

**BECOMING FAITHFUL: CHRISTIANITY, LITERACY, AND FEMALE
CONSCIOUSNESS IN NORTHEAST CHINA, 1830-1930**

by

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Dedication

For my grandma and my parents

My grandmother, Wu Bangshu, a witness to and survivor of various political movements of twentieth-century China, represents Chinese women who share her firmness, perseverance and optimism. She is always my role model. My parents, Shi Jisheng and Li Shiwei, are exemplars of support and love. They always offer me a port of call, no matter if I am in sadness or in happiness. I therefore dedicate this dissertation to them, for their consistent love and support in the past thirty years.

My deepest gratitude goes to my dear husband and life companion, Chenbo. We have been together for more than eleven years since we were both sophomores at Peking University. He proposed to me in 2004 when I was at my most difficult time during graduate school. Our marriage saved me from losing hope. In the past four years, he has accompanied me to everywhere necessary to my research. This dissertation would not be finished without his consistent love and support of my academic life. I am grateful as I finish this dissertation our baby is coming. This dissertation and our child are the two most precious gifts of our ten-year companionship. With love and confidence, I look forward to moving to the new phase of my life and career with him.

Forward and Acknowledgements

I am not Catholic. I grew up in China in a different culture, the product of a different history and different language. While a student of French history, my initial interest was not in religion but in revolution. Indeed my initial introduction to Christianity was from readings about the religious origins of the French Revolution. For a Chinese student born in 1976 at the end of the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), religion and revolution were two distinct, even contradictory fields.

It is therefore ironic that I was able to bring together my interests in both France and China and in a new transnational approach to history by exploring the dissemination of Catholicism from France to Northeast China. In early 2004, James Lee first suggested me to consider studying French missionaries in China and encouraged me to go to France to explore possible archival sources. James' belief in the importance of archival research and historical narratives driven by archival content had a deep impact on me. Moreover, his message resonated deeply with an influential University of Michigan history class which I took in the Fall 2003, "Getting the Documents to Speak," taught by Rebecca Scott, a UM History Professor, and Jean Hébrard, a visiting professor from the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*. In that class, we discussed the nature of archives, the relationship between documents and historians, and between historical facts and

historian's narratives. I learned that locating archival sources was essential for much historical study.

My first step was therefore to actually enter the archival world and read archival documents not in Ann Arbor or in Beijing but in Paris. Although I had been studying French history since my junior year at Peking University in 1998, I had never been to France, much less labored in French archives until the summer of 2004. Jean Hébrard, my French mentor, provided crucial help accomplishing this literal rite of passage. He invited me as his personal guest and helped me obtain a visa to France. On my arrival in Paris, Jean welcomed me at the airport and brought me immediately to the Archives des Missions Etrangères de Paris (AMEP) where he introduced me to the AMEP archivist, Brigitte Approuve. At that time, little did I realize that I would spend half of the following four years working at that beautiful seventeenth-century seminary. It was in the small reading room of the AMEP that I discovered the Tou letters, read hundreds of missionary correspondence and parish reports, and armed with their content to begin this project on Western missionaries and their Catholic mission in China.

My first archival trip to France was eye opening. During my initial two-month exploratory visit to France, I focused on the documents of the Manchuria Mission preserved in the AMEP. I brought back many interesting documents including missionary parish reports, language textbooks, dictionaries, maps, and private correspondences that no one had worked with before. After preliminary examination of these documents, I submitted my dissertation proposal and received encouragements

from James, Jean, and another UM History Professor, Brian Porter whose particular expertise included the history of European Catholicism.

A good archive and a good topic – these are just initial steps to a successful dissertation. To better understand Catholic archives and prepare for my next archival trip to France, I began on James’ suggestion to read the Catholic catechism and other books recommended by Brian on Christianity. In November 2005, I left for France for the second time and worked primarily in the AMEP till May 2006. This research trip proved both crucial and fruitful: I systematically examined the documents in the Manchuria Mission, especially the missionary statistical parish reports. I found the Catechism and the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission in the M.E.P Bibliothèque Asiatique (BA). Moreover, I began to explore archives other than Church records. Jean again accompanied me in my first visit to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), which made my later research there much more convenient. With increasing experience and confidence in working with archives, I also worked in the Archives Nationales Françaises (AN) in Paris, the Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN) in Nantes, and later the Torre do Tombo, National Archives of Portugal in Lisbon.

When I came back to Ann Arbor in the Fall 2006, I had already collected a large number of valuable documents; however, how to “get the documents to speak,” or develop my own narrative based on these documents remained a challenge. Working intensively with James and my colleagues in the Lee-Campbell research group, we started by translating the Tou letters – my favorite and the most exciting archival

discovery. Addressed to a French missionary, these letters were written by three Chinese Catholic women of the family Tou from San-tai-tse, a nineteenth-century Catholic village in Northeast China. Written with dark ink Chinese characters on three large sheets of yellow rice paper, these letters present a hitherto unexplored world of Christianity in China, inhabited by local converts, especially rural women.

Translating these letters from Chinese to English became a process to unpack the intimate religious experiences of Chinese female converts. The Tou women's clumsy writing sharply contrasts their manipulation of religious language into personal narratives: Chinese rural Catholic women were able to appropriate Catholic concepts and vocabularies and translate them into their daily life experience. Translating these letters produced a series of questions: how did the Tou women gain such religious knowledge and basic writing skills? If the Tou letters demonstrated the ways ordinary Chinese converts interpreted and transformed Christian faith, then what could we derive from the systematic Church records? What was the starting point for the French missionaries to found a new mission in nineteenth-century China?

With these questions in mind, after finishing a conference paper about the Tou letters in March 2007, I began to explore another body of my documents – missionary parish reports. In 2007, I spent five months off and on in Beijing working with James analyzing these reports. I learned to deal with numbers recorded in the parish reports and produced figures and tables that contextualized the Tou letters and the Catholic Mission in Northeast China. After many discussions with James about how to develop a narrative

from these empirical data, I noticed that the most striking part of the parish reports was not the numbers reporting local converts' participation in the Catholic sacraments, but rather, the missionaries' interpretation of these numbers. For each *chrétienté*, or Catholic community, missionaries produced an annual assessment of "good faith," or "no faith." Measuring and assessing faith was an integral part of the missionary's major work. And in translation from numbers to evaluations, from experiences to explanations, the M.E.P missionaries developed a systematic way to disseminate faith.

Furthermore, reading and rereading the two canonical texts of the M.E.P's Manchuria Mission – the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission and the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission – answered the questions generated by the Tou letters. Historically, these two documents were the first texts required of the M.E.P missionaries who intended to work in Manchuria. For me, these two documents were the starting point for analysis of how the M.E.P defined Catholic knowledge and behavioral doctrine in order to design their new missions.

While I was developing narratives from the documents, I received the Bourse Chateaubriand, which funded my third research trip to France from October 2007 to June 2008. During this nine-month tenure, my thesis writing gained significant progress. Luckily, my stay coincided with a visit by James to the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* for more than six weeks. During that time, we worked intensively in the Charles de Gaulle airport, and in many Parisian cafés and restaurants, including notably the Rodin Garden reading the Catechism and Mission Regulations together. It

was through these joint readings and even writing in Paris that our previous discussions in Ann Arbor and Beijing finally became concrete. This time, the documents began to “speak.” And by respecting their message, the framing of my thesis became clear. Much of my substantial narrative indeed consists of a description and analysis of their contents. Producing such a narration meant that I had to learn over a period of months to overcome the multiple barriers of language, cultural diffidence, revolutionary antagonism, and agnostic incomprehension. And as I overcame each new barrier, my horizons and my historical appreciation grew.

My three archival trips to France turned out to be three crucial periods of this dissertation project. The first trip helped me locate archives and decide my topic. The second trip helped me systematically examine the archival contents and began to develop narratives. The third trip gave me the opportunity to reframe these narratives into a coherent and convincing thesis. With the help of my advisors, Catholic faith in China was no longer an alien subject to me. It became a substantial subject that had its own trajectory of development; it was defined, introduced, disseminated, measured and assessed by the Western missionaries; it was learned, interpreted and transformed by the Chinese converts. It was this trans-national, trans-cultural, empirical and historical dialogue that defined Catholicism and Christianity for today’s China. The consistency of Catholic knowledge and the exactness of Catholic ritual and daily practice mark Catholicism as distinct from other Chinese popular religions.

Today, when I look back to the way I have come through, the journey of understanding Christian faith was both exciting and challenging. First of all, I had to confront and overcome the cultural and emotional barriers between Catholicism (as my subject) and myself (as a researcher). My intellectual journey of learning Catholicism was pretty much like a Chinese catechumen preparing for baptism: I read the Catechism to understand the essential Christian concepts; I learned the Christian behavioral code regulated by the Mission Regulations; I memorized the basic prayers and hymns; I participated in sacraments to learn the Catholic rituals. As a participant observer, my academic training at the University of Michigan in European history, cultural history, Chinese history, gender and women's studies, and (later) the social sciences all become enriched. I become a researcher who shares a deep understanding of and respect for faith and religion, and of missionaries and converts. I become a scholar who believes empirical study is as important as scholarly interpretation. I have made an effort to overcome my intuitive reluctance to probe into questions alien to my own culture – questions of faith, God, and conversion. I understand no matter how hard I have struggled, as a non-believer I will remain an “outsider” to faith and Christianity. This awareness, however, gives me the necessary scholarly distance to understand and analyze my subject.

During the course of this intellectual journey, I owe my deepest gratitude to James Lee, a great advisor and better friend. We had many long discussions about faith: how Western missionaries defined, disseminated, measured and assessed faith; how

Chinese converts historically interpreted and transformed faith; and how we, as modern scholars, approach and understand faith. Being aware of my background in relation to this subject, James helped me develop a sophisticated self-consciousness to study Christian faith from the perspective not only of a scholar but also of a Chinese and a non-believer. James' knowledge of China and its distinct cultural and social legacies helped me better understand the confrontations between Christian faith and ordinary Chinese people. Like a missionary patiently ushered his catechumens toward conversion, in the past four years of being his student, James has helped me with my intellectual growth with enormous trust and warmth. His consistent encouragement helped me find confidence in myself. He taught me how to become a realistic scholar with passion and commitment. He pushed me along the path of excellence and witnessed every small achievement I made in my scholarly growth. I sincerely thank James for his instruction and friendship: this dissertation would not become what it is today without his generous input and thoughtful training.

Jean Hébrard is my wonderful French teacher. Our friendship began in the Fall 2003 when he gave me a French-style embrace after class. His simple and unconditional trust meant a lot to me in a most difficult time. Jean's initial emotional support soon became substantial as he helped me to go to France for the first time and guided my archival research in France in the past four years. In the final stage of my thesis revision, Jean read my entire draft and helped me refine French translation word by word.

Brian Porter joined my committee right after I began this project. In the past four years, especially in this last year as I wrote my thesis, we exchanged many long emails. Each time, I wrote to him asking questions, reporting my progress, or discussing my new ideas and writings. He always replied promptly with detailed explanations, consistent encouragement, and critical comments. His knowledge of Catholicism inspired my analysis of my own subject, and his enthusiasm regarding the history of Christianity in China urged me to devote myself to this project. Like James and Jean, Brian is a serious scholar who has passion and commitment not only to his own research but also to his students and their work.

With accumulative thought and work about religious faith in the past four years, I now find faith in myself. This faith is not about God and transcendency. It is about trust: the trust in life, in intellectual pursuit, in people, and in love and hope. This thesis about Catholic faith in China is just the start of my own intellectual quest. I now know that its importance may be less any final resolution, but more the enjoyment of the intellectual journey.

* * *

In the following section, I must list the persons and institutions that have helped me through over the past years. First of all, I thank the above three major advisors of mine – James Lee, Jean Hébrard and Brian Porter, whose consistent encouragement and always-cheerful attitude taught me how to enjoy the academic journey with good smiles and good hopes – a healthy optimism regarding life and work.

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I thank Rebecca Scott, who is not my committee member but who has helped me find these supportive advisors. It was Rebecca who first suggested I consider a transnational project concerning France and China. When Rebecca was the department graduate chair five years ago, she gave me incredible help for this transition. In the class she taught with Jean in the Fall 2003, I wrote my first research paper from a transnational perspective to analyze personal narratives from France and China. The basic approach of that class finally became the current dissertation. I hope my work can assure Rebecca and Jean that their initial encouragement and trust were not wasted.

A particular group of people owes my special gratitude. The Lee-Campbell research group, led by James Lee and Cameron Campbell, has been an intellectual home and the most supportive cohort. No matter which continent I was on, during the past three years, the group has met once a week over Internet. I shared with the group every piece of my research. From preliminary archival reports to conference presentations, from the first fragments of thesis writing to the final complete draft, the group has read all my drafts and witnessed each step of my progress in this project. I thank every one of the Lee-Campbell-Group, especially James Lee, Cameron Campbell, Chen Shuang, Lai

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As a Chinese student studying in the US and conducting research in France and China, I have found many people who have helped me go through this international journey in the three countries. In Ann Arbor, I thank Li Xu, Chen Rong, Li Min, Cui Yi, Wang Jing, Chen Huashan, Monica Kim, Robert Kruckeberg, Jennifer Palmer, and all the girls of the Kuai-bi-ye group. Our friendship and consistent mutual help are what I cherished the most of my life in Ann Arbor. Since 2004, each year I have spent a couple of months working in France. My life and work could not become that fruitful in Paris without many people's help: I thank, in particular, Professor Zhang Guangda, Zhang Lun, Marianne Bastid-Bruguière, Pierre-Etienne Will, Pierre-Emmanuel Roux, Yang Yunxin, Chen Jinzhao, and Ji Zhe. In Beijing, I thank Wei Xiaoli, who always opened her door

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List of Abbreviations

AMEP:	Archives des Missions Étrangères de Paris
AN:	Archives Nationales
BA:	Bibliothèque Asiatique
BnF:	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
CADC	Collection of Archival Documents of Catholicism in China during the Early- and Mid-Qing 清中前期西洋天主教在华活动档案史料
CADN:	Centre des Archives Diplomatique de Nantes
CMM:	Catéchisme des Missions de Mandchourie
HCC:	Handbook of Christianity in China
LPA:	Liaoning Provincial Archives
MC-RI:	Macau Ricci Institute
M.E.P:	Missions Étrangères de Paris
RMM:	Réglement de la Mission de Mandchourie
TT:	Torre da Tomba, National Archives of Portugal

Glossary

An-sin-tai	安心台	Pa-kia-tai	八家台
Cha-ling	沙岭	Pa-kia-tse	八家子
Che-li-tchen	十里镇	Pa pai tse	拜把子
Chuang-lou-tai	双楼台	Pao-kia-kang-tse	鲍家康子
Fang-tchen-koeu	方城口	San-tai-tse	三台子
Feng-houa-sien	凤花县	Se-kia-tse	四家子
Hei-lin-tse	黑林子	Se-mian-tchen	四面城
Houai-teu-sien	怀德县	Se-Tchoan	四川
Houéi-tchang	会长	Si-fong	西丰
I-tcheou	义州	Si-kia-ouo-pong	四家窝棚
Icheng-kia-toun	郑家屯	Siao-hei-chan	小黑山
Ie-sing-pou-tse	义新堡子	Sin-min-tuen	新民屯
Ing-kou	营口	Song-chou-tsouei-tse	松树嘴子
Ju-chou-tai	榆树台	Ta-king-chan	大青山
Ka-li-ma	卡力马	Ta-oua	大洼
Kai-iuen	开原	Tchang-tou	昌图
Kan K'in	干亲	Tcheou-kia-ouo-pong	朱家窝棚
Kao-chan-touen	靠山屯	Tie-ling	铁岭
Kin-tcheou	锦州	Tong-kiang-tze	通江子
King-kia-touen	金家屯	Tse-loua-chou	茨漏树
Kouan-tchen-tse	宽城子	Tong-kia-fang-tze	佟家房子
La-ma-tien-tse	辣麽甸子	Tou Xiao'erniu	杜小二妞
Li kouen li	利滚利	Tou Xiaodazi	杜小大子
Lien-chan	连山 (今锦西)	Tou Xiaoshiyi	杜小十一
Lien-houa-chan	莲花山	Toung Tchen Sieou Kouei	童贞修规
Nieou-tchoang	牛庄	Xen-Iang/Moukden/Shenyang	沈阳
Nyan-sin-tai	南新台	Yang-kouan	阳关
Ou-tao-kuen-tse	五道沟子	Yaolin xuefang	要理学房
Pa-mien-tcheng	八面城	Tseou-kia-ouo-pong	朱家窝棚
Pai-cha-koeu	白岔口	Je-sing-pou-tze	阿吉堡子
Pai-kia-koeu	八家口		

Abstract

This dissertation presents a study about dialogue between contradictions: Christians and pagans, missionaries and converts, foreign and native, male and female, and above all the sacred and the profane. I explore how specific actors such as French Catholic missionaries of the Missions Etrangères de Paris (MEP) translated and disseminated the universality of the Christian message into the particular context of northeast China from the 1830s to the 1930s, and how Chinese Catholic converts, especially, female converts, interpreted and transformed the Catholic faith as a language to articulate an awareness of self.

Focusing on the M.E.P Manchuria Mission, I analyze the Catechism and Regulations of the mission, as well as missionary statistical parish reports and private letters by both missionaries and Chinese converts. Understanding how Christianity took root in an Asian context requires that we not only study the universality of the Christian message and the inclusiveness of the missionary effort, but also the mechanisms, institutions, actors, and processes that interpreted the Christian faith through specific language, behavior, and belief. I discuss how the MEP translated the catechism to introduce the concepts and rituals of Christian faith to the rural Chinese; how they designed the Regulation of the Mission to teach the Catechism and to enforce Church

discipline on missionaries, catechumens, and converts; and how they required systematic parish reports to measure and assess the success of local religious experience. The dissemination of Christian faith included *translations* of literal languages of French and Chinese as well as numerical language that observed and measured the “faith” of local converts; it also included the widespread establishment of religious educational system in rural society, which provided much of the educational opportunities for rural men and women and established the first extensive educational system for women in rural China. The Church’s religious education produced *a new female literacy*, which created a new space for rural Christian women, regardless of their family background, to articulate awareness of self and to form/transform a new subjectivity.

Chapter One

Introduction: Christianity in Northeast China

On February 22, 1846, Bishop Emmanuel-Jean-François Verrolles, the first Vicar Apostolic of the Manchuria Mission, delivered a public speech in the Catholic Church of Metz. After fifteen years in China, including five in Manchuria subsequent to the founding of the Mission in 1838, this was Verrolles' first return to France.

“I remained alone. This is why I come back to look for new colleagues. After having been away for fifteen years, I see once more the beautiful land of France, the country so dear to my heart, which I will nevertheless leave again, and forever. You may find my language incorrect, maybe even barbaric; but that should not surprise you: when one has lived fifteen years surrounded by Chinese without speaking any language but theirs, it is rather natural that one lost the habit to express oneself easily in French.

... My [Chinese] Christians are poor, poor to the worst degree... In these Missions so desolate whose miseries I have described, [working] with these [Chinese] peoples exposed to so many temptations and naturally timid [in consequence], we nevertheless often find consolation in an enlightenment of faith and an heroic courage, worthy of the best ages of the Church.”¹

¹ “Je suis resté seul, et voilà pourquoi je suis revenu chercher de nouveaux collaborateurs: après une absence de quinze années, j’ai revu cette belle terre de France, cette patrie bien chère à mon cœur, et que pourtant je vais bientôt quitter une seconde fois, et pour toujours. Vous trouverez mon langage incorrect, peut-être barbare; mais que cela ne vous étonne pas: quand on a vécu quinze ans au milieu des Chinois sans parler d’autre langue que la leur, il est assez naturel qu’on ait perdu l’habitude de s’exprimer facilement en français... Mes Chrétiens sont donc pauvres, pauvres au dernier degré... Dans ces Missions si désolées, dont je vous ai raconté les misères, chez ces peuples exposés à tant de tentations et naturellement si timides, nous sommes souvent consolés, édifiés par des traits d’une foi et d’un courage héroïque; dignes des plus beaux âges de l’Eglise.” *Extrait du discours prononcé dans l’église Cathédrale de Metz, par Mgr. Verrolles, évêque de Colomby, v-a de la Mandchourie, le 22 février 1846.*

Alone in Manchuria, Verrolles was initially the only missionary in the Manchuria Mission after its founding in 1838. His first assistant, Brulley de la Brunière, did not arrive until 1842; he felt similarly out of place. In a letter to M. Maistre, a M.E.P missionary in Korea, de la Brunière complained, “I am a foreigner. I cannot understand well their language, which is so different from that of Jiangnan.” (Launay 1905: 47) Two years later, in 1844, two more missionaries, Siméon Berneux and Charles Joseph Venault, joined Verrolles and de la Brunière. Isolated, alone, surrounded by poor pagan Chinese, and the vast land of Manchuria – the early years of the Manchuria Mission were difficult ones and Verrolles’ speech deeply moved his audience.

Before Verrolles, only a very few missionaries had ever visited Northeast China and none that we know of stayed. The only small Christian population in the Northeast lived along the border of Manchuria and Mongolia.² Verrolles located these early Christians in an 1849 map in six *ancienne* Christian communities, including the Christian community of Si-wan in Southeast Mongolia, the District of Je-ho, and communities in today’s East Mongolia and West Jilin (Map 1.1).³ In addition, there were a few *ancienne* Christians among the Chinese immigrants who moved to Manchuria in the eighteenth

² When Emmanuel Verrolles arrived in Manchuria around 1840, he reported that there were about 1949 Christians in Leao-tong and 1670 in Pa-kia-tse and des Pins (Song-chou-tsoui-tse), but most of them had already lost their fervor. “Les Contemporains: Mgr Verrolles (1805-1878)” in *Annales de la S.M.E.P.*, 27 mars 1904, 1-16. Local Chinese gazetteers also record that, Ye-xing-pou-tse, a small town in today’s Liaozhong County, established its first Catholic Church in 1823 and there were about 119 Christians (*Liaozhong Xianzhi* 1993: 770).

³ “Carte pour la division définitive des Vicariats de Mongolie et Mandchourie, offerte à la S.C. de la Propaganda par l’Ev. de Colomby, Nov. 1849.” (AMP 0562: 7071-7072)

and early nineteenth centuries,⁴ including voluntary migrants mainly from Zhili and Shandong provinces, which had been visited by European missionaries since the fifteenth century,⁵ and involuntary migrants exiled to Manchuria during the century-long prohibition of Christian missions from 1724 to the 1830s.⁶

Verrolles and his Manchuria Mission focused, however, not on these scattered *ancienne* Christians. Instead, they sought to erect churches, to establish Catholic communities, to found Catholic schools, and above all, to systematically translate and disseminate the Christian message and to convert the vast land of Manchuria.

Given these ambitions, Verrolles' speech in Metz became crucial for the development of the Manchuria Mission. Five days after its delivery, the Missions Étrangères de Paris (M.E.P) sent out two missionaries to Manchuria, and eight months later, two more. By Verrolles' death in 1878, three decades later, 48 French missionaries

⁴ Conversion in Manchuria may begin as early as the fourteenth century by early missionaries resided in Mongolia, especially Franciscans such as Jean de Montecorvin (Launay 1905: 37). These early efforts, however, did not lead to the growth of Christianity in Manchuria due to the lack of residential missionaries and incessant wars and chaos. In the seventeenth century, Jesuits began to visit Manchuria. After Pope Alexander VIII established the diocese of Beijing in 1690, Manchuria raised interest among missionaries of Beijing; some of whom began to go to Manchuria to proselytize. These pioneer missionaries included French missionary Dominique Parrenin and an unidentified missionary from Netherlands (*Heilongjiang Shengzhi*-vol.25 1999: 197). Since the seventeenth century, the Portuguese, Lazarists, and Franciscans had been worked in the bordering area of East Mongolia and West Manchuria. According to Launay, when Manchuria was under the Portuguese *Padroado* in 1696, Portuguese missionaries of Beijing used to travel to Liaodong and might have converted some local people. In 1830, a Portuguese Lazarist named M. Castro went to Liaodong to proselytize, together with two Chinese priests. These three may have worked in Liaodong for quite a while.

⁵ From 1644 to 1667, the Qing court issued a series of edicts, "The regulations on recruiting civilian commoners to cultivate land in Leao-dong (辽东招民开垦条例)" to urge immigrants to Manchuria for cultivation. As result, from 1644 to 1667, many people from Zhili and Shandong immigrated to Manchuria.

⁶ During the time of prohibition, the Qing court prescribed, "official-Christian converts be dismissed, common converts be exiled to Xinjiang or Heilongjiang." (*Heilongjiang Shengzhi* 1999:197) Heilongjiang is the northernmost province in Manchuria. Italian missionary Paschal D'Elia recorded that in 1814, two Catholic converts from Guizhou province were exiled to Heilongjiang, the northernmost province of Manchuria (d'Elia 1934: 57).

had joined the Manchuria Mission, and more than 300 *chrétientés* had been founded in Northeast China, with Catholic schools in virtually every Christian community.⁷ About 25,000 Chinese had converted, including hundreds of faithful indigenous lay Christians who actively participated in proselytism and Church education. A 1904 map of “Catholic Manchuria” dedicated to Verrolles’ memory depicts this transformation. (Map 1.2)

In many ways, what Verrolles and the Manchuria Mission achieved went far beyond these statistics and graphical representations. The Mission introduced to the people of Manchuria not just Christianity, but a whole new religious discourse. By promoting religious education, Christianity created a new space, one in which Chinese converts, regardless of their social and family background, gained access not only to Christian faith, but also to education and literacy. These new opportunities deeply changed the people of Manchuria, especially its rural female converts.

This dissertation is an endeavor to unpack the history of this process, to narrate the stories of Verrolles, his Manchuria Mission, and his Chinese Christian converts – how Verrolles and his colleagues designed and practiced their proselytism in nineteenth-

⁷ *Chrétienté* refers to the basic Catholic communities set up by Catholic missionaries in China. In the M.E.P documents of the Manchuria Mission, *chrétienté* is one of the most common terms missionaries used to describe a local Catholic community, which usually refers to a natural village. In official documents of the Manchuria Mission, this term is often spelled “*chrétienté*” (such as in the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission published in Paris in 1882). In the manuscripts of parish reports, however, M.E.P missionaries wrote the term “*chrétienté*” (e.g. by Boyer in 1858-59) alternatively with “*station*” (e.g. by Franclet in 1857 and by Mallet in 1857-58) and “*lieu*” (e.g. by Mesnard in 1851). Modern scholars of Christianity in China also used *chrétienté* to describe Chinese Catholic communities. Joseph Dehergne, for example, used *chrétienté* to discuss Chinese Catholic communities in the Ming dynasty (Dehergne 1957: 1-136). According to Dehergne, the term *chrétienté* is often designated as *christianitas* in the Latin sources. For more discussion of Dehergne’s definition of *chrétienté*, see HCC 536-572. For the discussion of *chrétientés* in the Manchuria Mission, see Chapter Six of this dissertation.

century Northeast China and how their Christian converts, especially rural women, responded to them.



Map 1.2: Carte de la Mandchourie Catholique. Carte dressée d’après la carte de la Mission de la Mandchourie par M. Adrien Launay (1889) et d’après la carte de la province de Moukden par Mgr Guillon (1894).” Source: *Annales de la Société Missions Etrangères et de l’Oeuvre de Paris* (Mar 27, 1904): 9.

Chapter Two

Faith and Dialogue

Experience and Language

This is a thesis about dialogue. It is a dialogue between contradictions: Christians and Pagans, Missionaries and Converts, Foreign and Native, Male and Female, and above all the Sacred and the Profane. It tells a story of two distinct groups of people dealing with one universal value about faith: How specific actors as Western missionaries translated and disseminated the Christian message in late imperial China and how other actors, specifically rural Chinese converts, understood, absorbed, and in their interactions with foreign missionaries, transformed the universality of the Christian message in the particular context of Northeast China during the century from the 1830s to the 1930s.

This is a work about analytical categories: of knowledge and behavior, of experience and explanations, of concepts and languages, of public and private, and of imperial and colonial. Understanding how Christianity took root in a non-Western context not only requires a study of the universality of the Christian message and the inclusiveness of the missionary effort; it also considers an understanding of the mechanisms, institutions, actors, and processes that interpret the Christian message

through specific language, behavior, and belief: how the Catholic Church translated the Catechism to introduce the concepts and rituals of Christian faith to the Chinese; how they designed the Regulation of Mission to teach the Catechism and to enforce Church discipline on missionaries, catechumens, and converts; how they required systematic parish reports to measure and assess the success of local religious experience; and how local converts, in turn, appropriated this religious language to both articulate and manipulate their new sense of self and identity.

Finally, this is also a book about language, literacy and a communicative world constructed by two written and oral languages: French/Latin and Chinese.⁸ Language provides historical actors an important instrument for articulating ideas and emotions. Literacy is the key to success. Understanding language through literacy proves particularly important in a transnational context, for literacy is a prerequisite for any interaction between oral languages and written texts. The intercultural exchange and transformation of ideas depend to a large extent on translation not only between French and Chinese in this case, but also between the divine and the secular, between the numerical and the literary, and between the quantitative and the qualitative.

Indeed, for illiterate rural converts becoming literate is particularly important to success in conversion. The basic requirement of catechism introduces to these converts

⁸ Latin is the universal language of the Catholic Church. It is encouraged by Rome till today. Pope John Paul told an international group of pilgrims in Rome on July 28, 1999: "We strongly encourage you all that, by diligent study and effective teaching, you may pass on like a torch the understanding, love and use of this immortal language [of Latin] in your own countries." However, for the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris that this dissertation focuses on, French language is the most common language especially in the nineteenth century. Most nineteenth-century manuscripts and documents in the Archives des Missions Étrangères de Paris are written in French instead of Latin.

Latin names, Christian prayers and hymns. Through religious education, achieving literacy provides them with powerful tools to an articulation of faith, and gives them an opportunity to explore alternatives to access power and authority that would never be available in the traditional Chinese rural society. Moreover, literacy evokes these converts' emotions in trying to translate public Christian concepts into their own private words and further articulate their own ideas.

Ironically, literacy is as important for missionaries as well. Already literate in at least several Western languages, these missionaries now live and work in a totally non-Western context. In spreading the word of God, they must learn to translate the Bible and the Catechism from French to Chinese, and design the rules that transform Christian behavioral doctrines from divine to earthly.⁹ In reporting local religious experience, they must translate statistical record to literal assessment. A catechism in Chinese and French with two forms of romanization in both Mandarin and local dialect exemplifies the “translingual process” (Liu 1995) of Western missionaries spreading faith through native written and oral tongue.

Unlike Europe, the dissemination of Catholicism in China was closely associated with literacy. As early as the sixteenth century, “one of the major means of spreading

⁹ The Catechism of the Manchuria Mission and the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission are two essential texts of the M.E.P to proselytize in Northeast China. The Catechism was written in two languages (French and Chinese), and the Regulation established principal behavioral rules for Chinese Catholic converts not only to regulate their religious practice but also their practice in secular activities such as playacting, establishing affectionate relationship (*kan qin*) and mutual protection. See Chapter Two and Three of this dissertation.

Christianity among elite Chinese” was the “apostolate through books” (HCC: 600).¹⁰

And as published texts grew in popularity among ordinary Chinese from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries,¹¹ this “apostolate through books” also became a general feature of Catholicism throughout early modern China.

Christian literacy was crucial to the Catholic mission because Chinese society lacked the common social and cultural base of shared Christian values and concepts that existed in Europe. Since this shared intellectual and cultural world, which prepared a

¹⁰ Elites composed the majority of Christian converts in China at that time. This was because early Catholic missionaries in China, especially Jesuits, focused primarily on converting Chinese elites, who not only controlled the literate and cultural world of Chinese society but also dominated access to the highest authority of the Qing court. This was largely due to the historical situation in which the early missionaries had to strive to gain the permission from the Qing court for missions into China. For analysis of the strategy of “apostolate through books,” especially the spread of Jesuit writings in late Ming and early Qing China, see Standard 1985: 22-32. Due to the flourishing of the publishing and printing industry in late Ming China, Christian writings began to spread in the Chinese society, especially among the elites, and contrary to other countries where printing was often introduced by missionaries, in China Christianity took full advantage of this well-developed printing industry that was already present. According to the HCC, “A list of writings composed by Jesuits up to 1636 shows that quite a number of texts, both scientific and religious, were waiting to be printed. Among 107 titles (340 volumes), 71 titles (219 volumes) had been printed and 36 titles (121 volumes) had not.” (HCC: 602). Western missionaries took full advantage of this flourishing printing industry, because books and the written word have special importance in China. Few cultures like China have enjoyed such a long traditional literary production. Literacy in China means not only one’s intellectual status but also one’s social status, for literacy and education, measured by a civil service examination system, were the gateways to social mobility (Chow 1996: 120-157). As Cynthia Brokaw argues, therefore, “possession of – or at least access to – books was essential to respectable success in Chinese society.” (Brokaw and Chow 2005: 3) For studies on the flourishing of the publishing and printing industry in Late Ming China, see Chia 2003, Brokaw and Chow 2005, and Brokaw 2007,. Catholicism in China, especially the spread of Christian writings, benefited from Chinese printing industry at that time. For the discussion of the spread of Christian writings in late Ming and early Qing, see HCC: 600-604.

¹¹ According to 116 legal cases (1746-1847) recorded in the *Collection of Archival Documents of Catholicism in China during the Early- and Mid-Qing (CADC)*, the Qing government confiscated thousands of prohibited Christian writings, prayer booklets and catechisms from Christian families throughout China (Zhang 2007: 83-141). Zhang Xianqing studied the voluminous CADC and found out many legal cases that concerned the confiscation of Christian writings. He noticed that in some cases of early Qing, the number of Christian writings confiscated was over 3,000, such as the case of Wenba and Wenliu (CADC 3: 1266-1268, Zhang 2007:84). All these confiscated Christian writings were printed in Chinese and most owners of them were common Catholic converts in provinces such as Shanxi, Shannxi, Hunan, Sichuan, Jiangxi and Guangdong. Zhang argues that many of these Christian writings were originated from Catholic Church in major cities, such as Peking. In addition, Western missionaries who worked in those provinces distributed a considerable number of them to those Christian families. (Zhang 2007, 121)

solid foundation in European societies for both elite intellectual articulation and popular religious practice, did not exist in China, missionaries had to resort to canonical Christian texts to explain and communicate religious concepts and religious requirements to Chinese catechumens.

Moreover, while orality was one of the most important means of proselytism in Europe, due to their poor level of Chinese in general, missionaries in China had to rely on written translations. While the Church had a well-established system to train European missionaries in Chinese, the difficulty of Chinese language acquisition remained one of the biggest challenges to the missionary enterprise.¹² According to a nineteenth-century biography of Verrolles, the study of Chinese characters was extremely difficult. After nine-month study of Chinese, the written form of Chinese characters still remained so difficult that Verrolles had to learn the language by all his ardent and zeal of faith.

¹² The learning of indigenous language was a fundamental task of the missionary stipulated by the Propaganda Fide as early as the seventeenth century. In 1630, the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide issued a decree listing three fundamental elements to constitute a local clergy: building Church, converting the unfaithful, and learning the language, institution and customs of the country. (Olichon, 1933: 66) Most missionaries sent to China would first arrive in Macao to study Chinese. Macao has been the center of European Catholic Mission to China since the sixteenth century. The seminary of Macao or the College of St. Paul, founded by Jesuit Alexandre Valignani (1538-1606), was one of the leading institutes for missionary language learning. In 1577, Jesuit Alessandro Valignano arrived in Macao. During the ten months stay he realized that in order to evangelize in the Mainland China one major task was to learning Chinese language and customs. He asked Michele Rugieri and Matteredo Ricci came to Macao from Goa to study Chinese. In 1594, Valignano established a seminary in Macau, the famous College of St. Paul (Colégio de São Paulo 1594-1835). The College of St. Paul is one of the most important places for the incoming European missionaries to study Chinese. Due to the successful Chinese language curriculum, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and other Catholic missionaries all went to study Chinese in Macao. From 1594 to 1807, there were more than 200 students of Chinese language graduated from the College of St. Paul. (Liu 1994) At the end of the seventeenth century, many European missionaries stayed in Macao to study Chinese. The famous painter Wu Li (1632-1718) spent three years in Macao around 1680. He left us a poem depicting the flourishing scene of Western missionaries learning Chinese language in Macao: “Various languages spoken in front of my door; Cannot understand each other so we communicate by pens; Wonderfully tiny characters I write down but theirs messy like octopus; Cannot decipher and now I am totally confused.” (“门前乡语各西东，未解还教笔可通。我写蝇头君乌爪，横看直视更难懂。” – *Twenty-Six Poems written in central-Guangdong*, 粤中杂咏二十六) Wu Li 吴历, *San Ba Ji* 三巴集 [Collection of Poems written in San Ba].

Verrolles said, “A missionary cannot be defeated [by the language]. If he cannot understand the characters he cannot work.” (Chable 1846) In 1868, M.E.P missionary André Simon joined the Mission from France. In his journal about the early days working in Manchuria, he wrote, “Farewell, lady French language. Farewell, my dialect of Melle. All my ambition henceforth is to speak Chinese well.”¹³ (Briand 1878: 182) Verrolles and Simon’s difficulties and ambition learning Chinese language were not unique and in fact can be found in almost every missionary biography. Ironically, poor missionary ability to speak Chinese reinforced the importance of teaching written texts and literacy to proselytize and train Chinese catechumens.

This crucial yet largely neglected realm of “translingual practice” is a focus of the current work. The term “translingual practice” comes from comparative literature scholar Lydia H. Liu, who argues, “Strictly speaking, comparative scholarship that aims to cross cultures can do nothing but translate.” (Liu 1995, 1) In this work I treat the practice of translation as a mutual process. On the one hand, I study new words and discourses introduced and promoted by Western missionaries. On the other hand, I study a new kind of writing created by Chinese converts who have absorbed missionary and catechetical translation. Language in the analysis includes not only literal languages from different cultures but also numerical languages that consist of statistics of local converts and missionary observation. The latter is often ignored in the study of two cultures but adds a

¹³ “Adieu, dame langue française. Adieu, mon patois de Melle. Toute mon ambition désormais est de bien parler le chinois.”

new dimension to our understanding of translation and trans-cultural practice: how often did a convert have to confess to turn into a “good” Christian? How many times did communion have to be conducted in a village to turn it into a “good” Christian community? Questions like these can only be answered by the missionaries who had to confront this further translation from experience to explanation.

The Setting

The setting is Northeast China from the 1830s to the 1930s. Western scholars know Northeast China as Manchuria.¹⁴ The region is composed of three provinces: Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang. Neighboring Russia, Korea and Japan, these provinces were China’s fastest growing frontier from the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. During the century from the 1830s to the 1930s, Northeast China experienced a remarkable increase in Christian population, particularly in the countryside. During the same time, a large number of local Catholic communities came into being: churches were erected, parishes and districts founded, seminaries and catechist schools established. From the 1840s into the early twentieth century when missionary work progressed simultaneously with Western expansion, Northeast China became an important region in China’s religious landscape.¹⁵

¹⁴ Manchuria is a translation of the Manchu word *Manju*. It is a historical name given to a vast geographical region of northeast Asia. The extent of Manchuria was changing in history. Generally defined as the three provinces of northeast China, Manchuria used to include today’s east Inner Mongolia in the Qing dynasty. On the origins of Manchuria as a place name, see Elliott 2000.

¹⁵ Few historians of Christianity in China study the northeast. Most historians to date focus on the most populated and economically advanced regions of China such as Sichuan, Jiangnan, Fujian and Guangdong.

The actors are Western missionaries of the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris (M.E.P) and rural Chinese converts. The M.E.P launched its Manchuria Mission in 1838. In the following decades till the end of the nineteenth century, the M.E.P sent about 70 missionaries from France to Manchuria. Most of these were in their thirties. After several months of training in France, they came to the Manchuria Mission to work in the vast land of Northeast China. They routinely traveled around Catholic communities in the Northeast all year long with the assistance of local priests and catechists. As required by the Church and by the M.E.P in order to supervise Catholic missions in China, these missionaries produced systematic annual parish reports and correspondence that include rich demographic, ethnic and religious information regarding local Chinese converts. In addition to these Church records, documents written by the Chinese converts (especially their correspondence) also demonstrate aspects of mission work and the interaction between foreign missionaries and local converts. These documents, collected from both groups of actors, provide us with a valuable site to explore Christianity in the non-Western modern context during the time of missionary expansion.

The sources for this dissertation are historical texts, specifically two sets of archival documents – public and administrative documents by the Church and private documents by individuals, and two printed texts – the Catechism and the Regulation of

This is partially because most such works concentrate on early stages of Christian history in China from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, when the Chinese Christians were mainly distributed in the above regions.

the Manchuria Mission. The sources are written in two languages, French and Chinese, and consist of two types of documents, numerical and literary. The archival documents of the Manchuria Mission include missionary correspondence, language textbooks, annual parish reports and registers of Chinese Catholic families. The annual parish reports record local converts' religious behavior and assess the degree of faith of each Christian community over half a century.

These annual parish reports focus on ritual practice. Missionaries took pains to examine and assess the practice of Catholic sacraments in each Catholic community. For the Church, Catholic rites are essential for the mission. For historians, the practice of sacraments is essential for understanding the Catholic mission in China. Unfortunately, however, very few studies on Christianity in China have paid enough attention to the study of ritual. To fill in the gap of the study of ritual, as Nicolas Standaert pointed out, "which is often considered essential for understanding China," I focus in this dissertation particularly on the missionary's observations and assessments of local Chinese converts' ritual practice.¹⁶

In addition to ritual behaviors, individual writings of both missionaries and Chinese Catholic converts demonstrate a narrative of faith. If the annual reports measure

¹⁶ The most extensive and comprehensive study on Christianity in China to date is the *Handbook of Christianity in China Volume One, 635-1800 (HCC)*. (Standaert 2001) The reference work covers almost every aspect of Christianity in China except ritual. As the chief editor Nicolas Standaert later pointed out that the HCC "has one major absentee: ritual, which is often considered essential for understanding China." To fill in the gap, in 2006 a supplementary monograph, *Forgive Us Our Sins: Confession in Late Ming and Early Qing China*, was published (Standaert and DuDink, 2006). In 2008, Nicolas Standaert published a new monograph to explore a gradual interweaving of Chinese and European ritual practices related to death and funerals in seventeenth-century China (Standaert 2008). Yet, more research on Christian ritual in China needs to be done.

and describe the religiosity of the region, the private writings give a rare personal voice to interpret that faith. Together these sources provide us with multi-perspectives to explore faith and conversion in rural Chinese society.

Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris (M.E.P)

A major Roman Catholic missionary society devoted to the evangelization of non-Christian countries, the M.E.P was founded in Paris in 1658 for the purpose of founding churches, training a native clergy and supervising Catholic missions, especially in Asia.¹⁷ Encouraged by the papacy and supported by the commercial naval and diplomatic agencies of the French crown, the founding of the M.E.P demonstrated the vitality of French commitment to the Catholic mission in the Far East.¹⁸

Unlike all other Catholic missions in China, the M.E.P acquired a special position with the aim of assisting the transition from the Portuguese foreign hierarchy and its foreign priests to an indigenous clergy and hierarchy.¹⁹ The M.E.P was directly

¹⁷ Missionary Alexandre de Rhodes (1593-1660) first suggested the founding a new congregation to supervise the mission in the Far East. On July 29, 1658, missionaries François Pallu (1626-1684) and Pierre Lambert de la Motte (1624-1679) were nominated Apostolic Vicars of Tonkin and Cochinchine respectively by Pope Alexander VII. 1658 was thus seen as the founding year of the Missions Étrangères de Paris (Grasdorff 2007). François Pallu was also the first Apostolic Vicar to arrive in China in 1684.

¹⁸ In the early 1650s, Alexandre de Rhodes returned to France after working in Vietnam for many years. He hoped to seek financial and political support for missions in Asia. At that time many Frenchmen were eager to go to Asia, and Rhodes had found aristocrats willing to fund seminaries at home and missions abroad (Delacroix 1957: 63-65, 142). For more discussion of the origins of the missionary movements in Asia, see Daughton 2006: 28-33.

¹⁹ Portuguese foreign hierarchy here refers to the “Portuguese Patronage.” This was the privilege, granted by the popes to the Crown of Portugal, of designating candidates for the sees and ecclesiastical benefices in the vast domains acquired through the expeditions of its navigators and captains in Africa and the East Indies. According to the concession, the King of Portugal should send missionaries to the territories newly conquered and established dioceses, parishes and religious establishments in those areas. Through *Padroado*, or right of patronage over churches in non-Christian countries, Portugal was generous for the spread of Christianity, but in the course of time, this patronage became the source of most unpleasant

accountable to the Pope and operated under the supervision of the Propaganda Fide (Holy Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith). As a Roman center of evangelization, the Propaganda Fide was founded in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV in order to spread the faith and organize worldwide Catholic missions independent of national rivalries and specific religious orders and congregations.²⁰ To fulfill the need for priests in mission areas and to free these missionaries from the patronage of political powers, the Propaganda Fide made an effort to train indigenous priests and established an evangelization order of Vicars Apostolic above all congregations.²¹ In 1630, the Propaganda Fide published a decree and set up three fundamental elements for establishing an indigenous clergy: an

annoyances to the Holy See and one of the chief obstacles to the progress of the missions. The main cause of this change was the disagreement between Portugal and the Holy See with regard to the extent of the patronage. The Portuguese Government violently contested the papal right to appoint, without Rome's consent, missionary bishops or vicars Apostolic in countries which were never subject to its dominion, such as the greater part of India, Tong-king, Cochin-China (both in present Vietnam), Siam and especially China. In the vast Chinese empire, where Portugal had never possessed more than Macau. The popes decided to solve the problem by establishing Vicars Apostolic in Chinese provinces (except Macao and bishoprics of Peking and Nanking). This system lasted from 1696 to 1856, when Pius IX suppressed the titles of the sees of Peking and Nanking; thenceforth all the Christian settlements of China were administered only by vicars Apostolic under the Holy See. With a purpose to finally establish an indigenous clergy and hierarchy in the long run, Rome founded the Propaganda Fide and designated the M.E.P to supervise Catholic missions in China. Thus in the nineteenth century, the French began to replace the Portuguese and finally established the French protectorate on Christian missions in China through a number of treaties.

²⁰ In the early modern period, there were three components of European political and religious force influencing Catholic mission in China: patronage system of political powers, specifically the Portuguese *Padroado*; Catholic orders and congregations; and Propaganda Fide and the Pope. For the general introduction, see HCC, 286-294.

²¹ Vicariate Apostolic was a name created in the seventeenth century to call the domains of the New World newly occupied by the evangelic missions of the Roman Catholic Church in order to overcome the impediments of particular religious orders and congregations and national monarchies. The bishop of the Vicariate Apostolic is called Vicar Apostolic, one of the two new categories (the other one is Prefect Apostolic) of prelates created after the Propaganda Fide was founded in 1622. Both the Vicar Apostolic and Prefect Apostolic performed ecclesiastical functions on behalf of the pope in non-Christian and non-Catholic areas, free from patronage or concordat agreements. In other words, they were not subject to nomination by secular kings but directly responsible to the Vatican.

understanding of the Church; necessary ability to acquire trust from the unfaithful; and the knowledge of local language, institution, and customs (Olichon 1933, 66).²²

To fulfill the mission, since its establishment the M.E.P acted as a religious educational and evangelization association closely related with Rome and the French government.²³ Developed from a seminary founded in the rue de Bac in Paris in 1664, this new religious society differs from other equivalent Catholic orders. The M.E.P states that the society is a *société de droit pontifical* (society of pontifical jurisdiction) composed of bishops, priests, and brothers. It requires that 1) all priests or seminarians be below the age of 35; 2) have at least three-year prerequisite mission experience; 3) have either *nationalité française* (French nationality) or *le français pour langue maternelle* (French as mother tongue) (*Missions Etrangères de Paris* 1921, 3-4).

The requirements of the recruitment to the M.E.P demonstrate the Propaganda's intention to train young French priests with evangelic enthusiasm to work in the non-Christian Asian countries and to help establish indigenous clergy. The requirement of nationality and language was new for the Catholic orders and showed Rome's anxiety to

²² For the quotation and discussion of founding indigenous clergy and seminary in Sichuan, see Roux 2008. I thank Pierre-Emmanuel Roux for sharing with me his unpublished manuscript.

²³ Since the seventeenth century, due to the increasing power of France both the French king and French populace demonstrated an increasing interest of the Far East. At the same time, Rome wanted to promote this interest in order to restrain the Portuguese protectorate of the Catholic mission in Asia. In 1663 the French king Louis XIV issued the permit for the M.E.P to purchase the mansion on the rue de Bac in Paris and established the seminary of the M.E.P in order to train priests to join the Catholic mission in Asia. In addition, the French government was involved in the finances of the M.E.P from the very beginning. Francois Pallu, one of the founders of the M.E.P, for example, kept a close relationship between the directors of the East Indian Company and Jean Baptiste Colbert, French minister of Finance (1665-83). Before the French Revolution, the finance resources of the M.E.P were mainly from the tithe of *ancien régime*, the patronage of the King and aristocrats, and *Assemblée du clergé de France*. Not until the nineteenth century did the donation of the faithful and the mission's business trade become part of the finances (Guennou 1986, 83 and 237). See also Goyau 1932: 267-78 for more discussion on the relationship between the M.E.P and the French government.

eliminate Portuguese control and influence. By the seventeenth-century, when the conflict between Rome and Portuguese *Padroado* grew severe, a group of loyal priests became essential to Rome.²⁴ The prerequisite of French nationality and French language demonstrated Rome's effort to break away from the vows of loyalty to Portuguese kings. This marked the start of transition from the Portuguese foreign hierarchy to an indigenous clergy loyal to the Holy See.²⁵

The policy of the M.E.P was to serve God instead of to serve a specific country or congregation in the Far East. "In fact," wrote a M.E.P priest Laneau in the late seventeenth century, "what is more stupid than going through dangerous journey to reach this extremely far land to serve one country or one congregation but not Jesus Christ?" (Guennon 1986: 220) To guarantee this effort, the M.E.P sought to strictly confirm the rights of the Apostolic Vicars. Obedience was the leading rule underlining the mission regulation. François Pallu demanded an "oath of obedience" from all missionaries. Due to the conflicts between feuding missionary orders in the seventeenth century, however, most missionaries in China opposed this oath, especially the Spanish (HCC: 344).²⁶

²⁴ *Padroado* refers to the Portuguese Patronage system overseas based on a treaty (Treaty of Tordesillas) between Pope Alexander VI and the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain in 1494. It was the privilege granted by the popes to the kings of Portugal and Spain to evangelize and exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the newly discovered domains of the Far East and the New World of America, including authorization of construction of churches and nomination of pastors and bishops.

²⁵ In the sixteenth century when the Catholic mission in China was under the Portuguese protectorate, all Catholic missionaries entering China had to take vows of loyalty to the kings of Portugal. See Rousseau 1930.

²⁶ Since the 1540s, Spanish friars (Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians) had a strong interest of China. The first Dominican effort to evangelize China dated from 1556. In 1582, Spanish Dominicans founded the "Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas" with the explicit aim of doing missionary work in China. The permanent presence of Dominican missionaries in China started in the 1630s, especially in Fujian. In the late seventeenth century, the coastal Xinghua (Fujian) district became an area reserved for the M.E.P. When the French M.E.P proposed the "oath of obedience," the rival between the Spanish

In the nineteenth century, a new wave of overseas missionary enthusiasm occurred in France and the M.E.P finally got the chance to expand its territory in China from the southwest to the northeast and southeast.²⁷ Besides Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou, the M.E.P founded five new missions in China: Manchuria (1838), Tibet (1846), Guangdong, Guangxi and Hainan (all in 1848).²⁸ From 1822 to 1921, the M.E.P altogether sent out 2932 missionaries to the Far East, in comparison to only 287 from 1658 to 1822.²⁹ By erecting churches and training native clergies under the jurisdiction of the bishops, the M.E.P made great gains in Asia during this missionary expansion century.

Christianity and Faith

Christian faith is a culture-bound term. It embodies a system of intellectual and spiritual knowledge. Preaching Christian faith means disseminating Christian knowledge, which in a modern sense is closely associated with the notion of belief. According to sociologists and anthropologists, the converts' religious practice, which displays their

Dominicans and the French M.E.P intensified in this area.

²⁷ For a background understanding of the origins and traditions of the nineteenth-century French missionary movements in relation to its domestic politics, see Daughton 2006, 25-55.

²⁸ Besides the five new missions in China, four new missions founded in Asia: Japan and Korea (1831), Burma (1855), and Laos (1899) (Guennou 1986, 249).

²⁹ According to the statistics, the M.E.P gained rapid development in the Far East from early nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. In 1822, the M.E.P was in charge of 5 missions which were composed of 6 bishops, 27 missionaries, 135 indigenous priests, 9 seminaries with 250 students, and about 300,000 Christians. In 1921, the M.E.P was in charge of 36 missions composed of 41 bishops and 1139 French priests. There were 1109 indigenous priests, 3449 catechists, 50 seminaries, 60 colleges, 5085 primary schools, 25 agronomiques, 28 industrial schools with a total of 192,354 students, as well as 429 orphanages and workshops, 528 hospitals, and the Catholic population rose to 1,676,216 (Missions Etrangères de Paris 1921, 9).

belief, thus demonstrates their religiosity. And religiosity refers essentially to the extent of religiousness demonstrated by the manner and interpretation of the faithful. The heart of Christianity is its unusual religiosity. It denies credence to all other religions and embodies a religious behavior embedded in its doctrines (Nock 1933). A Christian convert's inner emotional conviction of the singular truth and his or her outward religious practice are separate yet integrally connected. The natural and logical link between the two components distinguishes religiosity in Christian faith.

A. D. Nock's seminal work on conversion identifies faith as the premise of Christian conversion. Conversion requires an inner conviction that there is only one truth: Jesus Christ. No conversion can be realized without faith. And faith, Nock argues, assumes an understanding of the Christian conceptualizations of sin and salvation. These new *intellectual* premises of human existence underlie the convert's inner *emotional* conviction.

But Christian faith is not just faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ. It is socially bounded. It can be culturally transcended. It has a history. To historicize religious faith beyond the context of the West, historian of comparative religions Wilfred Smith redefines faith and belief and argues that while faith is a fundamental category in religion, belief is historically constructed.³⁰ Contemplating not so much religion as religious experience, Smith's distinction between faith and belief challenges established ways of understanding religious faith, which according to his definition is the historical

³⁰ See Smith 1977 and Smith 1979 for the discussion on faith, belief and history.

construction of believing. Smith offers an extended etymology on Nock's assumption of Christian faith, and opens up a new way of understanding Christianity in a transnational context.

Pushing Nock and Smith's arguments further, psychologist James Fowler points out, "Faith is relational."³¹ According to Fowler, faith must be understood in relation to the triad of self, others, and the shared center of value and power. The M.E.P archives, composed of primarily personal correspondence and parish reports, illustrate the interplay of such a triad. The faithful receive baptism, join the Church, conduct ritual – both individually through private confession and collectively through communion – and share a common faith in Jesus Christ and in the value and knowledge of the catechism. Catholic community depends upon this relational faith as well as on the material setting of Church, chapel, priest, and fellow Christians.

The interdisciplinary contributions by Nock, Smith and Fowler provide a multidimensional perspective to understanding Christianity as a universal religion in time and space. These seminal works lay out a theoretical background for this dissertation to examine a complex history in a transnational and multidimensional context – intellectual, emotional, social, relational and political. The Church's definition and dissemination of Christian faith, embodied by the catechism, define the convert's intellectual understanding of temporary and eternal existence and empower their emotional

³¹ In his classic book on the psychological study of faith, James Fowler argues that "faith is everywhere a relational matter," and faith and identity integrate the many triads (self, others, and the shared center of value and power) in religion and in our lives (Fowler 1976: 16-23 and 31-34).

conviction of the only one truth. The mission regulations then enforce a particular institutional context for converts association with the Church to create a community built upon the interaction between converts and their missionaries and priests.

Faith in China

Does China have faith? The general agreement used to be, “No.” Most Western missionaries and early Sinologists agree that China is a land of “superstition” and paganism, not faith and religion.³² As some historian summarized, “the Chinese people were generally regarded as a superstitious lot who had yet to experience an ethicoreligious life of a higher order ... This view was most familiar to the Western world, as it was popularized for over a century by Western missionaries who found this situation to be wholly incompatible with the Christian faith and took it as the most convincing justification for their evangelical zeal.” (Yang 1961, 3) Early twentieth-century Chinese intellectuals shared the same view. Hu Shi, for example, viewed China as “a country without religion.”³³ Not until the 1960s did sociologist C. K. Yang challenge the under-evaluation of religion in Chinese society. Yang examines the function and origination of Chinese religion and argues that religious systems are firmly integrated parts of Chinese culture. Like his early twentieth-century predecessors,

³² This view is originally from early Jesuit missionaries. See for example, Thiberge 1700.

