Consequential Transatlantic Networks Shaped the Polyglot Nature of the Protestant Missionary Enterprise in China

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R. G. TIEDEMANN

Abstract

The missionary enterprise of Protestant denominations in China was shaped by transatlantic interaction and co-operation from the start. In the course of the nineteenth century, the missionaries from the various European and North American societies formed a community of shared religious interests in China. Research into the history of the Protestant missionary enterprise in China has, however, focused primarily on "mainline" societies and has usually been understood as an Anglo-American endeavor of English-speaking evangelists. In contrast, this essay focuses on various evangelical free church groups that emerged during the transatlantic revivals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries among Scandinavian Christians in Europe and the United States. Particular attention is paid to the revivalist crusades of the Swedish-American mission enthusiast Fredrik Franson among Scandinavian Christians on both sides of the Atlantic. His evangelistic endeavors resulted in the formation of several sending

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agencies that maintained close transatlantic links and co-operation on the Chinese mission field. Similar interactions have been observed among the various Scandinavian and American Pentecostal missionaries in China. Of particular interest are the so-called "emigrant missionaries" who, having left their home countries for the United States, ended up as evangelists in China. Some attention is paid to the fact that these "American" missionaries continued to employ Norwegian or Swedish as their working languages. It is argued that a significant aspect of the history of Christianity in China has remained hidden as a result of the language issue and the essentially unobtrusive engagement of these missionaries.

Keywords: transatlantic interaction, emigrant missionaries, revivals, Lutherans, Pentecostals, linguistic limitations

INTRODUCTION

> No mission field in the world presents such complex problems as does China and in no field has so great a variety of solutions been attempted. No other mission field is so large for no other country has so large a population in so extensive and diverse an area. . . . There are varieties of climate to suit all tastes. . . . In general it may be said that most of the varieties of militant Protestantism in Europe and America have their counterparts in China.
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> *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China*[1]

It was certain Catholic missionaries who first utilized transatlantic networks to reach the China mission field. Whereas most European priests were obliged to travel on Portuguese ships around the Cape of Good Hope to the East in the seventeenth and eighteenths centuries, Spanish Augustinians, Dominicans and Franciscans were part of a distinct network that extended from Spain to the Philippines via the Atlantic to Mexico and thence from Acapulco to Manila. Since China was part of the respective Philippine provinces of these religious

[1] Introduction to *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China Under Protestant Auspices*, comp. Charles Luther Boynton and Charles Dozier Boynton (Shanghai: Published for The National Christian Council of China by the Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 1936), v.

orders, their missionaries consequently left for the Middle Kingdom from Manila.[2] However, with the loss of the Spanish possessions in Latin America at the beginning of the nineteenth century, this transatlantic—and transpacific—link was abandoned. It was not until the very end of the nineteenth century that the first indications of a new transatlantic dimension began to appear in Catholic missionary activities in China. After 1900 different kinds of networks were initiated by the Vatican, connecting Europe, the Americas and China within the context of an expanding universal Church. By the second decade of the twentieth century a distinctive North American element became visible in the Chinese Catholic missionary enterprise, both in terms of personnel and fund-raising.[3]

The rather more recent Protestant missionary endeavor in China was a transatlantic venture from the start. As is well known, the first missionary, Robert Morrison (*Ma Lixun* 馬禮遜, 1782–1834) of the London Missionary Society, travelled from England to Canton via the United States.[4] During the difficult early years of his China coast sojourn he had to rely on the generosity of American traders. Later Morrison was instrumental in encouraging the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to send its first missionaries to China in 1830.[5] Moreover, the German missionary Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (*Guo Shilie* 郭實獵, 1803–1851)[6] emerged at this time as a major contributor to the transatlantic popularization of the missionary

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[2] The Philippine province of the Order of the Hermit Friars of Saint Augustine (OESA; now OSA) was known as the province of the *Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*; that of the Order of Preachers (OP; i.e. Dominicans) the *Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas de la Orden de Predicadores*; and that of the Discalced Friars Minor (OFMAlc; Alcantarines) as the province of *San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas*.

[3] Alongside several smaller North American Catholic missionary groups, the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll Fathers) and Scarboro Foreign Mission Society are particularly noteworthy. For further details, see Jean-Paul Wiest, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918–1955* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1988); Grant Maxwell, *Assignment Chekiang: 71 Canadians in China, 1902–1954* (Scarboro, ON: Scarboro Foreign Mission Society, 1982).

[4] For a recent biography, see Christopher Hancock, *Robert Morrison and the Birth of Chinese Protestantism* (London: T&T Clark, 2008).

