confirmations: 78
*Annual Confessions:*1,084
Devotional Confessions: 38,245
Annual Communion: 1,084
*Devotional Communion:*38, 245
Extreme Unction (Sacrament in Danger of Death): 41
*Marriages:*27
Chapels: 26
Churches: 5

Source: J.M. Planchet, C.M. *Les Missions De Chine et Japon 1927* (Pekin: Lazaristes, 1927):265-268.

1930: Mission of Shenchow

Area covered: 15,400 square miles, had 11 missions and 25 mission stations.

Population: 4,500,000

Catholics: 2,504

Protestants: 258

Catechumens 1,250

Mission personnel: 24 Passionist priests; 5 Sisters of Charity from Convent Station, New Jersey. They have one native novice: 4 Sisters of St. Joseph from Baden, Pennsylvania; 8 native postulants

Mission Catechists: 34 Chinese men and 20 Chinese women

School Teachers: 24 men and 13 women

Baptizers: 101 men and 68 women.

Preparatory Seminary: 4 pupils

public churches: 10

chapels with residences: 18,

chapels without residences: 7 Cemeteries: 3

Schools for boys: 11 with 270 pupils

Schools for girls: 8 with 130 pupils

Schools for catechists: 2 where 15 students were enrolled.

Total catechumenate schools: 11 in which 352 men and 258 women participated.

Medical dispensaries: 12 dispensaries which treated 34, 492 patients

Orphanages: 13 responsible for 115 orphans; Infant homes: 2 cared for 103 babies

Male aging homes: 3 which had 16 residents

Female aging homes: 2 which had 10 residents

35 Missions preached in 1930: 35

Sermons to Catholics: 14,890;

medical dispensaries: 12 treated 34, 492 patients

Sermons to pagans: 155

Convert from Protestantism to Catholicism: 1

Total Baptisms: 238

Adults in danger of death: 35

Adult catechumens: 85
Infants in danger of death: 40
Infants of Christians: 78
Confirmations: 31
Annual Easter Confessions: 1,308
Devotion Confessions: 27,445
Annual Easter Communion: 1,308
Devotion Communion: 76,640.
Extreme unctions: 44
Marriages between Catholics: 12
Mixed marriages: 8
Adult deaths: 56
Infant deaths: 55

Source: Passionist Historical Archives, New Jersey

1940-1941

Missions: 14
Mission stations: 29
Churches: 4 seating 400
Chapels: 36
Minor seminary: 1
Grammar schools: 15
High school: 1
Hospital: 1
Dispensaries: 27
Orphan asylums: 2
Home for the aged: 1
Trade school: 1
Embroidery school: 1
Catholics: 5,006
Population: 4,500,000
Catechumens: 11,500
Passionist Missionaries: 20
Sisters of Charity: 11
Sisters of St. Joseph: 6
Adult Baptisms: 1,036
Infant Baptisms: 138
Dying Baptisms: 1,895
Confessions: 75,378
Holy Communion: 135,515
Confirmations: 728
Extreme Unctions: 153
Marriages: 49
Seminarians: 12
School pupils: 1,972
High School Students: 57
Hospital Patients: 1,591
Dispensary Cases: 473,984

Orphans: 192

Old Folks: 27

Trade Apprentices: 25

Refugees Housed: 2,1000

Source: Passionist Historical Archives, Union City, New Jersey

Missionaries in Hunan, China

1921: Celestine Roddan, Superior; Flavian Mullins, Raphael Vance, Agatho Purtill, Timothy McDermott, Brother Lambert Budde

1922: Dominic Langenbacher, Paul Ubinger, Kevin Murray

1923: Quentin Olwell, Dunstan Thomas, Arthur Benson, Constantine Leech, Edmund Campbell

1924: Cuthbert O’Gara, Theophane Maguire, Rupert Langenbacher, Terence Connolly, Basil Bauer, Jeremiah McNamara, Ernest Cunningham, Godfrey Holbein, Clement Seybold, Anthony Maloney, Cyprian Frank, Gregory McEtterick, William Westhoven, Thomas Dempsey

1926: Jordan Black, Miles McCarthy, Cormac Shanahan, Caspar Conley

1928: Francis Flaherty, Nicolas Schneiders, Walter Coveyou

1929: Ronald Norris, Michael, Anthony Campbell, Edward Joseph McCarthy

1930: Antoine de Groeve, Alfred Cagney

1931: Leo Berard, Linus Lombard, Denis Fogarty

1932: Bonaventure Griffiths, Germain Heilman, Alban Carroll, Joachim Beckes

1933: Harold Travers, James Lambert, Cyprian Leonard, Sidney Turner, James Carney

1935: Reginald Arliss, Marcellus White, Justin Moore

1938: Wendelin Moore, Caspar Caulfield, Kieran Richardson

1940: Vernard Johnson, Leonard Amrhein, William Whelan, Linus McSheffrey, Aloysius O’Malley

1946: Justin Garvey, Lawrence Mullin, Jerome Does, Ernest Hotz, Ronald Beaton, Ernan Johnston, John Baptist Maye, Dominic M. Cohee, Regis Boyle

1948: Thomas M. Berry, Roger Gannon, Anselm Lacomara, Julius Durkan, Carl Schmitz, Paul Placek, Justinian Gilliagn, Hilarion Walters

1925-1951: Sisters of Charity, Convent Station, New Jersey 14

1926-1948: Sisters of St. Joseph, Baden, Pennsylvania 13

1945-1951: Hungarian Sisters of Charity, Saoyang 4

1946-1951 Hungarian Sisters of Notre Dame, North China 6

Chinese Priests: Raphael Chang, Augustinian, Vicar General, Bede Zhang, John Nien

Chinese Sisters: 6 total professed

United States Sisters of Charity 4 professed

United States Sisters of St. Joseph 1 professed

Hungarian Sisters of Charity 1 professed

Source: Passionist Historical Archives, Union City, New Jersey