³³ Hu Shi 胡适, “Ming Jiao” (名教 The Doctrine of Names), in *Xin Yue* (新月 New Moon) vol.1 no. 5. (July 1928). In a speech on “Christianity and Chinese Culture” delivered on June 25, 1925, Hu publicized the same view. “In my view, among all the peoples of religious indifference all over the world, Chinese rank the first. Chinese people do pray for Buddha or Kwanyin boddhisattva, but their behavior is just like a trade, like buying lottery. It is not faith at all.” (Hu Shi 2003: 171-178).

however, Yang also views China as a country the religion of which is characterized by the absence of faith. “In popular religious life it was the moral and magical functions of the cults, and not the delineation of the boundary of religious faiths, that dominated the people’s consciousness” (Yang 1961, 25)

In recent decades, studies on religion in the Chinese society have progressed significantly. Historians, sociologists and anthropologists have begun to emphasize the function and significance of religion in Chinese society. And Christianity in China has become an important part of this new scholarly trend.³⁴ Giving priority to previously neglected Chinese materials, this new scholarship focuses on the place of Christianity in Chinese social, political, and intellectual history.³⁵ As part of the new scholarship against ideological interpretation, attention has shifted to local history, especially the functions of religion in community life, the rise of an indigenous Chinese Christianity, laity and the issues of female converts.³⁶ While the new scholarship emphasizes the use of Chinese documents, most Chinese sources are intellectual, legal, fiscal, and political documents

³⁴ Representative works in the Western and Chinese scholarships include Latourette 1932; Cohen 1963; Gu 1981; Xu 1990; Bays 1996; Gu 1996; Sweeten 2001; and Zhang 2003. Yet the academic study of Christianity in China is not a new field in both Western and Chinese scholarship. Since the sixteenth century, the study of missionary and missionary works account for an important part of Chinese studies in the West. To make the analysis easy to follow, here I choose overarching terms like “the West” or “Western scholarship.” By such general terms, I mean specifically scholarship in Western languages, in particular in English, French, German, and Italian, which represent the most exposed Catholic missions to China, and mission history has been part of Sinology in these scholarships for more than a century. Being hesitant to treat Western and Chinese scholarships as two separate fields, I see a number of shared features of the two, for in recent years the scholarly exchange has filled up much of the gap. In fact the increasing cooperation between the Chinese and Western scholars is beginning to shape the future of the field. One best example is the widely used manual in the field, HCC edited by Nicolas Standaert. Chinese primary sources and scholarships have become an important base for this study.

³⁵ For a comprehensive review of the new scholarship, see Standaert 1997.

³⁶ Numerous studies from in both Western and Chinese languages have contributed to this new scholarship. See Sweeten 2001; Menegon 2002; Entenmann 1996a; Qin 2006; Kwok 1992; and Zhang 2003.

recorded by governments and prominent individuals. What are missing are records of religious behavior, or the Church records of missionary and the convert's daily activity.³⁷ These records, which survive in various European and North American mission archives, may be the only remaining documents to elaborate the religious behavior of Chinese converts on the ground. Though such Church records are largely accessible to Western scholars, too much attention on new perspectives, new interpretation and new methodologies has led to a neglect of religiosity and of the ways Western missionaries defined, disseminated, and regulated Christian rituals.³⁸

Another scholarly trend, however, has shifted the focus of study to the historical – in particular political and economical – circumstances that contextualize Christian missions.³⁹ Imperialistic interpretation used to dominate early Chinese missionary studies, which understands Catholic missions to China as claiming superiority and imposing subordination and dominion over a foreign pagan people. With the decline in the ideological reliance on imperialistic and colonialist interpretation in recent years, a scholarship of “cultural contact” has begun to redefine Christian missions and missionaries in China.⁴⁰ Chinese scholars, for example, have been interested in treating

³⁷ Local churches in China did preserve their own records. Unfortunately, however, due to the continuous political movements of the twentieth century, few such documents have survived. According to my personal contact, individual Chinese priests and converts have preserved part of the documents such as the convert's private writings, correspondences, and etc. But very few systematic church records in China have been preserved till today.

³⁸ The general neglect or disparagement of religiosity by modern scholars is shaped by an Enlightenment discourse that disputes the role of religion in modern society.

³⁹ See, for example, Wei 1961 for the discussion of French missionaries in China during the Opium War and Esherick 1987 for Christianity and the origins of the Boxer Uprising.

⁴⁰ This “cultural scholarship,” however, started from the radical shift of Sinology. Erik Zürcher, for example, argues, “Sinology is concerned with (pre-modern) China. Whatever we are doing, Chinese culture

Christianity as a means by which Western theology (or cultures) confronts Chinese philosophy and morality. Such contact, however, is largely confined to missionaries and educated Chinese Confucian scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Numerous works on this topic therefore focus on the study of those Chinese elites who left written texts for later historical investigation. Studies of “cultural contact” have made significant contribution to the scholarship. Yet this approach easily slips into a trap of conceptualizing this encounter into a simple cultural conflict and replacing religious experience with cultural context.

While Western and Chinese scholars have done considerable work to historicize and contextualize Christianity in China, very few probe into the ordinary Chinese converts’ existence as Christians. However, without substantial understanding of local converts’ religious behavior, many scholars essentially impose their academic notions of faith and belief on to historical actors. In contrast, the missionary understanding of Christianity in China in the past relied primarily on direct observation of two aspects of religiosity: religious knowledge and religious behavior. Indeed, in addition to ritual

(including the way Chinese traditional culture reacted to the intrusion of complex systems from abroad) should always be the primary focus of research.” (Zürcher 1995: 275) As result, the arrival of Christianity in China became a means to know China better. “I believe that Chinese culture shows its features most clearly when it is confronted with something from outside. It is like people in conflict – when you are quarreling with your neighbor, you may say things and show things about your character that you otherwise never would. In the same way, the Chinese have shown certain characteristic features in their reaction to Buddhism and Christianity.” (Cited from Standaert 1997: 580) On the other end of this “cultural exchange” approach was the introduction of Western sciences and philosophy into China. Representative studies of Christianity in China in terms of “Cultural contact” include Standaert 1991: 209-227; Jami and Delahaye 1993; Zürcher 1994; and Han 2001.

performance, including confession, most missionary work was simply to instruct, observe, record, and assess a local convert's religious practice.

In contrast to Chinese popular religions, in which religious ideas and practices were embedded in their cultural and sociopolitical milieu, the practice of Christian ritual illustrates the universality of Christianity.⁴¹ In the newly founded nineteenth-century Chinese Catholic communities, as shown in this dissertation, the basic Christian rites and practices remain essential. In fact, after the failure of Jesuits in the century-long dispute over Chinese Rites, the Jesuits' rivals such as the M.E.P missionaries made an effort to restore strict rules for the practice of Catholic ritual in China and to demarcate the Catholic ritual practice from that of Chinese popular religions.⁴² These missionaries' effort, however, was hampered by the Qing court's prohibition of Catholic missions in the eighteenth century. During the prohibition most foreign missionaries were expelled from China: Chinese converts in local communities thus began to gather and practice by themselves.⁴³ Their practice for Catholic rituals, such as collecting money for incense (CADC, 1162, 1145), or naming the chapel as Kwan-yin Hall (CADC, 1286), blurred the

⁴¹ While such local practice of Christian ritual made some adjustment in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, or in Standaert's words, has an "interwoven character" (Standaert 2008) of two very different cultural traditions – European and Christian vs. Chinese.

⁴² The M.E.P was involved in the Rites Controversy from the very beginning. In fact, M.E.P missionary Charles Maigrot (1652-1730) played an important role in the dispute. In 1693, Maigrot issued his famous Mandate, which Nicolas Charlot (1645-1714) submitted to Rome in 1697, thus starting the Controversy anew (HCC, 345). For the background discussion of Maigrot's Mandate, see Huang 2006, 393-394. For an overview of the Chinese Rites Controversy, see HCC, 680-685 and Li 1998.

⁴³ During the prohibition period when most foreign missionaries were expelled, some areas have developed their own community based on kinship network. The case of family Liu of Sichuan Lezhi during the Mid-Qing, for example, shows that his grandfather Liu Sikun 刘嗣坤 and his relatives, men and women, assembled regularly to practice Catholic rituals. They do not know who converted their ancestors. After generations, during the early nineteenth century, this community of Liu consisted of 79 Catholics. See CADC: 1177-78. The case of Liu is not unique. Similar cases can be found in the same collection.

difference between Christianity and other Chinese popular religions (Zhang 2006, 33-43). This specific phenomenon, however, cannot characterize Christianity in Chinese society in modern times when the missionary movements of the nineteenth century redefined the exactness of Christian faith and reinforced the strict practice of Christian rites that has largely shaped the Chinese Catholic communities to the present day.

Some Western scholars have already sought to emphasize the uniqueness of Christian religiosity and conversion in the nineteenth-century Chinese society. In an important recent dissertation, Richard James Burden examines Protestant conversion in Shandong province in the late nineteenth century (Burden 2006). Based on individual testimony and narratives of conversion, Burden shows a sophisticated picture of confronting Christian faith in north China and how this unique religious experience inextricably intertwined with modern subjectivity.⁴⁴ Burden's focus on and examination of religious faith and experience in the Chinese society demonstrate a necessary attempt in current scholarship not only to deepen our understanding of Christianity in China but also to rehabilitate the current trend that replaces essential religious experience with arbitrary and scholarly interpretations.

Shifting the focus from explanations to experiences, in this dissertation I aim to shift from a subjective overview to a more objective investigation of Christianity in

⁴⁴ The experiential model in Burden's work is stimulating but is constrained by the limitations of his sources. His materials are all-purpose religious writing by missionaries, or Chinese converts' hymns, accounts, and stories recorded and collected by missionaries. These insiders' writings present a deliberated religious narrative. What is missing in his work is an outside perspective that could be drawn from the observation of local convert's religious behavior. In addition, he has no genuine accounts by Chinese converts, especially from female converts.

nineteenth-century Chinese society. I examine the measurable data the missionaries observed, recorded, collected and estimated. I examine literacy as intuitively represented by Chinese converts in their private writing, characterized by its lack of deliberate purpose. I do so in part because the current scholarship ironically ignores what these Catholic missionaries emphasized the most: the Church's definition of Christian knowledge, the local convert's adherence to Catholic rituals, and the local convert's interpretation of Christian faith. This "intrareligious dialogue" (Burden 2006, 337) is what this dissertation contributes to the current scholarship.

Defining Faith

My thesis is divided into five parts: defining, measuring, disseminating, transforming, and narrating faith. I start with the exploration of how the M.E.P defined Christian faith when its missionaries reentered China in the nineteenth century. This approach differs from most other studies, which study Christian faith in China via conversion, since approaches to conversion in terms of its social, cultural, and economic context are the general trend of current scholarship. Yet the essential and religious meaning of conversion, or faith, is missing. The study of Christianity in China is by nature a project of translating and introducing Christian faith to a country of distinct language, culture, and history. It is indispensable to first understand how the Christian faith is defined and translated.

For the M.E.P China missions in the nineteenth century, the education of Christian knowledge and instruction of behavioral doctrine became the most important strategy for disseminating Christian faith. Two essential texts, the *Catechisme de Mission Mandchourie* (Catechism of the Manchuria Mission) and the *Reglement de Mission Mandchourie* (Regulation of the Manchuria Mission) lay out the linguistic, theological, religious, and material framework of defining Christian faith in northeast China. The mission therefore has two specific primary tasks. Firstly, the missionary should teach necessary religious knowledge to the converts in order to introduce a notion of revelation. Religious knowledge introduces essential Christian concepts fundamental to Christian faith. In teaching religious knowledge to indigenous converts, accessible language embodied by written texts, or the Catechism, is prerequisite. Secondly, the missionary is the driving force to organize and supervise the practice of Christian rituals. As the Regulation shows, missionary work is carefully designed and cautiously regulated. The Regulation becomes the first and foremost instruction for missionaries in their work with Chinese people with a different language and culture.

In the earlier parts of the dissertation, Chapters Three and Four, I focus on the analysis of the two classic Church texts – the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission (CMM) and the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission (RMM), which set the fundamental framework for all following chapters. The Catechism is the essential text to define religious knowledge necessary for conversion. The Regulation presents the basic behavioral doctrine required for missionaries, priests, catechists, Christian Virgins and all

lay Christians.⁴⁵ Emphasizing how missionaries designed and translated the Catechism and the Regulation to define Christian faith as the first step to study a new mission, I argue that Christian faith cannot be acquired without the education of religious knowledge and doctrines of religious behavior. Faith is formed not only by experiences but also by doctrines and exegesis (Wacker 1984, 353-375).

Measuring Faith

Measuring faith is the essential work for missionaries to translate religious *experiences* into religious *explanations*. In Chapter Five I examine the ways missionaries measured and assessed faith. The M.E.P missionaries translated converts' participation in the sacraments into statistics on elemental sacraments – baptism, confirmation, confession and communion – which fill the gap between the numerical and the literal. Interpreting such missionary statistics and assessments, I argue that indigenous Christian faith is formed not only by local converts' experiences but also by missionary interpretation.

Religious behavior, as defined by the Regulations of the Manchuria Mission, is largely the converts' adherence to the practice of Catholic rituals. According to the Catechism, a convert's practice of Christian ritual is an indispensable part of his inner

⁴⁵ Chinese Christian Virgins refer to a group of Chinese female Christians who swore vows of chastity but continued to live with their families. As early as the seventeenth century, under the instructions of Dominican missionaries, Chinese Christian lay women in Fujian province began to consecrate their lives to the service of God and the church. In the eighteenth century, the Institute of Chinese Christian Virgins was established in Sichuan province. Discussion of Chinese Christian Virgins, see Chapter Six.

conviction of the Christian faith. In this sense, to study Christianity in China is to study the practice and (the degree of) religiosity of Christianity presented in China. Examining the M.E.P documents, missionary assessment of the converts' religious practice gives local religious experience a narrative that adds meanings and significance to the hard statistics regarding religious behavior.

The assessment of religious behavior finds its historical trajectory in Catholic mission in China. In examining annual parish reports of various Catholic missions in China over centuries, one finds that observation and assessment of a parish's religious practice and religiosity are always the key components of such reports. Annual parish reports of the Manchuria Mission in the M.E.P archives, for example, provide detailed demographic and cultural information of local parishes since the mission was founded in 1830s.⁴⁶ A random selection of just two such documents during the mission's early years, the "Visite de Si Pien Wai fait en l'année 1851," and "A Visite de 1850-51" illustrate such observation and assessment of religiosity.

Table 2.1 Assessment of Parish Religiosity 1850-51

Positive Observation	Parish	Negative Observation	Parish
Chrêteienté assez bonne (rather good)	7	Mauvais (bad)	5
Bien (Good)	5	Chrétienté tiède (tepid parish)	4
fort bien (very good)	1	Insignifiant (insignificant)	2
excellent délicieux (delicious, excellent)	1	Chrétienté assez tiède (rather tepid parish)	2
Exact, bon espérer (correct, promising)	1	Vie, mal (bad life)	1

⁴⁶ Annual parish reports are preserved in the archives of the M.E.P, Mandchourie Section, 0562, 0563, 0564, 0565, 0566, 0567, 0567A, covering the time period from the 1840s to the 1920s.

assez exact. Bien (rather correct. Good)	1	très mauvais (very bad)	1
bien très sensible (good, very sensible)	1	sans energie (without energy)	1
Chrétienté assez fervent (rather fervent parish)	1	ne vaut rien (worth nothing) foi morte s'il en fut jamais (dead faith as if it never existed)	1
Chrétienté bonne (good)	1	Exécration (miserable) abomination (abomination)	1
Chrétienté fervent (fervent)	1		1
Total Positive	20	Total Negative	20

Sources: AM.E.P 0563: 458-9, 465.

Table 2.1 demonstrates not only the outcome of mission work in the year of 1851 but also the contemporaneous landscape of Christianity in northeast China. It is striking that the number of villages with negative evaluations – twenty – is the same as the number of villages with positive evaluations, which demonstrated the daunting task for the M.E.P Missionaries and the realistic attitudes they had about what they had to do in this new mission. In addition to general assessments, missionaries often produced specific comments. After his visit to north Cha-ling in 1851, missionary Siméon Berneux wrote, “the men continue to be indifferent, little progress.”⁴⁷ Similarly, missionary August Mallet concluded his visit to the village of Ie-sing-pou-tse in 1858 by noting that “the men are without faith. Women [however] are pretty good.”⁴⁸

Missionary assessment of faith, however, reflects more than the mission work required by the Church. This is especially true of the nineteenth century when the context of Christian missions in China intensified due to the political triggers of

⁴⁷ “Hommes toujours tièdes, un peu de progrès.” AMEP 0563: 496.

⁴⁸ “Hommes sans foi. Femmes assez bien.” AMEP 0563: 946.

imperialism and colonialism. A resentment complex arose with the nominal Christians' indifference. In fact there was general distress in the nineteenth century about the "rice Christian" as well as the extremely common concern about "indifference" for the M.E.P missionaries. Assessing faith thus became a task not only to fulfill the Church requirement but also a strategy to confront the challenges of the new political and social modern context.

On the ground, missionary statistical reports demonstrated the stabilization of Catholic community, the intensification of devoted converts' participation in sacraments, and the routinization of ritual practice. Examining San-tai-tse, a Catholic village in Liaoning that survived today, I argue that the modern Chinese Catholic community did not come into being until the early twentieth century, and it was not due to a new wave of Catholic conversion, but rather to the increasing participation in the sacraments, which intensified and stabilized the community and its practice in the early twentieth century. This transformation defines the characteristic of Catholic communities in modern China, and explains why Catholicism persists in China despite numerous anti-Christian movements in the modern Chinese history. It may also shed light upon the religious revival in contemporary China.

Disseminating Faith

I discuss the historical expansion of the Manchuria Mission and transformation of Catholic institution in Northeast China in Chapter Six. Based on the missionary annual

statistical parish reports the M.E.P produced from 1843 to 1920, I tell the story of the establishment of the Manchuria Mission and its growth into the early twentieth century. This evangelical success was a product of the M.E.P's rural mission strategy as well as the indigenization of local Church personnel.

Very few works on Christianity in China focus on these institutional aspects. The dissemination of Christianity requires the erection of churches, the establishment of parishes and *chrétientés*, and the recruitment of church personnel. All these provide the substantial and institutional context in which to investigate the specific cultural and social contact between foreign missionaries and local converts. The lack of empirical study on institutional development makes historical experience and scholarly interpretation two distinct fields. In this dissertation, I use missionary parish reports with particular attention to the establishment and development of Catholic institutions and local Church personnel. I believe all possible cultural, social and religious activities of missionaries and Chinese converts are meaningful only if examined within the historical context; this includes not only the context of Chinese rural society such as kinship and local traditions but also the context of Catholic institutions imported to the Chinese rural society. The latter is largely constructed by the study of Catholic institutions in China but unfortunately remains ignored by the current scholarship.

Study of the institutional growth and changes in the Manchuria Mission demonstrates that, different from the early Jesuit focus on urban elites, the M.E.P's expansion focused on rural communities. In the second half of the nineteenth century,

Catholic institutions witnessed a fundamental change of Church personnel: the number of indigenous priests, catechists, and lay Christians increased dramatically, and lay Christians became essential to the Church and the routine work of evangelization in local communities. These significant changes have shaped many contemporary Catholic communities in China.

To analyze the systematic statistical reports that consist of rich social, cultural and demographical information of the growth of the Manchuria Mission and its Catholic population over half a century, I make use of charts, tables and graphs to summarize and compare the change and continuity of Manchuria's religious experience. A general picture of the Mission, shown as the result of statistic analysis in this chapter, also provides a comprehensive context to understand the personal narratives of both foreign missionaries and Chinese converts.

Transforming the Faithful

Christianity in China entails a mutual process between the contradictories: Christians and pagans, missionaries and converts, and in this case, French and Chinese, male and female. As more and more indigenous lay Christians, especially females, got involved in the mission of the Catholic Church, these contradictories have undergone a significant transformation. Christian institutions, especially Catholic schools, became an integral part of and natural alternative to the local society and provided much of educational opportunities to Chinese converts.

Chapter Seven interprets two features of such changes: Catholic education and its impact on Chinese converts, especially rural females. The widespread establishment by the M.E.P of Catholic schools in virtually every *chrétienté* provided rural men and women an unprecedented opportunity not only to learn religion but also how to read and write. This religious literacy, different from that of elite men and women, profoundly changed rural, especially female understanding and self-consciousness. In this sense, gender and education were closely associated as Chinese Christian Virgins did much of the teaching and female students made up the majority of the student body.

The Church education and its consequent promotion of literacy to Chinese Christians provided a set of new discourses and offered a new literacy world. By the eighteenth century, elite female education and literacy had become increasingly similar to basic male education and classical learning, in many senses, an extension of literacy of the male world. This is very different from what Catholic education brought to Chinese converts. By "new female literacy," I argue that "Catholic faith as a language" opened up a new space for rural female converts and created a literacy world for non-elite expression. Discussion in Chapter six also historicizes and contextualizes analysis of personal narratives of Chinese female Catholics in Chapter Eight.

Narrating Faith

Defining, measuring, assessing and disseminating Christian faith and consequently transforming the faithful: these describe essential aspects of Christianity in

Northeast China. A comprehensive history would never be complete without the individual experiences; thus, this dissertation concludes the study with personal narratives. Most studies on Christianity in the non-Western context, especially in the early years, are all about narrating faith. Religious writings in such study, however, are either by divine insiders – foreign missionaries, indigenous priests, and nuns – or by elite local converts. They all offer testimony with the same determined purpose: salvation. Intention decides narrative and historical documents contain a nature of fiction (Davis 1987). Ideal documents for the investigation of personal narratives of faith would thus be a convert's private writing, free of predetermined intent for salvation. In fact, intuitive private writing best illustrates the convert's inner emotional conviction of the faith.

Working in the Archives of the M.E.P in the summer of 2004, among piles of French documents I unexpectedly discovered three sets of carefully folded Chinese rice paper. Unfolding one set into a large piece of yellow rice paper with full of dark ink Chinese characters, I entered a new world of private communication between three Chinese female converts and one French missionary. Written by the three Chinese Catholic women of the family Tou from San-tai-tse, a nineteenth-century Catholic village in Northeast China, these letters present an unexplored world in current characterizations of Christianity in China, which lack narratives by local converts – especially by those of rural women who served predominantly as inspirations and role models, but who rarely tell their side of the story.

Chapter Eight therefore concludes the thesis with analysis of personal narrations of faith. In this chapter I shift focus from missionaries to converts, from French to Chinese, from men to women. This shift accompanies another body of source material, primarily the Tou letters and missionary correspondence. Individual narrative is analyzed here in detail. Emphasis is on literacy: how they wrote, what vocabularies and concepts they used, how many mistakes they made. Methodologically I attempt to go beyond the mere textual analysis and view the material conditions (e.g. “cut-and-paste” as a method to correct writing mistakes) as an integral part of their narrative of Christian faith. I also use quantitative methods to examine their levels of literacy. If previous chapters on the institutional side provide a comprehensive picture of Christianity in Northeast China, this chapter helps us understand how such Christian institutions impacted local converts’ daily thinking and writing, how religious language framed their thoughts of daily life as Christians, and how the catechist education helped them with self-awareness and -articulation. Although the writings of the Tous are replete with spelling mistakes and grammar errors, they demonstrate an impressive ability to use Christian vocabularies and expressions. Apparently what contextualize Tou women’s private writing are not merely the social contexts of family, kinship, and Christian institution. Rather, religious literacy and education decide their articulation of personal thoughts and feelings. Although the purpose of the religious catechist education is not for literacy but baptism, literacy is an influential side product of the catechist education, especially in rural China.

The Tou letters also present a unique conjuncture in the history of Christianity in China. After a century-long persecution, the revived Catholic missions in China had secured a relatively safe environment. The second half of the nineteenth century saw rapid progress of Catholic mission in China, which lasted until the early twentieth century. The Christian institutional expansion established numerous parishes and catechists schools in rural society. At the same time, due to missionary expansion, ordinary Chinese converts began to join the group of narrating faith, previously dominated by educated and elite converts.

Traditional discourse about Christian women has always concentrated on their role as devoted converts. Their existence and identity has been defined largely according to their attachment to the Church. Narrating faith in the Tou letters, however, illustrates not only how religious concepts constitute personal voices but also how ordinary Chinese converts, especially women, responded to the universal value of Christian faith.

Two components of Christianity – inner conviction of Christian faith through religious education and outward religious behavior – lay out the two essential parts of this dissertation. One presents the general landscape of Christianity in northeast China via statistics of the local converts' religious behavior. The other presents a unique feature of religiosity transcending into an articulation of self in female converts' private narratives. Missionary annual parish reports, the family register of Catholic community, Catechism text, and the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission constitute the reconstruction of

Christianity in Northeast China. Missionary correspondence and Chinese female converts' letters allow the analysis of ordinary Chinese converts' interpretation of faith.

Two sets of concepts – knowledge and behavior, experience and language – frame this dissertation. Translation, in both literal and numerical senses, is the key to decipher multiple negotiations, assessments, and rearrangements of a whole array of contextual elements. In a discussion of classic studies in Western scholarship and controversial approaches presented in the current scholarship of Christianity in China, this chapter lays out the theoretical and methodological framework of this dissertation. Defining, disseminating, measuring, transforming, and narrating Christian faith in the following six chapters map out fundamental aspects of Christian faith in a hetero-cultural milieu where China was at the threshold of its late imperial and modern contexts.

Chapter Three

Defining Faith and Christian Knowledge

Knowledge, Behavior and Christian Faith

Faith is the true nature of Christianity. Modern scholars distinguish faith from belief and conversion. Nock's classic work and Burden's recent study on Christian conversion argue for the uniqueness of Christianity: for Nock, conversion to Christianity signifies a radical break with the past; Similarly, while acknowledging some features of Christian conversion in rural China as "additive" rather than "transformative," Burden argues that "switching from worshipping *Mazu* [Goddess of the Sea] to worshipping *Yesu* [Jesus] might be quite transformative," although he understands this transformation "can be seen as epiphenomenal rather than foundational." (Burden 2006, 31) Burden's classification of Christian faith as a transformative force comes from his experiential analytical model, which focuses on interpretation of the "deeply problematic experience of spirit possession." (Burden 2006, 43) Relying on this model to untangle the tension between theories of conversion and lived local experience, Burden limits his understanding of Christianity to a merely experiential analysis.

But Christian religion is not just experience. It possesses a whole system of knowledge and doctrinal behavior that precede experience and act as prerequisites for conversion. And yet scholars of Christianity in China stress the similarities of Christianity with native popular religions, and ignore these unique prerequisites of knowledge and doctrine behavior for Christian conversion.⁴⁹ To define Christianity in China without studying such knowledge and behavior doctrine is inadequate.

This unique prerequisite is demonstrated by two written documents: the Catholic Catechism and Mission Regulations. The Catholic Catechism lists essential Catholic ideas and principal behavior rules required for every Catholic convert to memorize in order to achieve conversion. Missions in different places usually publish their own version of catechism according to different languages or purposes. Historically, all versions of Catholic catechism have a question-and-answer format that spontaneously engages a dialogue of two parties, usually between a teacher and a student. Mission Regulations, issued by specific missions, are based on general rules approved by the Synod. The Mission Regulation contains rules to regulate the behavior of both missionaries and the faithful in order to implement the Catholic knowledge defined by

⁴⁹ Richard Madsen, for example, suggests a functionalist approach that scholars understand Catholicism as Chinese folk religion: "Catholicism in China, especially in the rural areas where the vast majority of Chinese Catholics live, is as much folk religion as world religion." (Madsen 2001, 234) Although Madsen clarifies that he "would not advocate abandoning a top-down view of Chinese Catholicism as part of a world religion and a universal Church," he argues, "This view should be complemented by one that sees Chinese Catholicism as a localized folk religion." (Madsen 2001, 234) Madsen's argument is echoed by some Chinese scholars. Zhang Xianqing, for example, in a recent article of indigenization of Christianity in China in the Mid-Qing, argues that there are no big difference between Catholic ritual practice and that of Chinese popular religions. In my own study of Catholic community in northeast China in the nineteenth century, however, I did not find any documents about the mixed practice of Catholic rituals. This may be in part because of the limitation of the archives; it also demonstrates, however, the exactness of the M.E.P to implement the Catholic doctrines in this newly founded mission.

the Catechism. The two texts set up the boundary conditions for every Catholic convert, for whom converting to Catholicism means not only replacing local Chinese Gods with the Christian God, but it also means accepting a new system of religious knowledge and a new doctrine of religious behavior before conversion.

Ironically, although most mission work depends on orality, the prerequisite of conversion and dissemination rely on absorbing classic written texts and therefore simultaneously require a degree of literacy. For missionaries, preaching the Christian message in a foreign country require literacy in that country's indigenous language. For local converts, learning the Catechism means to memorize articles of essential Christian ideas, prayers and behavioral doctrines so that they can pass the examination before baptism. This prerequisite, involving learning from written texts to achieve conversion, was completely new to people in rural Chinese society. It raised the bar for conversion to Christianity much higher than that of other Chinese popular religions.

Knowledge and literacy have particular value in Chinese society, since they also provide access to power and authority (Schipper 1974, 324). By spreading Christian knowledge and catechism literacy to rural people, Christianity became a source of empowerment that provided new alternatives to rural society. This empowerment may not have lead to power, authority or social mobility prescribed by the Chinese society. Rather, it opened a new social, communal and internal space, one that could never have originated from Chinese society.

The implementation of Christian knowledge and behavior doctrines requires active participation. This participation forces the convert's active involvement or inner agency, and is introduced and enforced by the catechism and by church regulations. Converts must memorize what they should do as a Christian and live these lessons. Moreover, they must do so before they are allowed to convert. The regulations require missionaries to instruct and supervise all details of a convert's behavior. Some specific behavior, swallowing the Eucharist for example, signifies an active response to internalize essential Christian knowledge. This agency, originating from catechism literacy and religious behavior, could become a transformative force to shape an individual convert's identity. The second part of this dissertation on individual experience is devoted to the elaboration of this transformation.

In chapter two and three I explore where this transformative force of Christianity comes from and how it works on converts. By analyzing the Catechism and Regulation of the Manchuria Mission, the two most important historical texts for the M.E.P Manchuria mission, I examine how the requirement of Christian doctrinal knowledge and behavior lead to empowerment and agency, and how they worked together as a transformative force that distinguished Christianity from local Chinese popular religions. In absorbing the required knowledge and following the behavior doctrines, every Catholic has the power in himself or herself to be recognized; Christianity thus symbolizes a source of empowerment. In other words, by studying the prerequisite of

Christian conversion in rural society of northeast China, I argue that Christian faith signified a transformation that is not only “epiphenomenal” but also “foundational.”

CATECHISM

The Catholic Catechism was developed by the Council of Trent to confront the challenge of the Protestant Reformation during the sixteenth century. The nineteenth Ecumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church, the Council of Trent, was convened at Trent between 1545 and 1563 and is regarded as one of the Church’s most important councils. The Council of Trent, in answer to Protestantism, defined such essential Church teachings as Original Sin, Justification, Sacraments, the Eucharist in Holy Mass and the veneration of saints.⁵⁰ After years of discussion, the Council of Trent commissioned the Roman Catechism to confirm Christian doctrine and to improve the theological understanding of the clergy.⁵¹

The Catechism is by nature the pedagogy of Catholic knowledge and embodied the council's far-reaching results, including the definitive determination of the doctrines and reforms of the Church and duties of the clergy. It is the most important text of the Catholic Church for the domestic clergy and for Christian missions to pagan countries.

⁵⁰ The most comprehensive study of the Council of Trent is by German historian Hubert Jedin, who has published four volumes of the history of the Council of Trent from 1951-1976. The English version is also available, see Jedin 1957.

⁵¹ The Roman Catechism is also called the Catechism of the Council of Trent. The Council entrusted to the Pope the implementation of its work, as a result, Pope Pius V issued in 1566 the Roman Catechism, in 1588 a revised Roman Breviary, and in 1570 a revised Roman Missal.

The Roman Catechism, however, was not originally intended for common use by the laity, but as a general use reference book for priests.⁵² Not until the early twentieth century did Pope Pius X authorize a Catechism that all Catholic faithful – not only priests but also the Lay Christians and the ones outside of the Church – could relate to and understand. The Catechism of St. Pius X was issued first in 1908 in Italian. It is a small book, less than 50 pages long, with all essentials of the Christian faith and morality in a simple but comprehensive question-and-answer. St. Pius X emphasized the necessity of catechismal instruction not only for children but also for adults. The Catechism of St. Pius X remains one of the most popular Catholic catechisms.

In fact, various Catholic catechisms have been developed ever since the Catechism of the Council of Trent.⁵³ Similar to the Pius X's popular catechism, most employ simple language and aim to raise both interest and understanding among the faithful as well as the pagan. "The need of a popular authoritative manual," according to the Catholic Encyclopedia, "arose from a lack of systematic knowledge among pre-Reformation clergy and the concomitant neglect of religious instruction among the

⁵² According to the Catholic Encyclopedia, the Roman Catechism "differs from other summaries of Christian doctrine for the instruction of the people in two points: it is primarily intended for priests having care of souls (*ad parochos*), and it enjoys an authority equaled by no other catechism. The need of a popular authoritative manual arose from a lack of systematic knowledge among pre-Reformation clergy and the concomitant neglect of religious instruction among the faithful." (Welhelm 1912, The Catholic Encyclopedia)

⁵³ Popular Catholic catechisms, for example, include various editions of the Baltimore Catechism, standard Catholic school text in America from 1885 to the late 1960s; the Dutch Catechism, published in 1966, the first post-Vatican II Catholic catechism; United States Catholic Catechism for Adults; and the current Catechism of the Catholic Church, the first complete rewrite since the Council of Trent in 1566.

faithful.” (Wilhelm 1912) This explanation of the Roman Catechism explains the subsequent and continuous emergence of various Catholic catechisms.

In China, early European missionaries developed different types of catechetical writing from the sixteenth century onward, primarily based on revelation and the nature and knowledge of God (HCC: 608-31). These early works include theological writings, apologetic works on Christian doctrines, biographies of saints and sages, sacraments and liturgy, and prayer books. Besides translation of essential conceptions, these early Catholic writings all tried to engage in a dialogue with conventional Chinese wisdom (particularly Confucianism), for the early missionaries especially the Jesuits were interested in converting educated Chinese elites and official-scholars rather than the largely illiterate populace. In fact the spread of Christian writings in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century China was an important strategy for Ming-Qing Catholic missionaries. (CADC 838) During the prohibition of Christianity in the eighteenth century, Christian writings such as mission regulations, ritual pamphlets, and prayers spread widely in the local Catholic communities and became popular among ordinary Catholics. The early Qing court, in dealing with hundreds of religious cases (*jiao'an*), even concluded that “All Christian families have kept Christian books that men and women studied day and night.”⁵⁴ These Christian catechetical and theological books played an important role in helping local Christian communities organize their religious

⁵⁴ “凡习教之家，俱有经卷，男妇朝夕念诵。” (CADC, 84)

activities and made it possible for Catholicism to survive and become indigenous in mid-Qing China. (Zhang 2007, 83-141)

In the nineteenth century when the Catholic mission was revived, the modern catechism also came into China. From the early nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, many popular Catholic catechisms were published in China.⁵⁵ The new catechism in China was different from the previous, individualized Christian writings and followed the strict pattern of question-and-answer. Under the influence of popular nineteenth-century catechisms in Europe, especially the Catechism of St. Pius X, the Catholic catechism in China during the missionary expansion period also developed its own features.

Catechism of the Manchuria Mission (CMM)

The Catechism I examine in this chapter is the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission issued by the M.E.P. This catechism contains four parts: 1) Fundamental Truths; 2) Commandments of God and of the Church, Sin and Virtues; 3) Grace and Sacraments; and 4) Prayer and Liturgy. It defines Catholic knowledge and consists of all essential concepts of God, Trinity, Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, Resurrection, Judgment, Commandments, Sin, Sacraments, Church, and Prayers, such as *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*. If we compare this catechism with the popular catechism of St. Pius X, similarities in format and style are obvious. For example, the St. Pius X catechism

⁵⁵ Most catechisms were published in Shanghai Tu-shan-wan publisher and Hong Kong Lazaristes Publisher. Hong Kong Lazaristes Publisher, for example, published the catechisms and many other Christian books of the M.E.P.

contains four parts: 1) Creed; 2) Prayer; 3) Sacraments, and 4) Commandments of God and of the Church, and Sins and Virtues. These four parts share basic structure with the catechism of the Manchuria Mission. Unlike many other catechisms for the priests, the St. Pius X catechism is simple, plain, brief, and popular. So is the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission. The 170 pages of the CMM include the French text, two kinds of Romanization and a Chinese text that is composed of 860 of the “most common” Chinese characters. The St. Pius X catechism is directed to the laity with the purpose that all Catholic faithful could relate to and understand; the simple language and straightforward format became necessary. The Catechism of the Manchuria Mission, however, is for the “new missionaries of French language working in Manchuria or north China,” who supposedly lack experience of indigenous languages (CMM, I). The CMM thus serves two main tasks: first, it is an authorized manual to spread the word of God; second, it is a language textbook to help French-speaking missionaries newly to the mission. This Catechism consists of both Chinese and French languages and aims to assist the non-Chinese-speaker missionaries to work with the Chinese faithful.

Format

Under the influence of popular catechisms in Europe and as one of the last missions founded by M.E.P in China, the Manchuria Mission produced a sophisticated

and refined version of the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission.⁵⁶ This catechism is multi-lingual and multi-dimensional. It consists of a Chinese and French text and two kinds of French Romanization indicating respectively the Mandarin Chinese pronunciation and northeast dialect pronunciation (appendix 1).

The justification for the two kinds of Romanization is the uniqueness of the Chinese language. Unlike most Western languages, Chinese characters are pictographic and ideographic. The written form of a character provides no clue to its pronunciation. To learn a Chinese word means to learn how to write and how to read separately. That is why the Manchuria Catechism begins with a paragraph explaining the difficulties a missionary would face in learning the Chinese language. As a vast country with many different dialects, the unification of a standard form of the Chinese written language has been credited to the Qin Dynasty (221 BC-206 BC), despite the dramatic diversity of many dialects of Chinese languages spoken in different places (Bodde 1986, 56-8). This is the reason why the catechism provides one Chinese text but two kinds of Romanization. The main difference between the pronunciation of Mandarin Chinese and northeast dialect lies in their tones. The lack of a correct pronunciation-guide compromises local people's ability to understand. Providing pronunciation of local dialect facilitates the foreign missionary's ability to *read* the Chinese text with correct local tones; on the other

⁵⁶ *Catechisme des Missions de Mandchourie: Texte Chinois – Romanisation et Traduction Francaise*. This catechism is published in Moukden in 1937. The Chinese text is composed by order of the First China Council (Shanghai 1924), reviewed and slightly modified by the Manchuria Mission. An appendix at the end lists all variants to the edition published in Yenchoufu in 1934. Yenchoufu, 兗州府, is a famous Catholic diocese in today's southern Shandong province. It was founded in December 1885 by the first German Catholic missionary society, Societas Verbi Divini (SVD).

hand, as the written form of Chinese character totally differs from its phonetic form, French Romanization can also assist the missionary to *read* the Chinese text without knowing the characters' written forms. The two types of Romanization of the same Chinese text link two different systems of Chinese language – written and spoken – and aims to help the French missionaries better communicate with the local Chinese converts even though their Chinese literacy might be very limited.

Thus the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission was printed in two languages and four different orthographies. Each page is divided into two halves. The upper half has three columns, the left featuring the Chinese text, the middle the French Romanization for Mandarin Chinese pronunciation, and the right the French Romanization for northeast dialect pronunciation. The bottom half has French text. To facilitate cross checking the two texts, each text is divided into small sections and marked with the same number accordingly.

One feature of the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission lies in the perfect uniformity of two different languages (Chinese and French) and two types of languages (written and spoken). Romanization is the key that links two types of languages that represent two worlds and two cultures.⁵⁷ The unity of written and spoken worlds exemplified in this Catechism expands literacy as a symbol of elite culture to include the daily life experience of a convert. In this chapter, rather than examining the translation of

⁵⁷ See Phan 1998 for the discussion on Romanization of Catechism as a revolutionary force in Vietnam language and Christianity in Asia in general.

specific theological terms and expressions, I study the catechism as a medium of Christian knowledge and pedagogy. The teachings of the catechism gave a transformative force to Chinese converts, shaping their spiritual experience and daily-life behavior. My analysis thus focuses on understanding the Catechism as a source of knowledge and doctrine that generates this transformative force.

Content

The Catechism of the Manchuria Mission is composed of four parts. It starts with Faith and ends with Prayers; in between are the Commandments, Sins and Virtues, and Sacraments. According to the estimated degree of difficulty for local converts, the content of the Catechism is divided into three categories: beginning, basic, and advanced.

In the first part on fundamental truth, four articles in the opening preliminary section introduce a set of essential Christian concepts in order to establish and justify a relationship between God and human beings. The teaching starts with the first article, which questions the ultimate purpose of human existence: “Question: Why do we exist in the world? Answer: To worship God and to save our souls.” (CMM 1)⁵⁸ This opening article of the Catechism introduces two fundamental concepts of Christian faith – God and Soul. The concepts of God and Soul, however, do not appear as exclusive nouns. Instead, both concepts are introduced in a relational context: God is to be worshiped by

⁵⁸ CMM 1 refers to the first article of the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission. So do all the following notes of the CMM.

human beings; and our souls are to be saved by God. The simple yet condensed words in the first answer straightforwardly establish the relationship between God and human beings. The following two articles explain the answer to the first question. “To worship God” means “To know, to love, and to serve God.” (CMM 2) “To save our souls” means “to avoid going to Hell and to ascend to Heaven.” (CMM 3) These two answers introduce three proactive behavioral concepts crucial to the Christian faith – to know, to love, and to serve – and two new Christian concepts – Hell and Heaven.

Unlike the first three articles, which focus on concepts, the fourth and last article in the preliminary concerns behavior. It details how to worship God. “Answer: To join and serve the Christian Church established by God; to entirely believe the revealed doctrine; to obey the Commandments; and to use well the established means in order to obtain blessing.” (CMM 4) The fourth article – by mentioning the concepts of Church, the doctrine, Commandments and rituals – presents four essential teachings of this Catechism.

The following six sections in Part I elucidate the concepts of God, Creation, Jesus Christ, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, the Catholic Church, and the Four Last Things with condensed and abstract language. The concept of God, for example, is followed by the concept of the Trinity. The idea of the Creation consists of the notions of angels, first parents, souls, and original sins. To explain these supernatural concepts alien to most indigenous people, all answers appear in simple yet abstract language. “God is pure spirit, no form no figure.” (CMM 7) “God exists by himself, no commencement no end.”

(CMM 8) “God is everywhere.” (CMM 10) Mastery of these three essential definitions of God is required for beginners. The words are simple but the notions are complicated. Similar language also characterizes the definition of the Trinity, Soul, and the Descent of Holy Spirit. In a word, the language of the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission denaturalizes Christian concepts in order to make them more comprehensible to local converts. Memorization of the essential definitions is mandatory.

This first part of the Catechism gives an introduction of essential Christian knowledge by defining fundamental Christian concepts. Definition of each concept, no matter how conceptual the language, is considered beginning level. The beginning level in Part I includes definitions of the following concepts: God, Trinity, Creation, Angel, First Parents, Original Sin, the Descent, Virgin Mary, Resurrection, Church, Four Last Things, Final Judgment, Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory. These concepts collaboratively picture a Christian life different from the ordinary, earthly one. Conversion to Christianity means to start a Christian life constructed by these concepts. Specifically, it means to learn about these concepts, to accept the definitions, and to believe in the teachings. Christian knowledge defined and introduced in this part is prerequisite and a precondition for all Christian conversion. Without performing this body of knowledge, converting to Christianity is impossible.

The second part of the Catechism concerns behavioral codes and moral guidance for the faithful. It consists of three sections on Decalogue, Sin and Virtue. The first question in this part asks, “In order to save the soul, is it enough to believe the doctrines

revealed by God.” “Answer: No. We should also entirely observe God’s Commandments.” (CMM 108) God’s Commandments (or the Ten Commandments) are precepts bearing on fundamental obligations of religion and morality. These imperatives are written by God and given to Moses in the form of two stone tablets. There is no numerical division of the Commandments in the Book of Moses. In his book of “Questions of Exodus” of the fifth century, St. Augustine established the system of numeration of the Commandments later accepted by the Council of Trent. The current system of numeration found in Catholic Bibles is a result of historical arrangements. Although the content is the same, the division of the Ten Commandments of the Roman Catholic slightly differs from that of Jewish, Orthodox, Anglican, Reformed and other Christian religions (Stapleton 1908).

The division of the Commandments in the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission conforms to the standard Catholic version. It starts with the precept of worship of the only one true God and ends with the prohibition on unlawful possession of goods. The remainder include specific sins under profanation – wrong use of God’s name and neglect of the holy day; different species of moral wrong under covetousness – adultery, theft, and dishonesty; and the protection of people’s natural rights as one’s life, body, and good name. Of the total 48 articles in the section of the Ten Commandments, eleven are considered elementary and eight advanced. Elementary articles use simple words to define each Commandment in the most straightforward way. Advanced articles focus on further explanation of each definition or clarification of the precept in specific condition.

The division of the Commandments is universal, but the explanation has indigenous content pertinent to China, especially at the advanced level. On the first Commandment about worship of the only one true God, for example, there is a question on “What is the difference between our worship of Angels and Saints and the pagan worship of Buddha, Laozi, idols, and other bad spirits?” “Answer: It is very different. The worship of Angels and Saints is justified and leads people toward God. The worship of Buddha, Laozi, idols and bad spirits is superstition and incites people to betray God.” (CMM 122) This answer differentiates the Catholic God from Chinese popular gods, and confirms the Christian faith of the one, true God in contrast to all other pagan worship, identified as superstition. On the fifth Commandment of “You shall not kill,” one article further explains not to harm one’s body means, “not to commit suicide, not to get drunk, not to smoke opium, and not to take various action to harm one’s body.” (CMM 136) Among these forbidden activities, smoking opium refers a severe social problem in the Chinese society. In the second half of the nineteenth century, addiction to opium drove the society into chaos; some scholars estimate during the late nineteenth century there were between one and forty million opium addicts in China, which composed about ten percent of the population (Lodwick 1996). After the two Opium Wars (1839-1842, 1856-1860), the M.E.P took strict action against opium. Not only in the Catechism but also in the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission issued in 1881, opium smoking and dealing are strictly prohibited. The major reason for the M.E.P fight against opium was not only political but also religious. According to the Catholic doctrine such as the fifth

Commandment, “You shall not murder,” the human body and life are part of the sacred creation of God. The Catechism of the Manchuria Mission defines, “You shall not murder,” as meaning, “It is forbidden to harm your body, your soul, or the body and the soul of others, or to help conduct such harm.” (CMM 136) The Catechism further explains, “to harm one’s body” means, specifically, “to commit suicide, to get drunk, to smoke opium, or all other actions that damages the body.” (CMM 137) All these actions violate the sacred relationship between human and God.

Following the Ten Commandments are the Four Precepts of the Church. The four precepts concern ritual behaviors: attending Mass, abstinence on holy days, confession and communion. The latter two – confession and communion – are two of the seven Holy Sacraments. The third part of the Catechism, however, presents great details on the significance and practice of these two rites. As rules of personal conduct in this section, these offer specific quotas about the frequency of necessary confession and communion. The third precept regulates, “All the faithful after the age of reason should confess at least once a year.” (CMM 168) “All the faithful after the age of reason should receive Eucharist at least once a year.” (CMM 169) The Catechism further clarifies that “at least” means the Church hopes the faithful will participate in Holy Communion more than once, in fact the more the better. (CMM 170) Such a requirement of personal conduct on confession and communion are extremely important. In the M.E.P yearly parish reports, annual confession and annual communion are two fundamental measures by which the missionaries estimated local converts’ religious behavior.

The third part of the Catechism concerns the Sacraments. The faithful are divided into two groups: sinners and good ones beloved by God. Baptism and confession are sacraments for the sinners; all the rest are for the beloved ones. As the first step of conversion, baptism is the most important sacrament, because without baptism one cannot ascend to Heaven and cannot participate in all other sacraments. (CMM 210) Confession is the one of two ways to receive sanctified grace from God; prayer is the other.

The last part of the Catechism consists of prayers and knowledge of liturgical holidays and Holy Days. The latter are all considered advanced knowledge difficult for common converts to understand. The content of the three primary prayers, *Pater*, *Credo*, and *Ave Maria*, are required of all converts but the explanation of each prayer is not required for beginners. *Pater*, according to the Catechism, is the most important prayer, because it is from the mouth of God and it is the most critical one for the souls to be saved. (CMM 337)

The Catechism emphasizes the importance of the study of essential Christian knowledge. On the definition of catechumen, the Catechism defines the catechumen as those who “sincerely accept Catholic religion, renounce superstitions, and study Catechism.” (CMM 212) The study of Catechism is equally important as the acceptance of the faith. In confirmation, the Catechism also requires that “understanding Catechism is a prerequisite to receive confirmation.” (CMM 226) Study of essential Christian knowledge and the process from learning to belief are integral part to Christian faith.

Classification and the Degree of Faith

The catechism not only defines Christian knowledge; it classifies this knowledge at different levels for missionaries and converts. In the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission, all 368 articles in this catechism fall into three categories: beginning, basic, and advanced. The 87 beginning articles introduce essential Catholic concepts and are required for everyone including young children and old people; the 169 basic articles define the necessary concepts for all other converts; and the 112 advanced articles are required for those converts who participate in proselytizing or who are diligently willing to learn.

This classification of knowledge is similar in form but different in function from the Catechism of St. Pius X. The Catechism of the St. Pius X contains three catechisms. The first, "Preliminary Lessons" on Christian doctrine of fourteenth articles, sets forth briefly the more elementary truths of faith, chiefly by way of formulae to be committed to memory. The second part, called the "Short Catechism," is intended for children and catechumen preparing for the sacraments. It contains four sections devoted to a brief exposition of the doctrine of the Creed, Sacraments, Commandments, and Prayer. The "Larger Catechism" details these doctrines: it explains principal feasts of the year, followed by a brief history of religion, and concludes with daily prayers and prayers for special occasions. The division of catechism required of different groups – the faithful, priests, and bishops or other Church officials – is universal, especially for the popular nineteenth-century catechisms.

As a guidebook of the Christian message as well as language textbook, the catechism of the Manchuria Mission divides catechetical knowledge according to the literacy and diligence of the faithful. The 87 articles at the beginning level introduce essential Christian concepts (God, Trinity, Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, Sin, and Church), rules (Ten Commandments), facts (Resurrection, Judgment) and behaviors (Seven Sacraments and two Prayers of *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*). All the faithful (including young children and the elderly) must learn the definition of each concept, rule, behavior and fact. According to the regulation, memorizing and understanding of these concepts, rules and prayers are prerequisite for baptism, especially for the adult catechumen.

The 112 articles of the basic level, intended for all adult converts, also explain essential concepts, rules, details of fact and of behavior. However, unlike the articles of the beginning level, which define concepts in the simplest words, most articles of the basic level focus on the conditional boundaries of the concept definition or the special behavior required to fulfill these obligations. In the preliminary section on God, three articles, for example, explain specific deeds of the faithful in order to be saved. “To worship God,” means, “to know, to love, and to serve God.” (CMM 2) How to worship God means “respecting and following the Church, wholeheartedly believing in the Doctrines, observing the Commandments, and conducting good work to obtain blessing and grace.” (CMM 4) This article associates Christian truth, rules, and rituals with the Church, whose hierarchy is also definite: “The faithful should listen to the instruction of priests; priests should listen to the instruction of bishops; bishops should listen the

instruction of Pope. In doing so, according to the word of God, we are bound together.”

(CMM 82) Regarding specific rules of behavior, the Catechism of the basic level focuses on what the faithful should do instead of what they should not do. This pedagogical strategy makes faith easier to understand and practice.

The 169 articles at the advanced level are required for all priests, catechists, and other Lay Catholics who are intelligent and have enough time to study. This part of knowledge contains: 1) notions too abstract for the ‘average’ convert to understand, such as explanations of Trinity, purgatory, soul, grace, and benefits; 2) ritual and Church administration details, such as required procedure, detailed requirements and explanations of sacraments, and explanation and administration of Christian feasts; 3) the life story of Jesus Christ; 4) and explanations of prayers. All knowledge above concerns the explanation of essential Christian notions, administrations and prayers. It deals with the intellectual understanding rather than the devotional ritual and sacred experience.

The three categories of the Catechism signify three levels of literacy and diligence required by the Catholic Church of the Manchuria Mission. Local converts are thus classified into three groups: the young and the old, the most intelligent and time-devoted, and those in between. As most adults in rural northeast China were occupied by fieldwork or other necessary labor, time devoted to learning is also taken into consideration. Age, intelligence, and diligence are three determinates of this classification. According to classification criteria, the content of the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission is therefore largely laymen-oriented.

Christian Knowledge in Chinese Society

Christian knowledge is prerequisite to Christian conversion. Understanding the uniqueness of Christian knowledge in Chinese society requires a comprehensive perception of the Chinese context, especially relative to Chinese popular religions, for some scholars have argued that no significant difference between Christianity and Chinese popular religions exists (Zhang 2006). Chinese popular religion includes various studies about Chinese folklore, popular religious rites, beliefs, sects, and communities.⁵⁹ In a review of Mainland studies of Chinese popular religion in recent years, Daniel L. Overmyer defines the field as studies of “rituals carried out by ordinary people in families and local communities as part of their normal social activities, and the beliefs and values associated with those rituals.” (Overmyer 2001, 104) In fact, scholars of Chinese local religious rituals and beliefs have distinguished Chinese popular religious practices from trans-national, universal religions such as Christianity and Islam.⁶⁰

One major difference between Christianity and Chinese popular religions lies in the in/consistency of religious knowledge. The Council of Trent of the sixteenth century defined and codified the essential Catholic concepts. In the subsequent four centuries,

⁵⁹ See Teiser 1995 for the discussion of various definition of Chinese popular religion.

⁶⁰ Teiser discussed this by summarizing C. K. Yang’s influential argument in differentiating two kinds of religious forms. “C. K. Yang posits two basic modes of religion (Yang 1961, ch.12). The first he calls ‘institutional,’ in which religious aspects are present in a consciously systematized theology, unique forms of worship, and an independent body of religious personnel. The second he defined as ‘diffused’ religion that in which beliefs, practices, and specialists are so intimately fused with nonreligious institutions that ‘religion’ cannot be identified as an entity. Basic to Yang’s distinction between the two forms is the judgment that in traditional Chinese society, diffused religion was everywhere and always primary.” (Teiser 1995, 379)

due to the spread of Catholic catechisms and Catholic missions, this Catholic knowledge grew universal, despite distinct local cultures and languages. The consistency of Catholic knowledge in proselytism marks a sharp contrast to the inconsistent and varying knowledge about the Chinese popular gods, for “if gods were not useful they were not worshipped.” According to some Chinese scholars, “This is particularly true in China, where, as in Fujian, gods have specific functions like summoning rain and healing illness. They are not like the Christian God, a creator who has a philosophical dimension.” (Lin and Peng 1993, 16-7) The pragmatic Chinese gods

“must satisfy the various needs of their worshippers. One of their characteristics is adding multiple functions, as in the case of Mazu, whose earliest abilities were believed to be bringing rain and predicting good and bad fortunes but who during the Song came to be seen as a deity who protected travelers at sea and defended against bandits. Linshui furen was first known as a protector of children, but later was prayed to for rain, sons, healing illness and suppressing monsters ... all one needed to do was offer incense and food, which could be taken home afterwards because the gods don’t really eat it.” (Lin and Peng 1993, 16-7)

Although ritual traditions in worshipping such gods and spirits in local communities often exist, no consistent knowledge ever exists (or could) for these popular gods and spirits.

The inconsistency of knowledge and the everyday practices and beliefs of ordinary Chinese people in local communities allow the understanding of Chinese popular religions as “superstition” rather than “religion.” The “superstitious” and mysterious practice of the ritual to worship popular gods is often characterized by its locality. The temple festivals, for example, are defined by their local culture and subsequent differentiation. They express “popular beliefs in a defined local area. In

them the people with complete sincerity worship the deities in their local places.” (Gao 1999, 71 and 73) The practices that worship these gods, in prayers and vows, sometimes by singing and dancing and by making special kinds of offerings, were mixed with local popular customs. In many cases, the “superstitious” practices are seen as an authentic expression of traditional Chinese cultural identity, especially in relatively isolated local communities.

A close connection also exists between popular religions and lineages, which worship both ancestors and protective deities. The mysterious reverence of ancestors is sometimes knotted with the supernatural quest for protection. Thus an additional characteristic of Chinese popular religions is their growth from an empirical basis – the socioeconomic forces and real networks of social interaction such as lineage in a local community. Lineage bonds enforce the sense of popular religious belief.

The uniqueness of local ritual practices and the inconsistency of knowledge demonstrate a discrepancy between belief and practice for the Chinese popular religions, which sharply contrast with Catholicism. Based on essential religious knowledge, the practice of Catholicism is closely associated with a formalistic behavioral display of faith. The Catholic Catechism, for example, aims to help teach Catholic faith to the converts, especially for those from different histories and cultural traditions. The Catechism of the Manchuria Mission constructs one’s belief by religious knowledge, which leads to one’s understanding of God and one’s ontological status (such as to be saved or to be

condemned). This system of consistent knowledge as revealed by the Catechism establishes a strong association between one's belief and one's practice.

In the Chinese context, especially in the rural community, this unique association between Christian belief and practice was not only enlightening but also subversive. It legitimized a relation between individual converts and priests, between converts and Church, and between converts and God. The relationship with priests transcended the familial and social network of lineage; the relationship with Church established a new social space other than the kinship; and the relationship with God expanded one's world from the everyday reality to both the inner reflection and afterlife conviction promised by God. In addition, systematic knowledge introduced to the local converts through Christian conversion provided the local converts with new opportunities otherwise unavailable in the Chinese society. Catechism literacy, for example, was essential for the understanding of Christian knowledge. It was also determinant that in reshaping both the structures of belief and the nature of social relations. As Rodney Needham asserts, unless a culture has a set of vocabulary to express and talk about religious belief we cannot assume that this culture has such thing as belief or the people actually "experience belief." (Needham 1972) Different from Chinese popular religions, Catholicism (as embodied by the Catholic Catechism) not only brings in a set of essential Christian concepts fresh to the Chinese converts, but also a new vocabulary and language to help local converts articulate and express their awareness of Catholic faith and their new Christian identities. For local converts, this systematic teaching of Christian knowledge

is fundamental to establishing an ontology they could never derive from Chinese popular religions.