[5] Michael C. Lazich, *E. C. Bridgman (1801–1861): America's First Missionary to China* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2000).

[6] Shortly after his arrival in the Dutch East Indies in 1827, Gützlaff adopted the characters 郭實獵 to convey his Chinese name. On the other hand, his Chinese name is persistently but erroneously given as *Guo Shili* 郭士立 in the scholarly literature and elsewhere.

engagement with China, primarily through his promotional literary activities.[7] This kind of transatlantic co-operation remained an important aspect of the work of the major English-speaking "mainline" denominational societies throughout the Protestant missionary period in China (1807–1950) and was cultivated in a variety of ways. Subscription to and circulation of religious periodicals as well as the "recycling" of reports and letters from the mission field kept supporters in sending countries on both sides of the Atlantic informed about evangelistic endeavors in general. Major ecumenical mission conferences, most notably the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh,[8] reinforced the notion of a transatlantic missionary community. Edinburgh, in turn, led to the creation of the International Missionary Council in 1921 and further world mission conferences in Jerusalem (1928) and Tambaram (1938).

The transatlantic co-operative spirit among the major "mainline" denominational mission societies prevailed also on the vast China mission field. Thus, in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, these European and North American societies worked out comity agreements to avoid as much as possible overlap and competition for souls in the Qing Empire.[9] Moreover, delegates from various societies met to discuss matters of common interest at Protestant missionary conferences in Shanghai in 1877, 1890, and 1907. At such meetings several co-operative councils and agencies were set up, such as the China Christian Educational Association and the Council of Medical Missions to co-ordinate educational and medical work of the major European and North American sending agencies. New interdenominational organizations such as the YMCA/YWCA and the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions stimulated further transatlantic activities on the China mission field. A sense of community was also

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[7] For English-language studies of this erstwhile member of the Netherlands Missionary Society and later independent missionary, see Jessie G. Lutz, "The Grand Illusion: Karl Gützlaff and Popularization of China Missions in the United States in the 1830s," *United States Attitudes and Policies toward China: The Impact of American Missionaries*, ed. Patricia Neils (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1990), 46–77. For a comprehensive English-language study of this unusual missionary activist, see Jessie G. Lutz, *Opening China: Karl F. A. Gützlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827–1852* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2008).

[8] On the impact of the Edinburgh conference, see Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2009).

[9] R. G. Tiedemann, "Comity Agreements and Sheep Stealers: The Elusive Search for Christian Unity among Protestants in China," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 36, no. 1 (January 2012): 3–8.

created by the publication since 1867 of the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*. In addition to informing its readers in China about current events, situations, problems and movements, "its main functions," according to the *1936 Handbook*, "are to be a medium for the exchange of ideas, methods, proposed experiments and policies between missionaries, Chinese and western Christians working in China and the Chinese and western churches."[10]

Transatlantic co-operation progressed further in the early twentieth century with the formation in 1913 of the China Continuation Committee of the National Missionary Conference to promote co-ordination among Christian forces in China and to serve as a means of connection between these Christian forces, the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference and the mission boards in the West. This culminated in the calling of a National Conference of delegates elected by most branches of the Protestant churches and missions in China in 1922. This conference, in turn, created the National Christian Council of China (NCC), a national Protestant coordinating and liaison body. Afterwards, following an initiative of the various Presbyterian missions, some of the constituent denominations of the NCC decided to unite in the interdenominational Church of Christ in China (CCC; *Zhonghua Jidu jiaohui* 中華基督教會). This made the CCC the largest Protestant church in China as well as the most powerful member of the NCC. While only some of the mainline denominational societies and their Chinese churches joined this Sino-foreign body,[11] its transatlantic dimension is nevertheless apparent: English, Irish, and Scottish Presbyterians joined with most American Presbyterian (PCUS and PCUSA) and Reformed (RCA) missions, as well as the newly formed United Church of Canada (*Jia'nada lianhe hui* 加拿大聯合會). The London Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions represented the congregational component in this broad church union.[12]

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[10] *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China*, 141.

[11] British Anglicans, American Episcopalians, and the Canadian Church Mission had already set up a separate national church of the Anglican Communion in China (*Zhonghua shenggong hui* 中華聖公會) in 1912. In 1920 the various European and American Lutheran missions established the Lutheran Church in China (*Zhonghua xinyi hui* 中華信義會).