This emphasis of the uniqueness of Christian knowledge, however, does not belittle the Chinese popular religions or studies of them. Understanding religions in Chinese society, including both Christianity and popular folk religions, requires differentiation between various religious practices, especially the essential mechanisms that define each. No matter how similar some surface behavioral display of religious rites may appear to outside observers, fundamental differences cannot be neglected. It is in this sense that Christianity and Christian knowledge became a unique scene for Chinese converts and Chinese society.

CONCLUSION

The Catechism of the Manchuria Mission constructs uniformity of written texts and orality through the pedagogical elaboration of Christian knowledge. Literacy was essential for missionaries and active Lay Christians involved in the mission, but local converts, no matter literate or illiterate, had to receive preliminary religious education in order to meet the necessary requirement for conversion. For a mission newly founded in a non-Christian country, it was especially crucial to establish a strict, clear and standardized behavioral code for the implementation of the catechism.

If we compare Christian knowledge as embodied by the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission to that of Chinese popular religions, it is clear that Christianity

requires a relatively high level of understanding, one that contains systematic and consistent Christian knowledge; the whole system of Christian education thus achieves a higher bar of conversion, especially for adult catechumens. Although the bar of baptism for children is relatively low according to the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission (which I will discuss in the following chapter), the continuous religious education after baptism and in the following sacraments, such as confirmation, communion or confession, all aim to guarantee good Christians. Converting to Christianity therefore spontaneously starts an intense period of religious instruction. By studying catechism for baptism, confirmation, and communion, a Christian is involved in a life-cycle rite of education.⁶¹

This rite of education also implies a sense of empowerment. In fact, a perennial question of Christianity lies in its appeal to marginal populations, such as were women and the illiterate in rural China. The classification of religious knowledge in the Catechism, for example, breaks the boundary of social status and takes the differences of the convert's intelligence and diligence as the standards. The required basic knowledge guarantees those with lowest capacity access to basic literacy. By converting to Christianity and through the teachings of the Catechism, women, children and the elders of non-elite family in rural China thus obtained a legitimate access to religious knowledge and a literacy that they would never acquire by other means.⁶²

⁶¹ In France, for example, as some theologian points out, "it is not uncommon to use confirmation in a similar way to prolong the period of catechesis. Confirmation becomes one of those 'events' in successive years (along with first communion and *profession de foi*) to assure that children continue to participate in the parish program of catechesis." David Holeton, "Confirmation in the 1980s," in Thurian and Wainwright 1983.

⁶² According to Evelyn Rawski, traditional China had no concept of mass literacy. Literacy is a privilege

Chapter Four

Defining Faith and Christian Behavior

Religious Behavior

I define religious behavior as the ritual practice the Church prescribes. When the M.E.P missionaries described some converts as being “very religious” or “fervent” in their parish reports, they often meant that these people have frequented the rituals and followed strictly the behavioral code regulated by the Catechism and the Mission Regulations. This is a heightened yet narrowly defined religiosity. In a larger context, religious behavior concerns the practice that suffuses the convert’s consciousness and daily activities.

The uniqueness of Christian faith rests in its combination of systematic knowledge with the formalistic, behavioral displays of faith. Knowledge and behavior are an integral part of Christian education to define Christian faith in pagan countries like China. This was especially true for the Catholic mission, as the greatest emphasis in the decrees of the Council of Trent was given to the sacraments. To evangelize and to establish a new mission in pagan countries, most congregations or religious orders issued

acquired by the educated, largely the monopoly of a small group of males or very limited number of women from elite families. (Rawski 1979)

their own version of mission regulations in order to advance in force the principle of the Catholic behavioral code defined by the Church. The Regulation of the Manchuria Mission was to implement Catholic knowledge provided in the Catechism and to regulate the religious behavior of both missionaries and local converts. As an assumption of evangelic work, especially in a foreign country with no prior Christian legacy, the purpose of the Mission Regulations was not only to regulate religious behavior but also to impose uniformity, authority, and hierarchy in an established society.

REGULATION OF THE MANCHURIA MISSION

The Regulation I examine in this chapter is the *Règlement de la Mission de Mandchourie* (Regulation of the Manchuria Mission, RMM). The Regulation was issued in 1881 by bishop Constant Dubail at the Synod of Cha-ling.⁶³ Fourteen of the twenty-two M.E.P missionaries in the Manchurian Mission participated in this synod.⁶⁴ In the following year, the Regulation was published in Paris in French. In the opening remarks, Dubail emphasized that this was a regulation particularly designed for the Manchuria Mission and that its importance was thus self evidently manifest. Due to the concern of the Holy See, the Congregation of the Propaganda urged superior bishops in all missions

⁶³ *Règlement de la Mission de Mandchourie, adopté à la réunion générale des missionnaires. Année 1881.* Paris, imprimerie de l'œuvre de saint-paul. L. Philipona, 51, rue de Lille, 1882.

⁶⁴ The fourteen missionaries who participated in the synod were: Joseph-André Boyer, Charles-Joseph Venault, Philippe-Joseph Aulagne, Aristide Letort, Louis Raguit, Pierre Lalouyer, Louis Conraux, Victor-Joseph Hinard, Jean-Baptiste Riffard, Laurent Guillon, Théodore Card, Jean Faure, Joseph Bongnard, and Charles Pouillard. Eight missionaries did not participate in this synod, including Isidore Métayer, Joachim Chevalier, Joseph Noirjean, Victor Bisson, Noël Emonet, Charles Collas, Louis Bruguière, and Félix Choulet.

to propose a regulation containing the principle and usage of apostolic work for their missionaries in order to assure that they conduct the Sacred Ministry properly.

The Regulation of the Manchuria Mission contains three chapters: Holy Sacraments, Personnel, and Administration of Christians. The first chapter on sacraments lists rules for six of the seven sacraments – baptism, confirmation, Eucharist, penitence, holy unction, and marriage.⁶⁵ The second chapter on Personnel contains rules for Church personnel, including both priests and active Lay Christians – missionaries, indigenous priests, Christian Virgins, catechists, indigenous administrators (*Houéi-tchang*), and “local fathers” (*Domestiques des Pères*)⁶⁶. The third chapter on Administration of Christians sets rules about the adaptation or regulation of local practice and tradition. This chapter includes rules about the routine missionary work (annual visit to Catholic villages, supervision of Catholic schools, and fund-raising for Church maintenance), secular activities for local converts (betrothals, lawsuits, funeral and playacting, music and gambling, affectionate relationship and mutual protection), and religious association for lay Catholics (establishment of religious societies). For each specific aspect, the Regulation carefully sets rules to control the Chinese indigenous practice in order to avoid blasphemy. This Regulation turns out to be a prudent behavioral guide closely associated with the essential Catholic concepts embodied in the Catechism.

⁶⁵ The Regulation does not include rules on ordained ministry, for it is a rite within the Church and not required to lay converts.

⁶⁶ According to the Regulation, the so-called “local fathers” are those who set examples as good Christians and assist missionaries when necessary.

All principles of this regulation, however, aim to establish uniformity among the mission. Dubail states that the first established uniformity is between a missionary's private life and the exercise of his holy ministry. The second goal is to regulate Catholic behavior in a new, vast land, even though local converts may interpret some of the rules as unwelcome. The third goal is to unify all missionaries of the mission under the strict hierarchy of the Church. Based on the Regulation, missionaries should also transmit this hierarchical uniformity to indigenous priests, catechists and ordinary local converts. Listening to and following the authorized voice with charity, respect, and entire submission are the most important principle of this Regulation.

In fact, the effort to regulate and unify the mission started one decade before this regulation itself was published. The annual parish reports, for example, were the most important work for all missionaries since the mission was founded. In the first three decades from the 1840s to the 1860s, the format of parish reports was very personalized. Although all parish reports contained essential sacramental and demographic information regarding each Catholic community in the Manchuria Mission, it remained unclear how many details were necessary and how specific the statistics should be. Not until 1873 was the standard form of the parish statistical report printed and widely used. At that time, the early development of the mission had gained significant improvement in institutional development, and the number of local converts had increased considerably. In the 1880s, the mission moved into a relatively stable and rapid phase of development.

The task to unify and regulate the local mission work and the necessity to establish the authority in order to strengthen the hierarchy became urgent.

For M.E.P missionaries in the Manchuria Mission, as well as for the local converts, these rules, however, became a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the missionaries were encouraged to work intensively with the local converts. On the other hand, they had to avoid establishing an intimate relationship with local converts, not only with women, but also with men – their indigenous assistants, translators, and catechists. More importantly, in order to establish the hierarchy, the missionaries had to remain in dignity whether in their holy ministry or in their daily activity. All these goals required detailed rules such as dressing and contact with women in private confession. For local converts, the Catholic behavioral rules, which aimed to teach them submission and obedience, sometimes produced side effects with subversive implications in the rural Chinese society. Changing rules for confession, for example, sought to avoid Church scandals. But the reduction of public confession and publicity of private confession emphasized an increasing sense of privacy, which was particularly novel to Chinese converts, especially rural ones. In addition, the emphasis on baptism examination, or the study of the Catechism, made religious education an unavoidable task for all local converts. As I will discuss in Chapter Seven, the religious education and subsequent introduction of literacy collectively contained a transformative power for local converts' achievement of an awareness of self.

In the following sections, I select several rules of the Regulation to discuss how the Regulation sought to regulate missionaries' and converts' behavior, and how these rules induced some unexpected results important for rural Chinese. I also want to emphasize in the analysis that, similar to the Catechism that transmitted essential Catholic knowledge to define Catholic faith in China, the Regulation intended to implement the formalistic display of such faith. Both knowledge and behavior were an integral part for the M.E.P's Manchuria Mission.

Regulating Dressing Code

Costume is one of the most evident means to demonstrate one's identity. A popular picture of the famous early missionary Mateo Ricci shows him in a Chinese mandarin costume. During the age of the Rites Controversy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European missionaries, especially the Jesuits, widely accepted Chinese costume and used Chinese dress as a social code to gain access to and favorable impression from Chinese mandarins.⁶⁷ In the nineteenth century, when the Manchuria Mission was founded, the situation for Catholic missions in China had grown rather favorable. Trans-cultural dressing was no longer a missionary strategy to attract upper level Chinese elites. In fact, later missionaries renounced many Jesuits' strategies in China. The M.E.P missionaries, in particular, intended to work for the exactness of Catholic doctrine and refused compromises with Chinese customs. This general rule,

⁶⁷ For an overview of the Chinese Rites Controversy, see HCC 680-685.

however, had to be adjusted for most M.E.P missionaries worked in the countryside.

Although, in most cases, dressing was a means to establish rather than to hide missionary ecclesiastic identity, and displaying authority and dignity was an important task for a new mission, in their daily life the M.E.P missionaries were still encouraged to dress as laity.

The concern was to avoid common hostility from ordinary Chinese, especially in the rural society, against foreign strangers.

To meet these goals, the Regulation issues many rules about dressing in each particular occasion. The general dressing rule regulates:

The European missionaries, who always appear in the eyes of pagans, who are very susceptible and skittish regarding everything that differs from this country, should always wear their laity costume during their journeys, like those of Chinese in honorable condition. This costume should be the most irreproachable and as complete as possible. All elements that could be excessive and singular, like the colors red, yellow, violet, green or sky-blue, should be avoided. The white robe is tolerated during summer; the laity costume of all other foreign countries is absolutely prohibited in the least details. In fact, the long black robe will conveniently replace the ecclesiastic costume that is worn in France.⁶⁸ (RMM 2.1.7)

The main purpose of this general costume rule is avoidance of suspicion among the ordinary Chinese. Unlike early Jesuits who deliberately dressed like educated Chinese elites, the M.E.P encouraged common Lay Chinese costume. Apparently,

⁶⁸ “Les missionnaires européens étant sans cesse obligés de paître au yeux d’une population païenne, très-susceptible et très-ombrageuse pour tout ce qui déroge aux habitudes du pays, devront toujours porter dans leurs voyages le costume laïque conforme à celui des Chinois de condition honnête. Ce costume sera le plus irréproachable et le plus complet possible. On évitera tout ce qui dans les vêtements pourrait sentir la recherche ou la singularité, comme serait la couleur rouge, jaune, violette, verte ou bleu-clair. La toge blanche est tolérée pendant l’été; l’habit laïque de tout autre pays étranger est absolument interdit dans ses moindres détails. D’ailleurs la toge longue de couleur noire remplacera avantageusement l’habit ecclésiastique qu’on porte en France.”

winning the favor of as many local converts as possible was a more urgent goal than winning the favorable opinion of the local gentry and elites. In addition, most Catholic communities of the Manchuria Mission were distributed in rural areas; the dressing code there was not as rigorous as in the big cities such as Peking, where early Jesuits tried so hard to gain access to the court. The M.E.P's laity-dressing strategy in the mid-nineteenth century, on the other hand, demonstrated a new age of the Catholic mission in China that witnessed a new wave of missionary movement and a rapid growth of Chinese Catholic converts, as well as a slowly increasing hostility against foreign missionaries and the Christian population.

To avoid suspicion and hostility, however, does not mean compromise to authority and dignity. In each section concerning sacred sacraments, specific rules regulate proper missionary dress. The basic rule was to wear a stole (*étole*) and to remain in cleanness. In the Eucharist for the sick, for example, the Regulation prescribes, if the communion has to be conducted in the domicile, "the priest should, as much as possible, wear the stole (*étole*) under his coat or whatever clothing if not the coat."⁶⁹ (RMM 1.3.6) Similarly, in confession, the Regulation orders, "to listen to the confession, the missionary should always wear the stole (*étole*)."⁷⁰ (RMM 1.4.6) The priest who blesses the marriage must follow a stricter requirement. He should be "covered by the white

⁶⁹ "Le prêtre devra, autant que possible, revêtir l'étole sous son manteau ou autre habit tenant lieu de manteau."

⁷⁰ "Pour l'audition des confessions, le missionnaire aura toujours l'étole."

surplice and the stole, but not by the white robe with stole folded on the chest.”⁷¹ (RMM 1.6.7) In some other occasions, cleanness was also emphasized. To administer unction for the converts who live far away from the missionary residence, the Regulation reminds that “the invited priest who is to administrate the sacrament should notice all prescriptions of the Ritual, and take the precautions that are recommended for the administration of travel, in order to assure a cleanliness and decency when appearing in the apartment of the sick.”⁷² (RMM 1.5.2)

In order to establish the dignity of the sacred sacraments, rules of costume existed for ordinary converts as well. In a rule of the Eucharist, the Regulation requires that the missionary assure “those who present themselves at the holy altar should never be allowed if they appear unkempt, wear too dirty clothing or have a careless demeanor.”⁷³ (RMM 1.3.3) Other rules, such as keeping the room neat and tidy for the last rites of the dying, sought to create an honorable occasion to establish the authority of the missionaries and to confirm the dignity of Catholic sacraments.

For certain Lay Christians whose identity might generate suspicion in the traditional rural society, the dressing code was also set austere. A Christian virgin, for example, had to follow very strict costume rules.

⁷¹ “Le prêtre qui bénit un mariage doit être revêtu du surplis et de l’étole, mais non de l’aube avec étole croisée sur la poitrine.”

⁷² “Le prêtre invité à administrer ce sacrement observera religieusement toutes les prescriptions du Rituel, et prendra les précautions qui sont recommandées pour l’administration du saint Viatique, afin d’assurer la propreté et la décence qui doivent régner dans l’appartement du malade.”

⁷³ “Ceux qui se présentent à la sainte Table, et ne permettront jamais que par un maintien negligee, des habits malpropres, une démarche trop libre, [les chrétiens se rendent coupables de quelque irrévérence envers, le Corps sacré de Jésus-Christ.]”

The virgins should be an example of simplicity and Christian modesty. They should avoid [disgraceful gossip] about their costumes, their shoes, and the arrangement of their hair all that, in consideration of their condition, should avoid feel like excessiveness for elegance.⁷⁴
(RMM 2.4.3)

According to the Regulation, the costume of Chinese Christian Virgins becomes a showcase to display Christianity to ordinary Chinese. Simplicity and modesty contained not only religious significance but also moral connotations. As all Christian Virgins take vows of chastity, their state of remaining single would become very suspicious, especially in a rural society that assumes marriage is a woman's destiny. The modesty of costumes was supposed to help these Christian Virgins stay away from rumors, but the austere dressing also intended to conceal their sexual attractiveness, especially to foreign male missionaries. Many Christian Virgins were teachers in the catechism schools and actively involved themselves in evangelization. Their contact and relationship with the foreign male missionaries always inspired suspicion in the local people. The dressing code for the Christian Virgins, however, was only one of the many rules that the Church established to regulate gender protocols between them and the missionaries.

Rules on Gender

The rumors never stopped about the foreign missionaries in Chinese society, especially those of sexual affairs between male missionaries and their Chinese female

⁷⁴ “Les vierges devant donner à tous l'exemple de la simplicité et de la modestie chrétienne, éviteront dans leurs habits, dans leurs chaussures et l'arrangement de leurs cheveux, tout ce qui, eu égard à leur condition, sentirait l'élégance et la recherche.”

converts.⁷⁵ How to regulate the behavior of missionaries and to avoid scandals became an urgent task for all missions, especially in the nineteenth century. The Regulation of the Manchuria Mission lists a number of strict rules in order to regulate the missionary contact with Chinese women, both Christian and pagan. The most general one about meeting with pagan Chinese women is listed under the section of Church personnel for missionaries.

When important affairs require a meeting with pagan women, we can meet in the Church or the oratory, but never in a private apartment. The discussion should be simple, short, and we should always observe all rules with prudence and discretion. We should never forget that familiarity, which is reproached by pagans themselves, could always be dangerous to us, and extremely incriminating to our work of evangelization. During the visit, we should never allow these women to serve us table; their entering a private space and the apartment of our residence should be strictly prohibited.⁷⁶ (RMM 2.1.4)

Obviously, avoiding direct and private contact between foreign male missionaries and Chinese pagan women was a concern of the Church. Private contact was often confined by the nature of meeting space and conversational behavior. All private spaces

⁷⁵ “Jiao’an,” or “legal cases of religious conflicts” composed the majority of Chinese documents about foreign missionaries, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Among various conflicts, there were many concerning sexual affairs and scandals between male missionaries and local Chinese females. Especially in the nineteenth century, when a large number of foreign missionaries came into China and worked in the remote area, scandals about the sexual affairs about the missionary were extensive. In 1856, for example, the magistrate of Xi Lin County in Guangxi province arrested French missionary Auguste Chapdelaine (Chinese name Ma Lai) and accused him of raping and of forcefully marrying Chinese Christian Virgin Cao. Similar stories can be found in many nineteenth-century Chinese legal documents or contemporary publications all over the country. For the latter, see for example, *Yue Xi Zhu Zheng Yi Fang* [粵西主証遺芳], or *Qian Sheng Zhu Zheng Yi Fang* [黔省主証遺芳].

⁷⁶ “Lorsque des affaires importantes exigent une entrevue avec les personnes du sexe, on leur donnera audience dans l’église ou à l’oratoire, mais jamais dans un appartement secret. L’entretien sera simple, court, et on y observera toutes les règles de la prudence et de la discrétion. Nous ne devons jamais oublier dans ces rapports que la familiarité, réprouvée des païens eux-mêmes, serait toujours dangereuse pour nous et extrêmement compromettante pour notre oeuvre d’évangélisation. Nous ne pouvons jamais permettre que, pendant la visite, ces personnes nous servent à table; l’entrée de l’enclos privé et des appartements de nos résidences doit leur être sévèrement interdite.”

of the missionary, which imply a sense of familiarity, were prohibited to pagan women, who often induced fantasies of submission and obedience to foreign missionaries. To restrict the contact between missionaries and pagan women also implied a criticism that pagan women themselves were the origin of sexual scandals involving male missionaries.

Compared to pagan women, the bigger concern for the Manchuria Mission, however, was about the contact between missionaries and Chinese female converts. All sacraments (especially confession and unction, which require personal and physical contact with the female converts) were under careful discretion. For the holy unction, for example, the Regulation prescribes, “It is neither necessary nor expedient to expose the feet of the infirm women. The unction should be done to the upper part of the feet.”⁷⁷ (RMM 1.5.3) This rule particularly applied to China, as many rural women in the nineteenth-century China had small bound-feet, which connotated sexual seduction in the Chinese culture (Ko 2005).

On confession, which is by nature a private rite only between the convert and the missionary, the Regulation is even more detailed. It explains that in an area where there is no confessional duly installed, the missionary should “place a screen between him and the penitent in order to separate them,” and this prescription is “especially required for confessions between the sexes.” It further requires that “It is never allowed to listen to female confession at night, except in the case that the penitent is severely ill, and, then,

⁷⁷ “Il n’est ni nécessaire ni opportun de découvrir tout à fait les pieds des femmes infirmes. L’unction se fait à une partie supérieure des pieds.”

the door of the apartment where the sick penitent lives should be left open.”⁷⁸ (RMM 1.4.7)

Similar to the rules about contact with pagan women, to avoid direct contact (no matter concerning Church affairs or private affairs) was the foremost concern of the Church for the missionary in contact with indigenous female converts. The Regulation says, “it is forbidden for all missionaries to directly help a [Chinese Christian] virgin for her personal subsistence. He is, however, allowed to give money from their own pocket to support the convents.”⁷⁹ (RMM 2.4.6) In fact, such rules could not wholly eliminate direct contact between missionaries and their Chinese female converts. In the Church records, few documents are preserved in this regard, but some do show us clues about the affectionate and close relationship between missionaries and their female converts. On June 2, 1871, for example, missionary Philibert Simon wrote a letter to Dominique Pourquoié who returned to Paris from San-tai-tse, a Catholic village in Liaoning, due to illness. In the letter, Simon told Pourquoié that three of his Chinese female converts were involved in a fight with bishop Joseph Boyer and they refused to enter the convent newly founded by Boyer, because they refused to accept the rules Boyer established and preferred the life of contemplation Pourquoié taught them years ago.⁸⁰ Simon assured

⁷⁸ “Dans les postes où il n’y aura pas de confessionnaires dûment installés, le confesseur devra faire placer entre lui et son pénitent une claie de separation. Cette prescription est surtout de rigueur pour les confessions des personnes du sexe. Il n’est jamais permis d’entendre ces dernières pendant la nuit, excepté dans le cas de maladie grave de la pénitente, et alors la porte de l’appartement où se trouvera la malade, sera laissée ouverte.”

⁷⁹ “Il est interdit à tout missionnaire d’aider directement une vierge pour son entretien personnel. Cependant il lui reste permis de concourir de ses propres ressources à la foundation ou à la prospérité des Communautés.”

⁸⁰ AMEP 0563: 557-560.

Pourquoié that he would deal with the fight and took care of the women. Simon also enclosed three letters written by these women to Pourquoié. Simon announced this happily at the beginning, “Here come the letters of your girls!” In the letters, these Chinese women expressed their affection to Pourquoié and asked emotionally for his return.⁸¹

For Chinese Christian virgins, besides the contact with foreign male missionaries, they were also to avoid contacting other males, pagans, and even family members. Those “who live with their families, unless they have a special exemption, must have a separate apartment from the family.”⁸² (RMM 2.4.5) “If one of the girls becomes a subject of scandal for others, or stays disobedient to the missionary, she must be excluded publicly from the virgins.”⁸³ (RMM 2.4.4) Staying away from scandal and being submissive and obedient were strictly ordered. Except the mission regulation, all Christian Virgins had to follow “*Toung Ttchen Sieou Kouei* for their private performance.”⁸⁴

All these rules to regulate the contact between missionaries and Chinese women demonstrate the anxiety of the Church’s effort to evade scandal, but in practice, the contact between the missionaries and female converts often went beyond the Church

⁸¹ Analysis of these letters is the focus of Chapter Seven of this dissertation.

⁸² “Celles qui vivent dans leur famille, à moins d’une dispense spéciale, auront un appartement séparé de ceux qui sont occupés par la famille.”

⁸³ “Si l’une d’elles devenait un sujet de scandale pour les autres, ou désobéissait obstinément au missionnaire, elle serait exclue publiquement du rang des vierges.”

⁸⁴ *Toung tchen sieou Kouei* (童贞修规) is a set of regulations for Christian Virgins originally established by the M.E.P missionary in Sichuan Province in the eighteenth century. More discussion on the *Toung Ttchen Sieou Kouei* and Chinese Christian Virgins is in Chapter Six. The complete *Toung Ttchen Sieou Kouei* can be found in appendix 5 of this dissertation.

regulation; the scandals never stopped.⁸⁵ Behavioral codes like the rules of the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission could only introduce a new authorized hierarchy to missionaries and converts. The Regulation was important not because it establishes normal gender roles in reality, for example. Rather, its significance lies in the authority and hierarchy that the behavioral code conveyed to both the missionaries and converts. These rules set up a behavioral guideline and depicted an outline of the Catholic Church, especially important for a newly founded mission.

Rule Change on Privacy

Examination of the Regulation demonstrates some implications that go beyond the original intentions of the Catholic Church and introduces new conceptions that were illuminating to Chinese society. The conception of privacy, for example, is one of these. According to the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission, confession means, “a clear and distinct accusation in front of the priest of each sin that has been found in the examination.”⁸⁶ Among the seven sacraments, confession is a private ritual between missionaries and converts. Privacy is nevertheless an inevitable requirement for this sacrament and private space is required. In this section, I analyze the rules on sacraments, especially the change of rules on confession and penitence, to discuss how the rule change introduced the concept of privacy to rural Chinese.

⁸⁵ See footnote 68.

⁸⁶ “C’est l’accusation, Claire et distincte, faite en présence du prêtre, de chacun des pêchés qu’on a découverts dans son Examen.”

Confession, the Catholic sacrament of Penance, has been one of the most important rituals in Catholic history since the Fourth Lateran Council. The Council of Trent confirms the necessity of confession for those who committed sins after baptism. Penance, therefore, becomes a key to the understanding of a culture in which identification of fears besetting the faithful intersected with the promotion of a sense of guilt and security imposed by the Church. Forgiveness is the core of Christianity. By communicating to them the divine pardon, priests become the most important mediator between the faithful and the divine. In some cases, as the Regulation of Manchuria Mission says, “The priest can refuse holy absolution to these people, but the priest cannot refuse to listen to their confession.” (RMM 1.4.1) The imposed obligatory annual confession became a Christian’s basic religious responsibility for Roman Catholic Church.

Since the Catholic Reformation, confession as a ritual began to transform itself into a mode of private communication. In a series of studies on the subject, Jean Delumeau studied a great many late-medieval and early-modern texts pertaining to the practice of private confession and argues that private confession served a mutual process: “promoting a sense of security for the faithful, and in turn, the Church exacted from them in exchange an explicit confession.” He argues that no other Christian church (for that matter, no other religion) has placed as much emphasis as Catholicism on the repeated

and detailed confession of sins. “We remain marked,” he says, “by this incessant invitation and this powerful contribution to the knowledge of the self.”⁸⁷

To protect confession as a private ritual, the Regulation of Manchuria Mission first reduced the frequency of public penitence. It requires, “No public penitence should be required without the permission of the vicar apostolic.” It explains then,

In all cases, this public penitence should be in keeping with those that have demonstrated beneficial for the mission in the past, that is to say, the public confession of committed sin by the penitent in the Church. It must take place at the beginning of Sunday Mass or on a holiday of obligation, and can only be required by a penitence for a public sin. (RMM 1.4.5)⁸⁸

This rule, however, was formulated after the Synod of Peking, “because of the fear that the authorities of the Church might suffer damage if this kind of repression is too frequent.”⁸⁹

(RMM 1.4.5) Secondly, the Manchuria Mission revised the rule that the number of the confessed people be publicized before the day of communion approved in the early years of the Mission.

Any public sign posted or suspended in the sacristy or on the confessional for the penitents so as to know the number of communions to be administrated in next day is absolutely forbidden (S.C. 23 mars 1848 au Vic. Apost. De Mandchourie).⁹⁰ (RMM 1.4.8)

⁸⁷ For Jean Delumeau’s studies on Catholicism and confession, see for example, *La Peur en Occident: XIVe-XVIIIe siècle* (1978); *Rassurer et protéger: Le sentiment de sécurité dans l’Occident d’autrefois* (1980); *L’Aveu et le pardon: Les Difficultés de la confession XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle*. (Paris: Fayard, 1990); and *La Peche et la peur: la culpabilisation en Occident: XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle* (1993).

⁸⁸ “En tous cas, cette pénitence publique sera celle qu’un long usage a démontée salutaire en cette mission, c’est-à-dire la confession publique du scandale commis, faite à l’église par le pénitent, elle doit avoir lieu au commencement de la messe paroissiale, un jour de dimanche ou de fête d’obligation, et ne peut être infligée que comme remède salutaire pour réparation d’un scandale public.”

⁸⁹ “Aucune pénitence publique ne sera infligée sans la permission du Vicaire apostolique, de crainte que par ce genre de répression ou indiscrete ou trop fréquente, l’autorité de l’Eglise n’en souffre dommage. (Syn : de Péking.)”

⁹⁰ “Sont absolument prohibés tous les signes extérieurs donnés aux pénitents, affichés ou suspendus à la sacristie ou au confessionnal, même en vue de faire connaître le nombre des communions à administrer le lendemain. (S.C. 23 mars 1848 au Vic. apost. de Mandchourie.)”

The key change of the 1848 rule was to avoid announcing publicly the number of converts who have confessed. What motivated this rule change was the implicit protection of privacy. According to the Manchuria Catechism, only those who confessed can go to participate in the communion and receive the Eucharist. The reflection and confession of one's sins became a process of exposing one's inner (usually dark) self. The prohibition of publicly announcing the number of penitents implicitly encouraged the further exposure of one's self in front of the priest, for the revised rule reduced the possibility that the public would come to know one's wrong deeds. In a rural society where a closely associated community tended to publicize each member's private affairs, this new rule implicitly increased the bar to protect local convert's privacy.

Together with the increasing sense of privacy, however, was the increasing fear of scandal that resulted in the direct and person contact between missionaries and female converts. To avoid the familiarity and personal attachment between the penitent and the priest during confession, the Regulation also issues rules to make this private ritual as unenclosed as possible.

“In the churches with better supplies, confessional should be installed in a visible place, and if for some reasons, the place is chosen in the sacristy, the door should remain open throughout the confession. This rule is exempted for people affected by deafness.”⁹¹ (RMM 1.4.7)

⁹¹ “Dans le églises mieux pourvues, le confessional sera installé à une place apparente, et si, pour des raisons plausibles, cette place est choisie à la sacristie, la porte restera ouverte pendant tout le temps des confessions. Cette règle aura des exceptions pour les personnes atteintes de surdit .”

The rule change of confession and penitence resulted in the promotion of privacy for local converts; the reasons of the changes were more complicated. In the second half of the nineteenth century when more and more foreign missionaries came to work in China, the legal conflicts with missionaries and general hostility among the Chinese populace also increased. The Church had to cautiously reduce its exposure rather than promoting it so as not to raise the public suspicion and resentment. In 1881 when the Regulation of Manchuria Mission was issued, the Opium war (1840-42) and the Second Opium war (1856-60) had already occurred. Especially for the latter, the persecution and death of M.E.P missionary Auguste Chapdelaine (“Ma Lai Affairs” in Chinese) in Guangxi province became a controversial focus and direct primacord.⁹² The aftermath of the Ma Lai Affairs certainly made the M.E.P deliberately revise its administration in all China missions. Northeast China was never an arena of religious conflicts compared to other regions of China in the second half of the nineteenth century, but its mission rule change best illustrates the general concern of the M.E.P in its expansion period. No matter the lowering the public penitence or canceling the announcement of confession numbers, reducing the publicity was the key. A result of this reduced publicity, however, increasing privacy came to subtly impact the local converts and bring to them alternatives to realize selfhood.

⁹² See footnote 68 and Latourette 1932: 273.

Catechism and Baptism Examination

While the Catechism establishes the religious knowledge required of local converts, the Regulation sought to implement such knowledge through rules of behavior. Baptism is the first and the most important sacrament to achieve this goal. The Regulation of the Manchuria Mission presents a strict rule on the examination of catechumens before Baptism.

The catechumen should always be examined of the doctrine before being admitted to Baptism. This examination should never be completely abandoned to a laity. It is moreover desirable for missionary, before baptizing the adults, to propose to each person a private conversation. During this interview the priest should ask them carefully and discretionally about certain delicate points, where ignorance or dangerous illusion would cause them to neglect, such as commutative justice, sins against the sixth commandment etc.⁹³ (RMM 1.1.15)

The above rule, the last in the section of Baptism, is the most significant one concerning adult baptism. It states clearly that an examination of the Christian doctrine cannot be exempted. This prerequisite certainly raises the bar for Christian conversion and turns the process of conversion into a process of education. The personal interview proposed by this rule intends to test the catechumen's understanding of Christian concepts. Two of the Ten Commandments, for example, are singled out: commutative

⁹³ “Les catéchumènes seront toujours examinés sur la doctrine avant d’être admis au Baptême. Cet examen ne devra jamais être complètement abandonné aux soins d’une personne laïque. Il est en outre bien à désirer que le missionnaire, avant de baptiser des adultes, propose à chacun d’entre-eux un entretien particulier. Dans cette entrevue, il les interrogera avec prudence et discrétion sur certains points délicats, que l’ignorance ou une illusion dangereuse pourrait leur faire négliger, comme seraient les questions de justice commutative, les péchés contre le sixième commandement, etc., etc.”

justice refers to the seventh commandment, “Thou shalt not steal,”⁹⁴ and the sixth commandment refers to “Thou shalt not commit adultery.”⁹⁵ Both commandments belong to the Catechism knowledge for beginners according to the Catechism knowledge classification. These two seemingly simple doctrines, however, contain complicated moral connotations, which directly correspond to the convert’s daily life behavior.

Three detailed rules on how to examine a catechumen’s knowledge of the Catechism are listed in the fourteenth rule of Baptism.

- a. The outside catechumens from other vicariates can be admitted to the baptism only after true information about them has been collected and verified.
- b. Except exceptions for good, the inspection of a catechumen before the baptism takes about one year.
- c. To be admitted to Baptism, the least educated catechumen should at least know by heart how to do the sign of the cross and can recite the Lord’s Prayer, Hail Mary, Creed, and the commandments of God and Church, the acts of Faith, Hope and

⁹⁴ Here “Commutative justice” refers to the seventh commandment, “Thou shalt not steal.” According to the Catholic Encyclopedia: “Restitution has a special sense in moral theology. It signifies an act of commutative justice by which exact reparation as far as possible is made for an injury that has been done to another. An injury may be done to another by detaining what is known to belong to him in strict justice and by willfully doing him damage in his property or reputation. As justice between man and man requires that what belongs to another should be rendered him, justice is violated by keeping from another against his reasonable will what belongs to him, and by willfully doing him damage in goods or reputation. Commutative justice therefore requires that restitution should be made whenever that virtue has been violated. This obligation is identical with that imposed by the Seventh Commandment, “Thou shalt not steal.” For the obligation not to deprive another of what belongs to him is identical with that of not keeping from another what belongs to him. As theft is a grave sin of its own nature, so is the refusal to make restitution for injustice that has been committed.” “Restitution signifies not any sort of reparation made for injury inflicted, but exact reparation as far as possible. Commutative justice requires that each one should have what belongs to him, not something else; and so that which was taken away must be restored as far as possible.” “Commutative justice looks at objective equality, and prescribes that it be preserved.”

⁹⁵ The sixth commandment is “Thou shalt not commit adultery.” The Ten Commandments are: 1) I am the Lord your God, you shall have no other gods before me, you shall not make for yourself an idol. 2) You shall not make wrongful use of the name of your God. 3) Remember the Sabbath and keep it holy. 4) Honor your Father and Mother. 5) You shall not murder. 6) You shall not commit adultery. 7) You shall not steal. 8) You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor. 9) You shall not covet your neighbor's house. 10) You shall not covet your neighbor's wife.

Charity, the act of contrition, the first volume of the Catechism and the half of the Catechism of the Eucharist. Those who can early easier should know all the Catechism and the prayers of morning and evening. This prescription does not affect old people, half-idiots and others who are unable to memorize. (RMM 1.1.14)⁹⁶

In Christianity, a catechumen is one who undergoes training according to the principles of Christian faith with a view to baptism. He or she has not been baptized. According to the Catholic Encyclopedia, “As the acceptance of Christianity involved belief in a body of doctrine and the observance of the Divine law, it is clear that some sort of preliminary instruction must have been given to the converts.”⁹⁷ Those who were baptized as child have equal need of education but with a different theological foundation. The Regulation also prescribes the rules for adult rebaptism, in which examination of the validity of previous baptism and the adult’s confession are essential.

This rule, in accordance with the Catechism knowledge classification, divides the converts into different groups according to their intelligence and diligence. It further gives detailed instruction on each group’s required knowledge for the baptism examination. It includes the most basic Christian behavioral code: sign of the cross and three prayers; the most basic Christian moral code: the Ten Commandments; and the

⁹⁶ “A) Les catéchumènes étrangers venus d’un autre vicariat ne seront admis au Baptême qu’après informations et renseignements certains pris sur leur compte. B) Sauf d’heureuses exceptions qui pourront se présenter, l’épreuve du catéchuménat avant le Baptême sera d’une année environ. C) Les moins instruits de ceux qui seront admis au Baptême devront au moins savoir faire le signe de la croix et pouvoir réciter de mémoire le Pater, l’Ave Maria, le Credo, les commandements de Dieu et de l’Eglise, les actes de Foi, d’Espérance et de Charité, l’acte de contrition, le premier volume du catéchisme et la moitié du catéchisme de l’Eucharistie. Ceux qui ont une plus grande facilité de s’instruire, devront savoir tout le catéchisme et les prières du matin et du soir. Cette prescription n’atteint pas les vieillards, les demi-idiots et les autres personnes dépourvues de mémoire.”

⁹⁷ The Catholic Encyclopedia, article “Catechumen” (Scannell 1908).

most basic Christian truth: faith, hope and charity. The first volume of the Catechism, mentioned in the above rule, refers to the Christian knowledge including God, the Creation, Jesus Christ, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, the Catholic Church, and the Last Judgment. This rule singles out the sacraments of confession and Eucharist. The first half of the Catechism on Eucharist refers to Mass and the Holy Communion. These aspects construct the required basic understanding of Catholic faith. Advanced converts must display understanding of the complete Catechism and pray more frequently.

The long fourteenth rule of Baptism sought to translate the teachings of the Catechism into behavioral guidance for local converts in their after-baptism daily life. A Christian's identity, as both the Catechism and the Regulation show, is constructed, displayed, and reaffirmed by a series of educational and behavioral instruction. Such behavioral rules are especially crucial for a mission in a pagan country with distinct cultures. To reinforce the Christian knowledge and behavioral education, in addition to its rules on baptism, the section on missionary of the Manchuria Mission emphasized again the importance of teaching, especially of children.

“On Sundays and holidays, missionaries should announce the word of God to the faithful. The instructions should be done after the gospel. The entrance of the Church of chapel should remain open at all times during the service. We can close the door during the sermon only if this measure is judged necessary to assist contemplation. According to a practice being used in the ecclesiastic region of the North, the catechumens can be admitted to assist the sacred service after the Sanctus and the Consecration. – These same catechumens should, as much as possible, attend the catechism compulsorily given to the

children on Sundays or holidays. The missionaries must be very careful never to forget this second instruction.”⁹⁸ (RMM 2.1.5)

This rule encourages catechumens to participate in the sacred service and catechism lessons. Education of catechumens and Christian children is a responsibility for the Church. In the early years of the mission, however, the number of missionaries was rather limited. Even in the 1880s when the Regulation was issued, the increased number of priests could not serve the needs of the rapidly increasing Christian population. Besides indigenous priests, who were authorized teachers of the Christian knowledge, the Church had to also recruit Lay Christians such as catechists and Christian Virgins into the teacher’s group, which guaranteed the routine religious instruction in local communities. Catechumens could also participate to assist the sacred service. This rule sought to transform the religious education to a catechumen into an evangelic behavior, and further associate the religious education with Christian activity.

More important than the baptism of adults is the baptism of children. No examination is set to baptize children. In fact, to baptize as many children as possible was the foremost task for the Manchuria Mission, especially in the early years of development. The Regulation prescribes

⁹⁸ Tous les dimanches et fêtes d’obligation, les missionnaires se feront un devoir d’annoncer la parole de Dieu aux fidèles. L’instruction se fera après l’Evangile. L’entrée de l’église ou oratoire restera libre pendant tout le temps de l’Office; on pourra cependant fermer les portes pendant le sermon, si cette mesure est jugée nécessaire au recueillement de l’assistance. D’après un usage en vigueur dans la région ecclésiastique du Nord, les catéchumènes pourront être admis à assister aux offices divins, même après le Sanctus et la Consécration. Ces même catéchumènes devront, autant que possible, assister à l’explication du catéchisme qui sera toujours faite aux enfants, en ces jours de dimanche et de fête d’obligation. Les missionnaires auront à cœur de ne jamais omettre cette seconde instruction.

“If Christian parents who do not follow their religious duties present their children to be baptized, their request should be approved even though the indifference of the parents is excessive and even if the missionary cannot guarantee on the future education of their children.”⁹⁹ (RMM 1.1.11)

This rule excused children from irresponsible and indifferent Christian family for baptism. As I will discuss in the following chapters, this was in fact the actual practice of the Manchuria Mission, especially in the early decades after the Mission was founded. This strategy contributed to the rapid growth of the Catholic population in nineteenth-century Northeast China. On the other hand, such practices produced problems, including baptized children’s lack of religious education. In his annual parish report of 1850-51, for example, missionary Siméon Berneux commented that in Ka-li-ma, children under the age of twenty were very ignorant. He required that all mothers take the responsibility to help their children learn the Catechism before his next visit, otherwise the mothers would not be allowed for confession.¹⁰⁰

The Catechism therefore played an important role in how the Manchuria Mission constructed baptism. It was not only the most important part of the baptism examination for adults, but also the doctrinal manuals for Christian children’s religious education after baptism. According to the Regulation, baptism also meant the start of a life-long process of catechism education. Missionaries, as well as Lay Christians such as parents, catechists, and catechumens, were all responsible for the continuous instruction for

⁹⁹ “Si des parents chrétiens n’observant pas leurs devoirs religieux, présentent leurs enfants à baptiser, on acquiescera à leur demande, alors même que la tiédeur des parents serait excessive, et qu’aucune garantie ne rassurerait le missionnaire sur l’éducation future de ces enfants.”

¹⁰⁰ Parish report in 1850-51 by Siméon Berneux. AMEP 0563: 495-6.

Christian children. Such educational redundancy sought to strengthen local converts'

Christian identity and guarantee the exactness of their post-baptism Catholic faith.

Eucharist and Swallowing

It is not allowed for anyone to ignore that the sacred elements must be swallowed, not be kept in the mouth until they are dissolved or confused with saliva. Our Christians are sometimes dangerously naive in this regard.¹⁰¹ (RMM 1.3.4)

The Eucharist embodies a complicated and sophisticated Christian conception, one usually incomprehensible to ordinary converts, especially in a pagan country. The Catechism introduces the basic concepts of the Eucharist, and the above rule in the Regulation further teaches the correct way to receive the Eucharist. According to the Catholicism, the Holy Eucharist is the sacrament that contains the body and blood of God. For the laity, if you do not swallow the bread (the body of Christ) you will not receive Holy Communion at all. Apparently, before this rule was issued, many Chinese converts did not truly understand the concept and received the Eucharist incorrectly. This rule regulates the correct behavior in receiving the Eucharist and the key concept is to *swallow*.

To many theologians and historians, the Eucharist is presents a key controversy in religious debates. The act of swallowing is therefore closely associated with the Church's understanding and implementation of such theological dispute. The Roman

¹⁰¹ "Il n'est permis à personne d'ignorer que les saintes Espèces doivent être avalées et non conservées dans la bouche, en attendant qu'elles soient tout à fait fondues ou confondues avec la salive. Nos chrétiens sont parfois singulièrement et dangereusement naïfs à cet égard."

Catholic Church usually forbids chewing the Eucharist and requires converts to swallow the Eucharistic bread before opening the mouth again. This is a way to show as much respect possible for God while He is with you, and to prevent any part of the Host from falling out of the mouth. In this way, the Catholic ritual of the Holy Communion becomes a truly sacred experience, as the Christ is directly involved in the action of the Eucharist.

The significance of swallowing lies in the dynamic to transform a convert's position in the sacrament from a passive receiver to an active digester. It incites the convert's inner agency to behave as an active Catholic. Within the theological context, the Church calls the Eucharist a sacrifice. It is a unique sacrament of the unique sacrifice of Christ; it is the sacrifice of praise and supplication of the Church; and it makes the faithful a sacrifice acceptable to the Father by the power of the Spirit. (Thurian 1983)

This sophisticated theological connotation is transformed into a clear behavioral instruction to swallow. For ordinary local converts, the act of swallowing demonstrates acceptance and willingness to understanding and embrace of this essential Catholic symbolic rite.

Such instruction to swallow demonstrates the Church's effort to implement Christian knowledge and behavioral doctrines established by the Catechism and the Mission Regulations. Exactness became the major concern of the time. To guarantee such exactness, active participation of local converts was particularly required. For local converts, such participation induced a sense of active involvement and stimulated inner

agency to work for the final salvation, which implicitly shifted local converts' understanding of fate from being determined by land and limited access to social mobility to being led by God and by the Church. The latter presented a mutual process: you were not only chosen and judged by God; you also had to do good work and follow exact Christian doctrines to be saved. The illumination and guidance of the Church could only be achieved by the convert's active involvement such as the self-reflection of confession and the swallowing of the Eucharist. Such rules, in practice, promoted local converts' internal agency.

CONCLUSION

The M.E.P's effort to define the Catholic faith of local converts through exact behavioral doctrines established the foundation for the Manchuria Mission. The Regulation of the Manchuria Mission is a supplementary yet essential text to the Catechism. It transformed the Catholic concepts taught in the Catechism into Catholic behavioral doctrines. Through the religious practice prescribed in the Regulation, local converts further internalized the essential Catholic concepts. Knowledge and behavior work together to defining Catholic faith: this describes a successful and important strategy for the M.E.P's efforts to disseminate faith in nineteenth-century China.

Examination of specific rules in the Catechism and the Regulation also demonstrates an unintentional process of empowering local converts. Requirements of sacramental exactness guaranteed the implementation of Catechism knowledge. Rule

changes on confession increased the converts' sense of privacy and enhanced their self-awareness. The rule on swallowing the Eucharist went beyond the Church's intention to implement a sophisticated Christian message and implied a promotion of the convert's active participation. With the establishment of the Church and formation of local Christian community, Christianity also created a space in rural Chinese society where the empowered population could exercise their agency without attachment to any elites or government authorities. When Christianity opened up a new social and communal space accessible to the faithful in the rural society, these rules on Catholic behavior spontaneously stimulated the convert's realization and action of inner selves.

In the following chapter, I examine the ways the M.E.P missionaries measured faith. I use the M.E.P's empirical data of the Manchuria Mission over half a century to discuss how the M.E.P missionaries, according to the definition of faith prescribed by the Catechism and the Regulation, observed the local religious practice and assessed local religiosity. All analysis in the following chapter is approached in relation to the principles discussed in chapters two and three. From defining faith to measuring faith, I argue how a new Catholic mission made an effort to establish itself in the historical context of nineteenth-century Northeast China.

Chapter Five

Measuring Faith: Religious Assessment

Measuring and assessing religiosity is a central academic as well as religious concern. In Western academia, scholars from different fields have explored this subject from different perspectives. Psychologists emphasize religious faith as a religious sentiment internalized as personal feelings and commitment, and propose a staged development of faith across the lifespan (Fowler 1976). Sociologists understand religious faith and religiosity as a social phenomenon, for everything that is measurable in the category of religious behavior is a manifestation, expression, or consequence of religiosity.¹⁰² For historians, religious faith is embedded in the historical context and demonstrated by historical documents. The focus of historians is to decipher the empirical information – quantitative and qualitative, explicit and implicit – in the historical background, in order to reconstruct the historical context and to interpret how such histories come into being.

For the M.E.P missionaries, Catholic conversion meant the instruction of religious knowledge and behavioral doctrines. Missionaries therefore monitored the degree of

¹⁰² See for example, Fichter 1969: 167-177 and O'Connell 1975: 198-207.

faith of their converts and their adherence to Catholic rituals. From the 1840s to the 1920s, the M.E.P Missionaries produced systematic annual parish reports, or *compte-rendus* (parish reports) and *Tableaux d'Administration* (tables of administration), which recorded local converts' religious behavior and assessed local faith. These parish reports consist of rich ethnographic and demographic information and demonstrate Christianity of the Manchuria Mission on the ground.¹⁰³ In this chapter, I analyze these systematic annual parish reports, including the quantitative – statistical records, and the qualitative – missionary literal evaluations, in the *compte-rendu* and *Tableau d'Administration* from Northeast China, in order to explore how the M.E.P missionaries assessed religious practice of local converts, and whether there existed a causal link between these numerical observations and their literal evaluations.

In the following sections, I first discuss the nature of M.E.P annual parish reports from the 1840s to the 1920s. I then start with the missionary literal assessments of faith for each *chrétienté* and move to the analysis of the statistical records of local converts' religious practice. To explore the possible link between the literal assessments and the numerical observations in these historical documents and the significances of each type of records, I focus on how M.E.P missionaries on the ground depended on the *translation* between the quantitative and the qualitative, between the divine behavioral code and the converts' secular activities; and how they emphasized Church attendance in their

¹⁰³ For the discussion of the M.E.P *compte-rendu* as ethnographic documents, see Michaud 2007: 131-152, and Chapter Seven, "Missionaries and Their Texts."

numerical records and (positive) assessments, while their (negative) assessments were often based on local converts' transgression rather than the intensity of religiosity.

Catholic sacraments and ritual behavior in general were designed to reinforce the ecclesiastical and social hierarchy. These practices in the Manchuria Mission reflected both the early emphasis on making more Catholics and the later transition to making good Catholics. The major concerns of the M.E.P determined their emphasis on the systematic statistical records. Counting the frequency of sacraments was the most important work for missionaries in the Manchuria Mission. While confession was becoming less common among Catholics in the second half of the nineteenth-century Europe and indicated a decline in religious observance, Northeast China, however, witnessed just the opposite.¹⁰⁴

The inference between religious faith and the observable religious behavior, however, often ignores a possible discrepancy between belief and practice. Yet the missionary effort to translate religious behavior into assessments of religiosity aims to sustain this inference and further justify the instruction of the Catholic Catechism and the Regulation of behavioral doctrines. For the examination of the M.E.P missionary observation in relation to their estimates of the local Chinese convert's religiosity, the central problem is to examine their choice of a measuring instrument as an objective criterion of evaluation, which in turn involves their acceptance of a basic definition of

¹⁰⁴ One of the many problems that missionaries in Europe encountered was simply overseeing the devotion and frequency with which the sacraments were received. For example, priests usually found it difficult to know even how often people in the diocese confessed (Bowman 1999). This is, however, not the case for M.E.P missionaries in Northeast China.

religion. The conceptual framework that M.E.P missionaries used to estimate religiosity of local Chinese converts is however one-dimensional: the sacraments. Behind the M.E.P missionaries' judgment is the assumed causality between local converts' religious behavior and their inner religiosity. In other words, according to M.E.P missionaries, the beliefs, attitudes, and behavior of a local Catholic or a local *chrétienté* are manifest and measurable because they are the consequence of the fact that they were Catholic.

ANNUAL PARISH REPORTS

From the 1840s to the 1920s, the Manchuria Mission developed three types of annual parish reports, showing a range of differences in style, content, and intentions according to different periods of the Mission development. The earliest parish reports focused on individual Catholic communities, or *chrétientés*, and the contents varied according to different missionaries. A feature of these reports was the individual missionary's comments and assessments of faith on each community. To standardize the missionary work, in the 1870s, the Manchuria Mission issued official printed forms to replace individual reports; statistics of each community was replaced by that of the whole mission; and personalized assessments of faith also disappeared. After the Manchuria Mission was divided into the South and the North in 1898, each mission produced its own statistical report by using the same standard form, which became more specific and contained more subcategories such as orphanages and hospitals in order to stress the contemporary social needs. The general trend of this change shows the M.E.P's effort to

standardize the routine missionary work in the Manchuria Mission. Routinization became an important strategy for the M.E.P to guarantee continuous development of Christianity in Northeast China.

In the first period from 1843 to 1865, in an effort to establish as many Catholic communities as possible, the annual parish reports focused on individual Catholic communities. Bishop Emmanuel Verrolles, the first Vicar Apostolic of the Manchuria Mission, recorded the first statistical parish report, dated in 1843. This statistical table covered 21 Catholic communities in the region. Compared to later reports, the first statistical table of Verrolles consisted of only basic sacramental categories: confession (annual confession), communion (annual communion), baptism (adults, Christian children, and pagan children), confirmation, unction, and marriage. Later missionaries inherited Verrolles' table format for reporting on individual communities. The only change was expanding the number of categories according to the interests of individual missionaries. Calculation of the number of deaths, for example, first appeared in 1846 and the calculation of the number of virgins first appeared in 1847-8. In this period, establishing and expanding the mission was the foremost task, so calculating each community's basic demographic information became particularly important. However, standardization of information had not yet been institutionalized. All statistical tables in this period were written by hand; different categories, in French or Latin, varied to the emphasis of each missionary.

The first 1843 statistical table of Verrolles includes a column called “Observation,” which contained his personal comments of the communities that he visited. Instead of giving each community an evaluation as later missionaries did, Verrolles only made some random comments about selected communities. He wrote, for example, “in Lien-chan, someone in the Mu family smoke opium ... There were two baptizers. Last year one baptized 160 people and the other 98.”¹⁰⁵ In the following several years, there are only random comments found in the parish reports. From 1850 to 1865, however, missionaries of the Manchuria Mission all began to give personal comments on and assessments of each community’s religiosity in the columns of “Observation.”¹⁰⁶ Some comments include rich information of local religiosity in relation to gender, family, and children. Some are only simple assessments as “good (*bien*)” or “very bad (*très mal*).” The reports of 1850-1865, however, contain the most detailed information of both statistics and literal assessments of local faith.

In the second period from 1873 to 1898, statistics of individual communities was replaced by the statistics of the whole mission.¹⁰⁷ The printed official form was first used in 1873. The standard statistical form was in French and consisted of five primary categories: *population, maisons d’instruction, établissements, personnel, and sacrements administrés*. Each category consists of five to ten subcategories. The new form of the

¹⁰⁵ AMEP 0563: 132.

¹⁰⁶ These missionaries include Siméon Berneux, Charles Emile Colin, Jean Baptiste Franclet, August Louis Mallet, Dominique Maurice Pourquoié, Pierre Alexandre Mesnard, Isidore Métayer, Auguste Joachim Chevalier, Charles Joseph Venault and Joseph André Boyer.

¹⁰⁷ Between 1865 and 1873, unfortunately, all annual reports are missing in the AMEP Manchuria section.

parish report standardized all categories but did not provide space for personal comments. Preliminary examination of the statistics shows that early development of the Manchuria Mission had reached a relatively stable phase at this time. The total number of Catholics and parishes both doubled and increased at a proportionate pace. The mission moved into a period of stable development during this time, and the statistics therefore served to inform the mission's progress rather than to provide detailed information on local Catholic *chrétientés*.

In the third period from 1898 to 1920 when the Manchuria Mission was formally divided into Mission North and Mission South, there were two statistical reports produced each year, respectively. The South Mission consists of Liaoning province and centers in Shenyang. The North Mission is geographically larger and consists of both Jilin and Heilongjiang provinces. From 1898 to 1920, both missions used the same renewed standard form for recording statistics. The new form was more complete and specific. Besides the basic information of the five primary categories used from 1873 to 1898, the new form emphasizes education and various manifestations of charity and relief. This shows that in this period the mission had entered into a phase in which it was deeply involved in the local society, for during this time period, social and natural disasters were severe in Northeast China. The increasing number of orphans and refugees required more orphanages, hospitals, shelters and other ways for relief.

ASSESSING RELIGIOUS FAITH

As early parish reports are very individualized according to different missionaries, it is hard to generalize any consistent relationship between the numbers and the interpretations. What I attempt in the following section is to single out the most important analytical categories that all missionaries used to interpret the statistics they recorded. The analysis here argues that within the conditional boundaries defined by the Catechism and the Regulation, missionaries made an effort to translate the specific situation of the Manchuria mission into the inclusiveness and universality of Christianity.

One feature of these missionary records is the contrast of the different criteria between the missionary's positive and negative assessments: Positive assessments often demonstrated the degrees of local converts' adherence to the Church, or more specially, the frequency of their participation in the sacraments; in contrast, according to the missionary comments, negative assessments were often about transgression, particularly local converts' secular activities that violated the Church behavioral code. In other words, the negative assessments did not necessarily link to the numbers, which measured positive behavior.

Missionary Observation and Assessment

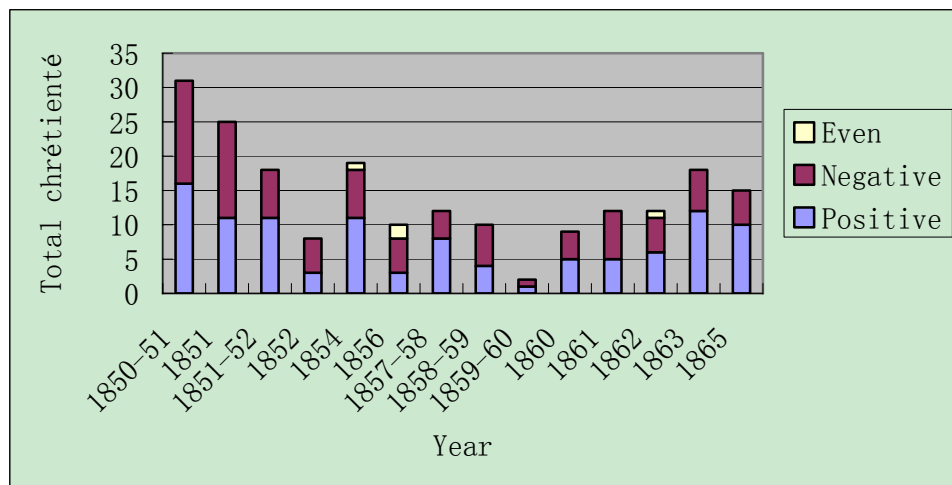
From 1850 to 1865, the period with the most complete data on individual communities, M.E.P missionaries recorded and assessed religious practice in 213 Catholic communities in the Manchuria Mission. Among the 213 assessments, 106 were

positive: about good faith, about the number of conversions, or improved religious instruction. 91 were negative: reported false attitudes of faith, breaking rules, and ignorance of religious education. Four were even: “Neither good nor bad;”¹⁰⁸ “some good, some bad;”¹⁰⁹ or “half good, half bad.”¹¹⁰

Table 5.1 Missionary Assessments of Faith 1850-1865

Total <i>chrétientés</i>	Positive	Negative	Even
201	106 53%	91 45%	4 2%

Figure 5.1 Yearly Assessments of Faith 1850-1865¹¹¹



Generally, the proportion of the missionary positive evaluation did not change over time. Except for a few years, such as 1851 and 1861, negative evaluations counted

¹⁰⁸ “nec boni nee mali,” Ing-chou-pou-tze, parish report 1856 by missionary Jean Baptiste Franclet.

¹⁰⁹ “quidam boni, quidam muli,” Iam-tche-tang, parish report 1856 by missionary Jean Baptiste Franclet.

¹¹⁰ “une moitié de bon, une moitié de mauvais,” Jeu-kia-tuen, parish report 1862 by missionary Charles Joseph Venault.

¹¹¹ The discovered statistical reports of individual *chrétientés* did not distribute even in each year. In 1850-51, for example, two statistical reports, by Berneux and Colin respectively, were preserved. So the total number of *chrétientés* was the most in this figure. In 1859-60, there was only one statistical report by Franclet, with only two *chrétientés*.

for about half.¹¹² Only in a few years, there were *chrétientés* that remained even. The consistent proportion of the positive and negative evaluation by different missionaries in this period demonstrated a relatively realistic attitude of the missionaries in the Manchuria Mission.

Positive Evaluation

Positive assessments of faith and piety were often gendered. Women were first of all role models of religious piety. In his parish report of 1850-51, Siméon Berneux wrote that, in Cha-ling, “Women are rather good; Men are always indifferent, a little progress.”¹¹³ Similarly, assessing the twelve *chrétientés* he visited in 1857-58, August Mallet concluded at least three times that “[while] the men are without faith, the women are rather good.”¹¹⁴ Mallet’s observations and disappointment were not unique. From the 1840s to the 1860s, the early years of the Manchuria Mission, most missionaries commented that women were more faithful than men.¹¹⁵

Perhaps for this reason, missionaries entrusted women with the responsibility for religious education. In his visit to Ka-li-ma, Berneux noticed that children below the age

¹¹² This may also be a strategic choice for the missionaries, especially in the early period of the Mission’s development, for the negative evaluation makes the mission even more urgent: that would facilitate the request for more resources from Rome and France. The latter, during that time, was witnessing a revived enthusiasm to support missionary movements worldwide (Daughton 2006, 25-55).

¹¹³ “Ses femmes assez bonnes— Ses hommes toujours tièdes, un peu de progrès.” Cha-ling, parish report of 1850-51 by missionary Berneux.

¹¹⁴ “hommes sans foi, femmes assez bien.” Parish report of 1857-58, by missionary Mallet.

¹¹⁵ However, there was very little detailed description of the piety of women in these parish reports. But the missionaries’ general impression of women’s piety is often demonstrated in their correspondence. In his letter of 1858, Dominique Maurice Pourquoié wrote a long letter to the M.E.P to report a life story of a pious Chinese Catholic woman. He concluded that this woman was representative of “a little flower” in China (AMEP 0562: 1378.1-1378.4).

of twenty were very ignorant. He wrote, angrily, in the observation column of that year's parish report, "In my next visit, if they [children under the age of 20] still do not know the Catechism, their mothers will not be allowed to confession."¹¹⁶ Berneux made an explicit gender line here that women should play a more important role in proselytizing.

Similarly, identifying specific families as good Catholic examples is a well-used strategy for missionaries of the Manchuria Mission in order to enhance the general religiosity of the whole community. In 1852, Charles Venault visited eight *chrétientés*. What impressed him most were not individual Catholics but Catholic families. When he noticed that some Christian families had included new members, he commented, "Good families [are] still peaceful and faithful."¹¹⁷ Siméon Berneux made more explicit comments about exemplary families. After his visit to the *chrétienté* of Sin-min-tuen in 1851, he wrote, "there is only one good Christian family, the Sieou, all the rest [are] truly insignificant."¹¹⁸ In 1854 when Mesnard visited Kia-sui-tse, he noticed the progress of the family Hounag and commented that "the Houang family is more enthusiastic about the Sacraments and the Regulations. They demonstrate perfect submission to the punishment I imposed on them."¹¹⁹

The missionary focus on exemplary Catholic families demonstrates the importance of family conversion in the local community and the M.E.P's strategy on

¹¹⁶ "Ses enfants jusqu'à 20 ans ignorans très ignorans. Si à la prochaine visite ils ne savent pas tout le catéch, pas de confession pour les mères." (1850-51, Berneux)

¹¹⁷ Bonnes familles toujours tranquilles et fidèles.

¹¹⁸ Une seule bonne famille les Sieou. Le reste très insignifiant.

¹¹⁹ Sa famille houang s'est montrée plus zélée vis à vis des sacrements et des règles. Soumission parfaite à la punition que je leur ai infligée.

conversion in the Manchuria Mission. Although the statistical data recorded in the parish reports cannot demonstrate the characteristic of family conversion, we do find other documents – the Catholic family register recorded by Jean Baptiste Franclet in 1854 – that show clearly in the Manchuria Mission, people converted to Christianity according to families much more significantly than as individuals.¹²⁰ Family conversion in the Manchuria Mission contextualizes the missionaries’ focus on families rather than individuals in their assessments of local religiosity. This is also a feature of Christianity in Northeast China.

An important determinant for positive assessment is the number of baptism, and baptism of pagans was the most exciting observation for missionaries. After his visit to Lien-chan, Pierre Alexandre Mesnard happily wrote, there was “great hope of conversion of pagans.”¹²¹ Mesnard’s visit to Nan-tche-tang in the same year also encouraged him about the proselytizing progress. He later commented on Nan-tche-tang, “More and more satisfied. Rather promising of converting pagans.”¹²² These comments correspond to the statistical record of the number of people baptized, both adults and children.

Similar to the baptism of pagans, missionaries were also interested in the progress of religious education, especially for children. In 1854, for example, Pierre Alexandre Mesnard noticed that the *chrétienté* of Kou-kia-toen was generally good, “regulated and

¹²⁰ Jean Baptiste Franclet, “Relevé: Géographique, Statistique, Enumératif, Historique & Magnifique du District des Monts Amba.” (AMEP 0563: 629-644) Discussion of this register is in Chapter Five of this dissertation. This Catholic family register recorded altogether 170 individual Catholic families under 91 different households (84 surnames) in 13 Catholic *chrétientés* distributed along *les Monts Amba*, or the area along the mountains of Nu’erhu, Songling, Heishan, and Yiwulu in today’s west Liaoning province.

¹²¹ “Grand espoir de conversions de payens.” (1853-54, Mesnard)

¹²² “De plus en plus satisfaisant. Observation assez exacte espoire de conversions de payens.”

correct ... except some ignorant children, all the rest are good.”¹²³ In Fan-kia-tuen, however, Mesnard wrote that he felt quite relieved, because the religious instruction of children and religious holidays were no longer neglected. “No longer that bad. Much better than before.”¹²⁴ In his visit to Siao-hei-chan in 1850-51, Siméon Berneux also commented that this community was generally “good,” but “it is necessary to make sure of the study of the Catechism.”¹²⁵ The emphasis on the religious education, or the study of the Catechism, demonstrated the M.E.P missionaries’ understanding that Catholic faith of the local converts was to be found in the continuous religious education. The promise of local religious education meant the progress of local religiosity and the better understanding of faith.

Negative Evaluation

Compared to positive ones, negative assessments contain more information about local converts’ daily activities, most of which, however, are about behavioral transgression instead of ritual compliance. From 1850-1865, the M.E.P missionaries listed a number of transgressions of the Catholic doctrine: indifference, apathy, avarice, laziness and scandalousness (Table 5.2). “Indifference,” for example, was a popular nineteenth-century concern of Catholics not only in China but also in Europe. “Scandalousness” and “ignorance” were common terms to describe pagan converts.

¹²³ “Chrétienté réglée et exacte ... Hormis cela et l’ignorance de quelques enfants, tout va bon train.”

¹²⁴ “N’étaient l’instruction des enfans et le chaumage [jour chaumé] trop négligés, ne serait pas mal. Beaucoup mieux que par le passé.”

¹²⁵ “Bon. Il faut veillez au catéchisme.”

“Laziness” had special meaning in the Manchuria Mission, as the Catechism emphasized diligence and the time devoted to religious study. By “laziness,” the missionaries often meant the neglect of the study of the Catechism or of the fieldwork required to them by the Church.

Table 5.2 Comments on Negative Assessment of Local Faith

Problem	Comment	<i>Chrétienté</i>	Year	Missionary
About faith and education				
No faith	“Poor Xen-iang, no life, no faith.” ¹²⁶	Xen-iang	1850-51	Berneux
Tepid	“Community very tepid” ¹²⁷	Pai-kia-tai	1850-51	Colin
Indifference	“Fall again into apathy.” ¹²⁸	I-tcheou	1853-54	Mesnard
Scandalous	“Scandalous community.” ¹²⁹	Tie-ling	1856-57	Mallet
Ignorance of Religious Education/ Catechism	“Children under 20 are very ignorant. If in the next visit they [children] still do not know all the Catechism, their mothers cannot be allowed to confession.” ¹³⁰	Ka-li-ma	1850-51	Berneux
About behavior and transgression				
Avarice	“Tepid and Avarice” ¹³¹	Se-kia-tse	1865	Boyer
Miserly	“Passable, but miserly community.” ¹³²	Kin-tchoeu	1861	Métayer
Laziness	“Always lazy and negligence of religious holidays and the public prayers.” ¹³³	Ing-chou-pou-tse	1853-54	Mesnard
Gambling	“Some gamblers.” ¹³⁴	I-tcheou	1853-54	Mesnard
Opium-smoking	“Bad to the greatest degree ... two opium-smokers.” ¹³⁵	Hong-lo-sien	1853-54	Mesnard
Bigamy	“Bad to the greatest degree ... two opium-smokers, gamblers,	Hong-lo-sien	1853-54	Mesnard

¹²⁶ “Pauvre Xen Jang, sans vie, sans foi !!!”

¹²⁷ “Chrétienté assez tiède.”

¹²⁸ “Retombés dans leur apathie.”

¹²⁹ “Chrétientés scandaleuses.”

¹³⁰ “Ses enfants jusqu’à 20 ans ignorants très ignorants. Si à la prochaine visite ils ne savent pas tout le catéch, pas de confession pour les mères.”

¹³¹ “Tepidi et avari”

¹³² “Passable, mais ladre chrétienté”

¹³³ “Toujours paresseux et négligeant les chaumages [jours chaumés] et les prières en commun.”

¹³⁴ “Quelques joueurs.”

¹³⁵ “Mauvais au suprême degré... deux fumeurs d'opium.”

Illicit Marriage	bigamy.” ¹³⁶ “Other Christians who participated or assisted illicit marriage.” ¹³⁷	Kia-sui-tse	1853-54	Mesnard
Drinking alcohol on Sundays	“Women are very good, but men sometimes escape Sunday Mass to drink firewater.” ¹³⁸	San-tai-tse	1850-51	Berneux

And then there were such notorious secular activities as gambling, opium smoking, drinking, illicit marriage and bigamy. All these violated the Catholic behavioral rules set by the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission: Gamblers cannot be admitted to sacraments without serious amendment (RMM 3.8.2); opium-smokers can be refused absolution in confession (RMM 1.4.3); drinking alcohol on Sundays is not allowed; and illicit marriage and bigamy definitely violate Catholic doctrine. Such violations, however, were common in Northeast China, where people were well known for gambling and drinking rice firewater. In this sense, converting to Catholicism, for many local Chinese, also meant changing such behavior.

Besides the behavioral transgression, some negative comments about ethnicity and Chinese morality are also noticeable. Ethnicity was not a major concern for the M.E.P missionaries in terms of conversion, but they did notice ethnicity in their annual parish reports, for Northeast China is the homeland of the Manchus who conquered China and founded the last imperial dynasty (Qing Dynasty, 1644-1912) in the Chinese history. In the early nineteenth century when the M.E.P established the Manchuria Mission,

¹³⁶ “Mauvais au suprême degré... deux fumeurs d'opium, joueurs, bigamie.”

¹³⁷ “Autres chrétiens qui ont participé ou assisté au mariage illicite.”

¹³⁸ “Ses femmes très bonnes. Les hommes escamotent parfois quelques dimanches [pour] verres d'eau de vie.”

Emmanuel Verrolles recorded in his very first report of the Mission that the *chrétienté* of Chum-heu-so had more than 120 Christians. All of them are “Ki-jen,” or Banner-men,¹³⁹ who were employed by the Qing Court, and their conversion to Christianity was dated in the eighteenth year of Jiaqing Emperor, or 1813.¹⁴⁰ In the mid-nineteenth century, Manchu conversion was considered an integral part of proselytizing in Northeast China. In a few cases, M.E.P missionaries noticed the difference between Manchus and Han Chinese. In 1852, missionary Charles Joseph Venault visited A-xe-ho-tum-xan and commented, “Chinese are better than Manchus. The Manchus have no hope at all. But the Christians [in general] are a little better than last year.”¹⁴¹

Although the Manchus might seem worse than Chinese in terms of conversion, the M.E.P missionaries, in general, were worried about the weak morality in China. In his letter of 1858, Dominique Maurice Pourquié summarized three characteristics of ignorant Chinese: egoism, indifference, and realism (*l'égotisme, l'indifférence et le*

¹³⁹ In the Qing dynasty, the Manchus set up the so-called "Eight Banners" system, a basically military institution, in order to provide a structure with which the Manchu "bannermen" were meant to identify.

¹⁴⁰ AMEP 0563: 132. As Banner-men are not necessarily ethnic Manchus (Elliott 2001, 13-15), we cannot identify whether Chum-heu-so is a Manchu Catholic community or not, though this is indeed the first and only record we can find about the Banner-men Catholic community in the early history of the Manchuria Mission. Due to the very limited source material, there is so far very little attention paid to early Christians of Manchuria except to a few cases of individual Manchu converts, who were considered either the elite banner men or Qing court relatives. One example is Tong Guoqi (d. 1690), who was the first Manchu ever converted to Christianity. Tong, however, was raised in Wuchang, Nanjing and Ningbo, and served as governor of Fujian, Jiangxi, and Zhejiang. All these places were covered by Catholic mission since the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He received baptism in 1672 as court-official, yellow banner man, and maternal uncle (*jiujiu*) of the emperor. Discussion of Tong and several other early Manchu converts is in Standaerd 2001: 444-457. Most Christians from this small elite group were raised in places covered by early Catholic missions other than Manchuria, such as Tong Guoqi who grew up in Nanjing and converted in Ningbo. Conversion of this small group of elite Manchu is exceptional and in fact has little to do with other conversions in the vast rural area of Manchuria, either geographically or culturally.

¹⁴¹ “A xe ho tum xan, “Il n’y a aucune espérance ce auprès des mauchou et peu auprès des Chinois, les chrétiens vont un peu mieux que l’année dernière.”

réalisme).¹⁴² In fact, after his visit to Song-chou-tsouei-tse in 1854, Mesnard pointed out in his report that Chinese had moral weakness in religion. Such moral weakness among Chinese used to make it hard to discuss faith with these converts. But after the visit of 1854, he wrote, the “vices of the Chinese nature seems no longer exist, and there is more desire for faith and ferventness.”¹⁴³ These judgments about ethnicity and morality often impacted the missionary assessment. After commenting on the Manchus, Venault gave a negative assessment of that community. Similarly, the progress of Song-chou-tsouei-tse in 1854 made Mesnard give a positive assessment. The missionary measuring local religiosity shows an important method of the missionary effort to assess Catholic faith in nineteenth-century Northeast China.

Changing Evaluation

Table 5.3 Changing Assessments of Faith

Total Individual Communities Recorded: 94					
Recorded Once: 38		Recorded Repetitive: 56			
Positive	Negative	Changing		Unchanging	
16	22	14		42	
		Changing	Changing	Remain	Remain
		Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
		9	5	23	19

While most community evaluations remained the same, some were changing over time, and often for the better. In 1850-51, Pierre Alexandre Colin found Pa-kia-tai

¹⁴² AMEP 0562: 1378.1-1378.4.

¹⁴³ 1853-54 parish report by Mesnard.

“rather indifferent.”¹⁴⁴ In 1851-52, after his annual visit, Colin revised his previous assessment of Pa-kia-tai and reported it as “a little less indifferent.”¹⁴⁵ Eight years later, when Charles Joseph Venault visited Pa-kia-tai, he concluded that earlier converts “appeared rather zealous ... and the later [converts] are very good.”¹⁴⁶ Table 4.3 illustrates that, from 1850 to 1865, the general state of the local Catholic communities in the Manchuria Mission was not perfect, but the situation was indeed improving. Among the 38 assessed-once communities, negative assessments counted for more than half; 19 of the 56 assessed-more-than-once communities remained negative. Most of these negative communities were recorded as either “tepid” or “indifferent,” which often suggested the lack of local converts’ participation in the required sacraments such as confession or communion, the lack of religious education such as the study of the Catechism, or the violation of Christian doctrines prescribed by the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission. In contrast to the barely-half communities negatively assessed, the other half appeared promising. 23 of the 42 relatively stable communities remained faithful. Nine of the 14 changed communities moved toward the positive. Such positive re-assessments often embodied local converts’ improvements in either ritual participation or religious education.

¹⁴⁴ “Chrétienté assez tiède.”

¹⁴⁵ “Chrétienté un peu moins tiède.”

¹⁴⁶ “Les premiers se montre assez zélé.”

Table 5.4 Changing Assessment of three *Chrétientés*

<i>Chrétienté</i>	Year	Observation	Annual Confession	Repetitive Confession	Communion Annual	Communion Repetitive	Baptism	Confirmation	Non Confession
Changing Positive									
	1850-51								
	[Colin]	Rather tepid ¹⁴⁷	5		3				
	1851-52								
	[Colin]	a little less tepid ¹⁴⁸ The earlier [converts] appear rather zealous ... the later [converts] are very good. ¹⁴⁹	4						
Pa-kia-tai	1860								
	[Venault]	Poor Xen-iang, no life, no faith!!! ¹⁵⁰	13	15	10	13	2		
	1850-51		186	15	80	9	43	1	20
	[Berneux]	Progress toward good ¹⁵¹	149		100		78		91
Xen-iang	[Pourquié]								
Changing Negative									
	1850-51								
	[Colin]	Rather good ¹⁵²	104	30	58	25	32		
	1851-52								
	[Colin]	Rather good ¹⁵³	100	10	50	8	65	5	2
	1858-59								
	[Boyer]	Indolent ¹⁵⁴	181	85	108	54	53		3
Se-kia-tse	1865								
	[Boyer]	Tepid and avarice ¹⁵⁵	195	52	110	30	119	14	70

Table 5.4 selects three *chrétientés* as examples to examine the links between statistical records and the missionary's literal assessments. The table shows no fixed

¹⁴⁷ "Assez tiède."

¹⁴⁸ "Un peu moins tiède."

¹⁴⁹ "Les premiers se montre assez zélé... les seconds sont bien bons."

¹⁵⁰ "Pauvre Xen-iang, sans vie, sans foi !!!"

¹⁵¹ "Du progres vers le bien."

¹⁵² "Chrétienté assez bonne."

¹⁵³ "Chrétienté assez bonne."

¹⁵⁴ "Indolents par crasserie."

¹⁵⁵ "Tepidi et avari."

criteria can be concluded between the frequency of the participation in the sacraments and the missionary assessments. However, some implications can be observed between the numbers and the evaluations: 1) the increase of annual confession is often a sign of improvement. The number of annual confessions and annual communions in Pa-kia-tai, for example, both increased from 1850 to 1860. Accordingly, the missionary assessment improved from “rather indifferent” in 1850-51 to “a little less indifferent” in 1851-52, and to “the earlier [converts] appeared to be zealous ... the later [converts] are very good” in 1860. 2) The increase of annual confession and communion, however, are not the only determinant. In the case of Xen-iang, from 1850 to 1862, although the annual confession and non-confessors virtually decreased, the missionary evaluation improved. This may be largely due to the increase of baptism. In addition, the decrease of confession and the number of non-confessors also matter in this case; the evaluations of Xen-iang improve, but the general comments are still with the reservation that this community is just in “progress toward good.” 3) When the total number of converts increased, the number of annual confession and communion spontaneously increased as well. In the case of Se-kia-tse, the decrease in the repetitive confession and communion from 1858 to 1865 (and the dramatic increase of non-confessor) may have become fatal to the deteriorated assessments.

Examining assessments of other *chrétientés* also demonstrates that frequency of sacraments – especially confession, communion, and baptism – are the most important measures to assessment a community’s religiosity. The most faithful *chrétientés* often

observed the highest frequency of confession and communion. Confirmation, however, remained less significant. Higher frequency of annual confession and communion often meant higher frequency of repetitive confession and repetitive communion. This shows that in the good Catholic communities one found converts so ardent to participate in these sacraments that they often participated more than once.

MEASURING RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

Analysis of the statistics of local converts' religious behavior demonstrates two distinct features of proselytizing and Christianity in Northeast China. First, children were initially the majority of those baptized. Secondly, it was in the early twentieth century that Chinese Catholics became devout in terms of the practice of sacraments. This is not only due to the sharply increasing number of Catholics and active laity. More importantly, it is also due to the increase of religiosity and Church attendance that were shown by the repetitive confession and communion. No matter how much the total Catholic population increased during this formative century, about half of the Catholics remained indifferent and did not participate in annual confession and annual communion. The change of religious intensity in the early twentieth century owed to the other half, who was deeply involved in Church practice. It is this devoted half who finally transformed the Chinese Catholic community in terms of Christian faith.

In this part I analyze individual and collective religious activities – specifically confession, communion, baptism, and confirmation – to which the M.E.P missionaries

paid the most attention. Focusing more on the visible ritual behaviors, I aim to explore how the Church's mission strategy constructs the religious experience of Chinese Catholic converts. I take San-tai-tse, one of the few *chrétientés* that have records of religious behavior over half a century and one of the earliest M.E.P *chrétientés* in Northeast China that remain Catholic till today, as an example to explore each practice in detail.¹⁵⁶ I also compare the religious experience of *San-tai-tse* to the whole mission in order to see how the local convert's religiosity and religious behavior on the ground display themselves within the boundary conditions defined by the conceptual and linguistic framework discussed in chapter two.

Baptism

“If Christian parents who do not follow religious duty present their children to be baptized, the missionary should agree to their request even though the indifference of the parents is excessive and even if the missionary cannot guarantee the future education of the children.”
(RMM 1.1.11)

Baptism is the most significant milestone in a Christian's life. It is the symbol of entering the Church and accepting a new identity of Christian. In a new mission in a pagan land, baptism represents the most important evangelistic strategy. The regulation of the Manchuria mission lists baptism at the very beginning and specifies fifteen specific rules to regulate each aspect of the ritual. Among the fifteen rules, seven are for

¹⁵⁶ San-tai-tse is also the focus of Chapter Seven in this dissertation. Chapter Seven analyzes private letters written by three Chinese Catholic women of the family Tou who lived in San-tai-tse and the Tou letters were written and sent out from San-tai-tse.

missionaries to regulate their behavior and administration during the ritual in order to confirm the validity of the baptism. Other eight rules are about the qualification of the people to be baptized, among which three are about children. In fact the most significant yet controversial issues in the mission are about children as figure 5.2 shows.

Figure 5.2 Baptism of Adults and Children in San-tai-tse, 1843-1915

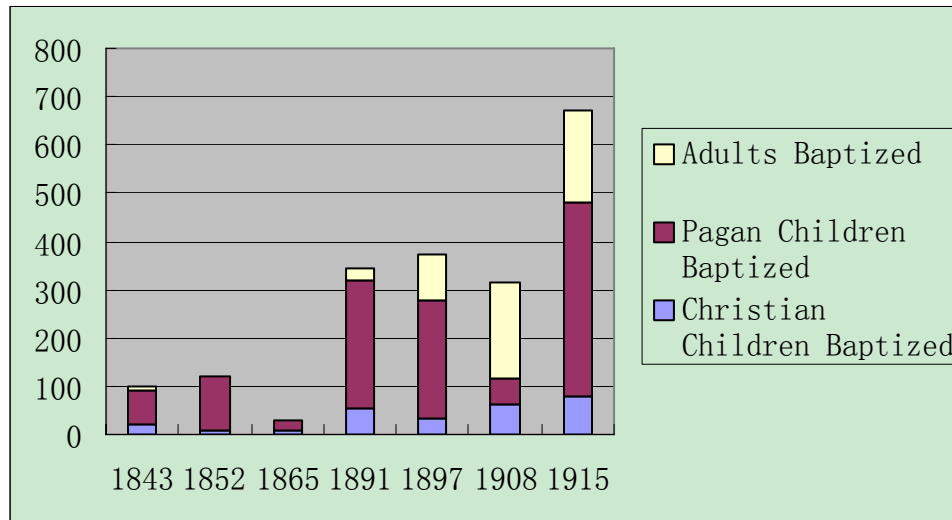
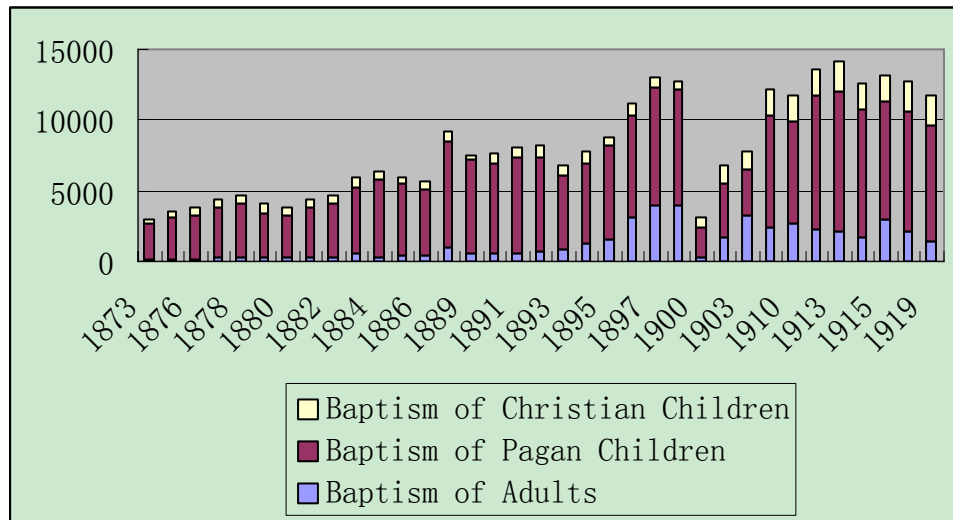


Figure 5.3 Baptism of Adults and Children in the Manchuria Mission, 1873-1919



In the first period from 1843 to 1897, the number of children baptized in San-tai-tse was much higher than the number of adults baptized. Adult baptism did not increase

significantly until the end of the nineteenth century. Among the baptized children, children from pagan families were more than children from Christian families. This result demonstrates that the mission in San-tai-tse depended on the baptism of children, especially the (dying) pagan children, in the whole nineteenth century.

At any particular time in history, however, children are not always the majority of those baptized. In 1908, for example, the number of adults baptized in San-tai-tse doubled while the total number of children baptized decreased. In the same period the total number of Christians in San-tai-tse increased more than five times from 843 in 1891 to 2904 in 1915. This unusual change shows that the pattern of baptism and mission expansion in San-tai-tse had changed at this time, largely due to the increase of older people's conversion. This irregular baptism quota in San-tai-tse, however, did not occur in the whole mission. As figure 5.3 shows, the baptism of children was always predominating even during the turn of the century when adult baptism increased a lot. The unique phenomenon of sudden increase of San-tai-tse's adult conversion in 1908 may be the increase of religious tension in that period which was often caused by natural disaster, war and the subsequent need for a sense of security. Since adults were more sensitive to the challenge caused by natural or social catastrophe, they would choose to join the Church for a sense of community and belonging.

In spite of the irregular change in a particular time, examination of baptism in the *chrétienté* over the long term verifies the importance of children in a local Catholic community. In fact the preponderance of child baptism in the local Catholic community

shows a significant mission strategy in nineteenth-century rural China. Except at one particular time at the turn of the twentieth century, the Mission's focus in conversion is always on children. According to missionary Philibert Simon, San-tai-tse was a "true Christian parish" like "a delicious oasis in the desert of paganism." (Briand 1878, 208) This is largely due to the baptism of children, which makes conversion at this time less a social than a biological production.

The controversy is, however, that the bar of children baptism is rather low in the early years of the mission. As the above quotation shows, according to the regulation, even children from an indifferent Christian family should be baptized without question. Admission of children was the foremost task regardless of their indifferent parents or future education. The San-tai-tse type of baptism is even more distinct in the whole mission as the figure 5.2 shows. In other words, in the Manchuria mission making more Christians is seemingly the foremost task than making good Christians in this period.

Confirmation

"People who present for the confirmation should be instructed on the nature, dignity and facts of the sacrament. They will prepare to receive it with dignity by some exercise of piety suggested to them by the missionary." (RMM 1.2.3)

Confirmation demonstrates another milestone in a Christian's life, but ironically, it is the least significant ritual in the Manchuria Mission. According to the Catholic doctrine, conformation is a sacrament given to those already baptized in order to make

them strong and perfect Christians, a symbol of the completion of the process of conversion. It can be conferred only on those who have already been baptized and have not yet been confirmed. The Catechism of the Council of Trent says that the sacrament can be administered to all persons after baptism, and adds that it is most fitting that the sacrament be deferred until the child is seven years old. The regulations of the Manchuria mission, however, give no rule about the age of confirmation. Among the only three rules for confirmation, two are about missionaries who must be authorized by the Bishop to conduct this ritual. The only rule about the converts, however, includes an ambiguous statement of the qualifications to receive confirmation.

Table 5.5 Confirmation in San-tai-tse, 1843-1915

Year	1843	1850	1852	1862	1865	1891	1915
Confirmation	17	4	7	5	10	75	136

As the table 5.5 shows, before the 1870s, the number of confirmations remained insignificant and relatively stable in San-tai-tse. There are two reasons that may explain this situation. One is that people in San-tai-tse did not consider confirmation as an important or necessary sacrament. Many people actually did not do confirmation after their baptism. The other reason lies in that confirmation is usually offered to converts after seven years old. Before the 1860s most people baptized were children, especially pagan children under seven years old. From the 1890s to 1915 when the number of missionaries and local priests increased significantly, the number of confirmations in

San-tai-tse also increased. This matches the general pattern of the whole mission, although the latter undulated in certain years.

Confession

“All penitents, whether criminal or scandal, should be given access to the Holy Tribunal, so long as he is seriously able to repent the scandal and to perform all other satisfaction required by the Church. The priest can refuse holy absolution to these people, but the priest cannot refuse to listen to their confession.” (RMM 1.4.1)

The first rule of “penitence” in the regulation of Manchuria mission states that confession is a ritual bequeathed to all converts regardless of their sins. Priests have the right to determine whether divine forgiveness is bestowed but they cannot refuse to listen. Confession, according to this rule, is defined as a convert’s conscious and active behavior rather than an enforced activity. The imperative behind confession is the fear of hell. In other words, only those who believe in hell and holy absolution would confess proactively. The frequency of confession therefore is an indicator to show the convert’s degree of involvement and understanding of Christian faith.

All missionaries make an effort to count and record the local convert’s frequency of confession annually. San-tai-tse is one of the few *chrétientés* that have data of confession from mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Examining this *chrétienté*, the number of annual confession remained relatively stable for most of the nineteenth century, while the number of repetitive confessions was relatively insignificant.

According to the stable number of baptisms, the mission in San-tai-tse did not grow much in this period and Catholic converts did not show particular interest in confession. From 1891 to 1915, however, the number of annual confessions increased dramatically and San-tai-tse converts became much more zealous to confess more than once. Apparently the religious culture had changed in San-tai-tse and the religious tension became much worse. The dramatic change of religious culture was not unique in San-tai-tse. Comparing it to the data of the whole mission, from 1908 to 1915 we see a similar significant increase of repetitive confession in the South. The main change of the Mission in this period, on the one hand, was not the expansion, but rather the religious tension or the degree of religiosity. On the other hand, not every Catholic in San-tai-tse experienced the same religious culture change. From 1891 to 1915, only less than 2/3 of Catholics in San-tai-tse confessed. That is to say even in the most zealous years, more than 1/3 of San-tai-tse Catholics did not confession even once. In contrast, in 1908 and 1915, those who did confess confessed at least three times. They should have experienced significant religious tension in those two years.

Table 5.6 Confession in *San-tai-tse*, 1848-1915

Year	Confession Annually	Confession Repetitively	Number of Christians
1848	132	34	N/A
1851	173	17	N/A
1853	161	10	N/A
1891	558	N/A	863

1908	1581	6253	2340
1915	1794	6235	2904

The change of frequency of the local convert's confession demonstrates the changing degree of converts' religiosity. Obviously in San-tai-tse, the average zeal of confession remained low over the years. In the nineteenth century, annual confession was moderate. Repetitive confession was even more insignificant. Until the turn of the century while the mission had gained great expansion, the Christians in San-tai-tse became two distinct groups. Those who did confess became even more obsessive, and those who were indifferent remained lukewarm. In other words, Catholics in Manchuria need a relatively long time to truly embrace the ritual of absolution, for about half of the Chinese converts in San-tai-tse who never confessed, and their Catholic identity cannot represent their understanding of faith.

Table 5.7 Non-Confession in San-tai-tse, 1850-1915

Year	Non Confession, Absent or <i>absentes</i>	Non Confession, Tepid or <i>tiédes</i>	Non Confession, Children	Total Number of Christians	Percentage of Total Non Confession
1850	3	2			
1862	3	7	35		
1865	2	2	30		
1891		35	122	863	18%

1908	33	24	678	2340	31%
1915	44	17	932	2904	34%

Over half a century, children were always the majority of those who did not confess in San-tai-tse. As Franclet's 1854 Catholic family register shows, children who were too young to confess usually composed the majority of a Christian community in Manchuria especially in the early years of the mission. The number of children shown in the figure 5.3 is thus reasonable. The number of adult converts who did not confess due to clear reasons remained insignificant. *Absentes* and *tiédes* are two explanations given by the missionary to these non-confessors.¹⁵⁷ No matter *absentes*, *tiédes*, or *pareseux*, the small number of non-confessors is not representative of the large number of converts who did not confess. In fact these words that missionaries used to explain various reasons why some converts did not confess are completely subjective. It is almost impossible to know the reason why certain converts did not confess. The missionary effort in using these words demonstrates their predominant emphasis on the importance of confession in promoting a local community's religiosity. But their effort to raise the degree of local converts' faith was unfortunately insignificant as the above figures demonstrate.

¹⁵⁷ Except missionary Mesnard who was the only used *pareseux* or "laziness" instead of *tiédes* as his explanation.

Communion

“It is forbidden to set a fixed age for the children to receive the first communion, because all the faithful who are can reason, can receive the Eucharist as long as they are sufficiently taught and have the required dispositions.” (RMM 1.3.1)

As the most important ritual to build up and strengthen the common identity of a Christian community, communion is practiced with great significance in the Manchuria mission. It is a repetitive and collective activity that meant to be observed over and over throughout the life of a Christian. Children usually receive their first communion around seven or eight when they have reached the age of reason and are capable of participating in the sacramental life of the Roman Catholic Church. In northeast China, however, missionaries encouraged attendance of communion regardless of age. This would be seen as a strategy especially in the early years of a new mission.

As a collective activity conducted in a public and regulated occasion, communion demonstrates the general degree of a local community's religiosity. The numbers of both annual communion and repetitive communion were insignificant in the early years of the mission. The total number of Christians increased significantly after the division of the mission in 1898. So did the total number of people who received annual communion. But the percentage of converts who received annual communion remained almost the same from 1891 to 1908. As the total number of repetitive communions increased dramatically, it shows a similar pattern as confession: those who received communion received more than once. Particularly in 1908 and 1915, those who received communion

had attended the rite at least 10 times per year. This means that those who were faithful became incredibly fervent while those who were indifferent remained indifferent regardless of the dramatic change of other converts' behavior.

Table 5.8 Communion in San-tai-tse 1846-1915

Year	Annually	Repetitively	Number of Christians	Percentage of Communion
1846	66	29	N/A	N/A
1850	87	14	N/A	N/A
1852	84	8	N/A	N/A
1891	399	N/A	863	46%
1908	1102	16702	2340	47%
1915	1585	20166	2904	55%

Communion offers local converts not only the sense of community but also the implication of Church structure and mission administration. As communion requires the presence of missionary or local priests, frequency of communion of a local community demonstrates the community's importance in the administration of the whole mission. In the early years, due to the very limited number of Church personnel, missionaries only visited selective *chrétientés*. San-tai-tse is obviously among the most selective ones. Especially in the first two decades of the twentieth century, either missionaries or indigenous priests frequented this *chrétienté* and the repetitive communion increased dramatically.

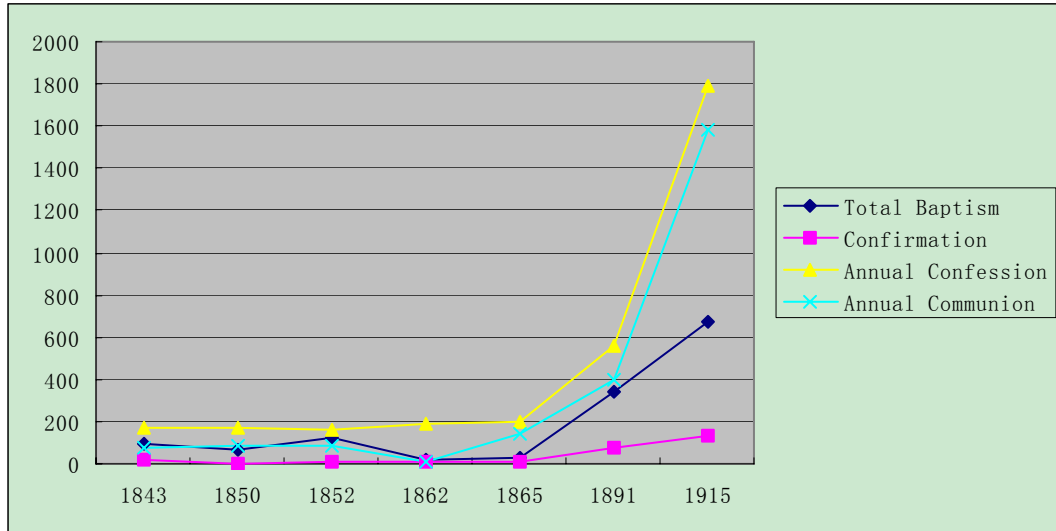
The frequency of San-tai-tse communion over the years and especially the significant number of repetitive communion in 1908 and 1915 show that San-tai-tse did not develop into a community with strong Christian identity until the early twentieth century. Although only about half of Christians remained receiving annual communion, this half of the Christian population demonstrated an impressive community passion. This may well explain why San-tai-tse survived so many devastating anti-Christian movements in the twentieth century and remained a prominent Catholic community till today.

Ritual Behavior in Comparison

If we compare baptism, confirmation, confession and communion in San-tai-tse, figure 5.4 demonstrates that annual confession is the most practiced ritual among the four and the number of converts who confessed at least once a year is always higher than the number of converts who received annual communion. Obviously not all of those who confessed followed the rituals strictly, because in theory, all converts who confessed should go to receive communion afterwards. The practice of San-tai-tse is not much different from that of the whole mission. As figure 5.4 shows, except a very brief period from 1873 to 1876 when annual confession and annual communion were at a similar rate, practice of annual confession is always more significant than that of communion. As confession is rather private compared to the community and public activity of

communion, we would argue that converts in the Manchuria mission prefer individual practice rather than community activity over the years.¹⁵⁸

Figure 5.4 San-tai-tse Sacraments in Comparison 1843-1915

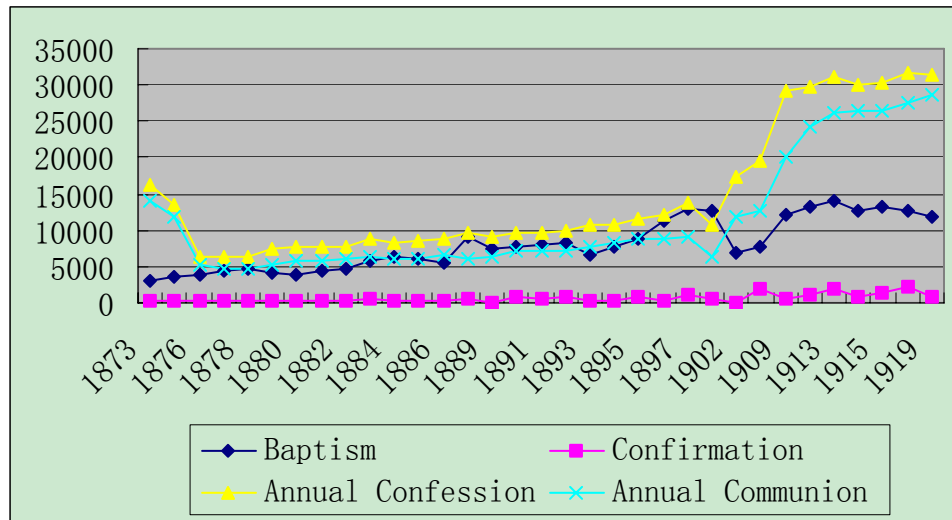


As one-time sacraments, in San-tai-tse, both baptism and confirmation keep a steady pace of increase since the second half of the nineteenth century. In the whole mission, except a few periods during the devastating anti-Christian movements (the Boxer Rebellion, for example) the total number of baptism doubled since the turn of the century. Confirmation, however, remains insignificant and constant in spite of the change of religious intensity. The possible reasons to explain the insignificance of confirmation are: a) Confirmation is seen the “rite of passage” for Christian children at the age about seven. If the majority of converts were infants and children below the reasonable age, there would be only a small number of confirmations; b) Converts did not

¹⁵⁸ This was in part due to the shortage of missionaries or local priests working in local communities. Local converts could not conduct necessary community ritual without the presence of necessary missionaries or priests.

consider confirmation a necessary religious practice even in the years of high religiosity and missionaries did not push the implement of this ritual for various reasons, which was not totally due to the lack of personnel, because since the 1870s more missionaries joined the mission but the number of confirmation did not increase.

Figure 5.5 Sacraments in Comparison of the Manchuria Mission 1873-1919



After the division of the Mission in 1898, converts in San-tai-tse became zealous as the total number of annual confession and communion increased significantly. The same trend also occurred in the whole mission. It shows that the separation of the mission facilitated the rapid development of the mission and therefore turned the good Christian convert's religious behavior into a new phase of intensity. It also shows that it took about half a century for a *chrétienté* in northeast China such as San-tai-tse to develop into a Catholic community with strong religious identity.

CONCLUSION

Collected by M.E.P missionaries over half a century, the rich data of the local converts' religious behavior discussed in this chapter reveals the institutional aspects of religious life of local Chinese Catholic communities. Emphasis on the sacraments shows M.E.P missionaries' understanding of local converts' needs as primarily social or external. For missionaries, their ultimate concern is simply that the sacraments are administered and received. Persons of the community can thereby affirm themselves as Catholics, and Catholic practice will be faithfully kept. Sacraments in Catholicism gives each important stage of life a corresponding ritual. The believer is in this way continually reminded that every juncture of life should be accompanied by an act of faith and a renewal of commitment to the Catholic community. The rituals that are performed during these sacraments formed a part of the Catholic culture in nineteenth-century rural China.

The causality between local converts' religious behavior and their religiosity is assumed by the M.E.P missionaries. But the causality between the observable religious behavior and the missionary assessments of the local religiosity remained, to a large extent, personalized. Before the standard statistical form was widely used in the 1870s, M.E.P missionaries in the Manchuria Mission made clear their personal estimates of each *chrétienté's* degree of faith, and their estimates turned out to be, more or less, a self-justification. Their emphasis on local converts' behavioral transgression in the negative assessments reflects the highlights of behavioral doctrine in both the Catechism and the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission. It also suggests that in the transformation of

Christianity in northeast rural China, the M.E.P paid particular attention to behaviors, which were closely associated with the Church implementation of Catholic sacraments in these local communities. To routinize these ritual behaviors through the emphasis of Catholic behavior is an important strategy in the early years of the mission development.

My attempt in this chapter is to excavate local Chinese converts' collective religious behavior observed and assessed by the foreign missionaries over a relatively long term. To institutionalize sacraments and regulate religious behavior is the first and foremost step to establish Christianity into an alien land. But how the Catholic faith is disseminated, how the institution and community are established is another significant aspect to understand the local faith. In the following chapter, I am going to shift the focus from collective religious behavior to more structural aspects: the development of Church institution and local Catholic community. The establishment and transformation of the mission best illustrated the indigenization process of Christianity in China.

Chapter Six

Disseminating Faith: Population and Institution

The Manchuria Mission was one of the most successful missions of the M.E.P in the nineteenth century because of its fast growth and lasting influence. The Christian community came more fully into being in Northeast China in the 1840s after the Manchuria Mission was founded. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Catholic population in Manchuria had increased tenfold. And by 1919, the Catholic population had doubled again. By the early twentieth century, there were more than 400 Catholic communities (*chrétientés*) established in the Northeast mostly in the rural area. Although the twentieth century saw many political movements destructive to Christianity in China, almost all these Christian communities of the Manchuria Mission survive today.¹⁵⁹

This evangelical success was a product of the M.E.P's rural mission strategy as well as the indigenization of the Catholic Church in China.¹⁶⁰ In the early twentieth

¹⁵⁹ This observation is from the author's fieldwork in Northeast China in the summer of 2007.

¹⁶⁰ A more general background of the M.E.P's expansion in nineteenth-century China was the revival of missionary movements within France. When the Catholic missionary movement became French after the Napoleonic Era (Daughton 2006, 33-38), the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a boom in the number of French missionaries ardent to work abroad. In nineteenth-century Lyon, for example, there was a boom of the number of missionaries ordained to the mission of evangelization. In 1877, there were about 70 missionaries ordained. In 1862 and 1902, there were 92 and 71 missionaries sent out for evangelization respectively. From 1858 to 1912 there were altogether about 550 Lyon missionaries committed to evangelization in the world Catholic mission. The number of missionaries ordained to work abroad was almost as high as the number of priests ordained to work in France (Essertel 2001, 98). These French

century, the number of M.E.P missionaries reached 60 in the Manchuria Mission; and most of these missionaries resided in rural Catholic communities. The M.E.P's focus in the rural turned out to be crucial for its expansion. The Church personnel in those rural Catholic communities also underwent a significant transformation in this period. The increasing number of indigenous priests, catechists, and Lay Christians became essential to the Church and the routine work of evangelization. These significant changes have shaped many contemporary Catholic communities. In this sense, the success of Christianity in Northeast China today depends largely on the fundamental work of the M.E.P and the transformation of Church personnel from the second half of the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries.

The M.E.P's rural strategy in Manchuria marks an important departure that differs from the early Jesuit focus on urban elites. With the exception of a few cities, the M.E.P focused on counties and villages to disseminate Catholicism, regardless of their political importance and economic development. If we compare the strategy of the Manchuria Mission to what Nicolas Standaert called the determinative "four factors" of Jesuits' Christian expedition into China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – the center rather than the periphery, the city rather than the countryside, personal relationship, and imperial policy-driven (HCC: 538-543) – it is clear that the M.E.P developed its own strategies. First, most *chrétientés* of Manchuria were located in the countryside. Several

Catholic missionaries produced a missionary century of evangelization in many parts of the world. In Asia, the main area of Catholic evangelization is the Far East, especially the Northeast Asia including Korea and Northeast China.

residences in the countryside, such as Pa-kia-tse and Cha-ling, were as important as cities. The choice of major residences in Manchuria was not predominately politically- or economically-driven. Secondly, the early Jesuits' strategy of developing Christianity in terms of personal relationships was only applicable to proselytizing within kinship in rural communities. Since there was little prior Christian heritage in Manchuria, the Mission's expansion depended more on proactive ambition rather than personal relationship between elites and officials. Such missionary ambition was best shown by the successive exploration to the extreme North. In spite of several massacres during the expeditions, the expansion to the North finally resulted in the separation of the Mission South and Mission North in 1898. In a sense, the M.E.P's Manchuria Mission in the nineteenth century was much more ambitious than earlier Catholic missions in China.

A careful examination in this chapter – of the M.E.P's proselytizing strategies on the one hand and local Christians' involvement on the other – illustrates a critical development and transformation of Christianity in Northeast China. It also shifts our focus from understanding Christianity in China as a cultural contact constructed by writings of foreign missionaries and Chinese elite converts to the down-to-ground study of what structures such contact.

THE MANCHURIA MISSION

Establishment in 1838

On August 14, 1838, Pope Gregory XVI established the Manchuria-Mongolia Mission; two years later, the Manchuria-Mongolia Mission was further divided. The independent Manchuria Mission, or the Vicariate Apostolic of Manchuria, was established on August 28, 1840. Gregory XVI's decision to detach Manchuria and Mongolia from the Beijing diocese and found a new mission closely corresponded to the power shift within the Roman Catholic Church, specifically the rise of France and the decline of Portugal.¹⁶¹ The founding of the Manchuria Mission declared the Church's resolution to reduce the Portuguese protectorate of the Catholic mission in China. In 1696, Manchuria was first separated from the Beijing diocese by the decree of Innocent XII and was placed under the Portuguese patronage. In 1838, when the Manchuria Mission was officially founded, the Roman Catholic Church decided to entrust the mission to the French M.E.P.¹⁶² The M.E.P's take-over of Manchuria marked a new age

¹⁶¹ Beijing diocese was founded by Pope Alexander VIII in 1690. Both Beijing and Nanjing dioceses were granted to the Portuguese foreign hierarchy in the same year.

¹⁶² This decision marked the beginning of the final defeat of Portuguese in China and enraged the Portugal Queen Maria II who still had the right of nomination to the Beijing diocese. In 1841, Maria II nominated Portuguese missionary Zhao Ruowang to be the administrator of Beijing diocese after the death of Gaetano Pires Pereira in 1838. This nomination however was turned down by Rome who only agreed to assign Zhao to be the vicar apostolic. Zhao refused to accept this assignment as defiance against the Rome's policy to reduce Portugal's right in China and left for Macao in 1847. In the same year, he submitted an appeal against French missionaries, including a charge against Verrolles the new French bishop in Manchuria. In 1857, in order to eliminate the Portuguese *Padroado* in Mainland China, Pope Gregory XVI abolished the Beijing and Nanjing dioceses and replaced them by vicariates apostolic, over which the Portuguese kings had no nomination rights. Portugal National Archives of Torre do Tombo, 1113/C0605-056/CX.01.R, 03/0265. See also Liu Fang and Zhang Wenqin eds. *Chinese Documents on Macau in the Qing: Archives at Arquivo Nacional/Torre do Tombo in Portugal*, volume 2: 526.

of Catholic missions in China, one conducted under French missionaries and the French protectorate.¹⁶³

A more favorable situation for Catholic missions in China and Europe in the nineteenth century also facilitated the establishment of an independent Manchuria Mission. The century-long prohibition of Christian mission in China initiated in 1724 naturally saw a decline in the number of foreign missionaries. By 1800, the number had dropped to about only 26. Two decades before the issuance of Tianjin Treaty of 1858, which officially restored the right of open Christian mission, European missionaries began to return to China. In 1830, for example, the M.E.P sent out five missionaries to Asia, including Emmanuel Verrolles and Pierre Mariette to Sichuan, Pierre Borie and M. de la Mothe to Tong-kin (Vietnam), and M. Perboyre, who died during the journey. At about the same time, Chinese Christians in the Beijing and Nanjing dioceses and other provinces sent out a number of petitions to Rome to request the return of European missionaries, in particular Jesuits (Huang 2006). This was partly a response of Chinese Christians to the restoration of the Society of Jesus in Europe in 1814. The Catholic revival in Europe in the early nineteenth century also witnessed the beginning of a missionary revival overseas (Daughton 2006, 25-55). In 1816, Fr. Denis Chaumont started a journal with a report of M.E.P missionaries in Asia. In 1822, the Society of the Propagation of the Faith was founded in Lyons, which was dedicated to preaching the

¹⁶³ Since the Lazarists and Scheuts' missions in North China and West Mongolia were relatively stable, the founding of the Manchuria Mission became primarily a fight with the Portuguese. For the rise of the French protectorate in China, see Cole 1940: 473-491.

Gospel in non-Catholic countries. In 1843, Charles de Forbin-Janson founded the Society of the Holy Childhood, which supported exclusively the protection and baptism of children “in danger or on the verge of death” and the care of non-Catholic children, initially in China. In this European (mostly French) missionary movement, the Manchuria Mission was one of the many missions newly established in Asia.

The Roman Catholic Church assigned the M.E.P to the Manchuria Mission, and the M.E.P missionary Emmanuel Jean Francois Verrolles, working previously in Sichuan, was appointed the first Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of Manchuria. (Photo 6.1) Verrolles was born in Caen in 1805. He joined the M.E.P at the age of 23 and arrived in Macao in 1831. Having spent 15 months in Macao studying Chinese, he arrived in Sichuan in 1832 and did significant mission work there. When Verrolles was assigned to Manchuria, he was director of College de l’Annonciation in Mopin.¹⁶⁴ On his journey from Sichuan to Manchuria, he was ordained as the bishop of Colombie by Mgr Salvetti on November 8, 1840, in Tai-yuan-fu of Shanxi province. By passing Si-wan in Mongolia, Verrolles met M. Mouly, the French Lazarist and Bishop of Mongolia who later became administrators of the Beijing diocese. Eight months after he left Sichuan, in May 1840, Verrolles finally arrived in Yang-kouan, a community of east Manchuria composed of 180 Christians. It was at the moment when Verrolles finally presented on the land of Liaodong that Christianity in Manchuria entered a new phase of development.

¹⁶⁴ For the study of the M.E.P seminary in Mopin, see Roux 2008.

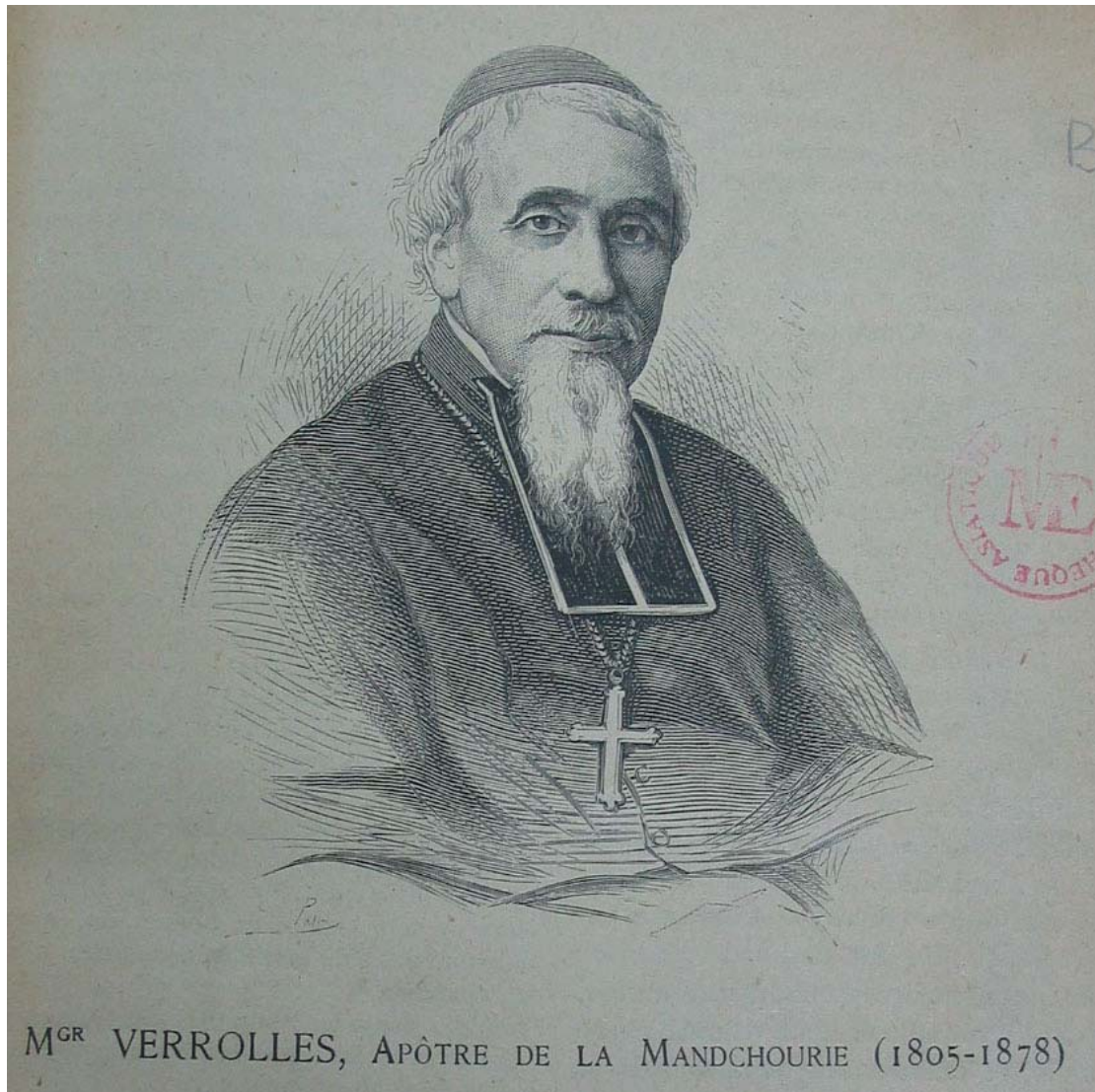


Photo 6.1: Emmanuel Verrolles. Source: *Annales de la Société Missions Etrangères et de l'Oeuvre de Paris* (Mar 27, 1904): 1.

Division in 1898

Table 6.1 Manchuria Mission South and North in 1898

	South	North
Catholics	20050	7568
<i>Chrétientés</i>	234	46
Seminaries	2	1
Seminary Students	49	
Catechists	115	
Schools	147	36
School Students	2828	966
Orphanages	14	5
Orphans	1180	210

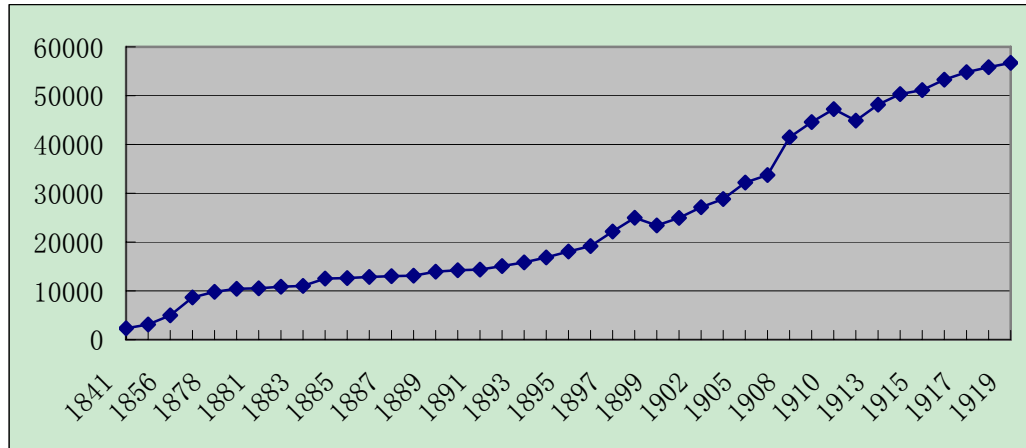
Given the rise in the number of Catholics and Catholic communities, on May 10, 1898, the Church decided to further divide the Manchuria Mission into two separate missions: Mission South and Mission North. The south mission extended from Port Arthur in the south to Hoai-teu-hien in the north, Tong-hoa-sien in the east to Ya-lou-kiang in the west. The size of the North Mission was double that of the South, but until the division of the mission in 1898, the center of the Manchuria Mission remained in the South, for the Bishop of Manchuria resided in Xen-iang (Shenyang, Moukden), the capital city of Liaoning province and the heart of Christian Manchuria.

The reason to divide the Manchuria Mission was primarily due to the unbalanced development between the North and the South (Table 6.1). In 1898, Catholic population in the North was less than half of the South. The number of *chrétientés* was only one fifth of that of the South, as were the number of Catholic schools. In the early years of the mission, due to its very limited missionaries, there were only a few parishes and districts formally founded and most of them were located in South Manchuria around Xeng-iang. After two missionaries, Brulley de la Brunière and Charles Joseph Venault, came to join the Manchuria Mission in 1844, Verrolles decided to explore “the extreme north,” or today’s Jilin and Heilongjiang provinces. Brulley de la Brunière began his expedition to the North in 1845. In 1846, de la Brunière was massacred on his way to Saghalien. After that, the M.E.P sent out three expeditions to the extreme north in 1849, 1861, and 1864 respectively. After the expedition of 1849, Venault established a new community in Jilin and began to reside there. In 1854, *chrétientés* of Jilin appeared in the annual parish reports for the first time. The early exploration and establishment of parishes in the North finally reached eleven in the year of 1873. After the mission was separated, the North Mission developed very quickly. In 1898, there were 36 parishes in Manchuria, including 25 in the South and only 11 in the North. One decade later, in 1910, the total number of parishes in Manchuria reached its peak of 49, and parishes in the North was doubled to 23, close to that of 26 in the South.

GROWTH OF THE MANCHURIA MISSION

Catholic Population in Manchuria

Figure 6.1: Catholic Population in the Manchuria Mission 1841-1919



Compared to the limited and incomplete sources of earlier periods, the M.E.P maintained systematic annual parish reports, or *compte-rendu*, with rich ethnographic information as well as statistical data regarding Catholic communities.¹⁶⁵ These documents provide substantial records to explore the growth of Catholic population in China, a significant yet insufficiently explored subject.¹⁶⁶ Based on the numbers

¹⁶⁵ Scholars began to notice the rich information in the M.E.P's archives, especially the value of annual parish reports, or the *compte-rendu*. In his recent book, Jean Michaud discussed the nature of *compte-rendu* produced by the M.E.P. (Michaud 2007: 131-141)

¹⁶⁶ The subject of China's Catholic population remains controversial. The HCC gives an estimate of Chinese Christian population from the late sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries. Due to the different and incomplete source material, the estimates of the population vary sharply (HCC, 380-386). According to the Beckmann, however, the total Chinese Christian population in 1815 was 217,000 (Beckmann 1946: 221). In contemporary China, due to various political reasons, estimates of Chinese Christian population are even more controversial. The government census enumerated 4 million Roman Catholics and 10 million Protestants. However, independent estimates ranged from 40 million, to 100 million, to 130 million Christians. The estimate in academic writings is relatively conservative, such as the estimates of twenty to thirty millions according to Daniel Bays (Bays 1996: ix). The official estimates of the TSPM/CCC (Three Self Patriotic Movement of the Protestant Churches in China / China Christian Council) gave the similar number of 21.2 million of its registered church members in 1997. This is, however, still an extremely conservative estimate, as it leaves out all youth and children under the age of 18 who are still, officially, discouraged from joining a church. Considering the large number of family churches and underground Christian organizations such as the China Inland Mission, some give a high estimate of over 100 million Christian populations in today's China.

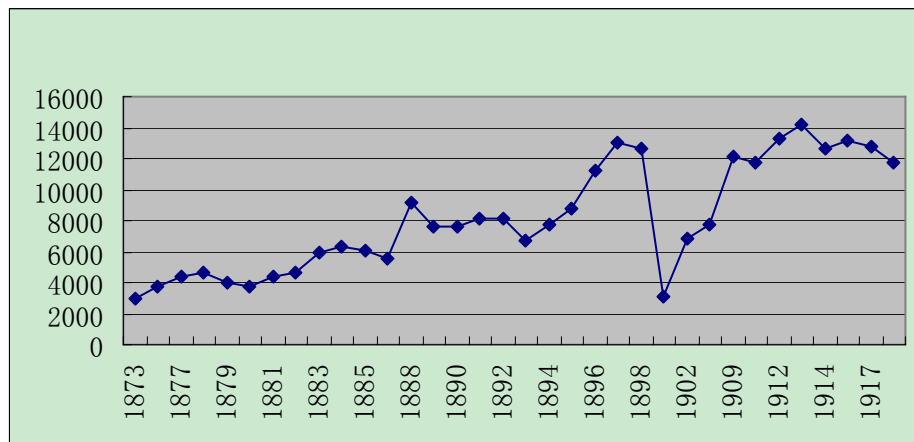
collected and recorded in the M.E.P *compte-rendu* of the Manchuria Mission from 1841 to 1919, I calculate the growth of Catholic population in Manchuria. I also select official numbers published in the *Annals of the M.E.P* as a comparison for further discussion.

The Catholic population in Manchuria increased steadily from the Mission's founding, despite the dramatic political and institutional changes that China underwent from the 1840s to the 1910s. Figure 6.1 demonstrates two periods of increase. From 1841 to 1898, the number of Catholics in Manchuria increased from 2319 to 25000 before the mission was divided into the South and the North. After a short period of decrease at the turn of the twentieth century, the Catholic population further increased at a faster rate in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In 1919, the Catholic population doubled from that of 1898 and reached a total number of 56708. The only two periods of slight decrease happened around 1900 and 1911. Both years saw severe political and social turmoil: the Boxer rebellion of 1900 and the Republican revolution of 1911. The former is the most studied Chinese anti-foreign and anti-Christian movement in Western scholarship (Esherick 1987). The latter disestablished the last Chinese imperial court, the Qing dynasty, and founded the first Republic in Chinese history. Even with such incidents, the decreases of the Catholic population in Manchuria were insignificant in their scale and duration. The trend of increase was soon restored, and became even faster than in the previous periods.

In fact, the increase of the Catholic population in Manchuria in the nineteenth century was largely due to the expansion of Catholic communities and had little to do

with the dramatic social changes of the century. Previous studies have tended to focus on political movements or institutional change such as the Boxer Rebellion as the turning point to remark on the increasing anti-Christian sentiments. This argument is more like a scholarly imposition rather than a historical conclusion. The Catholic growth in Manchuria, however, shows clearly that social and political movements like the Boxer Rebellion did not impede the increase of Christianity in Manchuria in the long run; instead, it marked the beginning of a more rapid increase of the Catholic population in the following decades.

Figure 6.2: Baptism in the Manchuria Mission 1873-1919



What the social and political movements did affect, however, was not the trend of Catholic population growth, but the dramatic decrease in baptisms (figure 6.2). Baptism was closely associated with the availability of the Church personnel. With the attacks against missionaries, local priests and Christians in 1900, the number of baptisms dropped to one fourth of that of 1898 and reached the lowest point in the record. Together with this sharp decrease was a reduction of local churches and *chrétientés*. The

real force behind the development of Christianity was the expanding mission institutions, particularly the increasing number of missionaries, indigenous priests and catechists. Once the social and political movements severely damaged the mission personnel, baptism was deeply affected; after the damage of 1900, however, the rebound began almost immediately. Within no more than a decade, the numbers of baptisms, churches, and *chrétientés* all reached their 1898 numbers or higher.

Table 6.2 Proportion of Catholic Population in China in 1897

	Catholic Population	Total Population	Percentile
Guizhou	16992	8000000	0.21
Sichuan	89800	60000150	0.15
Manchuria	22149	20005000	0.11
Guangdong	34495	30000000	0.11
Yunnan	9915	12000000	0.08
Tibet	1271	4000000	0.03
Guangxi	1349	15000000	0.01

Source: "Tableau Général de L'Etat des Missions et des Résultats Obtenus en 1897," *Annals de la Société 1897*

Compared to other M.E.P missions in China, the proportion of Catholics in Manchuria by the end of the nineteenth century was already quite high. In 1897, Manchuria remarkably ranked third in its Catholic proportion after Guizhou and Sichuan and as the same as Guangdong (Table 6.2). Guizhou was an inland province neighboring

three Christian provinces – Tibet, Sichuan, and Yunnan. With a relatively small population in China, the Catholic proportion in Guizhou was rather extraordinary. The most populated province in China, Sichuan had also been one of the oldest and most successful provinces for the Catholic mission in China since the sixteenth century. Sichuan always had the largest Catholic population among the M.E.P's China missions, though its Catholic proportion was not the largest. Guangdong was on the east coast of China. During several periods in history, its capital city Guangzhou was the only port opened to the West along China's long east coastline. Compared to these three provinces and given the late date of its establishment, Catholic growth in Manchuria was remarkable, and this fast growth was largely due to the Mission's institutional development, such as the increasing number of missionaries in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Missionaries

The Catholic growth in the Manchuria Mission was a result of the increasing number of missionaries, but in the early years of the Mission, a lack of personnel was the most severe problem. In 1840, Verrolles was the only missionary working in the Manchuria Mission. Two years later, he got an assistant, Brulley de la Brunière, who was dispatched to this new mission from Jiangnan. The early years were very difficult for them even though they both had experience working in other regions of China. In 1844, two more missionaries, Siméon Berneux and Charles Joseph Venault, arrived in

Manchuria. Berneux had previously been a missionary in Tonkin. He was dispatched to Manchuria from Macao where he had planned to return to France due to a legal incident in Tonkin. These earliest four missionaries were all well educated and experienced in proselytism. Brunière was born to a rich Parisian family and had been an excellent student of medicine. Berneux had been a professor of philosophy in Le Mans, and Venault was a curé in Poitiers for twelve years before going to China. In 1846, the M.E.P sent out another four missionaries to Manchuria, including Pierre Négrerie, Pierre Mesnard, Charles Colin, and Dominique Pourquié. By the end of the first decade, there were altogether nine missionaries assigned to this new mission. From the 1840s to the 1870s, Bishop Verrolles and his Manchuria mission made considerable progress, but the lack of Church personnel impeded the more rapid development of the Mission. (Photo 6.2)

The situation, however, was significantly improved after the 1870s. In the following three decades, the M.E.P sent 48 missionaries exclusively to Manchuria, at a rate of 16 each decade. The number reached a peak of 58 in 1911. (Figure 6.3)

Figure 6.3: M.E.P Missionaries in the Manchuria Mission 1840-1919

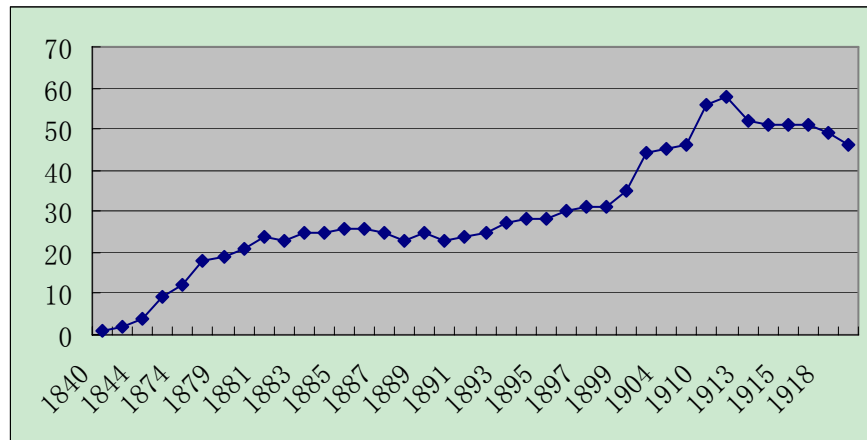




Photo 6.2: A group of M.E.P missionaries at departure, 1860, including François Assourd (1830-1860), who departed from Marseilles on *Mercedès* to the Manchuria Mission on July 25, 1860, but died during the journey. Source: AMEP, Photo Collection, Départ 1852-1868.

In 1875, the *Les Soeurs de la Providence de Portieux* (Congregation of the Sisters of Providence of Portieux) also responded to Verrolles' request and decided to dispatch nuns to assist M.E.P missionaries in the Manchuria Mission.¹⁶⁷ The first group of six nuns departed for Manchuria on May 4, 1875. This was the first group of European nuns coming to work in Manchuria.¹⁶⁸ As one of the most well known congregations for girls' education and charity in France, *Les Soeurs de Portieux* did significant educational and charitable work in Northeast China. When they first arrived in Xen-iang (Shen-yang, Moukden), they were placed in charge of an orphanage with twelve orphans run by three Chinese Christian Virgins. With the effort of Sisters Philomène and Somitille, the number of orphans cared for soon increased, and reached 200 in 1900. From 1875 to 1900, these nuns raised about 350 orphans. In 1878, Verrolles died in Newchwang. His successor, Mgr Dubail, had no interest in the Providence of Portieux. The sisters had to

¹⁶⁷ The Congregation of the Sisters of Providence of Portieux was founded in 1762 by M. Jean-Martin Moyë, the priest of the diocese of Metz. The purpose of the Congregation was to educate poor children, especially girls of religious ignorance. Except for a decade of turmoil during the French Revolution from 1791-1802, the nuns of Portieux had established 422 posts and recruited 945 sisters by the year of 1824. With the Catholic revival in France in the nineteenth century, in the decade of the 1870s, the Congregation had established schools in twenty-five departments of the country, as well as in Belgium and Rome. There were about 2000 nuns working in the congregation.

¹⁶⁸ The interest between Verrolles and the Congregation developed three decades before the first group of sisters went to Manchuria. In fact it may go back to as early as the eighteenth century. The founder of the Congregation, M. Jean-Martin Moyë, went to China in 1771 and worked in Sichuan for about eleven years. Verrolles was one of M. Moyë's followers to China. In February 1846, only a few years after Verrolles began his work in Manchuria, he went back to France and delivered a speech at the Catholic Church of Metz. In the speech, Verrolles talked a lot about the difficulties of working in Manchuria, especially on poverty, and requested help. The nuns of Portieux were probably among the audience of Verrolles and moved by his speech. At that time, Verrolles had already appreciated their simplicity and commitment, and expressed his willingness to have these nuns working with him in Manchuria. He first mentioned this to Mgr Caverot, Bishop of Saint-Dié and Superieur of the Congregation. Being reluctant to send his nuns so far away and working in such a difficult situation, Caverot immediately refused Verrolles' request. Verrolles, however, insisted on the request and finally gained the approval.



Hospice de vieillards, Newchwang, Mandchourie
Old men and women hospital, Newchwang, Mandchouria

Photo 6.3: Nieou-tchoang (Newchwang) hospice, established by *Les Soeurs de la Providence de Portieux*, ca. 1920s. Source: AMEP Photo Collection, Chine 33, Mandchourie MÉR., Activités Missionnaires.



Photo 6.4: Orphanage of Ing-kou, established by *Les Soeurs de la Providence de Portieux*, ca. 1920s. Source: AMEP Photo Collection, Chine 33, Mandchourie MÉR., Activités Missionnaires.

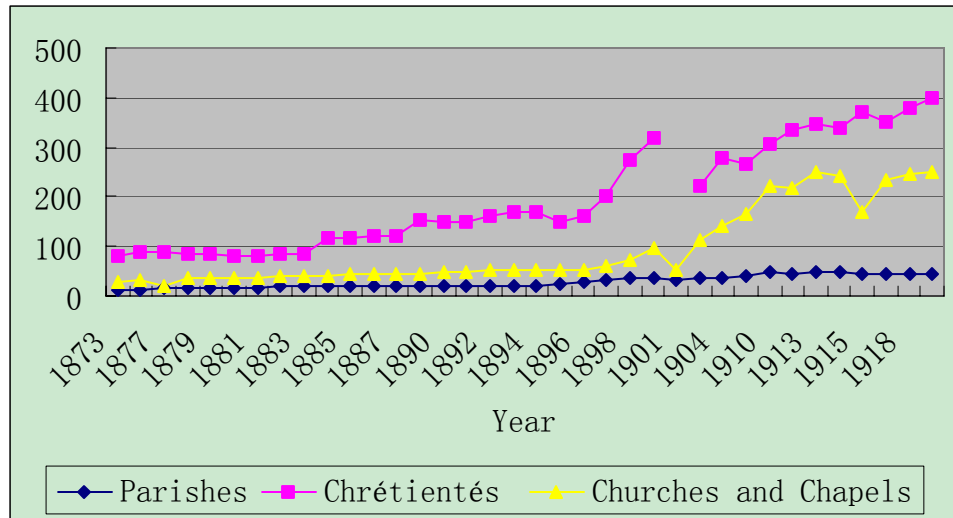
move from Xen-iang and New-chwang to Tong-kia-touen, where a Chinese Virgin ran an orphanage with seven girls and three boys. After 1884, this orphanage became a hospice and began to assist elders who had been abandoned by their families. (Photo 6.3 and 6.4) By 1900, this hospice accommodated about 50 elders, 365 orphans, and employed 52 workers. Two other orphanages were founded in Cha-ling in 1897 and Tie-ling in 1899. In 1900, there were altogether five orphanages, three hospices for the elders, seven European nuns, thirty indigenous virgins and 755 orphans. Each orphanage contained a catechumen school. In the twenty-five years from 1875 to 1900, there were forty-five nuns working in the Manchuria Mission, and forty-three of them died in Manchuria.

Churches, Parishes and *Chrétientés*

After the Manchuria Mission was founded, the first thing Bishop Verrolles did was to erect a Catholic Church. In 1841, when Verrolles first arrived in Leao-dong, he immediately purchased property in Pa-kia-tse and established a Church there.¹⁶⁹ In the following two decades, missionaries erected a number of Churches in the area, including the Church of San-tai-tse erected by missionary Boyer in 1863, and the Church of Nieou-tchoang erected by Verrolles in 1869 (*Anshan Shizhi*, 153). By 1873, there were altogether 28 Churches and chapels established by the M.E.P missionaries in South Manchuria.

¹⁶⁹ According to the Chinese local gazetteer, a Catholic Church was established in Xingyepuzi, a village in today's Liaoning, as early as 1823 (*Liaozhong Xianzhi*, 770).

Figure 6.4 Churches, Parishes, and *Chrétientés* in the Manchuria Mission 1873-1919



From 1873 to 1919, as the number of missionaries increased significantly, so did the number of Churches, parishes and *chrétientés* (Figure 6.4). Similar to that of the Catholic population, despite the devastating political movements and natural disasters, the number of Churches and *chrétientés* in Manchuria kept a steady pace of increase. In only two short periods, the Boxer uprising in 1900 and the years of 1914-5, the number of churches and chapels decreased significantly. Such decreases occurred, however, primarily in the North Mission, or in Heilongjiang and Jilin provinces. In addition to the well known anti-Christian Boxer uprising that destroyed a largely number of Catholic Churches in 1900, the decrease in Churches of the North Mission was also affected by the floods of Songhua River in 1910-11 and 1914-15.¹⁷⁰ Floods in those years destroyed a

¹⁷⁰ According to the “Annals of Floods in China” (Luo 1996), Songhua River experienced several severe floods in 1846, 1856, 1896, 1899, 1910-11 and 1914-15, respectively.

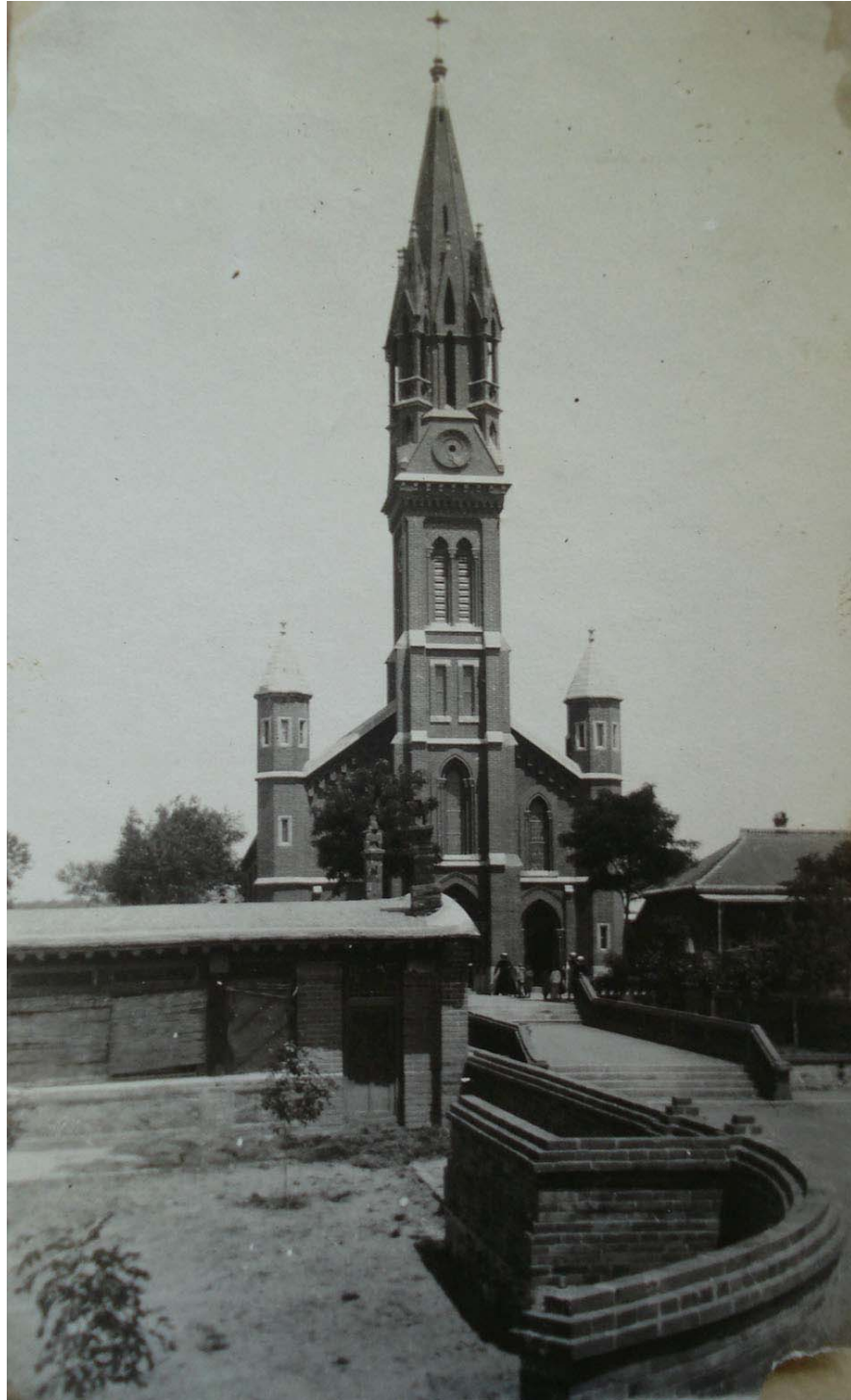


Photo 6.5: Catholic Church in Siao-hei-chan, ca. 1900s. Photo taken by M.E.P missionary Jean-Marie Blois (1881-1946). Source: AMEP, Photo Collection, Chine 33, Mandchourie MÉR., Activités Missionnaires.



Photo 6.6: Catholic Church in Si-fong, ca. 1932-1933. Source: AMEP, Photo Collection, Chine 33, Mandchourie MÉR., Activités Missionnaires.

number of Churches and chapels and suspended the missionary's annual visits, which resulted in a dramatically low record of Churches and *chrétientés* in the North.

Parishes are composed of individual Christian communities, or *chrétientés*, according to the Catholic missionaries; *Chrétienté* thus refers to the basic Christian community set up by the Catholic missionaries in China. The term was used by the M.E.P in their annual parish reports, but the definition of *chrétienté* was not yet clear.

According to Joseph Dehergne, *chrétienté* had two meanings. In a strict sense, it refers to “a place that had a church (chapel) and a fixed residence, or at least a nucleus of Christians who were visited once in a while by a missionary. This definition tends to imply that the missionary is the center of the community.” The other meaning is broader and refers to “a place with a Christian presence.” (HCC: 536-7)

Chrétienté did not necessarily have a church or a chapel. According to figure 5.4, the number of *chrétientés* in Manchuria always outnumbered that of churches and chapels. In 1899, for example, there were 320 *chrétientés* but only 95 churches and chapels. Apparently, some *chrétientés* shared one Church or chapel to conduct sacraments. In this sense, *chrétientés* in Manchuria connoted a broader meaning of Christian presence. In the M.E.P manuscripts, missionaries usually used *chrétientés* and *villages* alternatively. The term *chrétienté* was sometimes identical to the geographical village with the same

name. This was largely determined by the natural condition of Manchuria, in particular its vast territory and scattered population.¹⁷¹

Unlike other early Christian communities in China, many *chrétientés* in the Manchuria Mission were located in the countryside. A late nineteenth-century map of the M.E.P illustrates the major *chrétientés* in Manchuria (Map 1.2). Except Xen-iang (Shenyang, Moukden) and Ghirin (Jilin), the two episcopal residences of the respective Mission South and Mission North, most of these nineteenth-century *chrétientés* were distributed outside of the urban area. Many important *chrétientés* with missionary residences, such as San-tai-tse, Cha-ling, Pao-kia-kang-tze and Siao-hei-chan, became unknown small villages in today's map of China.¹⁷² The M.E.P's focus on rural communities was distinctive from the very beginning of the Mission. In 1854, missionary Jean Franclet departed from Tie-ling and went southwards along *les Monts Amba* till Ka-li-ma.¹⁷³ On the route, he visited thirteen *chrétientés* along the mountains and registered 804 individual Christians and 170 individual Catholic families.¹⁷⁴ For each individual Catholic family in the area, Franclet registered all family members

¹⁷¹ Arguably, Some scholars point out that in other places of dense Christian population (the diocese of Beijing, for example), *chrétientés* usually referred to territories by different religious orders or congregations (Huang X. J. 2006: 10-19). For more discussion on *chrétientés*, see HCC: 534-575.

¹⁷² In the summer of 2007, I came to Liaoning to conduct fieldwork in San-tai-tse and Cha-ling. Even if I had several local people from Shenyang (Xen-iang, Moukden) as guides, it took us several hours to find these villages. In today's map of Liaoning, both San-tai-tse and Cha-ling are not marked out, for both of them are "villages," the basic administrative units in rural China that belong to *zhen* (county). The latter is usually the most basic places marked out in ordinary maps.

¹⁷³ "Les Monts Amba" means "the Big Mountains," for *Amba* is a Manchu word meaning *Big*. Les Monts Amba refers to the area along the mountains of Nǚ'erhu, Songling, Heishan, and Yiwulu in today's west Liaoning province.

¹⁷⁴ Franclet 1854 report "Relevé: Géographique, Statistique, Enumératif, Historique & Magnifique du District des Monts Amba." (AMEP 0563: 629-644)

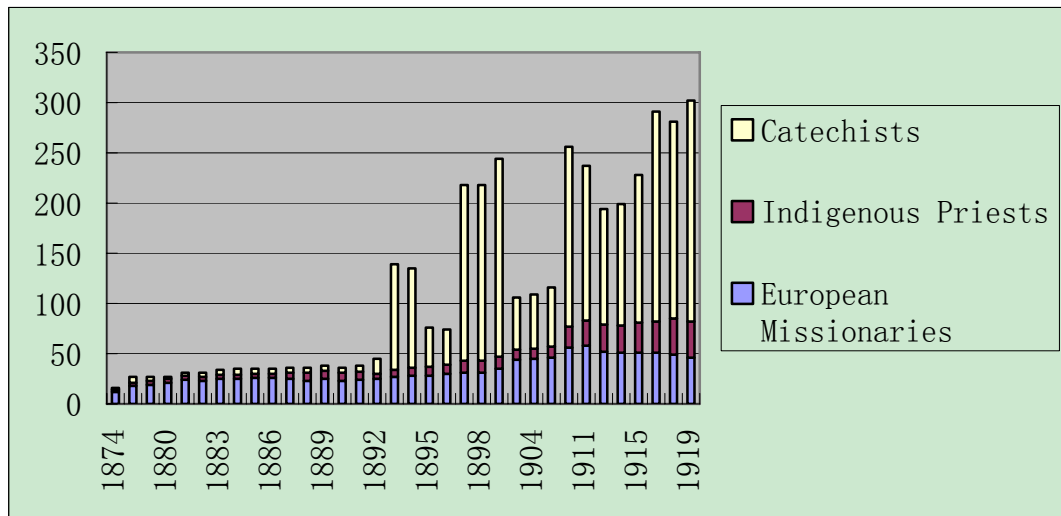
according to their relationship to the household head, including each family member's age, sex and baptized name. He also calculated the number of catechumens, catechists and chapels in each *chrétienté* and added his own observations at the end. Historical data seldom affords such detailed information of a local Catholic community. Franclet's Catholic family register best demonstrated how important these rural *chrétientés* were to the M.E.P.

Indeed, the M.E.P's focus on rural communities was a conscious choice. They avoided the places with a higher concentration of magistrates and literati, whom the early Jesuits believed would offer them better protection and help them activate broader impact. With the more favorable situation for the Catholic Mission in China, the M.E.P missionaries in the nineteenth century apparently became more confident and ambitious. They depended on a number of factors more innate to Chinese society, such as kinship, native place, and dialects. They often established *chrétientés* according to natural villages, which were usually composed of a few kinships. Analysis of Franclet's register, for example, demonstrates that 804 Christians of the thirteen *chrétientés* shared only 87 different surnames. In the *chrétienté* of Je-sing-pou-tse, 41 Christians were from only three individual families and shared only two different surnames. Similarly, 40 Christians in Kao-chan-touen shared four surnames, and 33 in Pao-kia-kang-tze also shared four surnames. Even in the most kinship diversified *chrétienté* of Tong-kia-fang-chin, there were only 16 surnames shared by 144 Christians. The fact shows that in the early years of the Mission, the M.E.P's focused more on family conversion than

individual conversion. The structure of rural society, based on kinship, was crucial to the success of M.E.P's rural strategy.

INDIGENIZATION OF LOCAL CHURCH PERSONNEL

Figure 6.5 Church Actors in the Manchuria Mission 1873-1919¹⁷⁵



In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Manchuria Mission experienced a fundamental transformation: the indigenous evangelists, especially the indigenous priests and catechists, became the majority of local Church personnel (Figure 6.5). This transformation continued into the first two decades of the twentieth century; by 1919, the total number of indigenous priests and catechists was six times than that of the Western missionaries. Among these transformed personnel, indigenous priests became crucial to act for the missionaries in community rites and religious affairs, and Lay Christians such as catechists exercised particularly active roles in ordinary catechetical duties. Compared

¹⁷⁵ The definition of catechist was vague in the Manchuria Mission. In some years, missionaries also included Catholic schoolteachers as catechists. So the number of catechists in certain years was particularly higher than other years.

to the sharply increased Catholic population at the end of the nineteenth century, the number of missionaries was very limited.¹⁷⁶ Although the missionary hierarchical importance was greater than their number, few Chinese Catholics had any regular contact with them. Far more important to them were the Chinese clergy as well as the catechists. By this time, Catholicism in Manchuria had become in many ways a religion under Chinese administration.

Indigenous Priests

Indigenous priests were always crucial for the M.E.P's policy of indigenization in China. Early developments focused on establishing authority for indigenous priests in local communities rather than their recruitment and training. According to the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission, the indigenous priests were authorized to play an important role in routine mission work. One important task was to assist missionaries in each July to prepare the annual parish report, which included visiting each *chrétienté*, calculating Catholic population and sacraments, marriages, deaths, and various establishments of Church institutions. This task required consistent work of the indigenous priests for almost a whole year, for *chrétientés* in the Manchuria Mission were scattered over the vast land of Northeast China.

¹⁷⁶ In his encyclical *Ad Extremas* (1893), Leo XIII made it very clear that "it is necessary to realize that the number of missionaries abroad is far from adequate to serve the existing Christian communities. This deficiency is plainly evident from the mission statistics." (Leo XIII, *Ad Extremas*)

In addition, indigenous priests were required to behave according to strict rules: First, their activities in daily life were regulated; secondly, they had to follow a strict hierarchy within the Church. For example, the indigenous priests got paid for their mission work but they were financially regulated: they were not allowed to lend out money at interest or to lend out money to their family without the permission of the missionary. It was also forbidden for them to keep bondsman to their parents or friends (RMM, 2.3.4). The Regulation also required that “the missionary should honor the relevant priests, treat them like brothers and attest them with a lot of affection, but avoid getting too familiar with them. On their side, indigenous priests should show their submission and obedience to the missionary in charge of them.”¹⁷⁷ (RMM, 2.3.3) At the death of an indigenous priest, however, the indigenous priest was honored. “The mission should have all missionaries do ten messes to the rest of his soul, besides each missionary should have three messes without honoring this intention.”¹⁷⁸ (RMM, 2.3.5)

These rules for indigenous priests redefined their roles as a son within the family or as a friend within the community. On the other hand, these rules created a new identity and set up a new relationship for them to develop in the space defined by the Church. Although there was strict hierarchy set up regarding indigenous priests and

¹⁷⁷ “Le missionnaire doit honorer le caractère sacerdotal dont ils sont revêtus, les traiter comme des frères et leur témoigner beaucoup d’affection, tout en évitant une trop grande familiarité. De leur côté, les prêtres indigènes se montreront soumis et obéissants envers le missionnaire chargé de leur direction.”

¹⁷⁸ “Le mission fera dire par tous les missionnaires dix messes pour le repos de son âme; en outre, chaque missionnaires devra dire trois messes sans honoraries à la même intention.”

missionaries, the honor and special rituals bestowed to indigenous priests immediately distinguished them from other ordinary converts.

Although both missionaries and lay Christians honored indigenous priests, their number in Manchuria remained very low throughout the nineteenth century. From the mid-1870s to the mid-1880s, for example, the number of indigenous priests was no more than five. In 1899, the number of indigenous priests finally reached 12. Not until the second decade of the twentieth century did the number of indigenous priests increase threefold to 36.¹⁷⁹ Two factors may explain the limited recruitment of indigenous priests in Manchuria in the nineteenth century. First, the bar of recruitment was rather high but the resources of training were also very limited. According to the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission, all indigenous priests were required to know Latin. In addition, each priest had to take a retreat every year with a theological examination. According to the M.E.P parish reports, there was only one seminary in Manchuria before 1879. Two more seminaries were built in 1893 and 1899, respectively. In 1910, there were altogether five seminaries, and the students in the seminaries increased from 17 in 1873 to a peak of 116 in 1910. Students in seminaries were trained for two purposes: theology and Latin.

Trained Latinists were more than theologians. According to the Regulation, Latin was important in routine sacraments. For example, Latin was required in baptism. Questions and responses of the rules of baptism were required to be conducted in Latin and

¹⁷⁹ This is not the unique case in the Manchuria Mission. Other places of China and neighboring countries like Korea had the same problem (Finch 2008, 280-91) that the number of indigenous priests did not make a significant increase until the early twentieth century. In other words, it is the first half of the twentieth century that witnessed the most significant and fastest development of the Chinese Catholic Church.

followed immediately in indigenous language in order to make sure everyone understood (RMM 1.1.1). After the solemn baptism or supplementary ceremonies, the names of the baptized, their parents, godfather, godmother, and the missionary were to be immediately inscribed in Latin in the register, which was to be preserved in the parish residence.

(RMM 1.1.6) In addition to sacraments, Latin became a symbol to distinguish indigenous priests from lay Christians. The first article of the Regulation clarifies, “The present regulation of the mission is translated in Latin for the indigenous priests.” (RMM 2.3.1) Although in nineteenth-century Manchuria, Latin was not the primary working language for the French missionaries (most parish reports and their correspondences were in French), it became a symbol signifying indigenous priests’ authority and dignity.

Table 6.3 Age of Indigenous Priests Ordained 1840-1898

20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	N/A	Total
1	11	0	2	5	19

Secondly, indigenous priests had to be recruited from faithful male adults who had to take a vow of celibacy. In rural society where kinship and reproduction were predominant, it was relatively hard to recruit such qualified candidates. The M.E.P document shows that most indigenous priests were ordained in their thirties (Table 6.3). This is a rather belated age for marriage and reproduction in a rural society. Given that ten to fifteen percent of the men in Liaoning from poor families didn't marry at all (Chen, Campbell, Lee 2008), we may conclude that most indigenous priests recruited in the

Manchuria Mission in the nineteenth century were those who had passed the best age of marriage, or those who were from lower social economic status families.¹⁸⁰

Catechist

“The nominated catechists are people employed by the mission to propagate the doctrine. Their duty is to preach to the pagans; they will ensure that the new catechumens learn the doctrine, fulfill all their work and prepare properly for their baptism. As a general rule, they will introduce those who wish to become catechumens to the missionary.” (“Catechist,” RMM 2.5.1)

Catechists in nineteenth-century Manchuria Mission, according to the Regulation, served primarily to pagans and catechumens. In the early years of the Mission, because of the very limited number of missionaries, catechists worked primarily for conversion. Missionaries also relied on local catechists for proselytizing as well as religious education. Catechists taught the Catechism and Christian behavior doctrines to the non-believers; they also helped the catechumens prepare for proper baptism. Being responsible to missionaries, catechists were required to submit a report to the missionary each month as the result of their work. In order to prevent catechists from developing too much familiarity with other Christians and consequently organized certain associations, the Regulation forbade them to live in other Christians' places without the permission of the missionary (RMM 2.5.N.B.6). The major duties of catechists in nineteenth-century

¹⁸⁰ According to the analysis of Liaoning household registers from 1749 to 1912, 10-15 percent of men didn't marry at all. However, there was a major social class gradient: high SES men almost all married, lower SES men were less likely to marry (Chen, Campbell and Lee 2008).

Manchuria were inherited and were basically the same as three centuries prior when Catholic mission was new to China.¹⁸¹

Unlike indigenous priests, catechists were Lay Christians involved in proselytizing. There were no specific rules on who could become a catechist. The Regulation of the Manchuria Mission only required explicitly that all catechists must set examples as good Christians, and that they avoid any worldly affairs with pagans (RMM 2.5.N.B. a.). In the early Qing, the distinction between catechists and Houei-tchangs, or local administrators and *chrétienté* leaders, was not always clear (HCC 471). The Manchuria Mission took an effort to make each religious role of Lay Christians distinct.¹⁸² The Regulation required that the major responsibility of catechists be in preparation for baptism and religious instruction. Houei-tchang of each *chrétienté*, on the other hand, “must ensure the upkeep of the Church and assist the missionary under all circumstances where their help is needed.” (RMM 2.6.2.a) They should “maintain good harmony among Christians and prevent that their conflicts be referred to the tribunal

¹⁸¹ A seventeenth-century German Jesuit scholar, Athanasius Kircher, had a detailed description of early Chinese catechists and their duties in his 1667 *China Illustrata*. “The number of the faithful grew so much that the fathers could not attend to them, and so they began to appoint catechists. These are men trained in the mysteries of the Christian faith, and full of the fervor and zeal of a holy apostle, who know how to show the path of salvation to others. They cannot join this number unless they have long shown forth solid virtue and a holy life. Their function is to go around the villages and streets and when they find infants who have been cast out to perish, they baptize them. By word and the example of their lives they bring the untaught to the knowledge of God’s truth. They give spiritual pamphlets to those who do not have them. They resolve dubious matters and gain souls for Christ. In the churches the elements of our Christian faith are shown in characters written on large tablets, which are hung on the walls. At a certain time of the day, when curiosity draws the heathen into our churches to look at the strange things, the catechists explain the inscriptions to show the truth and to disprove the false gods. Then, these persons are invited into the house for more instruction. I can scarcely say how many souls are added to the church this way. Each day the catechists give a full report to the fathers, who are their superiors.” (Kircher 1979; HCC 470-471)

¹⁸² This is partly because in the early Qing, the distinction between catechists and *Houei-tchangs*, or local administrators and *chrétienté* leaders, was not always clear (HCC, 471).

without the missionary's assent. Furthermore, they will give their support to the missionary to suppress certain scandals that could make religion difficult."¹⁸³ (RMM 2.6.2.c) In addition, "in the choice of the administrators, personal qualities, rather than personal wealth will be taken into consideration. Three things are desirable: the Good example, education, and influence among the Christians."¹⁸⁴ (RMM 2.6.3) Compared to catechists, Houei-tchang also enjoyed some privileges, such as a reserved place in the Church. In religious ceremonies, "the supplementary officers should be chosen among them, and, in all circumstances, they would have priority over other Christians."¹⁸⁵ (RMM 2.6.5) Apparently, the detailed and clear definition of *Houei-tchang* sharply contrasted with the vague definition of the catechist, which sought to encourage the active involvement of as many Lay Christians as possible.

In the late nineteenth century, catechists became the most important personnel in proselytizing Christian faith. Similar to indigenous priests, catechists were authorized and recognized by the Church, but in the first four decades of the mission they developed slowly. Not until the end of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries did the number of catechists increase dramatically. In 1919, the total number of catechists in Manchuria increased to 220, about five times that of Western missionaries and six times that of indigenous priests. Similar to what seventeenth-century Jesuit scholar, A. Kircher,

¹⁸³ "Ils entretiendront la bonne harmonie entre les chrétiens et empêcheront que leurs différends ne soient déferés aux tribunaux sans l'assentiment du missionnaire. D'autre part, ils prêteront leur concours au missionnaire pour réprimer certains scandales qui seraient de nature à rendre la religion odieuse."

¹⁸⁴ "Dan le choix de ces administrateurs, on tiendra plutôt compte de leurs qualité personnelles que de leur état de fortune. Trois choses sont à desirer: le bon exemple, l'instruction, et l'influence sur les chrétiens."

¹⁸⁵ "Dans les ceremonies religieuses, les officiers supplémentaires seront choisis parmi eux, et, en toute circonstance, ils auront le pas sur les autres chrétiens."

concluded, the increased number in the Christian population depended on the increase of catechists (Kircher 1979). In Manchuria, the expansion of catholic schools in the 1890s also increased the number of catechists. Many catechists worked as schoolteachers and those residential catechists based in a particular Catholic community were responsible for the day-to-day instruction of neophytes and children. The catechists themselves had access to the elementary catechetical writings. In the late nineteenth century, when the M.E.P focused on proselytizing in rural society, the Christian books that both priests and catechists relied on were primarily popular Catholic catechisms, regulation pamphlets, as well as prayers and hymns. All these implied a fundamental transformation of Catholicism in China focusing on education.¹⁸⁶

CONCLUSION

Disseminating faith in the Manchuria Mission largely depended on institution building, in particular on the increasing number of missionaries, Churches, parishes and *chrétientés*. Institutional development resulted in the upsurge of Catholic population in the early twentieth century. These Christians were distributed primarily in the rural area of Northeast China. Despite the social and political turmoil, the expansion of rural Catholic communities demonstrated the M.E.P's ambitious and successful rural strategy. The growth of these grassroots communities was also a success of the transformation of

¹⁸⁶ The apostolate through books became one of the major means of spreading Christianity among the Chinese elite as early as the Late Ming (HCC 600-631), but the M.E.P renewed this strategy to the rural.

the Catholic Church: making the shift of major personnel from European missionaries to indigenous priests and catechists.

Although the process of indigenization started as early as the seventeenth century when the first wave of Catholic missions came into China, indigenization of Catholicism into the rural society of Manchuria, as a conscious effort by the M.E.P, was not realized until the early twentieth century. This was not only due to a wave of new Catholic converts but also to an increasing proportion of “the good faithful” – indigenous priests, catechists, and Lay Christians – as defined by their involvement in evangelism. These Chinese “good Christians” therefore became the major force in proselytizing and education in local communities.

The reason that various destructive movements of the twentieth century did not eliminate Catholicism in China may largely be due to such historical transformation of the Catholic Church, which essentially changed the personnel and institution of rural communities of the Chinese Catholic faithful. More profoundly than this institutional change is, consequently, the spread of Catholic education in the rural society, especially the establishment of Catholic schools and catechism education, which not only transformed the local Catholic communities but also offered the Chinese faithful a new literacy never before available in the Chinese society.

Chapter Seven

Transforming the Faithful: Gender and Education

The widespread dissemination of Catholicism and the indigenization of Church personnel fundamentally transformed Christianity in China. This chapter emphasizes two distinctive features of this transformation: Catholic education and its impact on Chinese converts, especially rural females. Catholicism not only provided a new stage from which females could speak and act, the M.E.P. actively encouraged female participation and local leadership, especially in education. Chinese females responded rapidly. In Northeast China, the female Catholic community outnumbered and, as many missionaries reported, outperformed the male community (see Chapter Five). The number of active female Catholic leaders - European nuns, indigenous nuns, and in particular Chinese Christian Virgins – also increased dramatically. All three became a major teaching force in Catholic schools, especially for girls, and in so doing transformed female literacy, female consciousness, and female identity.

The widespread establishment by the M.E.P of Catholic schools, or *Yaoli Xuefang* (Catechism classrooms), in virtually every *chrétienté* provided rural men and women an unprecedented opportunity to not only learn religion but also how to read and write. This

religious literacy, different from that of elite men and women, profoundly changed rural, especially female, understanding and self-consciousness. In this sense, gender and education were closely associated as Chinese Christian Virgins did much of the teaching and female students composed the majority of the student body. Christian Virgins were a particular group of Catholic women who took vows of chastity and participated in Church education; the religious nature of the education they provided meant that religious abstraction and notions of individual agency spread hand in hand with the rise of female literacy. Promoted through proselytism and the religious education, this new literacy started a new phase of public education in rural China.

FAITHFUL FEMALES

Ironically, while M.E.P missionaries were all men, the “lay clergy” were mostly females and always outnumbered their male counterparts.¹⁸⁷ Figure 7.1 compares active religious actors in the Manchuria Mission by gender, including the clergy composed of missionaries, European nuns, indigenous priests and nuns; and Lay Christians composed of catechists and Chinese Christian Virgins.¹⁸⁸ Except for a few years at the turn of the century, active religious women always outnumbered their male counterparts. Moreover,

¹⁸⁷ The argument that women are more religious than men became a phenomenon in the nineteenth century. In empirical study of Christianity in China, however, this is an untested assertion for Church records usually do not record Christian population by gender.

¹⁸⁸ The Lay Christians were not ordained. They joined evangelism as good Christians and took some responsibilities and services. They were as important as the clergy in proselytizing in local communities.

Groupe de femmes chrétiennes de Mandchourie
A group of christian ladies in Mandchuria

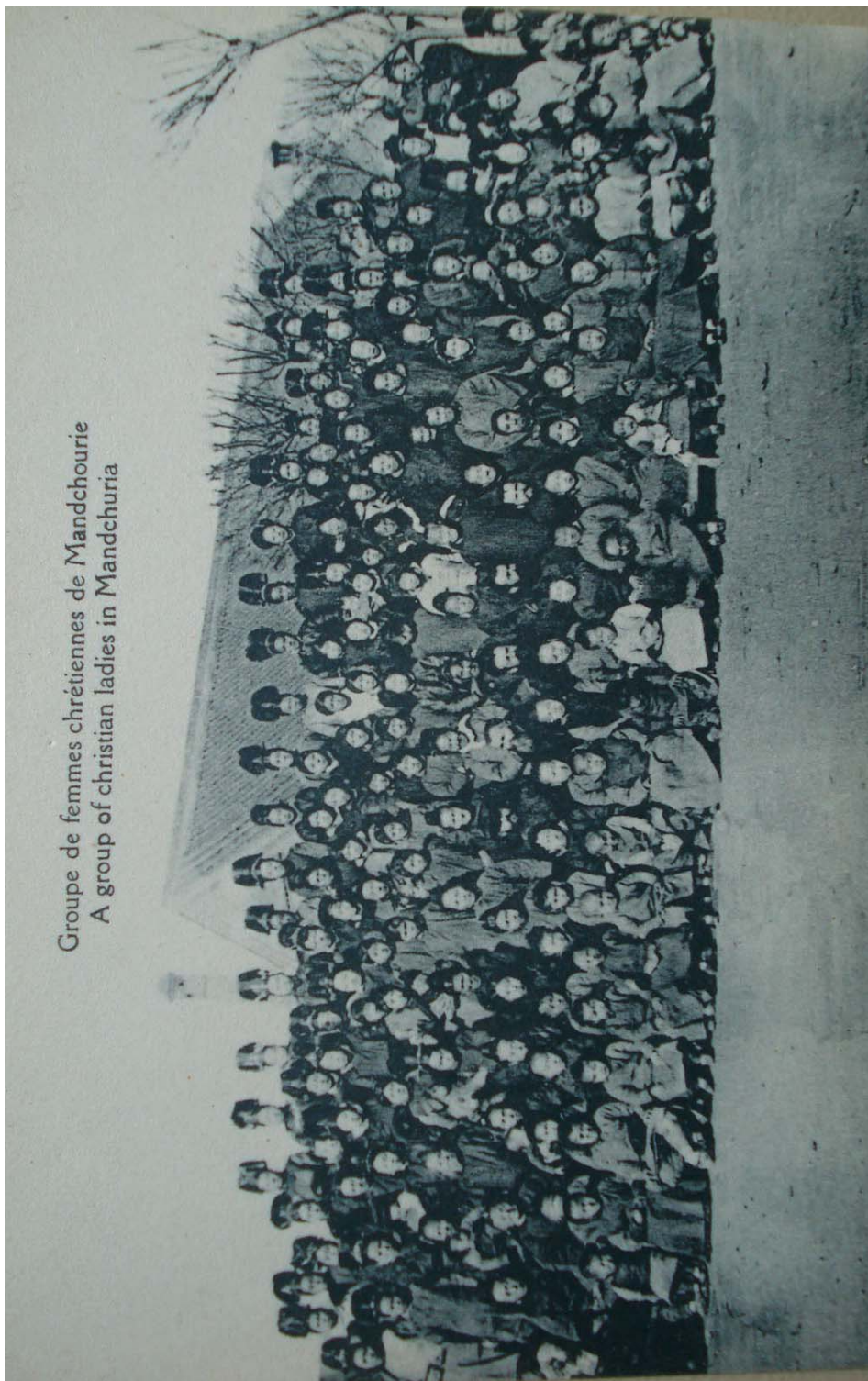
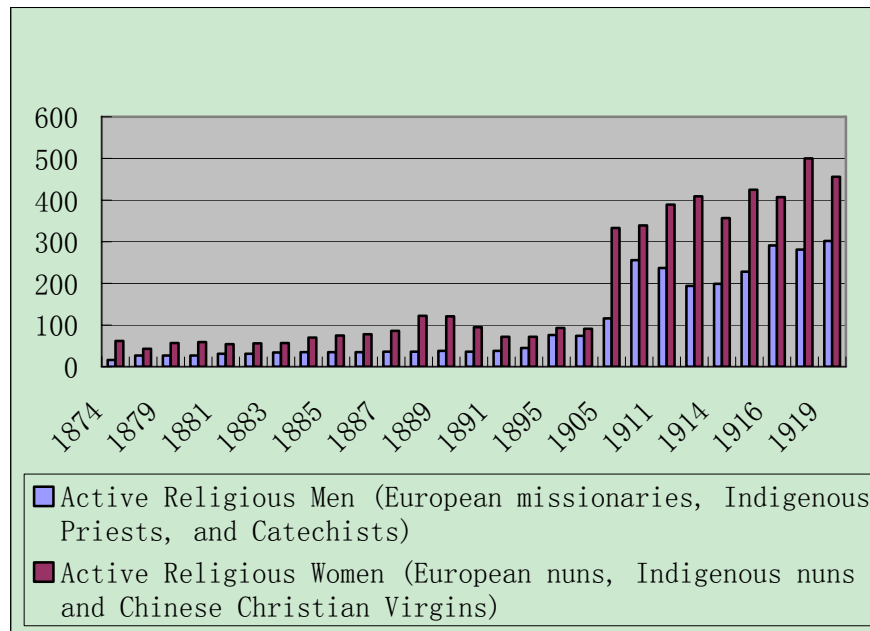


Photo 7.1: A group of Christian Women in Manchuria, ca. 1910s. Source: AMEP, Photo Collection, Chine 34, Mandchourie Sept., Activités Missionnaires. (APMEP 3015)

this gender gap gradually was widened in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Females outnumbered males not only as believers but also as local Catholic activists perhaps responding to the need for religious women to staff Catholic schools and orphanages. (Photo 7.1)

Figure 7.1 Active Religious Men and Women in the Manchuria Mission 1874-1919¹⁸⁹



Chinese Christian Virgins

Most lay female activists were organized under the Institute of Christian Virgins, a religious organization for Catholic women established by the M.E.P in 1744, a century before the establishment of foreign female religious orders in China. As early as the seventeenth century, under the instructions of Dominican missionaries, Chinese Christian

¹⁸⁹ The definition of catechist varied. Sometimes missionaries also recorded Catholic schoolteachers, who included Catholic women and Christian Virgins. So the number of catechists shown in the figure could be higher than the actual number of catechists. Even though, the total number of active women is significantly more than that of men in these decades.

females in Fujian province began to consecrate their lives to the service of God and the Church (HCC: 394) as virgins who swore vows of chastity but continued to live with their families.¹⁹⁰ Similarly, in the eighteenth century, Chinese Catholic women began to organize under missionary supervision in Sichuan province.¹⁹¹ In 1744, M.E.P missionary Joachim Enjobert de Martiliat established the Institute of Christian Virgins. Chinese Christian virgins were not nuns, they were not ordained, and while they never married, as in Fujian, they continued to live with their families after their vows of chastity. After the death of Martiliat in 1755, fathers Jean-Martin Moÿe reorganized the Christian Virgins in the 1770s to devote themselves to teach and evangelize (Entenmann 1996b: 184-189).¹⁹²

The institutional structure and principles of the Institute of Christian Virgins, however, remained intact and followed Martiliat's promulgation of 25 Rules, which was in turn based on the unfinished work of Luigi Maggi, the Dominican vicar apostolic of Sichuan. Moreover, Martiliat's 25 rules were made applicable to all Chinese converts in 1832 and remained in force until the twentieth century (Leung and Wittberg 2004: 69).

These rules covered all aspects of the Christian Virgins, life and service, including

¹⁹⁰ For the discussion of Christian virginity and Chinese chastity in Fujian, see Menegon 2004: 177-240.

¹⁹¹ The Chinese Catholic virgins were organized after the Yongzheng emperor's prohibition of Catholic mission in 1724. In the difficult years of the Catholic mission in China, individual Catholic woman was organized to teach girls, train catechumens for baptism and baptizing dying infants. For a brief history of Chinese Christian virgins, see Nicolas Standaert 2001: 394. For further discussion of Chinese Catholic virgins in general, see J. K. McNamara 1996: 609-10. For the discussion of Institute of Christian virgins in Sichuan, see Entenmann 1996b: 180-193. For virgins and Catholic religious orders in China till modern times, see Leung and Wittberg 2004: 67-82.

¹⁹² Moÿe founded *Les Soeurs de la Providence de Portieux* (the Sisters of the Providence de Portieux) in France in 1772 before coming to China. Moÿe was experienced in organizing women's teaching, for *Les Soeurs de la Providence de Portieux* was one of the most successful women's congregations devoted to Catholic education at that time.

recruitment, chastity, separate residence, obedience, work, social activity, no contact with male strangers, modest costume and behavior, meditation and Church service.¹⁹³

Martiliat's original twenty-five rules of were an adaptation designed particularly for Catholic women in Chinese society and sought to position them safely as ordinary women therein.¹⁹⁴

In 1881, the Manchuria Mission issued its own regulations for Christian Virgins, based on Martiliat's 1744 rules.

1. Condition of Admission. The missionary should exercise prudence and discretion to admit a young girl to join the virgins. A proved desire for virginity is not enough. This girl should also have property of 300 *diao* in cash or in kind.
2. Ceremony of Admission. On the day of admission, the missionary should bless in the Church and clothe the girl with a veil of dark blue, 6-feet long and 2-feet wide. The newly admitted girls in this occasion should promise her baptism with loud voice and say at the same time that she would remain all her life submissive to the missionary of this place, and all that she concerns is the goodness of religion.
3. Modesty of the costumes. The virgins should give Christians an example of simplicity and modesty and stay clear from others by their costumes, their shoes, and the arrangement of their hair – all in consideration of their condition to feel in elegance and affectation.

¹⁹³ The twenty-five rules of Martiliat were all based on the Western rules of Catholic nuns. In its Chinese version, every rule starts with the words “在西,” or “in the West.” The Chinese version, 童贞修规, I quoted in this chapter was published by Chongqing Shengjia Shuju in 1921. It includes Martiliat's original Twenty-Five Rules on Chinese Christian Virgins and supplementary rules added later. Qin 2004: 110-119. For the complete Chinese version of the Regulation for Christian Virgins, see appendix 4 of this dissertation.

¹⁹⁴ Martiliat's twenty-five rules were later expanded to thirty-two at the end of the eighteenth century for more and more activities, particularly proselytizing and teaching, involved Christian virgins at that time. The new seven rules focus on the social behavior between the virgins and strangers. (Qin 2004) In the meanwhile as more and more virgins began to teach in the schools, additional seven rules were added to regulate their teaching strategy at school, which I will discuss later in this chapter.

4. Exclusion. If one of the girls becomes a subject of scandal for others, or is doggedly disobedient to the missionary, she must be excluded publicly from the virgins.
5. Rules. Those who live with their families, unless in a special dispensation, have a separate apartment from those who live in the family, and follow the *Toung tchen sieou Kouei* in their private behavior.
6. Performance of missionaries with the virgins (*Aumones*). In accordance with the synod of Sichuan, it is forbidden for all missionaries to directly assist a virgin with personal support. However, he is allowed to give the proper resources to an establishment or to the prosperity of convents.

Compared to Martiliat's rules, the Manchurian rules were stricter and specifically targeted the wealthy. The regulation of the Manchuria Mission required 300 *diao* as a prerequisite to join the institute (RMM 2.4.1). This requirement radical extended the fifth rule in Martiliat's version, which required such women to work but did not require that they be wealthy.¹⁹⁵ Since all Christian virgins continued staying with their parents and remained isolated from the secular society, it would be hard for them to make a living without the support of their family. Otherwise, economic dependence would make Christian Virgins very vulnerable. In 1784, the Propaganda of Faith re-emphasized that no woman was to be admitted to the institute unless her family could support her financially. This meant that in the eighteenth century, the Institute of Christian Virgins began to exclude those from extremely poor families. This tendency was reinforced in the nineteenth century in Manchuria. The Regulation of the Manchuria Mission required specifically and explicitly that 300 *diao* was prerequisite for admission. This rule sought

¹⁹⁵ Martiliat's fifth rule on "Persuasion of work" says, "In the West, despite heavy religious practice all virgins work in their spare time. For us, besides all the required religious lessons, everyone should do women's ordinary work such as spinning, cooking and the kind. You cannot stay idle." (TZYG 2)

to solve the financial problem of Christian Virgins by adding an economic bar for admission. As result, most Christian Virgins were from well-off families, for 300 *diao* was not a small amount of money in nineteenth-century Manchuria.¹⁹⁶

The Manchuria rules also forbade personal contact between Christian Virgins and foreign missionaries, but encouraged missionaries' assistance to the convents or other women's community (RMM 2.4.6). This apparently controversial rule sought to prevent rumors about missionaries and virgins, but in the meanwhile, with the expansion of the Mission, the Church needed assistance from Christian Virgins. In fact, as early as 1744, Martiliat's first rule required that all virgins admitted should be at age twenty-five or above, since the age of twenty-five was considered beyond the age of marriage-interest.¹⁹⁷ In 1784, the Propaganda of Faith emphasized again that the vow of chastity taken at the age of twenty-five must be renewable every three years, and those chosen for the work of teaching or with male missionaries should be "advanced in years, if possible

¹⁹⁶ It remains a question how much 300 *diao* valued exactly in 1881 when the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission was approved. However, there are some evidences that indicate that 300 *diao* was not a small amount of money in the nineteenth century. 1) In the 1820s, 1 *liang* silver equaled 1 *diao*; 2) In the 1850s, 1 *liang* silver equaled 2 to 3 *diao*; 3) In the 1870s to 1900s, 1 *shi* rice (60 kilograms) equaled 1 *liang* silver; and 300 *diao* equaled 100 *liang* silver, or 6,000 kilograms rice; 4) In the famous classic Chinese novel of the Qing dynasty, *Hong Lou Meng* (*The Dream of the Red Chamber*), when an old peasant woman, Liu Laolao, saw a luxury meal (cost 24 *liang* of silver) consumed by the rich family Jia, she exclaimed over: "By 24 *liang* silver, we poor family could live for a whole year!" According to the previous evidence, if 24 *liang* silver equaled 24 *diao*, then 300 *diao* would cover a poor family for more than ten years, but for a rich family like the Jias, 300 *diao* meant only about ten more meals. 5) According to a legal case recorded in the local archives of Shuangcheng, a county in northern Manchuria (today's Heilongjiang province), one thatched cottage in Shuangcheng worth 15 *diao* in 1873 (the twelfth year of Emperor Tongzhi). Then 300 *diao* would worth twenty thatched cottages in Shuangcheng. (In *Shuangchengpu zongguan yamen dang*, [the archive of local government in Shuangcheng], vol. 179, 1873. 4, document No. 20.) As the housing price was largely determined by specific location, acreage, and housing condition, and Shuangcheng was in backcountry, 300 *diao* may vary in other places of Manchuria. I thank Ren Yuxue and Chen Shuang for bringing this piece of evidence to my attention.

¹⁹⁷ Based on the estimates for Liaoning, very few women remained unmarried at age 25. High SES women may have married slightly later or in lower proportions. (Chen, Cameron, Lee 2008)

over thirty,” the age in China at which women were thought to have lost their sexual attractiveness (Entenmann 2006b: 191).

Table 7.1 Chinese Christian Virgins in the Manchuria Mission

1882	1885	1887	1901	1905	1910	1915	1919
49	67	75	179	275	229	241	258

In spite of these economic and behavioral constraints, the number of Christian Virgins in Manchuria increased sharply at the turn of the twentieth century (Photo 7.1). This was largely due to the needs of the Mission’s expansion. By 1920, Manchuria already had 258 Christian Virgins. As a relatively new mission in China, this was an impressive number compared to other missions of China except Sichuan.¹⁹⁸ The increase of Christian Virgins in Manchuria was also due to the rapidly increasing number of Catholic schools founded during this time. In other words, although the relationship between foreign male missionaries and indigenous virgins was very sensitive, in order to expand the mission, the Church of Manchuria in effect encouraged the involvement of Christian Virgins and consequently the contact between missionaries and Virgins. This also explains why some individual Catholic women under discussion in chapter eight could develop a personal and affectionate relationship with their foreign male missionaries during this period.

¹⁹⁸ According to Launay, by 1892 there were 1060 Christians Virgins in Sichuan and 434 in other areas under the supervision of M.E.P in Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangdong, Tibet, and Manchuria (Launay 1894: 557, 576, 588).



Photos 7.2: Two Chinese Christian Virgins holding Books in the Manchuria Mission, ca.1920s-30s. Source: AMEP, *Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la Mandchourie*, par Lucien Gibert, des M.E.P, missionnaires en Mandchourie. – Hong Kong: Impr. De la SME, 1934. Photo discovered inside the *Dictionnaire*.

Faithful Females and Teaching

The primary responsibility of the Christian Virgins was to teach the Catholic Catechism. Teaching was a major evangelical strategy for the M.E.P. Owing to Alexander de Rhodes, the first M.E.P missionary to Asia (Vietnam), the M.E.P developed its first catechism pedagogy in Asia in the seventeenth century.

- 1) No catechetical method is universally applicable.
- 2) Two approaches were counterproductive in Vietnam. One begins with an attack of the Vietnamese religious beliefs and practices. But it should not be undertaken as the preliminary step before one teaches the truth of Christianity. It should be done after one has spoken of the existence of God, creation, the fall, the flood, and the tower of Babel.
- 3) Ordering of Christian doctrines. Exposition of the Trinitarian mystery is done at the beginning of catechesis.
- 4) Start with truths knowable by the light of natural reason.
- 5) The most difficult to teach is that of the incarnation, passion, and death of the Son of God. A triple strategy: highlighting the cosmic wonders associated with Christ's passion and with his resurrection.
- 6) Religious language. First, pay attention to the different philosophical and religious contexts of the language that seem equivalent to Christian concepts.
- 7) Necessary to link doctrine with praxis instruction and with worship. (Phan 1998: 129-130)

De Rhodes' principles established the rubric of teaching Catechism for later M.E.P missions in Asia and were concerned about the indigenous context in teaching. In contrast to de Rhodes' rules, the curriculum of Chinese Christian Virgins focused on the pedagogy of the Catechism. To assist the Christian Virgins to better understand and play

their instructional role, Moÿe later added seven rules about teaching to Martiliat's original 25 rules (Qin 2004).

- 1) First, teach the students to love God, appreciate grace, understand the Holy Trinity, and recite the catechism.
- 2) Teach the students to know Jesus Christ, understand the birth and life of Jesus; to persuade children to learn from Jesus Christ, not from indifferent Christians.
- 3) On Fridays, talk about the sufferings of Jesus Christ and persuade students to revere this holy feast, not to waste the time for leisure, not to laugh, to behave modestly. On Thursdays, talk about the Holy Body of Jesus Christ, Mass, and Communion. Teach students to learn to listen to Mass and attend Communion and benefit from them.
- 4) Teach students to understand Faith, Hope and Charity. Be grateful to God, behave like Jesus Christ, and submit them to God. Teach them to love not only their relatives and friends but also humanity all over the world as well as their enemies. Teach them to suffer rather than to harm. To teach them to love their parents, because parents represent God in the world.
- 5) Teach students to cherish every day. Remind them of behaving according to the Catechism day and night. Teach them to behave as good Christians, be charitable to others, and to live earnestly to be saved.
- 6) Keep St. Mary and all Saints in mind when teaching students. Pray St. Mary to be the holy mother of all students.
- 7) Teach students to think about death, to prepare for death, to avoid various ugly temptations, to be penitent and to confess, to die rather than to fall. In case of sin, do confess and pray for forgiveness. To persuade children to stay away from sins lest they become slaves of the monster.

Moÿe's teaching rules for Christian Virgins centered explicitly on pedagogy in teaching the Catechism and proper Christian behaviors. Different historical conditions required different strategies. In the more favorable nineteenth century, Christian Virgins were expected to understand all essential Christian concepts as well as proper Christian behaviors. The Catechism of the Manchuria Mission was classified into three parts at three different levels of requirement. Christian Virgins, as instructors, were expected to be in the most advanced group. They had the responsibility to learn and understand the most advanced religious knowledge as well as to convey it to Christian children and catechumens. In a word, according to the teaching rules, Christian Virgins required to have not only an advanced level of literacy but also a deep religious understanding. The relatively large number of Christian Virgins in the Manchuria Mission presented an unacknowledged group of religiously educated women in rural Chinese society.

The active roles Christian Virgins played in education and their level of literacy in the Manchuria Mission were a significant development of the M.E.P's policy concerning Christian women and literacy. In the eighteenth century when the Institute of Christian Virgins was founded, literacy became a very controversial issue for M.E.P missionaries. Jean-Didier de St. Martin, the vicar apostolic of Sichuan from 1793-1801, for example, publicly criticized the Institute of Christian Virgins. Besides confirming several rules (such as that no schoolmistresses should be below the age of 25, the number of schools in each district must to be limited, and missionaries could not actively to recruit Christian Virgins in their districts), Martin also ordered, "it was not necessary for Christian Virgins

to learn how to write. Reading, presumably, was enough.” (Entenmann 1996b: 191) St. Martin’s order, however, was not been carried out successfully. Newly discovered documents show that in the nineteenth century, Christian women in the Manchuria Mission were trained in both reading and writing.¹⁹⁹ Although their training of literacy depended on the Catechism and religious education, their writing ability was quite considerable.

In addition, the Manchuria Mission had a relatively high bar to recruit schoolteachers. With the mission expansion, the number of girl schools in the second half of the nineteenth century equaled the number of boy schools, and girl students substantially outnumbered boy students.²⁰⁰ These Catholic girl schools required a number of female instructors. The mission required that schoolteachers of the girl school must be selected from Christian Virgins and that missionaries must pay particular attention to the selection of schoolteachers: a person of suspicious life or of suspicious morality should never be selected (RMM 3.2.5).²⁰¹

EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

¹⁹⁹ Three letters written by Chinese Catholic women from family Tou of San-tai-tse, a small village in today’s Liaoning province, were discovered in the AMEP in 2004. Chapter Eight in this dissertation is a study of these letters.

²⁰⁰ This did not include six schools and 417 girl students run by the French nuns of the Providence de Portieux (Launay 1894: 576).

²⁰¹ The focus on Christian Virgins and women’s education in Manchuria in late nineteenth century differed from the situation of Sichuan, where boy schools and boy students were predominant since the late eighteenth century. According to Launay 1894: 576, in 1892, in Sichuan East and West, there were altogether 268 Catholic boy schools with 4685 students, and 231 Catholic girl schools with 2945 girl students, which kept the same pattern since the late eighteenth century that boy schools and boy students outnumbered their girl counterparts.

The widespread establishment of Catholic schools at the end of the nineteenth century, made an historical contribution to the development of public education in China. In Manchuria, the M.E.P began to establish schools in rural Catholic communities as early as the 1850s. At the end of the nineteenth century, the total number of Catholic schools in Manchuria had increased from 50 to 230, five times from that of two decades prior. By the 1910s, M.E.P's Catholic schools were already widespread throughout all local communities, with nearly 300 schools at that time for 350 *chrétientés*. These schools provided much of the educational opportunities available to Christian children, who had been excluded from the traditional education system since the eighteenth century due to the Rites Controversy.²⁰² One of the major problems of the Rites Controversy concerned ceremonies in honor of Confucius, performed by the Chinese *literati* class in temples and halls as well as by Chinese school students in classrooms. Pope Clement XI made the assessment that the Confucian rituals were indeed in conflict with Christian teaching, and Rome issued a series of condemnations of Chinese rites in 1704, 1715 and 1742, respectively.²⁰³ These decrees in effect disallowed Christian children to go to schools of traditional Chinese education, all of which kept traditional

²⁰² Originating in Matteo Ricci's accommodation policy in Catholic missions in China since the sixteenth century, the so-called Chinese Rites Controversy has often been considered as one of the main causes for the "failure" of Christianity in China at that time. There are three sets of problems about this controversy. The first concerned the Chinese translation of essential Christian terms, such as God, angels, the soul etc. The second concerned Christians' participation in community activities, especially those in honor of non-Christian divinities. The third and the most relevant to education concerned ceremonies in honor of Confucius and ancestors. (HCC 680-685)

²⁰³ In 1704, Pope Clement XI issued the decree *Cum Deus optimus* to forbid the use of the term *tian* and *shangdi* and to forbid Christians to take part in sacrifices to Confucius or to ancestors. In 1715, Clement XI further issued the Papal bull *Ex illa die* which officially condemned the Chinese rites. In 1742, Pope Benedict XIV reiterated in his papal bull *Ex quo singulari* Clement XI's decree and demanded that missionaries in China take an oath forbidding them to discuss the issue again.

rituals of worshipping Confucius in the classroom (Fang 1987: 1009). The exclusion of Christian children from traditional Chinese schooling thus made establishing Christian education urgent.²⁰⁴

In the second half of the nineteenth century, with the large number of Catholic schools established in the rural community, Christian boys in Manchuria regained access to (public) education. Boys from poor families in particular benefited from this Church system, for the Regulation of the Manchuria Mission required that Christian parents must send children to school. Even for the poorest families, who had to keep children at work, were required to send children to school at least during the three-month winter leisure season.

Widespread Christian schools also provided the first broad based opportunity for female education at any level. In traditional Chinese society, education was the privilege of the elite few and for the most part existed as preparation for the civil examination to produce government officials. The system, maintained for thousands of years, perpetuated generations of an educated elite class and provided the ladders of social mobility (Ho 1964). Although the purpose and social connotation of education was gendered to men and women in the Chinese society, the access to education was, however, a class issue rather than a gender one. Many studies have argued that women received education equal to men in elite families, and women played a more active role

²⁰⁴ As early as the eighteenth century, the M.E.P began to establish Catholic schools, especially in Sichuan. A description of the early efforts in establishing Catholic schools in Sichuan can be found in Entenmann 1996b: 188-189. According to Qin 2002, in 1795 there were 15 catechist schools established in Sichuan and the number increased to 63 in 1803, 107 in 1801, 128 in 1830, and 169 in 1840.

than previously thought in the male-dominated society (Widmer 1989, Robertson 1992, Ebrey 1993, Ko 1994, Mann 1994 and 1997, Widmer and Chang 1997). Women under scrutiny in these revisionist works were all the elite or the learned, whose achievements sharply contrasted the very limited educational resources available to women in the rural society. In fact, before the arrival of Christian missionaries and the establishment of Catholic schools, rural Chinese women had very limited access, if any, to public education. As result, in many periods of the Manchuria Mission, Catholic schools for girls and girl students outnumbered that for boys.

The Church educational system sought to provide equal opportunities to men and women, but those who benefited most from such Church education were males from the lower social economic status (SES) family and females from relatively higher SES families. Especially for the latter, Church educational system provided an unprecedented ladder of social mobility for females to move upward. This trend intensified in the early twentieth century when many Christian schools for girls became elite with a purpose to be the “Cradle of Female Talent” (Ross 1996: 208) and survived as elite schools for girls till today.²⁰⁵ The institution of Church education, as result, became essential to promote female social mobility, especially those from elite families, in modern China.

²⁰⁵ One example is the Shanghai Number Three Girls’ School. Established in the second half of the nineteenth century, many Christian schools for girls developed into elite female schools in early twentieth century. With a purpose to become the “Cradle of Female Talent,” these schools attracted girls from wealthy families not only in cities but also in the countryside. This is not only the case of Catholic schools but also of Protestant schools. For example, “Southern Methodist missionaries founded the McTyeire School for Girls in 1892 to provide a liberal education to young Chinese women of ‘the well-to-do classes.’ Sixty years later McTyeire was consolidated with St. Mary’s School for Girls, and renamed the Shanghai Number Three Girls’ School. In 1982 Number Three Girls’ School was designated an advanced school for classroom-based research in female adolescent development and became China’s only all-female municipal

The same Church educational system existed for Chinese Christian males from lower SES families, but did not provide the same ladder for upward social mobility as it did for females. Church education remained just one *alternative* for men and had to compete with the well-established traditional Chinese educational system. In a society constructed by the cultural hegemony of Confucianism, Chinese males already had an autonomous voice of morality, of leadership, of manhood (Mann 2000).²⁰⁶ And this male world existed thousands of years before the Church created a similar world for females. In this sense, although Church schools provided opportunities for Chinese females in particular, what Church education brought to China and developed in Chinese society was a negotiation rather than a revolution to the existing Chinese social and gender hierarchy.

Catholic Schools

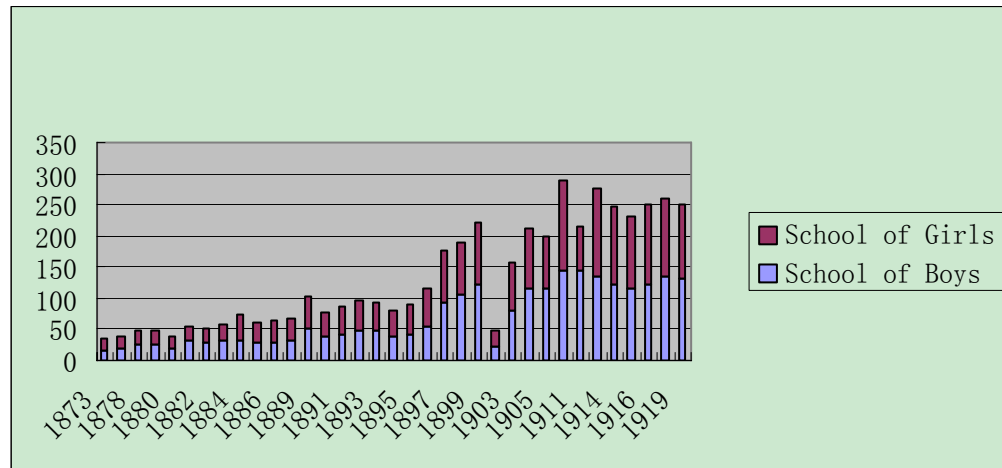
According to the Regulation, the missionary should provide all Christian children in his district with truly Christian education; in order to achieve this goal, he should establish in each *chrétienté*, or at least in each principal area, a school of boys and a school of girls (RMM 3.2.1). About 300 schools were founded in Manchuria within five

key secondary school.” (Ross 1996, 208) Similarly, St. Hilda’s School for Girls in Wuchang, Hubei Province started as a common missionary school for girls and developed in the 1910s into an elite female school that attracted girls from wealthy non-Christian families in the Wuhan area. For these families, St. Hilda’s as a missionary boarding school became a shelter for elite girls, because students in the St. Hilda’s would be the children from missionaries and/or the fiancées of the boys at the adjoining Boone School, Central China’s training school for Episcopalian ministers.

²⁰⁶ Cultural hegemony was a concept coined by Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci. It means that one ruling class can dominate a diverse culture through “common sense,” in which everyday practices and shared beliefs became the foundation for complex systems of domination. See, for example, Gramsci 1992. In China, cultural hegemony

decades from the 1870s (Figure 7.2). Except for the devastating period of the Boxer Rebellion, the increase of schools resembled that of missionaries and catechists, and developed rapidly in the early twentieth century.²⁰⁷ Students in these schools gained similar development, girl students were often more so than boy students (Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.2 Catholic School in the Manchuria Mission 1873-1919

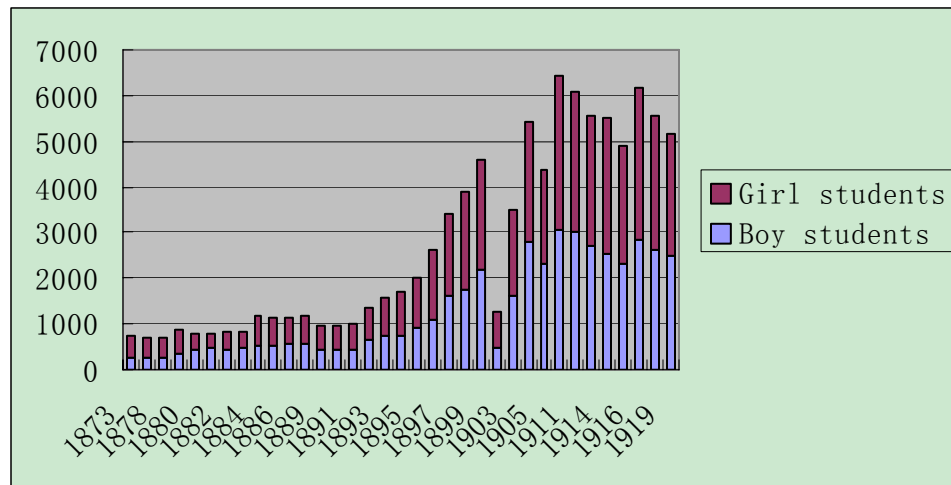


Although Christian families were all required to send their children to schools, the Manchuria Mission had different standards for rich and poor families. For example, if any families chose to send their children to secular private schools or *Sishu*, missionaries could make exceptions as long as the family was willing to give financial compensation to the Church (RMM 3.2.3). This rule gave local rich Christian families an alternative for

²⁰⁷ Boy schools, for example, increased from 17 in 1873 to 131 in 1919, and girl schools increased from 17 to 119. In fact, after the Mission was founded, one imperative action for the missionaries was to establish Catholic schools. The importance of Catholic catechist school is exemplified in both the M.E.P parish reports and local Chinese gazetteers. In local gazetteers of various administrative levels – of province, city, or county – whenever Catholicism and foreign missionaries are mentioned, catechist schools are mentioned as well. According to a local gazetteer,ⁱⁿ 1874 there were two Churches built in *Bayansusu* 巴彦苏苏, the center of Catholic mission in north Manchuria. Immediately after the Churches were built, two catechist schools were founded inside the churches. At that time, there were about 800 Christians and 12 missionaries (*Heilongjiang Shengzhi*, 197). In other places such as *Hulan* 呼兰, catechist schools for boys and girls were established separately.

children’s education and sought to attract the local gentry to the Church. In contrast to the general rule for rich families, children from poor Christian families were under more strict regulation. The Mission required that children of poor families must frequent the school during the three months of winter; otherwise their parents would be punished (RMM 3.2.4). No financial charge was clarified in this rule, but it stated that the maintenance of these schools was the duty of Christian parents and the whole community.

Figure 7.3 Catholic School Students in the Manchuria Mission 1873-1919



Catechism Literacy

The curriculum of the schools included the Catechism, mission regulations, prayers, rituals, and reading, writing and grammar. According to the Mission Regulation, pagan books were allowed in the schools only if the primary teachings of catechism and prayers were instructed to the children first (RMM 3.2.3). The Catechism was the most important textbook in the catechist schools and catechism literacy was key to the learning

of Christian knowledge. Catechism literacy meant the ability to read, recite and understand Christian concepts, prayers and basic behavior doctrines. Catechism instructors were not only missionaries but also lay Christians such as catechists, baptizers, and Christian Virgins. Unlike missionaries and indigenous priests who received formal religious education such as theology and Latin in seminaries, many lay Christian instructors depended on the study of the Catechism in Chinese alone to learn and understand the essential Christian message. For a large number of such lay active Christians, the Catechism provided them with the basic education of not only religious knowledge but also literacy.

Analysis of the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission sought to understand what level of literacy was required to foreign missionaries, indigenous priests, and the involved lay Christians. For the lay Christians in rural Catholic schools, the Catechism provided them a written textbook for literacy. The process of learning characters, though through Christian vocabularies, concepts and doctrines, may have deeply affected their understanding and articulation of the world and the self. In this part, I study the number of characters and concepts introduced by the catechism, which would later transform the convert's internal and external worlds.

The Catechism of the Manchuria Mission was composed of altogether 12068 Chinese characters and 856 unique characters. The prologue of the Catechism stated that the “about 860 characters are the most common” in Chinese. It was assumed that this

was the expected level of Chinese for M.E.P missionaries in this mission.²⁰⁸ If literacy was defined as the acquisition of some functional level of reading and writing abilities, the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission gave its own version of an educational pedagogy.

Table 7.2 Literacy of the Catechism of the Manchuria Mission

	Total	Unique	
	Chinese Characters	Characters	Articles
Catechism	12068	856	368
Beginning Level	2534	475	87
Basic Level	5424	617	112
Advanced Level	4110	645	169

For missionaries and catechists, the 368 articles and 856 individual Chinese characters of the catechism were a basic requirement. The instructor should understand the religious vocabulary and the explanation in either Chinese or French, or both, as well as the inter-dialogue expression in evangelization. The opening page of the Catechism offered an instruction to explain the two kinds of Romanization, one on Mandarin and the

²⁰⁸ According to modern standard, this is however not a high level of Chinese literacy. In her study of modern Chinese literacy, Vilma Seeberg lists the number of characters required in various mass literacy movements. “James Yen [Yan Yangchu] and other peasant literacy mass movements prior to 1949 taught 1000 most frequently and commonly used characters. Hawkins (1974) estimated the number of characters taught in informal reading classes, a form of lower level, somewhere between 450 and 750 characters ... In 1950, the People’s Congress declared that knowledge of 1000 characters was the objective of literacy courses and proof of literacy, whereas knowledge of 300 or fewer characters was indicative of total illiteracy ... In 1953, workers and cadres must master 3000, and peasants 1000. In 1956, the number was reduced to 2000 and 1500.” Seeberg 1990: 20.

other on the dialect of Northeast China, which converted this Catechism also into a language textbook and the promotion of literacy became an essential part of it.

For local converts, the promotion of literacy through this Catechism was more implicit. According to the instructions, no matter what level of literacy a convert had, memorization of essential Christian ideas, rituals and prayers (87 out of 368 articles) was mandatory. Knowing the essential Christian concepts, remembering Christian prayers, and participating in Christian rituals were fundamental to constructing a convert's Christian identity. Although the Catholic Church never publicly promoted literacy until Vatican II in the second half of the twentieth century, teaching such basic knowledge to local converts had become a crucial task for the missionaries, priests and other catechists. The Catechism also established a strong link between the written Church texts and the orality of local converts. Especially for the most faithful and active indigenous Catholics, the Catechism education transformed them from ordinary converts into active evangelists who had mastered a certain level of literacy.

To grasp a level of literacy means, however, much more than merely turning a common Catholic convert into an active evangelist. In East Asian civilization the written word has always taken precedence over the spoken; traditional Chinese history is primarily an interpretation of famous documents (Schipper 1974: 324). In Catholicism, ordinary converts have no direct access to the Holy Scripture but through the Mass and teaching of the priest. In this sense, Mass is considered a sacred ritual more than an intellectual one. Given the interplay of both East Asian civilization and Catholicism,

when a Chinese catechist or an active lay Catholic gained access to the written textbooks such as catechism, he would spontaneously gain the sacred authority recognized by the Catholic Church as well as the intellectual superiority recognized by the Chinese society.

In this sense, catechism literacy appeared attractive to ordinary Chinese Catholic converts, though this was not the original intention of the Church. The establishment of a large number of catechism schools further facilitated this implicit promotion of religious literacy. These schools were largely composed of the lay Catholic teachers – catechists and Christian Virgins – and the Catholic children and catechumens. The access of literacy in these schools provided them with more alternatives not only within the Church but also in the Chinese rural society, in which literacy was linked to social mobility.

(Photo 7.3 and 7.4)

The New Female Literacy

In late imperial China, family background determined female access to education.²⁰⁹ As Maureen Robertson argues, “In the Ming and Qing dynasties, a large percentage of the extant collections of women’s poetry was, in contrast to the situation for Tang, by women of literati families.” (Robertson 1992: 79) Examining recent

²⁰⁹ The relationship between literacy and women has been well explored in Chinese history, especially during the recent two decades, as scholars explored the subject and rethought the roles of women. The study of high-cultural aspects of elite women and courtesans’ writing in China includes Widmer 1989, Robertson 1992, Ebrey 1993, Ko 1994, Mann 1994 and 1997, Widmer and Chang 1997. The pioneer work that reignites the scholarly focus on literacy in China is Rawski 1979.



Photo 7.3: Catholic School for Girls of Si-fong, 1930. Source: AMEP, Photo Collection, Chine 33, Mandchourie MÉR., Activités Missionnaires.

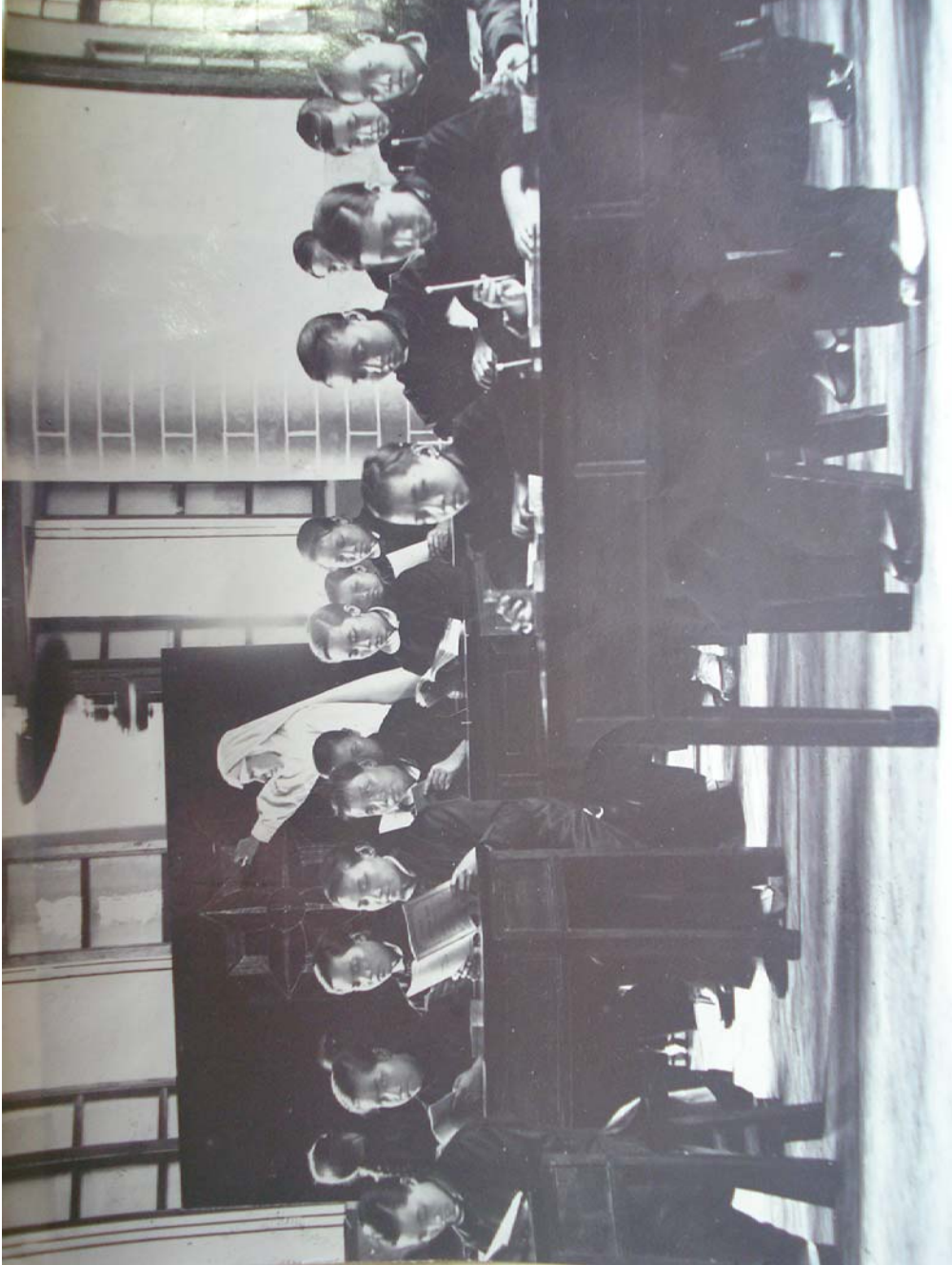


Photo 7.4: Class of a Catholic School for Girls, ca. 1920s. Source: AMEP, Photo Collection, Chine 22, Se-Tchoan Occ., et Or. Activités Missionnaires.

representative works concerning literacy and women's education in traditional Chinese society, it is clear that Chinese women writers all came from elite families. The women Dorothy Ko examines, for example, were women of the gentry class who lived during the seventeenth century in the Jiangnan region, the area of the rich Yangtze River delta. They were women from the elite class, whose literacy and education were derived in large part from connections to men of privilege. (Ko 1994) Similarly, the eighteenth-century women poets in Susan Mann's 1997 and 2007 studies were all "learned women" who developed technologies of writing personal experiences through education. Their "technologies of the self" in their poetic voice owed to their classical learning and to their elite family, because "both little boys and little girls in elite families were expected to learn to read and write ... [and] growing up learned in elite households of the High Qing period meant growing up to write." (Mann 1997: 17)

Elite female literacy by the eighteenth century had become in many ways to a large extent, an extension of literacy in the male world.²¹⁰ And elite female education had become increasingly similar to male education and classical learning. Many elite and

²¹⁰ The scholarship on elite women writers of the traditional Chinese society thrived in recent years. This scholarship focuses on exploring "female voices" in the male *literati* dominated world of written language, as Maureen Robertson argues in her classic article of women writers in Chinese lyric poetry, "The discourse that enabled an exclusive form of traditional literary history was authorized by a patriarchal proprietorship of written language. The allocation of language/writing to men guaranteed the perpetuation of systems of representation conforming to gender arrangements as defined by the dominant (primarily Confucian) ideology." (Robertson 1992: 66) In this framework, Widmer describes how a group of gentry women in the Jiangnan area, who formed a loose literary network, in which they exchanged correspondence and encouraged one another's endeavors. This network linked, Widmer argues, domestic circles with *literati* salons, and the world of secluded wives with those of courtesans, merchants, and professional artists. (Widmer 1989) Robertson discussed "how women writers have constructed feminine voices in the process of entering into a masculinized written language and a tradition of lyric verse in which images of women and feminine voices have been authoritatively constructed by men." (Robertson 1992: 67) The women poets in Robertson's study had their own voices, but their means of voicing, through the "masculinized written language" was similarly an extended world of the male *literati*.

learned women received the same classic learning as elite males at home.²¹¹ Some gentry-women organized loose literary networks to exchange correspondence and encourage one another's endeavors (Widmer 1989), linking their domestic circles with female *litterati* salons modeled after the "male *litterati* salon." Although expressing personal voices unique to women became a theme for these women writers, the writings these elite women produced often followed the rhetoric of the "masculinized written language." (Robertson 1992: 66) For many elite women, the writing was a means to display sophistication and elegance, a refinement central to a long-established reputation for an elite family. After examining thousands of elite women's poems, Susan Mann also points out that many of these learned women explicitly embraced classical morality and family attachments. The literacy world of these elite women – concerned both learning and expression – was a privilege and was largely defined by the literacy world of elite males. In other words, this definite privilege of classic learning and literacy, enjoyed by the elite women, was foremost a class issue rather than a gender issue.²¹²

In contrast to elite women, literacy for most other women was highly gendered. Before the arrival of the missionary, boys had the privilege to attend clan schools or private schools in local communities, but girls were expected to stay at home. There

²¹¹ Although primers and elementary texts for girls and women also existed, such as Liu Hsiang's *Biographies of [Exemplary] Women*, the texts, however, were written by man *litterati* and demonstrated their imagination of ideal women in the denominated ideology. (Lee 2000: 469)

²¹² For example, these elite women enjoyed the privilege of classic learning and literacy much more than the men from the non-elite and lower classes. Access to literacy for lower-class men often meant access to social mobility; while for these elite women, literacy not only empowered ^{them} and gave them a means to voice similar to that of men, but also assured them with reputation and admiration from the social world determined by the men.

never existed any public educational system for girls in Chinese rural society. Even if a few rural families that might allow girls to read, the primers and elementary texts for girls and women were largely male centered.²¹³ The Church, therefore, provided the first public educational system for females in rural society. More significantly than this education opportunity, the Church education provided a set of discourses, which in effect offered a totally new world different from elite female literacy.

This new female literacy was first of all religious.²¹⁴ The Catholic Catechism was the major source; it contained a whole set of new discourses about Christianity. The Catechism explained Christian concepts through the Chinese language and the Chinese language of Christian faith constructed a world of transcendence new to the rural converts. The language of faith in the Catechism also conveyed a set of rhetorical, social and moral norms different from other primers and elementary texts for women in both classic and popular learning in traditional Chinese society.

In contrast with the canonical Chinese texts, which emphasized gender differences, Catholic texts emphasized the basic equality of the male and female souls, and were a product of the Catholic Church honoring God and advocating universalism.

²¹³ The popular primers and elementary texts for literacy education in imperial China include *Thousand Characters Essay* (*Qian Zi Wen*), *Hundred Surnames* (*Bai Jia Xing*), and *Three-Character Classic* (*San Zi Jing*). These works were all intended for both boys and girls, but the content were often male centered. There were primers and elementary texts particularly for girls and women in Chinese history, including *Biographies of Exemplary Women* (*Lie Nü Zhuan*), *Precepts for Women* (*Nu Jing*), and *Lessons for Women* (*Nü Shu*), but the content and morality connotation are still defined by elite males. (Lee 2000: 439-477)

²¹⁴ The role of religion was not new in affecting women's writings in Chinese history. A representative study about writing and religion in Chinese history is Cahill's study of the tenth-century biography of the Queen Mother of the West (Cahill 1993). Cahill focuses on the Tang literati's construction of female divinity and their interpretations about sexuality and religion, transcendence and divine passion. She also cites some of the contemporary women poems about the Queen Mothers, whose writing was religious practice to transcendence.

A new identity – the selected, or Christian – outweighed the gendered difference between men and women. In other words, the distinction between the profane and the faithful was the foremost concern rather than the male and the female. The learning process thus became equal in that both men and women studied the Catechism in order to achieve transcendence and the final salvation by God.

In addition, this new literacy substituted Church hierarchy for the traditional Chinese social hierarchy and offered new opportunities for faithful females. In Catholic schools, rural Christian women from poor families, for example, could enjoy the same learning experiences as those from elite families. By this “de-gendered” literacy, all faithful women, regardless of family and social background, could use the religiously universal discourse to express and articulate selves. Their religious and faithful expression was logically justified by their faith. If these women participated in evangelism or other Church services, their use of Catechism literacy was even more encouraged. In the space created and justified by the Church, these religiously literate women formed a new identity; one was no longer defined by or confined to male-centered secular society.

Through religious education, this new female literacy finally changed the consciousness of Chinese rural females and helped them articulate an awareness of self to trans/form a new subjectivity. In the Tou letters, which are the focus of chapter eight, for example, Catholic women’s private writing becomes a sentimental mixture of religious prayers and reflective meditation. Owing to conversion and religious education, the Tou

ladies' spiritual displacement and unique writing style give clear expression to trans-cultural Christianity in a modern context of nineteenth-century China: how Christian languages and values, through religious literacy, shaped rural Chinese women's writing, belief and identity; how for these women, Christianity was a vehicle of expression, rather than repression; and how they used such issues as gender relations, family conversion, and above all religiosity to articulate an awareness of self.

CONCLUSION

The expansion of the Manchuria Mission in the nineteenth century led to the wide establishment of Catholic schools. The spread of a Catholic educational system provided the educational opportunity for rural men and women, who were deprived of opportunities for education either by Roman Catholic Church because of the historical disputes of Chinese Rites Controversy or by the patriarchal secular society of China itself. The Catholic schools founded in local communities not only rendered them education but also offered them a sense of community via this religious education. Especially for women, the Church education established the first public educational system for them in rural society, which profoundly changed the life and identity of these rural women.

The institution of Church education also facilitated the later elite female education in modern China, and provided those females opportunities for social mobility. In the early twentieth century, many missionary schools for girls developed into elite schools

for girls for wealthy families, who sent their daughters to such schools to secure their status or to gain the access to upper classes. Boys who went to missionaries, on the contrary, did not get the similar chance to become elite, for the Church system for male education had to compete with the traditional Chinese educational system, which, to a large extent, determined the male social mobility.

The Church educational system, consequently, promoted literacy in the rural society, especially for females, and the relatively elite-nature of Church's education determined the emergency of a new female literacy that differed from that of the urban elite females.²¹⁵ The new female literacy derived from the Church religious education rather than private education in elite families. It offered a set of discourses different from Chinese classic learning. It also created a new space in the rural society, in which the public (Church and Christian community) and the domestic (women in the family) were fundamentally interconnected and transcended. This new space, in return, provided new opportunities for many rural Christian women, who became religiously literate; some of the most devoted, such as the Christian Virgins, became indispensable evangelical leaders in local communities. Religious education and the new female literacy would also significantly change Christian women's consciousness of the world and the self, as the following chapter eight will show.

²¹⁵ It has been an argument that Catholics are far behind Protestants in terms of education and promotion of literacy. Drawn from studies in the European context, this argument, however, is controversial in nineteenth-century China.

Chapter Eight

Narrating Faith: Literacy and the Articulation of Self

In the spring of 1871, in a small village of Northeast China, a Catholic woman from the Tou family wrote a letter to her French priest, who had returned to France because of poor health. She wrote to request the priest's return – “Kind father, if you are recovered, I beg you to come back!” “I miss you and I cry.” At about the same time, another relative of the Tou family also wrote to the same priest, “Since you have gone, I feel like lost sheep without a shepherd.” She concluded her letter sadly, “If I were not female, I would come to stay in front of you.” Six months later on November 14, these letters from the family Tou finally arrived at the Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris. Addressed to Dominique Maurice Pourquoié, a M.E.P missionary who worked in the Manchuria Mission from 1847 to 1870, the letters came from three of his Chinese female converts: Tou Xiao’erniu (Colette), Tou Xiaoshiyi (Marie), and Tou Xiaodazi (Philomene).²¹⁶ Unfortunately for them, however, Pourquoié had in fact died six months before their communications even arrived in Paris.

²¹⁶ AMEP 0564: 565a-572a.

The priest had passed away, but the letters were preserved. Written on large pieces of yellow rice paper with dark ink Chinese characters, the letters have been discovered in Paris, France more than one hundred years later. Excepting the scattered incorrect characters and grammar errors, the letters are replete with a sentimental mixture: strong personal emotions, explicit religious vocabularies and metaphors, and clear awareness of their own gender. The skillful use of religious vocabulary and imitative expression makes the letters a Catholic document. The letters become a transformed written confession through which these Chinese Catholic women make an effort to express private feelings, to articulate an awareness of self and to achieve conversion through the personalization of faith.

The interplay of religious experience, rhetorical skill, and gender relations demonstrated by the Tou letters gives us a chance to explore nineteenth-century Catholicism in rural China. The Tou ladies stress the parity between the loss of a priest and the loss of religious piety. Their own adaptation of religious expressions and forms is distinctly imitative. They play upon ambiguities of religious language across cultures, appropriating the spiritual forces of devotion to serve their personal sentimental excesses. In this creative appropriation, writing becomes a transformed personal confession. Letters and prayers, two distinctive forms of private communication, mingle and stimulate each other.

Religion provides the Tou sisters with an outlet to express their intimate feelings, while religious educational templates provide them with particular patterns to articulate

such feelings. For women in rural society, Christianity established a connection between them and God, granting a meaningful direction to their austere daily life. Christianity also established a connection between them and foreign male priests, giving their intimate emotions an outlet. Christianity therefore appeared to be more popular among women in rural society, because its women lacked such an emotional and narrative outlet, and it suited women's needs in such an environment.²¹⁷ At the same time, their writing, narrative and expression also became a process of appropriation and personalization of faith. In this sense, the introduction of Christianity into China presents a digression from the original intention by both sides.

What Christianity brought to China and how Chinese converts internalized Western religion to trans/form subjectivity has long been a controversial topic in historical study. A recent review of the historiography of Christianity in China claims that we know “hardly anything about the women converts, poor converts, ordinary parish life, etc.” (Standaert 1997: 572-613) Due to the lack of private voices from rural converts, who constituted the majority of Chinese Christians in the nineteenth century, the privacy of Chinese women, especially those in the rural society, has been mysterious for too many years. And the current scholarship built upon writings of Western missionaries and Chinese literati Christians fails to touch the most intimate and sophisticated part to understand women and Christianity in China.

²¹⁷ See Chapter Seven.

The discovery of the Tou letters in the AMEP, however, provides us with an opportunity to reconstruct the voices of Chinese Catholic women and document how rural Christian converts were able to appropriate independently hetero-cultural religious language to express and justify their intimate feelings. On the one hand, through grammar errors, the religious discourse translated itself through the Tou ladies' writing into the private context of desire, love, familial and spiritual relations, from which emerge an expression of personal emotions, an awareness of self, and an articulation of subjectivity. On the other hand, through the skillful use of religious vocabulary and converted personal prayers, the Tou ladies' private writing becomes a sentimental mixture of religious prayers and reflective meditation. Their spiritual displacement and unique writing style clearly express trans-cultural Christianity and the rise of privacy in the modern context of nineteenth-century rural China.

Departing from the above approaches, the study of the Tou letters – drawing upon the history of women, the history of writing, and the history of Christianity in China – considers not only the practices and sentiments of Chinese Catholic women towards their faith but also the models and norms that Christianity offers to them. In this chapter, I first analyze the spelling and religious vocabulary employed in the letters to examine the Tou letters in the context of gender and writing. Careful reading reveals that the letters of the Tou women are replete with such mistakes as misspellings, missing characters, and

incorrect character order.²¹⁸ In contrast, we also find a large number of sophisticated religious words and expressions. In trying to reconstruct the voices from the texts, I argue that the sharp contrast between the poor spelling and the skillful use of religious expression enhances the uniqueness and significance of the Tou letters: writing as confession, letters as prayers. Through the lens of such formal convergences, I then explore how Christian languages and values, through religious literacy, shaped these rural Chinese women's writing, their belief and identity; how for these women, Christianity was a vehicle of expression, rather than repression; and how they used such issues as gender relations, family conversion, and above all religiosity to articulate an awareness of self.

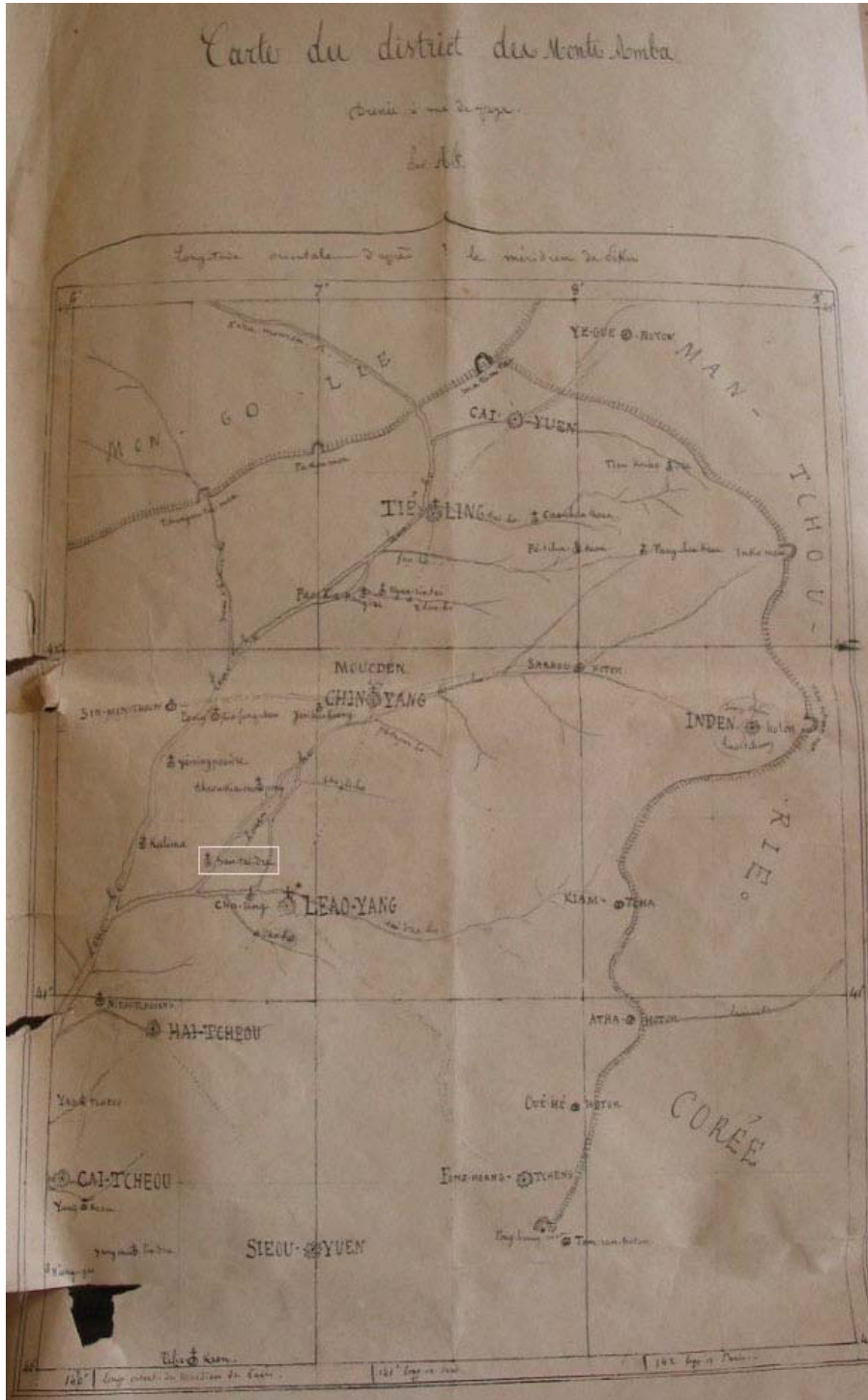
HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Tou Family

The Tou ladies were from a village named San-tai-tse, illustrated on the accompanying mid-nineteenth-century map (Map 8.1). It is a small village located in Liaozhong County, near Xen-iang (Shenyang, Moukden), the capital city of today's Liaoning province. In 1823, the first Catholic Church was established in Ie-sing-pou-tse of Liaozhong County, where lived about 119 Christians. In San-tai-tse, according to Verrolles, there were 170 Christians in the 1830s.²¹⁹ With increasing numbers of

²¹⁸ The Tou letters are written in Chinese. Misspelling is a general term to indicate several forms of mistakes in written Chinese, such as *cuobiezi* or homophones substitution, wrongly written characters and etc. I will discuss the different forms of misspelling in details in the following section on spelling.

²¹⁹ AMEP 225: 153. According to Adrien Launay, this is Verrolles' first report about the quantity of



Map 8.1: Carte du district du Monts Amba. Releve, Géographique, Statistique, Enumeratif, Historique & Manifique, 1854. Source: AMEP 0563: 629.

Christians in Manchuria. (Launay 1895: 147)



Photo 8.1: Catholic Church in San-tai-tse (rebuilt in the 1980s). Photo taken by Ji Li in August 2007.

Catholic converts, churches were later established in eight other villages including San-tai-tse, Ka-li-ma, Tse-loua-chou, and Sin-min-tuen. The Catholic church of San-tai-tse was established in March 1864 by M.E.P bishop Joseph André Boyer (*Liaozhong Xianzhi*: 770). In the parish report of 1865, San-tai-tse was identified as a “good” (*bien*) village according to Boyer’s observation of religiosity.²²⁰ It is in the village of San-tai-tse that the Tou ladies first met Pourquié, probably in the 1860s after Pourquié had established seven posts in this area. According to the M.E.P annual report, in 1865 there were already two missionary schools for girls in San-tai-tse.²²¹ After Pourquié returned to Paris in 1870, San-tai-tse had no priests in residence. The Tou ladies, like most other Catholic women at the time, stayed at home to practice.

All three letter-writing women were from the family Tou and show a common family name. Family conversion was a feature of the Catholic missions in rural China. Early twentieth-century missionary Charles Robinson observed, “In Manchuria, to a greater extent than in almost any section of the mission field, the growth of the Church has resulted from the efforts made by the converts to influence their friends and neighbors.” (Robinson 1916: 213)²²² Robison’s observation refers to a key concept in Chinese history that family and kinship play important roles in Chinese society. They also played central roles in conversion in local communities. As my documents show, in some Catholic villages when one family converted to Christianity so would other families who shared the same family name and belonged to the same kinship.²²³ In many cases Christian families also sent their daughters to become Christian Virgins in order to

²²⁰ AMEP 0563: 2096.

²²¹ AMEP 0563: 2094.

²²² Austin Fulton quoted this passage in the prologue of his book *Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria 1867-1950* (1967).

²²³ One example is an 1854 AMEP register of Catholic families distributed in 13 Catholic villages in today’s Liaoning province. The register lists each Catholic family according to its kinship. Thus we can see in one village many Catholic families virtually belonged to the same kinship. Franclet 1854 report “Relevé: Géographique, Statistique, Enumératif, Historique & Magnifique du District des Monts Amba.” (AMEP 0563: 629-644)

enhance the general spiritual practice of the whole family (Entenmann 1996b). As the Tou letters show, sometimes women played the most important role in promoting Christianity within a family instead of the head of the household.

Although the Tous were part of a big Catholic family in San-tai-tse, the Tou letters suggest that there were still a number of pagans in the Tou family. The pagan members of the Tou family, however, were not hostile towards Christianity and foreign priests. Colette gives the most explicit account in her letter.

“Kind father, all the members in my family, old and young, expect you to come back. I beg you to come back! When my family and my father see me, they always ask me when you come back. I beg you to pray for my father. [My father] is still indifferent. Now my relatives who are outside of the Church want to know about God and to serve the Church. It is all due to your prayers, and to Father Xi and to Father Bao’s prayers. Hope God brightens their hearts!”²²⁴

L’abbé Pourquoié

The Tou Letters are written to Dominique Maurice Pourquoié, called Father Lin by his Chinese converts.²²⁵ Pourquoié was born in January 28, 1812 in the parish of Saint-Nicolas in Toulouse. Ordained on December 21, 1839 at the age of twenty-seven, Pourquoié became a minister in his diocese. At the age of thirty-four, on May 14, 1846, he entered the Seminary of the M.E.P. After six months of training in Paris, Pourquoié left

²²⁴ Father Xi refers to M.E.P missionary Madelain Gillié. Father Bao refers to M.E.P missionary Joseph Boyer. Colette Tou lettre, line 25-28. (AMEP 0564: 565a)

²²⁵ According to “Vicaire Apostolic Mandchourie”, Pourquoié’s full Chinese name is Lin Maoli, 林貌理. (AMEP, 0563: 34)

for Manchuria on October 21 with Charles Emile Colin.²²⁶ According to the M.E.P missionary and historian Adrien Launay, he arrived in Manchuria between the years 1846 and 1847. Pourquoié was one of four initial M.E.P missionaries assigned to the Manchuria Mission.²²⁷ He started his work in Song-chou-tsouei-tse in 1849, moved to Siao-hei-chan in 1850 and Yang-kouan in 1852-3. From 1854 on, he was in charge of the Catholic post of Pa-kia-tse. In the same year, he was nominated *provicaire apostolique*.²²⁸ Three years later, Pourquoié moved to Lien-chan and Kin-tcheou in the district of Song-chou-tsouei-tse where he founded a Catholic post. In 1858, he moved to Cha-ling and worked in this area until 1870. By 1862, Pourquoié had established seven regional posts for missionaries and had about 1065 Catholic converts under his supervision. Pourquoié returned to France in 1870 due to illness.²²⁹ Shortly after his return on May 9, 1871, Pourquoié died in Paris. Only eight days before his death, on the other side of the earth, his Chinese follower Philomene Tou was writing a long and emotional letter to him in the village of San-tai-tse, asking desperately for his return.

The Tou letters depict Pourquoié as a kind and beloved father. In fact, among the nine missionaries who worked in the Manchuria Mission before 1862, Pourquoié showed particular interest in converting Chinese women. Pourquoié left us few letters. In 1858, he wrote a long letter about a Chinese woman and how converting to Christianity had

²²⁶ AMEP, Pourquoié, bio-bibliographiques, -C.-R., 1871: 20.

²²⁷ The other three missionaries are Pierre Negrier, Pierre Alexandre Mesnard, and Charles Emile Colin. Negrier and Mesnard left France together on February 27, 1846, about eight months earlier than Pourquoié and Colin. See, Launay 1895: 206, and AMEP "fiche individuelle."

²²⁸ AMEP, Pourquoié, bibliographiques, -C.-R., 1871: 20.

²²⁹ Unfortunately we have not found any documents about the details of his sickness and his trip back to France.

changed her life. After describing the difficulties of mission work in China, “The triple icy wind of selfishness, indifference and realism has covered the unfortunate earth of China of a thick layer of ice,” Pourquoié suddenly changed his tone and began to talk excitedly about a Chinese girl who was born into a poor pagan family and converted to Christianity after marriage. Pourquoié wrote emotionally about the woman’s life story until her death and praised her as “a little flower.”²³⁰ Pourquoié’s writing style in fact resembles that of Tou ladies: explicit and emotional.

In the following sections I start with the letters and propose to view the letters and the writing process as *objects*.²³¹ After a description of the letters, I begin my analysis by examining writing mistakes and religious vocabularies used in the letters. In constructing the Tou ladies’ voices from text, I attempt to demonstrate how writing and literacy become a means of personalization of faith. In the process of writing, the Tou ladies made an effort to self-identify. Writing became as confession, and letters, prayers.

WRITING AND LITERACY: PERSONALIZATION OF FAITH

Written documents form the basis for historical study. Lack of past texts usually means an accompanying lack of possibilities to explore what has happened. On the other hand, the lack of past written texts in a certain period also implies silent agents in history

²³⁰ Pourquoié Letter, 1858. (AMEP 0562: 1373)

²³¹ A new scholarship in literature and cultural history has risen to treat personal writings and the process of writing itself as objects of historical study. This scholarship pays particular attention to examine the materiality of texts. Writing process is also viewed as a conscious act to construct narrative. For an example of such study, see Hébrard 2002: 263-292.

who lacked the ability to write. Among such silent groups are the female Catholic converts in rural China.

For a long time, our understanding of Christianity in rural China has been constructed by the study of official decrees, missionary writings, legal documents of religious conflicts, local gazetteers and journals by Chinese literati. Their writings seldom focus on Chinese Catholic women, and none of them incorporate the voices of Catholic women into the official accounts. This is not just because men, whether foreign missionaries or local elites, dominated the representation of women. Rather, women without access to education in literacy also lacked access to either public or private spheres to voice themselves through written texts. In this sense, the Tou letters demonstrate two distinctive features. First, the Tou ladies present an ability to write which was particularly unusual for Catholic women in rural China.²³² Second, letters to their foreign missionary provided them with a legitimate space to practice their literacy, articulate their faith in writing, and safely express their personal feelings. Religious languages played a decisive role in both their writing and their articulation of emotion. In turn, writing in terms of religious language became a means to construct their faith and identity.

²³² According to historian Evelyn Rawski, “Information from the mid-and late nineteenth century suggests that 30 to 45 percent of the men and from 2 to 10 percent of the women in China knew how to read and write. This group included the fully literate members of the elite and, on the opposite pole, those knowing only a few hundred characters. Thus loosely defined, there was an average of almost one literate person per family.” (Rawski 1979: 140)

The Letters

The Tou letters are written in Chinese on three large sheets of yellow rice paper with dark ink.²³³ Written vertically from right to left, the Chinese characters are neat and clear. The somewhat awkward handwriting shows that the writers have received some writing education and learned how to use a Chinese writing brush before they wrote. But apparently they have not yet become skillful. Among the three, Colette Tou's handwriting appears the worst. She is also the one who makes the most mistakes. In fact, all three Touts make mistakes when they write: misspellings, missing characters and incorrect character orders characterize their letters. Examining the letters carefully, apparently Tou ladies take pains to correct the mistakes in their proofreading: Sometimes they carefully add missing characters in between the lines; sometimes they use a strategy of "cut and paste" to rewrite the whole sentence. It is clear that the writing is a serious endeavor and requires a great deal of effort for the Tou ladies. Even though they try hard to write well, they cannot help but make mistakes. The current version of the letters, after their careful proofreading and correction, gives us an accurate reflection of the level of these women's literacy.

The letters are all addressed to Father Lin, or Pourquoié, and begin with two Chinese characters, *kou bing*, literally "kowitz to submit," an archaic expression when younger and lower-rank people meet with the elder and the higher rank, a way to show

²³³ See Appendix 6.

respect and politeness. At the end of the letters, all Tou ladies write down their Chinese names, followed immediately by their baptized names. None of the Tou ladies, however, has formal Chinese given names. Colette, Marie, and Philomene Tou are all named according to their birth order in the family kin group: Tou Xiao'erniu, or the second girl of Tou; Tou Xiaoshiyi, or the eleventh of Tou; and Tou Xiaodazi, the youngest of Tou.²³⁴

According to the M.E.P, the letters are catalogued under the date of November 14, 1871. This should be the date when the three letters arrived in Paris. Among the three letters, Philomene Tou is the only one who indicates a date of writing, “A.D. 1871, the first day of the fifth month, with tears.”²³⁵ The date indicated here is a mixture of both Western and Chinese representation of time. The first clause, “A.D. 1871,” is a common Western expression of year. For most Chinese at that time, the year of 1871 should be indicated as “Tongzhi shinian,” or “the tenth year of Emperor Tongzhi.” The second clause, “the first day of the fifth month,” however, is a common expression of date according to the Chinese lunar calendar. Obviously, Philomene knows the Western representation of year, though her expression of date remains in typically Chinese.²³⁶

²³⁴ In Chinese, their names are 杜小二妞, 杜小十一, 杜小大子 respectively. According to the Franco phonetic spelling, the AMEP catalogue recorded their family name as Tou. In this paper I will keep the AMEP Franco-Romanization system whenever I cite a word – usually personal and place names – from this or other original AMEP documents. Otherwise I use pinyin.

²³⁵ The first clause is literally translated as “Save World 1871”, or “A.D. 1871.” A.D. means Anno Domini. It is translated from Latin and it means "Year of our Lord." The second clause “the first day of the fifth month,” however, is a common expression according to Chinese lunar Calendar.

²³⁶ The mixed expression of time in Philomene’s letter, however, produces a myth of the exact date when the letters were written. According to the Chinese lunar calendar, “the first day of the fifth month” refers to June 18 in the Gregorian calendar of 1871. This is apparently not correct, because in the same volume of AMEP, we find another letter written by missionary Pilibert Louis André Simon on June 2, 1871. In this letter to Pourquoié, Simon mentioned the three letters written by the Touts. He started with a sentence explicitly about the Tou letters, “Here are the letters of your girls. I want to give you a translation of the Chinese characters, but absolutely I have no time. So I send you their letters from the heart.” (Pilibert Louis

Besides writing mistakes and the mixed expression of time, also noticeable is that in the first nine lines of Marie Tou’s letter, there are lines of French translation, added to the letter by missionary Pilibert Louis André Simon. Simon intended to do the translation for Pourquoié but did not have time to finish. Apparently Pourquoié’s Chinese is not good enough to read Chinese letters. If language is not the most immediate media between the communication of Pourquoié and the Tou ladies, what makes these women so in love with Pourquoié and what is at stake in the relationship between Chinese women converts and foreign missionaries? My last section in this paper particularly addresses these questions. Now let us start with the analysis of spelling.

Spelling

Table 8.1 Incorrect Characters in the Tou Letters

	Characters	Unique Characters	Mistakes	Unique Mistakes	Missing (characters added later)	Incorrect order
Colette	864	194	42	25	19 (14)	3
Marie	710	188	12	9	12 (12)	0
Philomene	967	233	28	13	34 (33)	2

André Simon Letter, June 2, 1871. (AMEP 0564: 557) The Tou letters must have been written earlier than Simon’s letter of June 2. To explain this obvious contradiction, it is clear that when Philomene wrote “the first day of the fifth month,” she did not mean to refer to a date in Chinese lunar calendar. Rather, what she meant is indeed the date in Gregorian calendar, namely, the May 1, 1871. By “the first day of the fifth month,” Philomene uses a traditional Chinese way to express a date in the Western calendar. This mixture of expression of time shows how Chinese converts’ understanding of time is shaped by Western religious education, and how Chinese converts’ reception of Western notions is mixed up in their daily life experience of Chinese tradition.

Table 8.2 Frequency of *Cuobiezi* and Misspelling in the Tou Letters²³⁷

Incorrect Character, Pinyin	Correct Character, Pinyin	Meaning	Colette	Marie	Philomene
<i>Cuobiezi</i> , or Homophone Substitution					
之 <i>zhi</i>	知 <i>zhi</i>	To know	1		1
知 <i>zhi</i>	之 <i>zhi</i>	Particle		1	
[知]到 <i>dao</i>	道 <i>dao</i>	To talk	4	2	3
[修]到[院] <i>dao</i>	道 <i>dao</i>	Principle	2		
到[谢] <i>dao</i>	道 <i>dao</i>	To say	2		
到 <i>dao</i>	道 <i>dao</i>	Path	1		1
祈 <i>qi</i>	起 <i>qi</i>	To rise	1		
巴 <i>ba</i>	吧 <i>ba</i>	Particle	2	1	2
望 <i>wang</i>	忘 <i>wang</i>	To forget	1	1	
己 <i>ji</i>	几 <i>ji</i>	Several		1	
惺 <i>xing</i>	醒 <i>xing</i>	To wake up			1
多 <i>duo</i>	惰 <i>duo</i>	Lazy			3
坐[弥撒] <i>zuo</i>	做 <i>zuo</i>	To do	1		1
作[弥撒] <i>zuo</i>	做 <i>zuo</i>	To do	1		
是 <i>shi</i>	时 <i>shi</i>	Moment			1
[认]是 <i>shi</i>	识 <i>shi</i>	To know	1		
茨 <i>ci</i>	刺 <i>ci</i>	To thrust			1
德 <i>de</i>	得 <i>de</i>	Particle			1
教 <i>jiao</i>	叫 <i>jiao</i>	To ask			10
在 <i>zai</i>	再 <i>zai</i>	Again	1		
情 <i>qing</i>	请 <i>qing</i>	Please	1		
记 <i>ji</i>	极 <i>ji</i>	Particle	1		
[服]是 <i>shi</i>	侍 <i>shi</i>	To serve	1		
那 <i>na</i>	哪 <i>na</i>	Where	1		
的 <i>de</i>	得 <i>de</i>	Particle	1		
的 <i>di</i>	底 <i>di</i>	Particle	1		
原 <i>yuan</i>	愿 <i>yuan</i>	To wish	5		
利 <i>li</i>	立 <i>li</i>	To establish	1		
一 <i>li</i>	意 <i>yi</i>	To want	1		
害 <i>hai</i>	还 <i>hai</i>	Also	2		
如 <i>ru</i>	入 <i>ru</i>	To enter	1		

²³⁷ In Chinese language pedagogy, “*cuobiezi*” (错别字) is the most common mistake for beginners to write in Chinese. Because of the different nature of languages, there is no exact term in English to translate this kind of mistake. I should note to English-speaker readers that in terms of writing mistakes in this article, I use *cuobiezi* to refer to homophone substitution, or a homophonic character used in a wrong place, and misspelling to refer to a wrongly written character or other forms of spelling mistakes.

历 <i>li</i>	利 <i>li</i>	Dreadful	1		
Cuobiezi, or Different characters with similar pronunciations					
送 <i>song</i>	诉 <i>su</i>	To tell			1
谁 <i>shui</i>	虽 <i>sui</i>	Although	2	3	1
Misspellings, or Different characters with similar forms					
渔 <i>yu</i>	谦 <i>qian</i>	Modest		1	
往 <i>wang</i>	住 <i>zhu</i>	To stay	2		
己 <i>yi</i>	己 <i>ji</i>	Self	1		
Misspellings, or Wrongly written characters					
咱 <i>zan</i>	久 <i>jiu</i>	How long	1		
	辜 <i>gu</i>	Disappoint			1
然 <i>ran</i>				1	
系 <i>xi</i>				1	

A careful reading of the letters reveals the following types of mistakes:

misspellings, missing characters, and incorrect character order. As table 8.2 shows, there are four forms of misspelling in the Tou letters: 1) *cuobiezi* or homophone substitution; 2) misuse of different characters with similar pronunciation; 3) misuse of different characters with similar forms; 4) wrongly written characters. *Cuobiezi* or homophone substitution is the most obvious problem of the Tou letters. Here *cuobiezi* refers to the misuse of homophones: writing one Chinese character that is pronounced the same in the place of the one intended. The most common reason for the mistake of "*cuobiezi*" is due to a writer who does not understand the meaning of the character and chooses whatever sounds correct in writing. Since there are too many homophones in Chinese characters, confusion and misuse of different Chinese characters that share the same pronunciation is a common mistake for most beginners of Chinese language, even today. In the letter of Colette Tou, for example, among the 864 Chinese characters she wrote, there are 42

cuobiezi or characters misspelled and 19 missing. 14 of those 19 missing characters are added to the letter after the initial written draft. Besides the misspelled and missing characters, there are also some grammar errors such as the incorrect ordering of characters.

These *cuobiezi* or misspellings, however, are not due to haste, because there is evidence that each writer has taken the time and effort to proofread and correct other mistakes of which they are obviously aware. Colette Tou, for example, proofreads her letter and corrects many mistakes. Examining the materiality of this letter, besides adding missing characters and correcting wrongly written ones, there are five sentences and phrases that are completely rewritten. Colette makes careful changes to those sentences that she is seemingly not satisfied with. In line 6, for example, Colette writes, “Whenever I recall your teachings to me, I miss you and cry.” This sentence, however, is written on a small piece of paper and glued carefully on top of original characters. Apparently Colette Tou made mistakes when she first wrote this sentence. In order to correct or to change what she wanted to say originally, and at the same time to keep the whole letter neat and tidy, she decided to cut and paste another piece of paper here. Even today it is easy for us to see the two layers of paper with distinctively different characters. The same method of “cut and paste” to make changes is employed in all three letters.

Examining the large number of *cuobiezi* or spelling errors in the Tou letters, we find that phonetic spelling is the biggest problem in writing. In Colette Tou’s letter, for instance, she uses the character “到” or “to arrive,” fourteen times, nine of those fourteen

times incorrectly. Five times she confuses it with a homophone meaning “to know.” Four times she confuses it with another homophone meaning “the path.” To further understand the problem of her confusion of homophones in writing, let us read the first six lines of Colette Tou’s letter. We focus on discussion of spelling only in this part.

“Kowtow to submit
Jesus, Sacred Heart,
My beloved kind father, how are you. God’s daughter²³⁸ does *not know* whether [you]²³⁹ have recovered from sickness or not. Whenever God’s daughter *recalls* kind father’s teaching and guidance, [I] have no words to express [my] gratitude. God’s daughter wants kind father to guide me. Now [I] cannot listen to kind father’s teaching *any more*. Kind father, you *know* God’s daughter’s soul. No other priest is like you who understand me, truly no one. Kind father, you *know* God’s daughter is weak and confused. My kind father, [I] hope you pray for me. [I] also want to become like Jesus. Kind father, you *know* God’s daughter’s weakness. Since you have been gone, God’s daughter becomes cold hearted. Everyday [I] can *see* kind father as if [you] were standing in front of me. *Although* kind father is far away from God’s daughter, God’s daughter wants kind father’s prayers. If kind father is recovered now, *please* come back. [I] beg you to come back!”²⁴⁰

The most striking spelling error in the above paragraph concerns the word “to know” or “not to know.” In this short paragraph, Colette writes three times the phrase “you *know*” and one time “I do *not know*.” Unfortunately, she writes each incorrectly.

The first mistake appears in the second sentence, “I do *not know* whether you have

²³⁸ One distinctive feature of the Tou letters is that the first-person pronoun “I” is always missing. Instead, all the three women called themselves “神女.” It is literally translated as “God’s daughter” and refers to the subject “I.” I will discuss this in more details later.

²³⁹ Words in [] are added by the author to articulate the sentence.

²⁴⁰ Colette Tou Lettre, line 1-6. For the Chinese transcription of Colette Tou Lettre with all the spelling errors (Misspelling, missing characters and incorrect character order) as the original, please see Appendix 6.1. In its English translation as above, spelling errors are indicated by italic. All the English translation is mine.

recovered from sickness or not.” The word “not to know” or “不知” in Chinese is composed of two distinct characters: “不” or “not” and “知” or “to know.” “知” or “to know” is a common Chinese character which has many homophones. In this sentence Colette misuses a homophone “之,” an auxiliary verb, instead of the correct character “知,” to express the meaning of “I do not know.” In the following sentences, however, Colette writes the character “知” correctly for three times to express the meaning of “you know,” or “你知.”²⁴¹ Obviously Colette Tou knows the character “知” and its meaning. She correctly uses the character to say, “you know God’s daughter’s soul,” “you know God’s daughter is weak” and “you know God’s daughter’s weakness.” In a word, Colette knows the correct character of “知,” and she is able to use it in affirmative sentences such as “you know,” but she is not able to use the character correctly in negative sentences such as, “I do not know.” One explanation for this is that Colette Tou had not received any formal training of literacy. Instead, she learned the character “to know” and memorized it as its rigid affirmative form from certain templates. She does not truly understand the grammatical rule of the verb “to know.” Therefore, when it is necessary to use the character in its negative form, she becomes unable to use it correctly. She resorts to the phonetic spelling acquired in daily life and chooses whatever the most familiar homophone is according to her experience.

²⁴¹ The word “to know” or “知道” in Chinese is composed of two distinct characters. Even though Colette wrote the character “知” correctly, she misused a homo-phonetic character “到” or “to come” here for the correct character “道” in the word “知道.” She made exactly the same mistake for three times in this short paragraph.

Another example of the phonetic spelling in Colette's writing occurs in the sentence, "*Although* kind father is far away from God's daughter, God's daughter wants [your] prayers."²⁴² Here Colette Tou misuses the character “谁” or “who” for a similar-phonetic character “虽” in the word “虽然” or “although.” Different from other misused homophones in the Tou letter, “谁” [sh-u-i] and “虽” [s-u-i] are not homophones, although their pronunciations are similar. In the dialect of northeast China, people cannot distinguish between the pronunciations [sh-] and [s-], so it is easy for them to confuse the two characters phonetically. This mistake of *cuobiezi* shows again that Colette had not received formal writing education. Phonetic spelling therefore plays a dominant role in her orthography.

Colette's poor spelling of homophonic characters, however, sharp contrasts her accurate use of sophisticated characters in religious vocabulary. In the sentence “Whenever God's daughter *recalls* kind father's teaching and guidance, [I] have no words to express [my] gratitude,”²⁴³ the character “祈” or “to pray” is misused with the word “想起” or “to recall.” The correct character should be a daily-use homophone “起” or “to rise.” The character “祈” is usually used in combination with another character to form the word “祈祷”, to pray. This is a religious word used exclusively for Christianity and seldom used in daily life. In contrast to the religious character “to pray” the homophone “to rise” is a very common character. Most Chinese with basic literacy

²⁴² Colette Tou Lettre, line 5.

²⁴³ Colette Tou Lettre, line 1-2.

training would know the daily-use character “to rise” instead of the religious and more complicated character “to pray.” Colette Tou shows us an unusual case of *cuobiezi* when she confuses a religious character with a common daily-use homophone. The same mistake appears twice in Colette’s letter. Apparently in Colette’s phonetic spelling, she is more familiar with religious characters than other daily used characters common to unbelievers.

The orthographic practice presented here is phonetic. All the three letters are written in the same way and have similar phonetic spelling mistakes. Such odd spelling errors demonstrate that the Tou ladies were more familiar with religious words than common words. Instead of spelling and grammar textbooks, they learned writing through religious education and through memorizing characters from certain religious templates, such as the catechism. The pedagogy of catechism is based on constant repetition and correction. In each chrétienté, there were catechists whose major responsibility is to examine local converts’ literacy of faith. Catechism was also an examination of converts’ ability to memorize.²⁴⁴ The Tou ladies obviously write the letters by a means of imitation, because they cannot use the same character correctly in different sentence styles. In other words, they were not taught the principles of spelling and writing; instead they write according to their familiarity with catechist textbooks. Whenever their intended message is beyond the religious template, they write it according to their experience in the spoken world. Tou ladies’ literacy is constructed through instruction of

²⁴⁴ For the study on Catholic mission and pedagogy of catechism in Asia, see Phan 1998.

God and faith. They employ the religious language awkwardly to articulate their personal feelings. Therefore, their writings turn out to be full of odd spelling mistakes and their personal feelings are voiced in mixed religious languages.

Religious vocabulary and new devotion

For the Tou ladies, religion appears to play a catalytic role, facilitating their articulation of personal feelings. They are not afraid to expose their love for the foreign male priest. In fact, their expression of love is justified and encouraged by their unique epistolary style mixed with spelling errors and accurate religious vocabularies. The religious language of new devotion that they skillfully use in the letters seemed to contain certain stimulation to the very sentiments they seek to express. In other words, their feelings are constructed and defined through the language of new devotion. Imitation becomes the most fundamental narrative form to articulate self.

In the letter, Philomene vividly describes her desperation by using the passionate language of devotion.

“Priest, please beg God to forgive God’s daughter’s *big sin* that I fail to live up to God’s kindness. Jesus and Holy Ghost, please bring my priest back! My priest, you know all my *big sins*, my *big pride*, my *weakness* and my *indifference*. If you cannot come back to pray for God’s daughter and do daily mass, please [remember to] pray for God’s daughter whenever you pray to God. My priest, you said that you wanted God’s daughter to enter the *Sacred Heart of Jesus*. Priest, please ask Jesus to teach me how to enter the Sacred Heart and stay in there forever. Sometimes when [I] realize that [I] do not know on what day [I] can see my Priest again, God’s daughter’s heart suffers more. God’s daughter [wants to] enter the

Sacred Heart of Jesus to meet my Priest. Then Jesus can help me remember my Priest's instruction. My father, since you have gone, there is no other priest like you who knows my heart. The words you told God's daughter come to my mind now. Other priests do not understand what I am saying and I cannot understand what they say. God's daughter's heart is so bitter."²⁴⁵

The mixed use of first-person, "I," and third-person pronoun, "God's daughter," as subject and object makes this passage a clumsy reading.²⁴⁶ However, despite the awkward writing, we can still feel Philomene's desperation via her use of religious phrases and expressions that become emotional exclamations. Her exclamation to God always precedes her emotional appeal to the priest. Not only Philomene but both Colette and Marie Tou share the same style of writing. The religious vocabulary and expression learned from catechism and prayers provide them with a means to passionately express their feelings of being lost. Philomene Tou writes, "Since my kind father has been gone for about four or five years, God's daughter feels like a lost sheep without the shepherd." This is a classical Biblical expression.²⁴⁷ As pious converts, the Tou ladies' familiarity with religious expression is not surprising. But their skillful use of it to articulate and intensify personal emotion and appeal is impressive, given their poor level of writing. The religious exclamation intensifies their emotional appeal and makes their strong and explicit personal feelings a legitimate and sound reason to request the priest's return.

²⁴⁵ Philomene Tou Lettre, line 12-19. (AMEP 0564: 572a) For the original Chinese version of Philomene Tou Lettre, see appendix 6.3.

²⁴⁶ "God's daughter" is a literal translation of Chinese word "神女." This is a very unique term in the Tou letters. I will discuss the meaning of "God's daughter" in more details in the following section.

²⁴⁷ The best recognized example of a symbolic shepherd from Bible is in the Son of God, Jesus. In John 10:11, Jesus spoke of himself, "I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep."

Table 8.3 Frequency of Concepts Mentioned in the Tou Letters

	Colette	Marie	Philomene
Jesus 耶稣	8	10	27
Sacred Heart 圣心	5	2	4
Soul 灵魂	2	0	1
Holy Mother 圣母	2	3	1
Saint 圣人	1	3	2
Holy Trinity 三位一体	0	1	1
Indifference 冷淡	2	2	2
Weakness 软弱	2	1	2
Pride 骄傲	0	2	1
St. Joseph 圣若瑟	0	2	2
St. Madeleine 圣女玛大肋纳	0	0	1

The most distinctive devotion used in the above paragraph is the “Sacred Heart of Jesus.” This is a religious devotion to Jesus’ physical heart. Predominantly used in the Roman Catholic Church, it stresses the central Christian concept of loving and adoring Jesus. Pictured with Jesus’ bleeding heart, the Sacred Heart of Jesus also represents a divine love for humankind. The origin of this devotion in its modern form derives from a French Catholic nun, Marie Alacoque, who allegedly learned the devotion directly from Jesus in visions. Mary Alacoque’s vision of Christ, reaching into her body to remove her heart and place it within his own, brought new attention to this particular devotion in seventeenth-century Europe. Promoted by the Jesuits, it soon became a popular devotion targeted at lay Catholics and responding to religious reforms. After the eighteenth century, when anti-Jesuit orders such as Jansenists began to dismiss it as a sentimental and embarrassingly anti-intellectual devotion, the devotion of the Sacred Heart of Jesus revived in the nineteenth century. According to some scholars, “For the nineteenth

century and much of the twentieth, the Sacred Heart defined ‘Frenchness’ for French Catholicism.” (Jonas 2000: 7) In fact, due to the revived Catholic mission, the Sacred Heart became the central icon of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Catholicism not only in France but worldwide until the Second Vatican Council.²⁴⁸

Shown in the Tou letters, the vision of Mary Alacoque has deeply impacted the three Chinese girls. Philomene, Colette and Marie Tou all describe the “Sacred Heart” repetitively in the letters. Different from the vision of Alacoque, the Tou ladies have similar but distinct versions of the Sacred Heart all in relation to their beloved father Pourquoié. Philomene enters the heart of Jesus by herself to meet her father. “God’s daughter enters the Sacred Heart of Jesus to meet kind Priest. Then Jesus helps me remember kind Priest’s instruction.” In Philomene’s mind, only if she enters the Sacred Heart can she see Pourquoié again. Colette has a similar expectation: “I hope to enter the sacred heart of Jesus just as you (my kind father) do.” “My kind father, if I want your teaching, I would read it in the Sacred Heart of Jesus.” Marie Tou knows the most religious terms: “My kind father [and] my Jesus please teach me to love Jesus wholeheartedly, to enter the Sacred Heart of Jesus, to become like Jesus, and to understand how to love God the Holy Trinity.” As the Tou ladies understand, entering

²⁴⁸ Due to the revived Catholic mission in the nineteenth century, the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus was popular all over the world. In north China, the same devotion appealed to the neighboring Mongol Catholics as well. Patrick Taveirne gives an example of the similar process to introduce the devotion of Sacred Heart in Mongolia, the substitution of “local religious traditions (superstitions) for popular Roman Catholic devotion.” The Scheut missionaries in Mongolia “introduced the cordial devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Immaculate Heart of Mary, the Holy Family, the Guardian Angel and Saints, which had been nurtured in the sodalities of their rural towns and minor seminaries at home.” (Taverirne 2004: 305) For the devotion of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in America, see for example, Taves 1985: 482-495.

the Sacred Heart of Jesus is the best means to meet their father and define their religiosity. In contrast to Alacoque, instead of being taken and led by Jesus to enter his heart, the Tou ladies all envision entering the Sacred Heart themselves. The goal to enter the Sacred Heart, however, is to meet their father and recall his teachings.

The Tou ladies appropriate the devotion as personal appeal. Theologically devotion to the Heart of Jesus is to become a noble part of his divine body. In the devotion, there are two elements: a sensible element as the Heart of flesh and a spiritual element that the Heart of flesh recalls and represents. The devotion is based entirely upon the symbolism of the heart. To the Tou ladies, however, the Sacred Heart signifies only the Heart of flesh. The love of Jesus Christ and the moral life of Jesus metaphorically signified and symbolized by the word heart is totally absent. The vivid descriptions of meeting Pourquoié in the Sacred Heart easily pass through time and space, allowing the illusion that both God's daughters and their kind father participate in the same present moment. It also easily bridges the gap of divinity between the priest and the lay. Their repetitive use of the Sacred Heart to request Pourquoié's return draws on two devotions: to God and to their priest. Their exclamation to Jesus the Christ always juxtaposes the exclamation of "father, my kind father." In exploiting the forms and techniques of devotion, the Tou ladies try to cultivate and articulate their own personal obsession with the priest. The modern devotion to the Sacred Heart focuses on lay Catholics' attention on Jesus, but Tou ladies' ritual fascination with the Sacred Heart marks and is marked by the personal obsession with their priest. This displacement of

sacred devotion and private emotion once again demonstrates the Tou ladies' appropriation of what they learned from religion. They demonstrate a gift for employing these forms drawn from their religious context to demonstrate their own personal emotions.

The employment of devotion of the Sacred Heart to demonstrate personal obsession makes it possible for religion more generally to serve as the cultural host for evolving sentimental forms. In fact the Tou ladies' inner emotion is accented by the iconic object and vivid description. In the following early twentieth century, we can see women writers bursting in exclamation for love and sexuality. But the Tou ladies' articulation of personal sentiment just borrows naturally from the forms of religious devotion, catechism and confession. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the lack of formal education for girls in rural China provided room for foreign missionaries whose religious education mingled spiritualities, sentiments and passions. It empowered the faithful female converts to creatively construct their independent contribution to the discourse of faith and religiosity.

WRITING AS CONFESSION: ARTICULATION OF SELF

Writing presents a means for the presentation of self. The articulation of self in epistolary has a long tradition in Western literature.²⁴⁹ In the relatively longer history of

²⁴⁹ Epistolary developed into a genre appealing to women in Europe as early as the Middle Ages. For the argument of the history of European women and epistolary, see Cherewatuk and Wiethaus 1993. For the study of female voice in epistolary, see Goldsmith 1989.

Chinese epistolary literature, however, we seldom find an established way to articulate self.²⁵⁰ This is particularly the case for women.²⁵¹ Letters were a form of writing focusing on expression of personal thoughts and emotions. Usually women lack the legitimate language to articulate and express their intimate feelings. In addition, there was no room in traditional Chinese society to value these feelings.

To contextualize the Tou letters' unique expression, we ask, what is the difference between elite society and rural society under the impact of Western cultures? Examining writings by Chinese women before the twentieth century according to the writers' kinship and social background, we discern two main categories. Writings of elite women who usually received good private education in reading and writing constitute one category of such texts. For them, writing was a means to display the refinement central to a long-established reputation for an elite Chinese family. Traditional courtesan writings constitute the other category of women's writing in Chinese literature. For the literate courtesan, writing became a means to display sophistication and elegance, helping them to attract men. Both noble women and courtesan writings imply similar connotations of sexual attraction and social mobility. As Susan Mann argues, in an elite and upwardly mobile family, the education of daughters enhances the prospects of a good marriage and

²⁵⁰ One of the very few studies of the history of Chinese epistolary literature is Zhao 1999. In his study, Zhao argues that Chinese epistolary literature appeared in the Warrior Period (BC 475-221) and developed into a popular genre after the Eastern Han dynasty (AD25-220). Most contemporary epistolary literature focused on discussion of politics, morality and ethics.

²⁵¹ According to Zhao, in the history of Chinese epistolary literature, there are two blank fields: one is love letter and the other female correspondence. Communication with the foreign is also a vacuum. (Zhao 1999: 41-61)

positively affects the status of the woman's natal family.²⁵² Strategies for women marrying out of their natal families and the wife-husband relations are the key for understanding women in the Chinese society.

However, there is no marrying-out strategy involved in the story of Tou ladies, and the Tou letters belong to none of the above categories. The Tou ladies are faithful Catholics living in a remote rural village. They apparently received education by converting to Christianity. They write neither to display their refinement nor to gain any sort of social, cultural or sexual attraction. Their letters display a unique style of writing different from other urban Christian women's writing. Since the second half of the nineteenth-century, Christian women's writing emerged with the background of formal missionary school education. Western missionaries, especially Protestants, came to China and established a number of schools for girls in big cities (Kwok 1992). Respecting the authority of the Bible, the Protestant followed its dictates and encouraged education of reading and writing for its converts. In contrast, however, the Catholic Church required respect for the authority of the priesthood and the pope through devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. That's why few texts of Catholic converts were produced and the Tou letters thus gain unusual significance as Catholic documents. The Catholic nature of the Tou letters marks them as different from other Chinese women's epistolary writing. One Catholic feature of the Tou letters lies in their use of religious vocabulary

²⁵² For the study of high-cultural aspects of elite women and courtesans' writing in late imperial China, see Mann 1997 and Widmer and Sun Chang 1997.

and Catholic devotion, which makes the Tou ladies' epistolary writing close to a form of confession.

Confession and the Awareness of Self

Confession, the Catholic sacrament of Penance, is one of the most important rituals in Catholic history. The Council of Trent confirmed the necessity of confession for those who, after baptism, have fallen into sin. Penance, therefore, becomes a key to the understanding of a culture in which an identification of fears besetting the faithful intersects with the promotion of a sense of guilt and security imposed by the Church. By communicating to them the divine pardon, priests became the most important mediator between the faithful and the divine. The imposed obligatory annual confession became a Christian's basic religious responsibility in the Roman Catholic Church.

Since the Catholic Reformation, confession as a ritual began to transform itself into a private communication. In a series of studies on the subject, Jean Delumeau studied a great many late-medieval and early-modern texts pertaining to the practice of private confession and argues that private confession served a mutual process: "promoting a sense of security for the faithful, and in turn, the Church exacted from them in exchange an explicit confession." He argues that no other Christian church (for that matter, no other religion) placed as much emphasis as did Catholicism on the repeated

and detailed confession of sins. “We remain marked,” he says, “by this incessant invitation and this powerful contribution to the knowledge of the self.”²⁵³

Self-criticism and humility is a major theme in the Tou sister’s letter-confessions, a theme is expressed throughout the complex relation between religious devotion and personal feelings. The Tou ladies consistently emphasize their pain and weakness. Philomene writes, “My priest, you know all of my big sins, my big pride, weak and indifference.”²⁵⁴ Marie is frustrated, “Now I often see pride inside my heart. My kind father and Jesus please teach me to be humble and obedient.”²⁵⁵ So writes Colette, “Kind father, you know God’s daughter is weak and confused.”²⁵⁶ The repetitive reference to their sins makes their writing a desperate confession. It also refers to the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Devotion to the Sacred Heart, besides the love of Jesus to humankind, emphasizes the indifference, coldness, and ingratitude of the majority of people towards Jesus’ presence in the Blessed Sacrament (Le Brun 1971: 38-9).

The Tou ladies not only display their considerable religious literacy but also boldly express their intimate feelings to a person both foreign and male. Although no converts were expected to write in the Catholic tradition, Tou ladies’ writing is acceptable. The Catholic missionaries do not regard the Tou letters as a break of privilege or appropriation. Rather, they see writing as a tool for confession. The key lies

²⁵³ For Jean Delumeau’s studies on Catholicism and confession, see for example, *Rassurer et protéger: Le sentiment de sécurité dans l’Occident d’autrefois* (1989); *L’Aveu et le pardon: Les Difficultés de la confession XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle*. (1990); and *La Pêche et la peur: la culpabilisation en Occident: XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle* (1983).

²⁵⁴ Philomene Tou Lettre, line 13.

²⁵⁵ Marie Tou Lettre, line 17-8.

²⁵⁶ Colette Tou Lettre, line 3.

in the narrative form of their writing: its unique epistolary form is seen an oral confession. Confession is not just an important ritual. According to the M.E.P missionary annual parish report, confession is also an important criterion to estimate the degree of a parish's religiosity. If the missionary parish reports provide the assessment of faith from an external evaluation, the Tou letters show us the construction of faith from an individual and internal level.

The Tou letters demonstrate an intriguing convergence of form between letters and prayers. The exclamation "My father" is the narrative key to the Tou letters. Solitary confessions like individual prayers are aspects of private religious experience already established in the public discourse of the Catholic Reformation. Individual confession is virtually encouraged. The Tou ladies take God's name equally to their priest. It constitutes a structural analogy that facilitates the sentimental displacement: prayers to God, letters to the priest.

Articulation of Self-Spiritual Complex

Table 8.4 Frequency of Reference to Saints, Father Pourquoié and Selves in the Tou Letters

	圣人 Saints	神父 Holy Father	恩父 Grateful Father	慈父 Kind Father	神女 God's Daughter	小神女 Little God's Daughter	小女 Little Daughter
Colette	1	11	35	15	21	0	0
Marie	3	15	37	0	32	1	0
Philomene	2	34	2	4	26	1	5

Saint

How to become a Saint is yet another theme in Tou ladies' confession. Both Colette and Philomene Tou express their willingness to "walk the Saintly path." Marie is more explicit: "Whether or not I (God's daughter) want to become a Saint, you (my dear father) should have known. How can I become a Saint with my pride and weakness?"²⁵⁷ However, their sacred desire is formulated in the personal and emotional request for Pourquoié's return. Philomene writes,

"I know without priests like you who can guide me, remind me, and help me, I cannot walk the Saintly path by myself."²⁵⁸ Similarly, Colette Tou cries out, "Kind father help me. I am willing to walk a bit of Saintly path. [But] I have no power to pray for myself."²⁵⁹

Apparently in this touching appeal, both Colette and Philomene tend to depict themselves weak and powerless. Pourquoié, the kind father, becomes the only means to make their journey down a saintly path possible. Becoming a saint is an everlasting theme for the faithful. The nineteenth-century female Saint Therese once cried out, "To become a great Saint!" Becoming a Saint is her self-conscious project. The association between "little flower" and humility, and between sanctity and pain, are emphasized and reinforced by Saint Therese. On the other hand, the dynamic of passion allow the Tou ladies to describe their miserable religious life with a level of intensity in some ways analogous to the experience of suffering Saints. In this sense, their suffering after Pourquoié's departure is not meaningless. This is why the girls have low expectations of becoming

²⁵⁷ Marie Tou Lettre, line 15.

²⁵⁸ Philomene Tou Lettre, line 5.

²⁵⁹ Colette Tou Lettre, line 14.

Saints, but missionary Philibert Simon writes confidently in his letter, “I believe that they are the material to become saints.”²⁶⁰

Father

Father is a key term to dissect the emotional complex revealed by the Tou letters and the relationship between Pourquoié and Tou ladies. As mentioned above, Pourquoié’s Chinese was not good enough even to read the letters. Then what replaces language as a media to establish the relationship between the priest and his Chinese female converts? The usage of “father” in three different forms – “Holy father,” “Kind father,” and “Grateful father” – provides a possible answer to this question. The term “Holy father” is the literal translation of a Chinese term “shen fu,” normally used to address Catholic priests local or foreign alike. In the Tou letters, the term “Holy father” is used alternatively with two other terms, “Ci Fu” or “Kind Father” and “En Fu” or “Grateful Father.”²⁶¹ Neither *Kind Father* nor *Grateful Father* has religious connotations, both can be used to address the biological father in daily life. The alternative use of the three terms shows that to the Tou ladies, Pourquoié represents not only a sacred figure from God who could bestow them honor and grace but also a realistic relative who could offer them solutions to deal with daily life difficulties.

²⁶⁰ Simon Lettre, 1871. (AMEP 0564: 557)

²⁶¹ There is subtle difference between the Chinese characters “慈” and “恩”. The former emphasizes kindness, and the latter has a meaning of gratitude due to the received grace.

The different frequency of the terms used in the three letters demonstrates the different degree to which the Tou ladies emotionally attached themselves to Pourquoié. Colette, for example, uses *Kind Father* or *Grateful Father* many more times than *Holy Father*. In fact, for Colette, *Holy Father* is a term to address to priests other than Pourquoié. She only uses *Kind Father* or *Grateful Father* to address to Pourquoié. If she has to use *Holy Father*, she changes it to *Grateful Holy Father*. It seems that Colette has tried hard to establish an intimate relationship between Pourquoié and herself by calling him *Kind Father* or *Grateful Father* and to differentiate him from other priests. In contrast to Colette's emotional attachment to Pourquoié, Philomene appears more serious and tries to define her relationship with Pourquoié in a more professional way. She uses *Kind Father* only four times and *Grateful Father* twice. Instead, she always uses the most normal and professional term *Holy Father* to identify Pourquoié. What makes Philomene so reserved and demure? As I mentioned previously, Philomene concludes her letter sadly, "If I were not female, I would come to stay in front of you." In fact, Philomene is the only one among the three Tou ladies who has a clear awareness of her own gender. She has already realized the limitation due to her gender. In this sense, Philomene might have been the eldest one among the Tou ladies. This also explains why she appears to be more reserved than Colette in addressing Pourquoié. The clear awareness of her gender as a female makes her less bold and direct.

God's Daughter

A unique term in the Tou letters is their self-identification as “God’s daughter.”

The Tou ladies always call themselves *shen nü*, literally “God’s daughter” or “Holy daughter,” for the character *shen* has two meanings in Chinese: “God” as a noun or “holy” as an adjective. Although the use of the term *shen nü* or “God’s daughter” remains a myth to be explored, the use of character *nü*, or daughter, has provided us enough clues to probe into the subtle feelings of the Tou ladies.²⁶² As table 8.3 shows, like the character “father,” the term “God daughter” is used alternatively with other two terms, “little God’s daughter” or simply “little daughter.” Both “God daughter” and “little God’s daughter” are identified in terms of the relationship with God. “Little daughter,” however, is a common term used in daily life. Philomene is the only one who self-identifies as “little daughter,” a term with no religious connotation that implies a very close and intimate relationship. As discussed above, Philomene might be the eldest one among the three Tou ladies. She is also the one who has a clear awareness of her own gender. In her letter, she writes explicitly, “My father, you know women are useless.”²⁶³

The places where Philomene calls herself “little daughter” are all when she complains

²⁶² So far we have not found any other document in which Chinese female converts identified themselves as “God’s daughter” like this. What we found is that Chinese Christians used *shen zi*, (神子) or “God’s children” or “God’s sons” to identify themselves in at least two letters by Christians in Jiangnan. It is unclear when Chinese Christians began to use the word of *shen zi* and whether they made it themselves or learned it from any Chinese Christian texts translated by seventeenth-century missionaries. One example of the use of *shenzi* is in the “昭然公论”, in Standaert et al eds. 徐家汇藏书楼明清天主教文献, v. 5, pp. 2039-2077. It is a letter written by Christians of Jiangnan who collectively self-identified as “God’s sons.” Another example is also a letter by Christians in Jiangnan who called themselves as 众神子, or God’s sons, in the *Achieves de Propaganda de Foi* (APF), S.C. Cina13-35. I thank Huang Xiaojuan for bringing these two references to my attention.

²⁶³ Philomene Tou lettre, line 28.

about the current situation without Pourquoié. By using “little daughter” to replace the more formal term of “God’s daughter,” Philomene tries to secure a more intimate relationship with the priest.

By calling themselves “God’s Daughter,” these women also implicitly establish an association between female converts, male priests and the saints: a familial affiliation of “father-daughter” framed in a holy world. This affiliation can be interpreted in two dimensions: in a family as father and daughter, and in a social world as teacher and student. Both relationships conform to the Chinese conventions and would be well received in Chinese society. The relationship between missionary to converts is like a teacher to his students, as an old Chinese saying explicitly demonstrates: “Even if someone is your teacher for only a day, you should regard him like your father for the rest of your life.”²⁶⁴ In this sense, the sexual connotation between male teacher and female student is reduced, and the close relationship in between is virtually legitimate and encouraged.

What remains implicitly in the “father-daughter” relationship is the cross-sex friendship between converts and priest. Though little studied, scholars have already noticed that women’s religious letters also constitute a remarkable source for the phenomenon of women’s spirituality: cross-sex friendships between a confessor or a male spiritual priest and a religious woman (Cherewatuk and Wiethaus 1993). Due to the

²⁶⁴ This one of the most common classic saying in Chinese is from *Min Sha Shi Shi Yi Shu: Da Gong Jia Jiao*.

lack of such studies in China and the limited religious women's writings to speak of, it is still too early to make any comparison or conclusion here. By pointing out the rich information disclosed by the term of "God's daughter," however, I argue that the Tou ladies, through writing and appropriation of religious languages, have begun to explore a strategy to express intimate and private feelings which cannot be articulated by Chinese culture.

CONCLUSION

The awareness of self shown by the Tou letters is achieved through conversion. Literacy and letter writing become part of the process to become a Christian. The religious education and templates construct Tou ladies' own sense of literacy. By appropriating religious literacy, Tou ladies have transformed an illiterate oral confession into a process of private writing. In China, this provided a new opportunity especially for women in rural society, who had implicitly tested the boundaries of privacy in what historians of China call "the Inner Quarters."²⁶⁵

²⁶⁵ Historian Patricia Ebrey's comprehensive study on Chinese women's lives within family in the Song dynasty has initiated the scholarly focus on the "Inner and Outer" of Chinese women in traditional Chinese society. The term "Inner Quarter" signifies not only the physical wall that confines women at home and separates them from the outside world but also the limited options that Chinese women could negotiate in imperial society. The contrast between the inner and the outer in describing Chinese women has an implication similar to what historians of the West call private and public spheres. I should note that the connotations of the inner/outer dichotomy in Chinese society are different from that of private/public spheres in Western notions and must be understood in the Chinese cultural and historical context. For Western feminist historians, the delimitation of the public sphere from the private is political. It engenders an awareness of a gendered society, which excludes women from the social and public realms. In this politicized dichotomy of private and public spheres, gender has become an essential category to explore the different options available to men and women in Western societies. In exploring differences in imperial Chinese society, however, gender as an analytical category must be used in relation to other categories more intrinsic to Chinese society. Kinship, for example, has played the foremost significant role in understanding Chinese society. Even for a local community organized by an imposed alien religion such as

Historian Patricia Ebrey first used the term “inner quarters” to explore marriage strategies and options available to women within family in imperial society. In this chapter, I attempt to explore similar options but no longer focus on marriage or any other familial activities that regard women as daughters, wives, and mothers. Instead I study letter-writing Catholic women as individuals. Converting to Christianity offered these women an opportunity to get rid of the familial bond that confined them in the “inner quarters.” They could become a Catholic no different from their male counterparts. It is in this sense that Christianity opens up a window to investigate Chinese women as individuals, rescuing them from their role-play in the family of the rural society dominated by kinship.

The rise of self in the Tou letters is achieved not only through the act of writing itself, but also through the appropriation of alien religious vocabularies. Converting to Christianity first creates a space independent of the “inner quarters.” In this space, Catholic women are no longer daughters, wives and mothers. They become Christians, regardless of their age, family roles and gender. But this space is not absolute. It is independent of the “inner quarters” only in the sense of offering Catholic women a kind of freedom in front of God and Church. It cannot override or replace the “inner quarters” where these women’s daily lives were confined and determined by the kinship. In addition, the limited space and freedom that Catholic women have secured by converting

the Catholic community that I explore in this article, kinship plays a decisive role in its formation and development. In this sense, “inner quarters” cannot be simply equaled with private sphere in Western feminism. In most places, the term of “inner quarters” has the same meaning as its original Chinese word, *neiwei*, 内闈, or women’s rooms in a house. (Ebrey 1993)

to Christianity is not enough to generate a sense of privacy. The traditional Chinese culture did not offer them a discourse to articulate a sense of self. The alien religious languages, no matter how awkwardly learned and used, provided them with a new discourse so alienated from Chinese culture. This new discourse brings up the possibility for Catholic women to look at themselves from a perspective so different from their daily life experiences. By appropriating this transplanted religious discourse in writing, letter-writing Catholic women began to explore a self that could never be realized in Chinese culture. It is this appropriation that marks the Tou letters distinct from other women's writings in China, the latter, according to some historians, cannot be interpreted in terms of the birth of privatized individuals.²⁶⁶

The Tou ladies invent their own epistolary style by appropriating religious vocabulary and spiritual devotion to serve their own self-expression and self-construction. In this construction of self, they permit their passions to overwhelm nineteenth-century conventions concerning women and their personal relationship with men. Their personal obsession with the foreign male priest, however, does not trespass gender protocols. Philomene remains very conscious of her status as a woman. She writes, "My father, you know women are useless."²⁶⁷ She also writes explicitly to Pourquoié at the end of her letter, "If I were not female, I would come to be in front of you in order to listen to your

²⁶⁶ For example, in her study of literate women in seventeenth-century China, Historian Dorothy Ko criticized the fallacies of universal application of theories on modernity and individualism developed in the European society to interpret similar phenomenon in contemporary China. She emphasized the uniqueness of Chinese history and culture and proposed an interpretation embedded in the Chinese context (Ko 1994). In the Western scholarship, for a study of letter-writing women and the rise of a gendered subjectivity in eighteenth-century France, see Goodman 2005: 9-37.

²⁶⁷ Philomene Tou lettre, line 28.

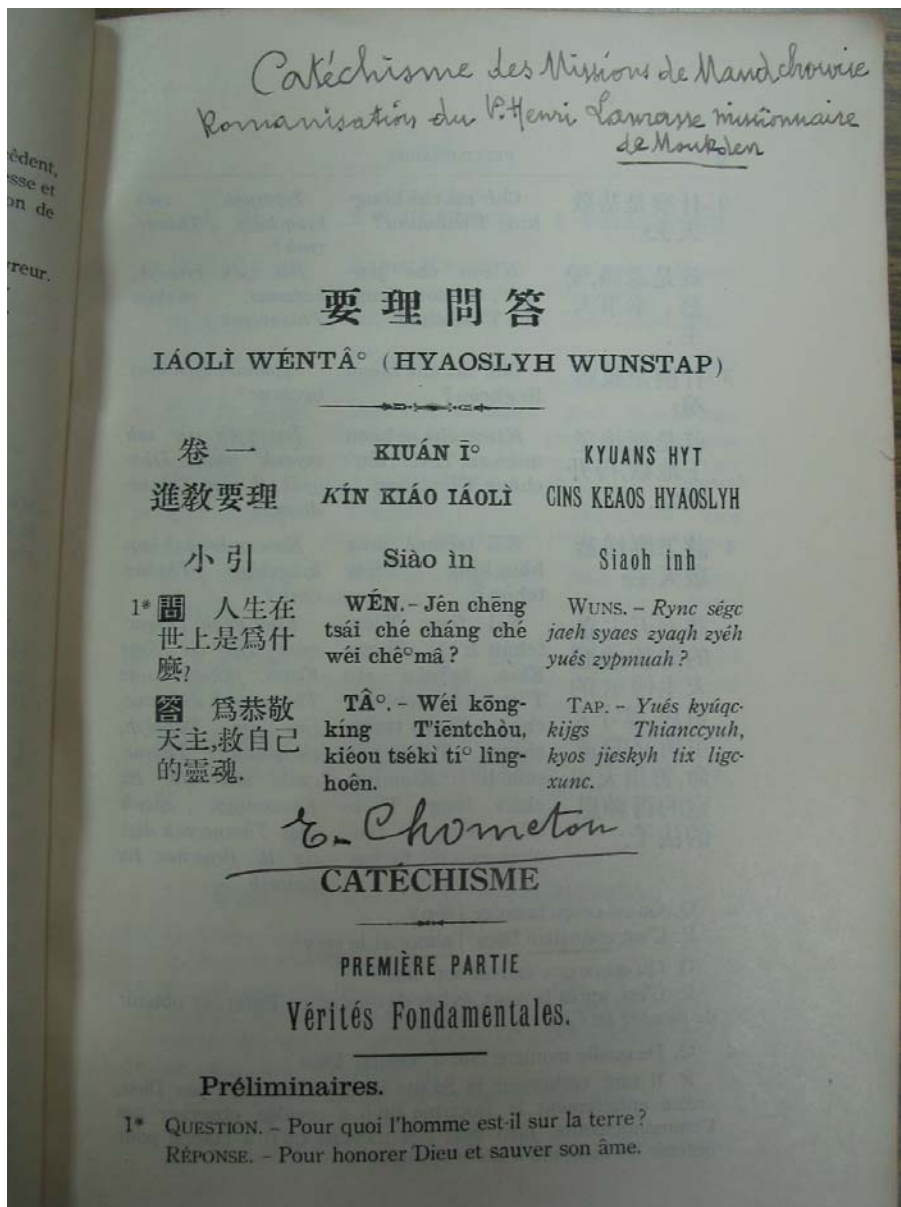
instructions.”²⁶⁸ The Tou ladies write in response to a hierarchical and androcentric environment. They develop ways to phrase their personal appeal to match the requirement of the Church. Religious historians argue that women were especially active in converting to Christianity, which is, in turn, of reciprocal importance in promoting the position of women in the religious realm of Chinese society. The Tou letters illustrate this awakening of rural Catholic women to the possibilities religion offered them.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ Philomene Tou lettre, line 39.

²⁶⁹ In her study of Catholic women in seventeenth-century France, Elizabeth Rapley argues that there was “an awakening of upper-class Catholic women to the possibilities which religion offered them.” In different historical time and space, Catholic women in nineteenth-century rural China experienced the similar awakening. (Rapley 1990)

Appendices

Appendix 1: The Catechism of the Manchuria Mission



Appendix 2: The Regulations of the Manchuria Mission
(English Translation)

Chapter I Sacraments

1. BAPTISM

1. The requests and responses of the rules of administration of baptism must be conducted in Latin and followed immediately in vulgar language in order to make sure everyone understands. Missionaries are forbidden to accept the request to become Godparents.
2. In the posts where there is a Church or a chapel, if the baptism is done at home for reason of necessity you can only administer the following ceremonies: unction of holy oil, imposing chrisom-cloth or a white veil, and presentation of a lit candle. All other ceremonies can only be done in the Church.
3. The priest should use baptismal water, and in lack of that, simple natural water for the baptism. The laity and clerks who are not deacons should help themselves to get the sprinkling of blessed water, or in lack of that, of simple blessed water, but never blessed water with holy oil.
4. Missionaries, during their instructions and particularly at the time of visit, should teach the faithful the required conditions for a valid baptism, should it become necessary. They must insist on the form, the materials and the intention of the holy sacrament.
5. Furthermore, it is very much desired that in each location there are several trusted people who are well instructed by the rite of baptism and who have been particularly approved by the missionary of the district to substitute in absence and to conduct the ceremony if necessary.
6. After the solemn baptism or supplementary ceremonies of the baptism, the names of the baptized, their parents, godfather, godmother, and the missionary should immediately be inscribed in Latin in the register that is carefully preserved in the parish residence.
7. We should baptize newborn children as early as possible, and do all that we can so that parents understand the seriousness of their obligation on this important point.

8. The salvation of those poor children who are born before term requires particular solicitude on our part. Newly married women and their mother-in-laws should be taught the obligations incumbent upon a Christian woman, in the case of miscarriage, no matter what period during the pregnancy. They cannot ignore these responsibilities because in the absence of anyone else the mother can and should always baptize the child or the embryo of the child. The ignorance or unprepared-ness causes the same irreparable misfortunes. (N.B. The teachings of the above people must be done following the principles of caution and wise discretion; these subjects can never be discussed in public).
9. In the locations where there is no proper Church or chapel, the baptism should be conferred in the domicile with all the ceremonies described by the ritual (Canon law).
10. Sick adults, who, according to all the anticipations cannot be present in the Church, will be baptized in their domicile with all the ceremonies required by the ritual. Only the ceremonies that the sick cannot accomplish can be omitted; for example, *Ingrederere in Ecclesiam Dei*, *Flecte genua*, etc. The same should be done for sick children only if in extraordinary cases, the impiety or bad will of parents leads to the fear that the ceremonies will never be provided.
11. If Christian parents who do not follow their religious duties present their children to be baptized, their request should be approved even though the indifference of the parents is excessive and even if no one can guarantee the future education of their children.
12. Before performing the remaining ceremonies of baptism, the priest should interrogate carefully the person who has baptized the subjects to obtain, through other means, the validity of the previous baptism. In the case of doubt, the baptism should be repeated under condition.
13. If a certain adult is re-baptized under condition because of doubts regarding the validity of the baptism received during infancy, this same person should confess all the serious sins committed since the first baptism and receive the unconditional absolution.
14.
 - a. The outside catechumens from other vicariates can be admitted to the baptism only after information about them has been collected and verified.

- b. Except lucky exceptions, the inspection of a catechumen before the baptism takes about one year.
 - c. To be admitted to baptism, the least educated catechumen should at least know how to do the sign of the cross and can recite the Lord's Prayer/Pater noster (*Pater*), Hail Mary (*Ave Maria*), Creed (*Credo*), and the commandments of God and Church, the acts of Faith, Hope and Charity, the act of contrition, the first volume of catechism and the half of the catechism of the Eucharist. Those who have more access to [religious] instruction should know all the catechism and the prayers of morning and evening. This prescription does not affect old people, half-idiots and others who are unable to memorize.
15. The catechumen should always be examined of the doctrine before being admitted to Baptism. This examination should never be completely abandoned to a laity. It is moreover desirable for the missionary, before baptizing the adults, to propose to each person a private conversation. During this interview the priest should ask them carefully and discretionally about certain delicate points, where ignorance or dangerous illusion would cause them to neglect, such as commutative justice, sins against the sixth commandment etc.

2. CONFIRMATION

1. The priest delegated by the Bishop to give the confirmation must inform the faithful that he is the only extraordinary minister of this sacrament. This obligation to warn the faithful does not exist in the case of private administration to dying adults and children. (Response of the Holy Office, August 25, 1880, Vicaires Apostoliques de la region), so long as the faithful have been sufficiently instructed on this in other circumstances.
2. No Missionary can administer the confirmation solemnly unless he has received a special delegation from the Bishop for determined occasions. (*Synode of Peking*) Nevertheless, in ordinary times, all approved priests have the right of confirmation for dying adults whom they deem sufficiently disposed. The same right is also accorded to them to confirm dying children (*in articulo mortis*).
3. People who request confirmation should be instructed on the nature, dignity and effects of the sacrament. They will prepare to receive it with dignity by some exercise of piety suggested to them by the missionary.

3. EUCHARIST

1. It is forbidden to set a fixed age for the children to receive the first communion, because all the faithful who can reason can receive the Eucharist as long as they are sufficiently educated and have the required dispositions.
2. During the visit of the missionary or at another time of the year, the children who are preparing for the first communion should be the subjects of special attention on the part of the missionary. It is very desirable that the day of the ceremony is fixed in advance, and this ceremony be conducted with a certain solemnity.
3. Missionaries should instruct the faithful on excellence, virtue and the necessity of this august sacrament, so as to incite them to receive it enthusiastically and inspire a healthy fear that they will conduct an undignified communion. They should make sure with zeal that those who present themselves at the holy altar should never be allowed if they appear unkempt, wear too dirty clothing or have a careless demeanor, etc. they show some irreverence towards the body of Jesus-Christ.
4. It is not allowed for anyone to ignore that the sacred elements must be swallowed, not kept in the mouth until they are dissolved or mixed with saliva. Our Christians are sometimes dangerously naive in this regard.
5. Although in general we are not able to give the benefit of frequent communication to our Christians, it is strongly recommended that the leaders of the souls encourage the faithful to go to Church. That's why when it is close to holy feasts and Sundays, notwithstanding serious obstacles, missionaries must listen to the confession of everybody who presents at the Church, and they have to announce the day and hour of confession in advance.
6. If it is necessary to bring secretly the Last Rites (*Saint Viatique*) to the sick persons, the priest should, as much as possible, wear the stole (*Étole*) under his coat or whatever clothing acting as a coat.
7. We will give Holy Communion to children who have achieved the age of reason if they are in danger of death and sufficient educated that they could receive this benefit.
8. The holy-Sacrament cannot be preserved indefinitely in the church or chapel without a special authorization from the Bishop. The same rule is observed for the exposition and benediction of the holy-Sacrament, outside of the general rule by which all missionaries can give the benediction of holy-Sacrament at holy feasts of the first and second class. Missionaries can also preserve the holy-Sacrament

during the time of visit, when the oratorical or the tabernacle are constructed and decorated according to the desired conditions.

9. When the Last Rites (*Saint Viatique*) are carried to the sick, we have to follow exactly the prescriptions of the ritual and we should give precise warnings so that the room of the sick, other apartments of the house, and the courtyard entrance should be decently arranged. Throughout the course of the holy sacrament, Christians should show their profound respect by showing signs of their piety.

4. PENITENCE

1. All penitents, whether criminal or scandalous, should be given access to the Sacred Tribunal, so long as he is *seriously* able to repent the scandal and to perform all other satisfaction required by the Church. The priest can refuse holy absolution to these people, but the priest cannot refuse to listen to their confession.
2. Children, who had religious education neglected by their parents, should be admitted to confession as soon as possible and the missionaries should welcome them with love and patience. The missionaries need to remind the latecomers' parents of their obligation and should make sure they understand that the Christian habits of their children are often dependent on the good lessons they received at tender age.
3. The question of opium is treated at the synod of Beijing. Read the decrees of the synod for the acceptance or refusal of the absolution.
4. We should not worry about the Christians who lend out money at the legal rate of 30% so long as there is no other extrinsic title to the loan and so long as the collection of the interests did not use unjust process such as the pretension of "required interest of interest" (*Li kouen li*). This abuse is prohibited under the pain of restitution.
5. No public penitence should be required without the permission of the vicar apostolic, because of the fear that the authorities of the Church might suffer damage if this kind of repression is too frequent (*Synod of Peking*). The vicar apostolic should be able to impose such measures for the posts that are far away from his residence. In all cases the public penitence should be in keeping with those that have demonstrated beneficial for the mission in the past, that is to say, the public confession of committed sin by the penitent in the Church. It must take place at the beginning of Sunday Mass or on a holiday of obligation, and can only be required by a penitence for a public sin. The same is applied to the monetary

penitence, and the missionaries should never be allowed to appropriate money that must be used for good work.

6. To listen to the confession, the missionary should always wear the stole (*étole*).
7. In the areas where there is no duly confession place installed, the missionary should place a curtain between him and the penitent to separate them. This prescription is especially required to confessions between the sexes. It is never allowed to listen to female confession at night, except in the event the penitent is severely ill, and then the door of the apartment where the sick penitent lives should be left open. In the churches with better supplies, confession should be installed in a visible place, and if for some reasons, the place is chosen in the sacristy, the door should remain open throughout confession. This rule is exempted for people affected by deafness.
8. It is absolutely forbidden that any public sign be posted or suspended in the sacristy or on the confessional for the penitents, so as to know the number of communions to be administrated the next day. (S.C. 23 mars 1848 au Vic. Apost. De Mandchourie) Likewise, after the confession in the domicile of a sick person, we should address to the penitent the indiscreet questions that are often addressed to the confessor in order to inform whether the sick person can receive the holy communion.

5. EXTREME UNCTION

1. We should preserve as much as possible the tradition of the Church that consists of giving unction to the sick and the duly confessed people after they receive Holy Eucharist.
2. The invited priest who is to administer the sacrament should notice all prescriptions of the ritual, and take the precautions that are recommended for the administration of travel, in order to assure the cleanness and decency when appearing in the apartment of the sick.
3. It is not permitted to take the general measure that omits the unction of the waist to the sick. This unction should be done every time the sick person can move without too much difficulty. The home-health aid should be informed that it is neither necessary nor expedient to expose the feet of the infirm women. The unction should be done to the upper part of the feet. In all cases, people have to wash and wipe the limb and organs that should be reached with sacred unction with care.

4. All well-prepared catechumens who received baptism during the time of being gravely ill can also receive unction, if they want this benefit and understand its importance.
5. If missionaries encounter, far from their residences, sick people for whom we anticipate death in the future, even several months, they can do unction in the same circumstance, above all, instead of terrifying them with the privation of this grace and with the fear of death.
6. We should ensure our Christians be of help to the sick at their last moments, and help them by prayers and fervent exhortations to support their holy suffering; in a word, suggest to them sentiments of faith, of hope and of love. Gatherings of curious people, smokers and other persons, whose presence and conversations can hurt the sick, will be severely forbidden. Our Christians must know that in the presence of death only the language of faith can break the religious silence that permeates the surroundings.
7. The journeys to do unction of the sick should be charged to Christians who will provide the missionaries with the means necessary to reach the sick. There are no exceptions to this rule even when the same missionary possesses a carriage or a horse. People will be advised to use other means to keep this prescription in the cases of poor sick people who are incapable to fulfill this condition.
8. Missionaries cannot walk more than two days to administer the last sacrament of the sick. They will be praised with the most dignity and admiration if they impose no limits to their charity and zeal to salute the poor moribund.
9. The priest closest to the sick should always respond to invitations from the Christians for unction in all intended conditions even when the sick person doesn't fall under his jurisdiction.

6. MARRIAGE

1. As a general rule, the blessing of marriage is refused to Christians who have not received their first communion or have not been confirmed by guilty neglect and by their ignorance. The marriage should be postponed, and all concerned people should first satisfy the intended conditions. This rule can have exceptions when the Christians have recently been baptized.

2. Before blessing the wedding, if one of the two parties belongs to another district, the priest invited to bless the marriage should receive the missionary's written testimony of that district to assure there is no obstacle of the marriage.
3. Although the Council of Trent is not promulgated in China, it is absolutely forbidden of our Christians clandestinely to get married. They can request the blessing of the wedding from the missionary of the district. The missionaries, usually already too tired from other journeys, will not be bothered under these circumstances. They can ask the couple to come to them. Contrary behavior would be an abuse, the toleration of which would be forbidden.
4. Notwithstanding serious reasons, the blessing of the wedding should be given on the same day as the civil ceremony of marriage. If the residence of the new couple is far from the missionary, the marriage should be blessed one or several days before the ceremony.
5. In very exceptional cases where there are physical or moral impossibilities that prevent the engaged couple from receiving the blessing, they should give their consent before witnesses. After that however they should present the perfect contrition of their sins: necessary conditions to contract a sacred union of marriage without commitment to sacrilege, if they are guilty before God of some grave faults. The missionary should, in this occasion, teach the same people to observe the rite to do for this private ceremony. They should knee down before the crucifix or an image of the crucifix, after recitation of the acts of faith, hope and charity and contrition. At the first possible occasion, the couple will ask for the blessing of their marriage.
6. For sufficient reasons, if one is invited to bless a marriage during the time that the Church forbids any solemn activity and marriage feasts, all the recommended ceremonies of the Ritual should be done but – Mass will not be celebrated. In other times, it is not permitted to neglect the Mass nor the prayers after the Pater, nor the blessing at the end of the Mass.
7. The priest, who blesses the marriage, must be covered by the white surplice and the stole, but not by the white robe with stole folded on the chest. (S. C. des Rites)
8. The missionary should reread from time to time the content of their rights vis-à-vis allowing exceptions in marriage. They should be very careful in cases of permissions of mismatch. They are not allowed to use their rights to exempt scandalous Christians, who do not practice or who do not show religious reverence. When the marriage is in unexpected obstacle, including for Christian

girls and women who insist on marrying pagans, the same rule is in effect even if the missionary refuses the exemption.

9. Exemption of interpellation is reserved for the apostolic vicar. The missionaries can be delegated to determined cases, and all measures in preparation to get this exemption should be accompanied by complete registration and very precise information to the cause and object of the demand.
10. The exemptions should always be given by decrees, and the content should be preserved in a special book. Each missionary should present it to v.a. at his parish visit. This book will contain the formula to all exemptions to be granted, the clause "*Dummodo mulier non rapta fuerit, vel si rapta fuerit, in potestate raptoris non existat*" should be said. The missionary should always absolve the *ad cautelam* censure: the missionary has the power of *in utroque foro*; but they do not have the power to multiply the dispensation. This is to say in order to raise two or more obstacles in the same marriage.
11. Those who ask for an exemption to the obstacle of family relation, affinity, spiritual relations or legal and public honesty, and who have previously had the misfortune to be found guilty of incest, see the decree of the Holy Office, August 1, 1866.

Chapter II Persons

1. APOSTOLIC MISSIONARIES

1. Annual Retreat. Each year the missionaries who will be called to the collective retreat will go to the retreat upon the request for presence unless there are serious obstacles. This retreat should be followed by conferences on certain questions of theology that will be scheduled in advance. When a retreat will be done in groups, the missionary who will preside over the gathering should conform in all cases to the instructions received from the authorities.
2. Visits between colleagues. The missionaries who can visit each other often should try to make their visits useful to the general good, and to meet their personal sanctification. If, among particular meetings, their opinion remains shared on a certain question, they should expose their uncertainty to the vicar apostolic or to the Provicair, especially when it comes to the opinions relevant to the different practices in the exercise of holy ministry. They should avoid all active discussion in front of the Christians, and all that should be conducted at a nature assumed to

set doubt about the harmony between the missionaries. At last, the visit can never be undertaken to waste time uselessly, or to waste the other missionary's time.

3. Meeting with Christians. Avoid familiarity in meeting with the Christians. In consequences, in our relations with the Christians, we must carefully avoid overflowing our emotions and the confidence of friendship and camaraderie. We would be the cause of unfavorable impressions to their spirit, if we would be careless enough to inform them of our hardships, especially in times of difficulties between missionaries. As a general rule, we should also impose silence on those who allow themselves to talk unfavorably about another missionary in front of us.
4. Meeting with Pagan Women. When important affairs require a meeting with pagan women, we can meet in the Church or the oratory, but never in a private apartment. The discussion should be simple, short, and we should always observe all rules with prudence and discretion. We should never forget that familiarity, which is reproached by pagans themselves, could always be dangerous to us, and extremely incriminating to our work of evangelization. During the visit, we should never allow these women to serve us table; their entering a private space and the apartment of our residence should be strictly prohibited.
5. Instructions and Catechism. On Sundays and holidays, missionaries should announce the word of God to the faithful. The instructions should be done after the gospel. The entrance of the Church or chapel should remain open during all time of the service. We can close the door during the sermon only if this measure is judged necessary to assist contemplation. According to a practice being used in the ecclesiastic region of the North, the catechumens can be admitted to assist the sacred service after the *Sanctus* and the *Consecration*. – These same catechumens should, as much as possible, assist to explain the catechism always given to the children on Sundays or holidays. The missionaries must be very careful never to forget this second instruction.
6. Usage of Authority. The ordinary powers are given to the missionaries for the determined district. They can be exercised with validity the entire mission, but cannot be exercised lawfully without formal consent or presumed title. Outside the district, the missionaries cannot give anyone valid exemption of marriage, besides those that are relevant to inner conscience.
7. Costume. The European missionaries, who always appear in the eyes of pagans, who are very susceptible and skittish about things that differ from this country, should always wear their laity costume during their journeys, like those of Chinese in honorable condition. This costume should be the most irreproachable

and as complete as possible. All these elements that could be excessive and singular, like the colors red, yellow, violet, green or sky-blue, should be avoided. The white robe is tolerated during summer; the laity costume of all other foreign countries is absolutely prohibited in the least details. In fact, the long black robe will conveniently replace the ecclesiastic costume that is worn in France.

2. BURSAR OF MISSION

1. Care and Diligence. The responsibility of the Procurator is essential to the mission, it will be fulfilled with zeal and submission to the order of the Superieur, who is the only one who has the responsibility to use and administer the communal funds. The Procurator cannot distribute any object belonging to the mission without the formal permission of the v.a. They are also never allowed to loan money.
2. Service.
 - a. When a missionary is dispatched to a new district, he will be provided with suitable furniture by the Procurator. It should consist of an office and a bookshelf, a table, two chairs, a bed, a wardrobe and a sideboard. The mission gives him other objects for the table as well as kitchen utensils. When he will have to undertake an official journey, the missionary will receive a supplement of 5 ligatures per day.
 - b. Unless the matter is urgent, if the necessary funds to buy the objects have not been issued in advance at the counter of the bursar, no purchases can be made at Ing-kou without the permission of the *Superieur* for those who have placed the order. We admit one exception for those who have been granted up to 10 *livres* in advance.
 - c. The procurator will send out as early as possible all objects, cases, packets, letters and other shipments to the destination of his brothers or other designated persons at the address. The brothers, on their side, should always take into consideration the numerous reasons that can delay the shipments in this country, and unless there is proven neglect on the part of the procurator, they should refrain all observations that could feel like a reproach or discontentment vis-à-vis to a brother called to provide the service which is often very unpleasant.
3. Rules of Annual Reports. With a view to avoiding the grave inconveniences of an important increase of work for the bursar, it is important to send reports according to these following regulations:
 - a. Each year, in the month of July, the missionaries will send an exact summary of the amounts received from the Propagation of the Faith and

the Sainte-Enfance. It will be sent at the same time as the report of the administration.

- b. At the beginning of each year, the bursar will send a summary of each brother's particular expense reports. The reports will list the receipts of their expenses in Paris and in the purveyors, also the receipts and the expenses made in the mission during the preceding year. Other than this period, no payments should be required, unless there are extraordinary circumstances. The bills or detailed notes of purchase will always be addressed to relevant persons at the same time as the purchase of the objects.
- c. Those who receive allocations for the Sainte-Enfance (Association), or for other Associations in their districts, should report to the bursar in the same letter (month of July) as the detailed reports, indicating clearly the employment of the received total. If this important formality is not fulfilled, the procurator can never be authorized to provide other financial assistance.
- d. The neighboring missionaries, who have payments to make between them, will, from now on, be handled by the bursar. So for the brothers whose residences are further than 20 *li* apart, they are authorized to liquidate their accounts with the intervention of the bursar, if they find this is the most convenient way.

4. Particular Rules.

- a. The summary of expenses made at the bursary for purchase of required objects will be reliably inscribed under the rubric *Taels, Piastres, Sapeques*, and counted at the most recent rate used by the procurator, that is to say, the most recent rate of purchase in the required period.
- b. No purchases in Paris should be approved by the bursar if the summary of the biannual report that is at the bursary cannot be trusted to have sufficient funds to cover the purchase and shipment. When serious reasons are involved, the v.a. can permit exception of this rule.
- c. A supplementary for travel is accorded to missionaries whose position exposes them to painful conditions. However, a request concerning this type of assistance will be made to the v.a each year.

3. INDIGENOUS PRIESTS

1. The present regulation of the mission will be translated into Latin for the indigenous priests.

2. Retreat. Each year indigenous priests can attend one group retreat. Every five years, as many as possible of the priests can get a general retreat. Each retreat will be preceded by a theological exam. – If the Superieur of the mission cannot preside at the retreat of the indigenous priests, he will designate a missionary to replace him.
3. Missionary Reports with the Indigenous Priests. In his frequent meetings with indigenous priests, the missionary should honor the relevant priests, treat him like brothers and attest them with a lot of affection, but avoid getting too much familiarity with them. On their side, indigenous priests should show their submission and obedience to the missionary in charge of him.
4. Temporal Affairs. The indigenous priests should not send any money to their families before getting the permission of the v.a. The resources that they have and the income of their title are intended to their honest care and their pious work. It is equally forbidden to lend funds with interest and to become the guardian of his parents or friends without warning the supervising missionary.
5. Death of the Indigenous Priests. At the death of an indigenous priest, the mission should have all missionaries hold ten Masses to rest his soul. Also, each missionary should hold three Masses without declaring them to this intention.

4. CHRISTIAN VIRGINS

1. Condition of Admission. The missionary should use a lot of prudence and discretion to admit a young girl to join the virgins. A proven desire of maintaining virginity is not enough. This girl should also have 300 *diao* in cash or in funds.
2. Ceremony of Admission. In the day of admission, people bless and impose on this girl in the Church a veil of dark blue, 6-feet (*pieds*) long and 2-feel (*pieds*) wide. The newly admitted girls in this occasion should promise out loud her baptism, and at the same time express that she would remain all her life submissive to the missionary of this place, and will only be concerned with the benefit of the religion.
3. Modesty of the costumes. The virgins should be an example of simplicity and Christian modesty. They should avoid [disgraceful gossip] about their costumes, their shoes, and the arrangement of their hair all that, in consideration of their condition, should avoid feel like excessiveness for elegance.

4. Exclusion. If one of the girls becomes a subject of scandal for others, or stays disobedient to the missionary, she must be excluded publicly from the virgins.
5. Rules. Those who live with their families, unless they have a special exemption, must have a separate apartment from the family, and follow the *Toung tchen sieou Kouei* for their private performance.
6. Performance of missionaries with the virgins (*Aumones*). In accordance with the synod of Sichuan, it is forbidden for all missionaries to directly help a virgin for her personal subsistence. He is, however, allowed to give money from their own pocket to support the convents.

5. CATECHISTS

1. The nominated catechists are people employed by the mission to propagate the doctrine. Their duty is to preach the pagans; they will ensure that the new catechumens learn the doctrine, fulfill all their work and prepare properly for their baptism. As a general rule, they will introduce those who wish to become catechumens to the missionary.
2. N. B.
 - a. The conversion of pagans is not only dependent on the predication, but particularly on the good example of prayer. The catechists will observe exactly all their work as good Christians, avoid contestations and not promise pagans anything related to worldly affairs.
 - b. About each month, the catechists will submit a report to the missionary about the results of their work. It is forbidden for them to live with the Christians without permission.

6. ADMINISTRATORS

1. We will designate as *administrator* persons who are referred to as Houei-tchang in Chinese.
2. Service.
 - a. The administrators of each *chrétienté* must ensure the upkeep of the Church and assist the missionary under all circumstances where their help is needed.

- b. All difficulties, if they are not related to the holy ministry, will only be given to the missionary by the requests of the administrators, and only when they are unable to resolve the problem.
 - c. They will maintain good harmony among Christians and prevent that their conflicts be referred to the tribunal without the missionary's assent. Furthermore, they will give their support to the missionary to suppress certain scandals that could make religion difficult. Those responsible for these scandals will not be tried in civil tribunals unless there are no other means for repression.
3. Nomination. In the choice of the administrators, personal qualities, rather than personal wealth will be taken into consideration. Three things are desirable: good example, education, and influence among the Christians.
 4. Revocation. The nomination should be made publicly and there should also be public revocation when the selected candidate has previously committed a scandal, has been stubbornly disobedient to the missionary, or has betrayed his duties.
 5. Privileges. The administrators should have a reserved place in the Church. In religious ceremonies, the supplementary officers should be chosen among them, and, in all circumstances, they would have priority over other Christians.

7. MISSIONARY'S DOMESTIC STAFF

The missionaries pick their service from the people who give good example; they will supervise them carefully and never allow them to become idle.

Chapter III, Administration of Christians

1. ANNUAL VISIT

1. The time of the visit should be employed solely to the care of the souls and the administration of sacraments. The missionaries should not take up any affairs outside their mission during this time; they will also urge on the Christians the necessary contemplation to approach the sacraments with the required disposition.
2. On arrival at the post that the missionary is supposed to visit, he should go to the Church, or to the chapel, or to all other local places for oratory. After a short and devoted prayer, he will spray the assistants with blessed water; then, once he has settled into his room, he will be informed of the state of the *chrétienté* and all that he believes useful for the success of this visit. Each day after the gospel Mass, he

should demonstrate to the assistants, with a short instruction, the principal virtues of the faith. In order to do this, the priest should put on the chasuble and remain seated in the chair, which is placed on the floor of altar after the gospel. The lecture on the catechism of the Council of Trent, so useful to preachers, is strongly recommended for the purposes of the visit.

3. Before confession, all Christians must be asked the meaning of catechism, and each day the missionary will publicly enunciate the meaning of doctrines. Notwithstanding the cases that are truly necessary, it is never permitted to allow this task to be conducted by the laity.
4. It is a laudable practice to begin the visit with the confession of children, so as to identify from the beginning those who could be admitted to the first communion and to prepare them for this important act, as it is said previously.
5. We should spend as much time as necessary to listen to the confessions of all the penitents. Experience has shown us that it is impossible to receive more than twelve or fifteen annual confessions per day, given that a notable part of the time should be employed in instruction or in other occupations of the holy ministry. We wish that the missionaries avoid excessive fatigue and also for other reasons, should find a way to work in pairs during the annual visit, when it is possible. We cannot recommend to them with too much zeal and charity the supererogation annual visit or the spiritual retreat that always produced excellent results for our Christians.
6. We will keep the rule established in the mission to supply the missionary, in a suitable fashion, what is necessary for his upkeep during the time of the visit. Truly poor Christians, as well as the children who are under the age of 14, will not be obliged to contribute this fee. Those who are most well-off will be invited to provide at their most; a larger donation proportionate to their means. The supplementary donations will be faithfully conserved at the end of the visit to provide the needs of the chapel of the interested *chrétienté*.
7. At the end of each visit, the missionary should not leave until he has finished the prayers and has sprayed the blessing water.
8. Each year, in the month of July, the reports of administration of districts should be addressed to the v.a. The detailed relations about the state of the *chrétienté* will accompany the table of administration.

2. SCHOOLS

1. The missionary should provide children in his district with the benefit of solid instruction and a truly Christian education; in order to achieve the goal, he will establish in each *chrétienté*, or at least in the principal ones, a school of boys and a school of girls.
2. The maintenance of these schools is relevant to the parents and the community. The missionary himself will make some sacrifices and, if all resources put together are not sufficient, a motivated request will be presented to the Supérieur of the mission to obtain financial assistance and to assure the maintenance of schools.
3. Before commencing to study pagan books, the children must learn the catechism, the prayers of day and night and one or two books of religion in the school of the *chrétienté*. Parents are obligated to send their children to this school as soon as possible, and for the entire school year. The missionary of the district should make the decision for the exceptions to the carrying out of the general rule. In this case, he will invite the Christians who go to private school to contribute to the community school.
4. Poor children will frequent the school at least during the three winter months; otherwise their parents will be punished with a suitable punishment.
5. The choice of schoolteacher is a very delicate question that requires the most important point of attention of the missionary; a person of suspicious life or of suspicious morality should never be selected.
6. The virgin in charge of the school of girls should be well instructed to meet the duties required, and should insistently demonstrate docility to the opinion of the missionary. She must be 25 years old. If we can easily obtain trained teachers in a community of virgins, we will never use girls who live in the secular world.
7. The male and female masters will assemble their students in the Church in a special area to listen to Mass, and should be in charge of the supervision. They will all give a weekly list of the students who did not go to school to the missionary; they will always begin their class by prayer and conclude with the same. During the class, the teachers should not only make sure that the students can recite the letter of the catechism or the prayer, but they will make sure everyday, at a fixed hour, to do all the necessary explanations to make sure students understand.

3. LABOR

1. Our predecessor, thanks to a special power granted to him by the Holy See, excused poor people from the obligation to rest on Sunday, during the afternoon. We confirm this exemption, and out of that we permit all poor Christians to work in daytime during the busy time of fieldwork as long as they listen to the Mass, if they can. They should recite the prayer of Sunday if they cannot listen to the Mass.
2. Christian children of poor parents can only be allowed to be placed in an apprenticeship with pagans under the following conditions: 1) after the first communion; 2) the pagan master must agree not to engage in superstition; 3) they will be granted an exemption from work in the four holy feasts.

4. BETROTHALS

1. We cannot allow parents to betroth their kids at a young age. We require from now on that all children Christians must be 12 years of age for boys and 10 for girls to be betrothed before their parents or guardians contract the engagements. The engagements are always null when one of the two parties does not give their consent. The silence of the daughters, when they are interrogated and they feel disgrace to answer, should be interpreted as a factual consent.
2. The pagan customs to receive a young girl in the family as its fiancé before the ceremony of marriage is an abuse that we should never tolerate among Christians. If the poor and some bad-will indifferent Christians obliged some children to undergo a dangerous condition, the Superieur of the mission should be consulted and will try to remedy the state of life that is so miserable.
3. The missionaries must not interfere in the affair of betrothals, in the case of the propositions, negotiations and conclusions of these contracts: their role is simply to observe the Holy law. To avoid delays and other unfortunate inconveniences in this kind of affairs, they should make sure the Christians declare their engagements as soon as those agree. In this way, they can assure that there are no obstacles to the upcoming marriage.
4. The engagement once being validly contracted can be declared dissolved when one of the contract parties asserts the will is to embrace a better life. The choice of a better life should be seriously and wisely examined in this country where the Holy See requires the age of 25 to express the simple vows. In all cases, the decision of the same question is always reserved by V. A.

5. The young girls of catechumens and of new Christians engaged to pagan families' children from childhood can be baptized in the following conditions: 1) If they are dangerously sick; 2) If their parents succeed in dissolving the engagement and they have tried all means to obtain this result; 3) Outside of the case of sickness, if the parents agree to provide both children with a Christian education; 4) Finally, the engagement can be dismissed, if we predict the desired condition can be realized. Otherwise baptism should be postponed.
6. It is permitted to a Christian boy to contract an engagement to marry a pagan girl, on the condition that the other part should be baptized before the marriage. In general, the engagement cannot be permitted when there is morally uncertain of the condition that fulfills the following marriage in a presumed period.

5. LAWSUITS

1. Except in the case of urgent necessity, the missionaries cannot handle any litigious affairs before the tribunals, if they are not designated to this affair by their Superieur.
2. All litigious affairs, whose object is purely temporal and in which we cannot find any tangible proof of the humiliation of the religion, cannot be handled by missionaries.
3. When it is a grave affair that interests the masses, the missionary in charge of referring to a tribunal should in advance consult with the brothers and catechists. He should also report to the Superieur on the result of the process.
4. In principle, we have to help the new Christians to claim before the tribunal their right to dismiss the engagements of their baptized daughters to pagans' children when the latter refuse conversion, or at least to live together *sine contumelia Creatoris*.
5. Things that could have the nature to compromise the honor of religion, for example, when certain affairs in the cases of daughters or women are involved, can only be handled with the expressed permission of v.a.
6. All affairs referred to the tribunal should be led by firmness of prudence; we can only abandon it in extreme circumstances.

7. According to general rule, the missionaries who not have accomplished their time in probation cannot be delegated to handle an affair before the tribunal.

6. FUND FOR CHURCH'S MAINTENANCE (FABRIQUES)

No one can know how important it can be to provide each *chrétienté* of sufficient income, to cover the fees of maintenance to chapels, schools as well as the fees of extraordinary visits and journeys that are undertaken at the costs of the Christian community, in favor of poor sick people who have no means to call and receive the missionary. We must, then, use from now on to establish a fund for Church maintenance *Fabrique*, in which the benefits will be carefully administrated under the supervision of missionaries. The profits, as we see it, are intended to a sacred goal and the catechists who control it should understand the importance of this responsibility. – Each year, during the four great feasts, the missionaries invite Christians of good will to offer charity whose deeds are immediately versed in the treasure of the Fabrique, and inscribed to the register the missionary should examine as soon as possible. The v.a. should always be consulted when the acquisition of the benefits of the building is for the *Fabriques*.

7. FUNERAL AND THEATRICAL PERFORMANCE

1. Funerals. The traditions of funerals for the dead are too pagan and we should work to abolish them. In all cases, it is an evident superstition to defer the funeral till the seventh day of the death, or in days corresponding with multiples of sevens, or to give meals to others every seventh day.

For things relevant to music and firecrackers, see the synod of Beijing: *De tympanis et tormentis*.

2. Playacting. It is absolutely forbidden to our Christians
 - a. To contribute by offering money or by other means to participate in the playacting, when this money or this means are directly required to playacting or all those representations.
 - b. To attend the comedy only with the aim of hearing what is said or seeing what is done there.

8. MUSIC AND GAMBLING

1. Music. The profession of musician in China is incompatible with Christianity, because of numerous superstitions inherited in this profession. However if a catechumen who has no other means for living, after sincerely promising to not

participate in any superstitious ceremonies in marriages or funerals, he can be baptized.

2. Gambling. The professional gambler cannot be admitted to the sacraments without a noticeable amendment.

9. AFFECTIONATE RELATIONSHIP, MUTUAL PROTECTOIN

1. Affectionate Relationship. The affectionate relationship called *Kan K'in* is prohibited among Christians. It can be tolerated between Christians and pagans in preparation for conversion. A worldly advantage of this relationship is not authorized.
2. Mutual Protection. It is absolutely prohibited for Christians to participate in a society of mutual defense by a ceremony called *pai pa tse*. In fact, it is always a concern that after an absolute promise people will not be able to feel guilty by the injustice of others.

10. RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES

1. It is desirable to establish a religious society in the mission for teaching, but whose practical principles should be teaching.
2. The teachers approved by this community, even though they are equal to all others, will be preferred over others.

11. ASSOCIATIONS

1. The missionaries will supply the utmost attention to teach Christians of the nature and goal of each brotherhood, and also of the attached spiritual advantages. They will give them an exact notion of indulgences in general, and explain to them the required condition to get them, particularly regarding the special indulgences of the established brotherhood in the mission.
2. Missionaries will be in command of each association of zealous men and women. Scandalous Christians are excluded from all pious associations.
3. We keenly exhort each of our brothers to give one Mass each month in order to contribute to the prosperity of the mission. All should recite at least once le *Miserere* each day to convert the unbelievers.

Appendix 3: M.E.P Missionaries in the Manchuria Mission 1840-1898*

① Bishop ② Vicar Apostolic ③ Coadjutor

Name	Christian Name	Chinese Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Date of Death	Place of Death	Departure for China	Age at Departure
Verrolles ①②	Emmanuel	方汲各	12/04/1805	Bayeux Besançon	29/04/1878	Ing-tse	02/11/1830	25
Dubail ①②	Constant	杜伯勒	11/03/1838	Belfort	07/12/1887	Ing-tse	31/03/1862	24
Boyer ①③	Joseph André	包若瑟	18/06/1824	Aix	08/03/1887	Pa-ien-sou	25/08/1854	30
Raguit ①②	Louis Hyppolyte	祁类思	15/12/1848	Poitiers	17/05/1889	Païen-sou-sou	03/07/1872	24
Guillon ①②	Laurent	纪隆	08/11/1854	Chambéry	07/02/1900	Moukden	10/01/1878	24
Lalouyer ①②③	Pierre Marie François	蓝禄业	12/03/1850	Rennes	17/02/1923	Manchuria North	16/07/1873	23
De La Brunière	Brulley		06/18/1816	Sartrouville	07/31/1846	Manchuria	10/05/1841	25
Venault	Charles Joseph	袁若瑟	02/09/1806	Poitiers	12/01/1884	An-sin-tai	19/12/1842	36
Berneux ①②	Siméon		14/05/1814	Le Mans	08/03/1866	Seoul, Korea	15/01/1840	26
Négrerie	Pierre		23/03/1814	Limoges	24/01/1852	Pie-li-keou, Mongolia	27/02/1846	32
Mesnard	Pierre Alexandre	黄清天	15/05/1813	Piotiers	27/04/1867	Song-chou- tsouei-tse	27/02/1846	33
Colin	Charles Emile	郭	12/05/1812	Nancy St-Dié	23/05/1854	Tcha-keou	21/10/1846	34
Pourquié	Dominique Maurice	林貌理	28/01/1812	Toulouse	09/05/1871	Paris, France	21/10/1846	34

Franclet	Jean Baptiste	20/10/1822	Reims Le Mans	04/08/1907	Falaise, France	09/08/1848	26
Mallet	August Louis	24/02/1826	Laval	25/02/1871	An-sin-tai	19/04/1853	27
Métayer	Isidore	23/12/1827	Sées	27/02/1886	Lien-chan	23/01/1856	29
Chevalier	Auguste Joachim Louis Marie	09/12/1833	Rouen	02/06/1887	Siao-hei-chan	27/08/1857	24
Gillié	Madelain	10/09/1838	Nantes	29/03/1867	San-tai-tse	18/08/1862	24
Delaborde	Ludger Philibert Louis	26/03/1838	Langres	10/06/1878	Siao-hei-chan	15/08/1865	27
Simon	André	23/08/1842	Poitiers	12/12/1874	Ing-tse Montbeton	15/04/1868	26 25
Noirjean	Joseph	05/05/1843	Metz Nancy	10/10/1897	France	15/04/1868	25
Bisson	Victor François	24/07/1844	Sées	17/06/1890	Yang-kouan	06/07/1869	25
Aulagne	Philippe Joseph Aristide Gustave	19/09/1844	Le Puy	10/08/1895	Se-kia-tse	15/02/1870	26 28
Letort	Marie	15/02/1844	Rennes	13/08/1904	Hai-tcheng	31/01/1872	25
Neunkirche	Louis Rémi	25/01/1848	Metz	18/06/1877	Se-kia-tse	15/07/1874	26
Conraux	Louis Dominique	25/01/1852	Strasbourg	26/04/1905	Hong-kong	16/12/1874	22
Emonet	Noël Marie Flamand Victor	20/04/1849	Chambéry	07/02/1900	Moukden	27/01/1875	26 25
Hinard	Fleur	26/05/1850	Coutances	15/03/1917	Paris, France	30/06/1875	25
Riffard	Jean Baptiste	01/01/1851	Le Puy	24/05/1887	Pa-ien-sou-sou	30/06/1875	24
Leformal							
Lamandé	Ange Marie	12/01/1852	St-Brieuc	07/04/1880	Siao-pa-kia-tse. Anchenoncourt,	19/04/1877	25 27
Card	Théodore	03/11/1851	Besançon	22/10/1908	France	10/01/1878	26
Faure	Jean Auguste	23/10/1852	Gap	07/02/1895	Cha-ling	30/10/1878	26
Collas ?	Charles Justin	19/09/1851	Besançon	06/07/1916	[Sichuan?]	16/12/1875	24

	Aimé												
Bruguière	Louis Marie	卜类思	07/03/1856	Rodez	N/A	N/A	26/11/1879	23					
Bongard	Joseph Gustave	鲍若瑟	01/09/1855	Lausanne Et Genève	18/07/1897	Siao-pa-kia-tse, Jilin	26/11/1879	24					
Pouillard	Charles Gustave	傅加略	15/10/1852	St-Claude	23/06/1890	Siao-pa-kia-tse	31/03/1880	28					
Choulet	Marie Félix	苏斐理	04/12/1854	Chambéry	31/07/1923	New-tchoang	01/09/1880	26					
Monnier	Jean Christophe	孟若望	30/01/1856	Le Puy	24/05/1910	Harbine	10/11/1880	24					
Delecourt	Léopld Lucien			Tournai				25					
	Désiré		01/05/1855		09/05/1885	Chou-kai-touo	10/11/1880	26					
Litou	Eugène Clément	利笃	01/06/1856	Angers	24/02/1939	France	22/11/1882	28					
Souvignet	Auguste												
Bareth	Régis Jean François	舒	21/10/1854	Le Puy	30/06/1900	Hou-lan	22/11/1882	23					
Maviel	Aimé	巴来德	29/06/1860	St-Dié	14/12/1919	Shaling	21/11/1883	23					
Sandrin	Jean Baptistin	马若翰	24/01/1861	Rodez	08/01/1923	Shanghai	05/11/1884	23					
Samoy	Camille	桑	15/11/1862	Besançon	23/05/1938	Jilin	04/11/1885	22					
Cubizolles	Jules	沙如理	06/11/1861	Belfort	27/09/1913	Siao-pa-kia-tse	15/12/1886	25					
Bourgeois	Joseph Jules	古若瑟	26/12/1863	Le Puy	16/10/1935	Jilin	15/12/1886	23					
Herin	Louis Marie	彭类思	21/12/1863	Besançon	15/07/1900	Tai-ta-kouo	12/12/1888	25					
Laveissière	Joseph	林若翰	06/11/1862	Aoste	08/06/1944	Moukden	12/12/1888	26					
Vuillemot	Jean Baptiste	郎稳协助	28/03/1863	St-Flour	21/08/1924	Changchun	07/08/1889	26					
Déan	Jean Antoine	吴洛莫	07/05/1865	St-Claude	06/03/1912	Moukden	23/12/1889	24					
	Joseph François Alexandre	德安	14/12/1866	Rennes	11/01/1899	Feung-houa-sien	10/12/1890	24					

Corbel	Jean François	郭若望	16/11/1865	St-Brieuc	26/12/1920	Leao Yang	10/12/1890	25
Viaud	Jean Marie	卫若望	05/06/1864	Nantes	17/11/1900	Ya-tse-tchang	02/09/1891	25
Flandin	Frédéric Henri Auguste	芳庭	30/07/1860	Grenoble	20/11/1900	Ing-tse	31/08/1892	32
Georjon	Jean François	荣宝亭	03/08/1869	Lyon	19/07/1900	Heilongjiang	31/08/1892	23
Beaulieu	Jean Louis Michel	宝	14/02/1870	Rennes	12/01/1946	Moukden	13/09/1893	23
Perreau	Paul Antoine	栢	11/08/1868	Chambéry Strasbourg	17/08/1899	Fa-kou-men	13/09/1893	25
Lamasse	Paul Xavier Henri André Henri	梁恒立	25/04/1869	Nancy	19/07/1952 16/08/1935	Béthanie	15/08/1894	25
Roubin	Joseph	路平	14/02/1871	Le Puy		Tong-Kew	15/08/1895	24
Villeneuve		袁安						
Caubrière	Joseph Marie	高	01/03/1872	Coutances	30/06/1940	Manche, France	08/04/1896	24
Perreau	Paul Antoine	栢	11/08/1868	Chambéry	17/08/1899	Fa-kou-men	13/09/1893	25
Etellin	Frédéric Auguste	叶	27/10/1870	Maurienne	N/A	N/A	29/07/1896	26
Agnus	Edouard Eugène Joseph	安民惠	27/09/1874	Cambrai Lille	07/11/1900	Ia-tse-tchang	28/07/1897	23
Delpal	Baptiste Elie Edouard Jean- François	戴治达	17/03/1872	Rodez	27/01/1911	Hou-lan	28/07/1897	25
Huchet	Julien Jean Baptiste Pierre	胡栋材	30/08/1873	Poitiers App. Luçon	29/12/1922	Leao-yang	11/05/1898	25
Moulin	Jean Marie Joseph	慕志新	14/11/1874	Lyon	24/06/1900	Nieou-tchoang	11/05/1898	24

* Sources: "Noms Chinois des Missionnaires de Mandchourie, 1840-98," AM.E.P.0563: 67-9; and Gérard Moussay and Brigitte Appavou eds., *Répertoire des membres de la Société des missions étrangères: 1659-2004*, (Paris, 2004). The order of the name list is the same as the document.

Appendix 4: Indigenous Priests in the Manchuria Mission 1840-1898*

Chinese Names	Christian Name (Latin)	Age	Ordained Year	Ordained by
陳			1878	
孔			1878	
夏雲彰	Bartolomaeus		1878	Verrolles
白文柄	Jacobus		1878	Verrolles
錢	Petrus		1878	Verrolles
夏雲彤	Dionysius	32		Ridel
張據德	Petrus	30	1886	Boyer
丁安太	Andreas	50	1886	Raguit
任寶恒	Auyustinus	33	1887	Rutjes
夏雲凌	Alexander	51	1887	Rutjes
白玉階	Leo	34	1893	Guillon
黃錦堂	Carolus	35	1893	Guillon
李學林	Mauritius	34	1894	Guillon
田九疇	Joseph	33	1895	Guillon
趙殿臣	Thaddoeus	31	1896	Guillon
夏相唐	Laurentius	30	1896	Guillon
李萬珍	Joannes	29	1896	Guillon
王九卿	Joseph	30	1897	Guillon
邢	Tudiaconus			Ridel

* "Noms des Prêtres Chinois de Mandchourie, 1840-98," AM.E.P 0563: 70.

Appendix 5

童贞修规²⁷⁰

[The Regulations for the Christian Virgin] (Chinese Version)

A. Joachim Enjobert Martiliat's 25 Rules (1744)

1. 慎始。在西守童身者，先数年历试诸难，长者察其始终不渝，方许立愿，而入修会。今在中国，虽不能依常规而行，须与本牧铎德商酌。牧见其志果专向主，复度能胜此任，乃禀司教，授以修规，待满二十五岁，准其许愿，乃以守贞之名称焉。不然，未经审试，猛（孟）浪自逞，以致鲜终，徒害圣教之名，及辱司教、铎德与教众也。
2. 谋终。在西守童身者，一入修院，父母则计其日用，畀之田产，使其一意谋道，并无衣食之累。今在中国，既无此举，思守贞者，各宜自度，日用有需，方许定其守贞之志。不然，恐迫于饥寒，干渎教名，或困难忍，中途而废，更为不美。
3. 定处。在西守童贞，另居一堂，高墙重户，内外隔绝，不得出域外走半步。今在中国，不得以家居为堂，非父母及本牧铎德之命，不得擅离门外。或至亲病危，或往别居等事，理当往见，并乘机可行形灵哀矜，此属要紧者。乡有铎德，则禀命而行；铎德不在，则邀伴同往。设若病人系女流，虽非至亲，亦不碍禁。
4. 听命。在西童女，束身入会，绝去己意，分毫不敢自专，一行一止，悉听长命。今在中国，凡司教、铎德有命，俱当遵行。更宜听父母正命，不得忤逆，毋使教内教外，谬猜守贞者，惟知有铎德，不知有父母也。
5. 劝业。在西童贞，经课甚多，时或闲暇，即操益业，不使优悠。今除会规工课所当行外，各宜常持妇人本业，如纺绩、中馈等事，不敢片晷闲旷。

²⁷⁰ This Chinese version of Tong Zhen Xiu Gui [童贞修规], or The Regulation for the Christian Virgins, was published by Chongqing Shengjia Shuju 重庆圣家书局 in 1921. It is reprinted in Qin Heping 秦和平, “关于清代川黔等地天主教童贞女的认识 Study on the Christian Virgins of the Qing in Sichuan and Guizhou Provinces,” in *Journal of Sichuan University (Social Science Edition)*, No.135, 2004, p.110-119. This version includes Joachim Enjobert Martiliat's original 25 rules as well as supplementary rules added later.

6. 须伴。在西童贞，同居修院，另有圣堂，以便与祭。凡做弥撒，童女则从窗棂瞻望。今在家居，苟本处有堂，并有铎德奉祭，每逢主日，与所守大瞻礼，俱宜登堂与祭、听讲等功，但须女流同伴，不可单行，即欲告解，亦须禀命而行。
7. 别嫌。在西童身，非双亲同胞，不得见面、交一语。即求告解，亦分墙内外，隔以铁槛，只闻其声，不见其人。今难尽免，故酌宽条。凡守贞者，不论在家在外，与礼制无嫌者，方许相见，其余有禁。即童子十岁以上者，非至亲不得相见。
8. 珍体。凡守贞者，往所当往，见所当见，如登堂瞻礼、亲戚来访之类，须用青、蓝、白色衣服着身，青帕包头，足亦宜包缠，但无得过与不及。过则显好俗之念未绝，不及则失于鄙陋，且无端庄之型。
9. 饬仪。凡见铎德，宜如对越天主，俯首端立，袖手敛身，整饬威仪，语言合度，不得乱视高答，斜倚慢渎。凡有所当见者，亦然。即居处行动，亦宜雍容有礼，不得轻佻无常。
10. 谨言。凡出言，须合主旨，毋得闲谈，涉于世俗。即见铎德，除告解外，非形灵功行等事，不得片语闲及。盖言之当谨者，非特邪言、谤言而已；凡无益于人己之德，邪之类也。启人疑隙之端，谤之属也。主耶稣曰：人语闲言，必皆复命于审判日，可不慎哉。
11. 绝俗。宜绝看戏，即节孝诸剧，俱系所禁，并把戏、故事之类，凡在世俗，亦不当看。即迎亲会戚席诸俗礼，更不宜与。亦不得听乞丐、村妇唱采茶等歌。
12. 屏饬。宜布服荆钗，服如绮罗组绣之类，饰如戒指、手镯之类，俱不许用。更不许阔袖短裾，趋向时式，彩扇香坠，妆扮雅观。但耳钩钮扣，许以铜代，足履膝裤，俱用素布，不得用彩色绣花，仍梳头束发，无得光泽妆抹，以及览镜添鬢、傅粉修眉等事。
13. 节食。饮食宜淡泊，足养肉身而已，不得贪饕。为贞德之贼，酒宜全绝，病许略用。

14. 安分。守贞之女，不论在家在堂，凡遇瞻礼，隔廉诵经。启声祈献，系男子本职，毋得侵越。如男属至亲弟兄手足，不在禁内。
15. 重出。在西童身，非有大故，并无离居出乡之理。今在中国，若本乡无铎德在堂奉祭，即主复活及主圣诞大瞻礼日，不得托言瞻礼，私往别村。或欲告解，须候铎德到日。
16. 防褻。凡随待铎德之书生人等，守贞者不得与之交谈接物。盖男女授受不亲，理所当然。如有紧要授受，宜转付己亲或婢女为之，即与自己奴仆亦然。
17. 避贸易。在西守贞童女，所需货物等件，虽从外给，悉由转斗而入。今既家居，或有货物临门，所当买者，宜托至亲代买，不得擅自交易。
18. 杜害端。在西童女，虽共一修院，而屏息静默，寂若无人。今或登堂瞻礼，或在家庭，守贞之女，不得高声语言耍笑，恐为男子所闻，滋酿害端。
19. 禁馈遗。凡守贞者，不许擅自交际，如圣棣、鞋袜、果实之类。或不得已者，须禀命，或藉女工，以给口食者，宜托亲人发卖。
20. 严取与。凡守贞者，若贫而求施，宜亲禀铎德，不得央人转达，或向他人求济。即代他人转求，亦然。毋得托名善功，而自专擅。
21. 守斋。守贞者，当遵圣会所定公斋，即四旬圣斋，四季斋，圣玛弟亚宗徒，圣若翰洗者诞，圣伯多禄、圣保禄二位宗徒，圣长雅各伯宗徒，圣老楞佐致命，圣母蒙召升天，圣巴尔多禄茂宗徒，圣玛窦宗徒，圣西满、圣达陡二位宗徒，诸圣瞻礼，圣安德肋宗徒，圣多默宗徒，主耶稣圣诞，圣神降临，以上各瞻礼前一日，俱持大斋。凡有故当免者，须请命于司教，或本牧铎德。又每七日内瞻礼四，为敬中国主保圣若瑟，随意持素，即戒肉食而已。
22. 默想。祈祷分二，口一、心一。口祈者，以口声颂主是也。心祈者，言不出口，惟心向主，默忖义理，而立志体行是也。此系精修之要功，守贞者

务须每日两刻习之。庶整其志，而励进德业。省察之工，亦宜二次，俾易知过而速悔改焉。是以每早初醒，就请圣号，谢主生存救赎诸恩。念祝兮圣三云云。即披衣离床，便闭门，以所看或听道理一段，为默想题目。想毕，将己心身并献洁夫耶稣，仍求保存贞德，勿许我今日，思言行或陷非僻，以致贞德有亏。后向圣母诵自托祝文。

23. 日课。除教中常课外，每夜半时，起念信经一遍，在天申尔福各二十八遍。卯时，念信经一遍，在天申尔福各七遍。辰时，念在天申尔福各七遍。巳未二时，亦然。申时，念在天申尔福各十四遍。酉时，念在天申尔福各七遍，末念信经一遍。病者免夜半之经，临睡预诵亦可。
24. 忻（祈）勤圣事。在西童身，每月内告解数次，每主日恭领圣体。盖圣体能长神志，加人心力，又减情欲之火，故守贞者，不宜久缺神粮。但既不得常见铎德，而领圣恩，务必谨备。倘遇有便，极少每月领圣体一次，大瞻礼在外。
25. 恪遵守。以上定规，凡矢志守贞者，务必恪遵。其故意不守者，乃自欺自误也。铎德谕之，再三不悛，则请命于司教，驱逐贞女会外，毋致玷辱贞名，累及教会矣。慎之，慎之！其会规，务要于每月内一主日读过，以俾不忘。若不识字，央至亲读听。盖司教、铎德，不时考诵，以见留心与否，切勿视之泛常，而置之高阁。

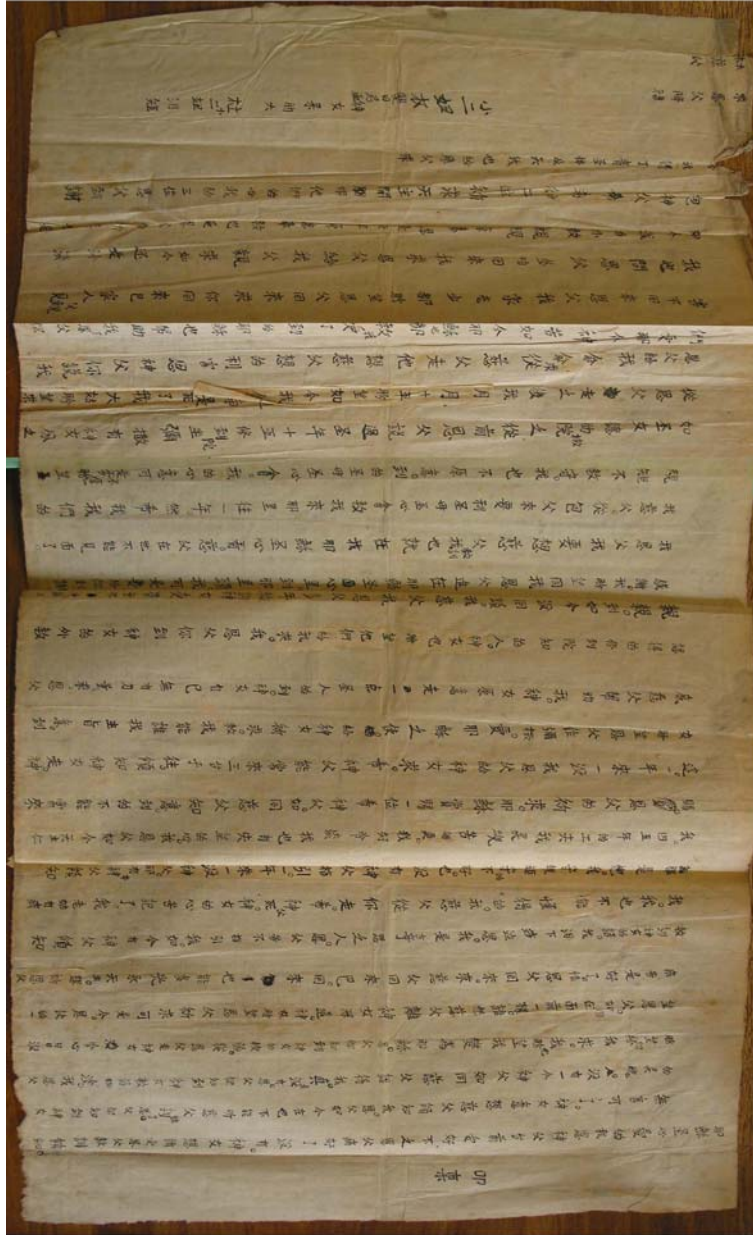
B. Seven Supplementary Rules

1. 当紧收其眼，不致妄视能动私欲之事；
2. 勿谈、勿听能感邪念之言，勿观能动妄想之书；
3. 初起邪念，勿留之安住于心，乃急急伏之、逐之；
4. 勿拿人手，勿摸人手身面，勿许他人拿手摸面；
5. 独居宜严，自治自敬，自重其身。非无奈之何，勿自视，勿摸其体；
6. 勿致密交接私恋，勿相送物，以存私情而留于心，或恐因一人落于罪，或起恋爱一人之心，勿与之交谈，即避之；
7. 热爱天主、耶稣，敬爱圣母玛利亚，恭敬天神九品，切敬圣若瑟，特爱谦卑的德，日日恳求谦卑大德，斯乃为上法也。

C. Seven Supplementary Rules on Teaching

1. 先教他们认识敬爱天主，并其万德妙处，三位一体道理，随问答书；
2. 认识敬爱耶稣救世的主，用心破解耶稣降生、生平的举动，要劝幼童，效法耶稣圣表，勿学冷淡教友之表样；
3. 各瞻礼六，多讲耶稣苦难道理。又劝学生善过此日，弃绝虚乐，不笑，行些微苦功……逢瞻礼五日，讲耶稣圣体，与弥撒圣祭之道理，教学生善方法，以善听弥撒，使能得沾弥撒圣祭之妙益；
4. 该当教学生发信、望、德三德，谢天主的恩，将自己平生思言行为。结合于耶稣，献于天主……教他们不但爱己亲戚朋友，为本性之故，乃爱普天下之人，且爱己仇人，情愿受人之害，不敢害人，教他们爱父母，为超性之故，因父母在世，代天主的位；
5. 教学生善过时日，提醒他们，该当如何从早晨到夜晚时，依天堂直路书，引治其心身之举动。教他们怎样尽本分，怎样发善意思，怎样善用时候等，热心度命之法；
6. 教学生时，常向圣母玛利亚，向诸天神圣人，敬爱之热情，求圣母做众学生的慈母，依六十三想书所载之道理；
7. 要劝学生屡次想死，预备得善死，用心躲避各样罪的诱惑，恼恨罪恶，宁愿死，不敢犯一个大罪。若犯了一个，就尽力发痛悔之真心，又去告解明白，不瞒铎德，望得其罪之赦。要多劝他们远避邪淫的罪，败坏无数的幼童，变做魔鬼的奴。

Appendix 6: The Tou Letters



Appendix 6.1: Colette Tou (杜小二姐) Letter. Source: AMEP 0564: 565a.

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