[12] It should, however, be noted that conservative elements within PCUS and PCUSA were alarmed by the "liberal" nature of the CCC and, along with the "continuing" Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Manchuria and the Christian Reformed Mission, organized the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Christ in China. It became the leading element in the League of Christian Churches (est. 1929) which

As the preceding brief introduction has shown, the major mainline denominational mission societies—whether connected with the Church of Christ in China or not—were generally part of a transatlantic community of interests in China. These societies had elaborate organizational structures that generated and preserved abundant primary sources, enabling scholars to further explore the transatlantic dimension of Christianity in China. By and large, the archival and published resources examined in American and British mission studies consist of English-language material. In other words, the Protestant missionary enterprise in China has usually been understood as an Anglo-American endeavor of English-speaking missionaries. However, the remainder of this essay focuses on certain aspects of the Protestant missionary community that have hitherto received relatively little coverage in the English-language academic literature. Particular attention will be paid to some the smaller "faith," Holiness and Pentecostal missions that became active in East Asia around the turn of the twentieth century. It may be appropriate to refer to their work as the "hidden" missionary and church planting activities for two reasons. For one thing, many of these groups were either too small or opposed to setting up bureaucratic home boards directing their work in the field. Consequently, in many cases little or no written evidence of their successes and failures has survived. Furthermore, what has survived was usually written in European languages other than English. As has been pointed out recently, polyglot mission fields have generated "enormous language difficulties for scholars who aspire to write comprehensive histories. In regions such as . . . China missionary records are written in Swedish, German, English, French, Norwegian, Dutch and Portuguese."[13] As a result, linguistically challenged American and British scholars have largely ignored a substantial part of the Protestant missionary history of China. Yet as will be shown, these groups and individuals, too, were part of extensive transatlantic networks and movements. Of course, such networks rarely overlapped with those of the mainline denominational organizations.

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also included other theologically conservative Chinese, European and North American missions and churches. See Kevin Xiyi Yao, *The Fundamentalist Movement among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920–1937* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003), 216–219, 281–283.

[13] Norman Etherington, "Missions and Empire," in *Historiography*, ed. Robin W. Winks, vol. 5 of *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 303.

Three aspects of the foreign-language dimension will be discussed below: (1) the creation of new European missionary societies and fellowships that became associated with transatlantic missionary operations in China; (2) the contribution of European immigrants in the United States to the Protestant endeavor in China; and (3) the continuing foreign-language element in certain American mainline denominations. In other words, this contribution is not intended to be a comprehensive history and an exhaustive examination of all aspects of the transatlantic interaction in the Protestant missionary enterprise in China.

TRANSATLANTIC RELIGIOUS REVIVALS AND NEW MISSION SOCIETIES

The different revivalist currents that swept through several European countries during the last three decades of the nineteenth century included not only diverse strands of German and Scandinavian Pietistic influence but also transatlantic connections with North American Holiness Methodists, Free Methodists, Baptists, and Holiness-influenced Baptists. Against this background a number of new denominations emerged in Europe. They would subsequently create their own sending agencies. For example, one author describes the transatlantic factor in the emergence of the Baptist Union of Sweden (*Svenska Baptistsamfundet*) as follows:

> The Swedish Baptist movement reveals in superlative degree the influence of America. Some of the leaders were converted in the United States, and many more received their training and education there; American money contributed to the establishment and maintenance of its institutions and congregations; and, above all, the example of free America was an inspiration and moral influence that gave sustenance in the hour of discouragement. . . . [T]here was more intimate contact and more cordial cooperation between the Baptists in Sweden and America than there was in the case of any other religious group.[14]

[14] George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspect of Swedish Immigration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932; repr. New York: Arno, 1969), 74–75.

The China work of the Swedish Baptist Mission (*Rui-Hua jinxin hui* 瑞華浸信會) was begun in Shandong province in 1892 with the arrival of Carl August Vingren (*Wen Daoxin* 文道心 or *Wen Daoshen* 文道慎, 1865–1947). His interest in the China mission had been awakened by James Hudson Taylor's (*Dai Desheng* 戴德生, 1832–1905) talk at the Swedish Baptist Theological Seminary in 1888. However, his missionary career was rather brief and he was later involved in work in Sweden and the United States. Still, it was the beginning of Swedish Baptist activities that would be maintained in Shandong to the end of the missionary era in China.

The Swedish Baptist experience was by no means unique. One man instrumental in the creation of several mission groups with extensive transatlantic connections was Fredrik Franson (1852–1908).[15] Born into a Lutheran family in Sweden, he emigrated with his family to the United States. Following a religious experience a few years later, he was baptized in a Swedish Holiness Baptist church in Nebraska. In 1875 he became secretary of the Scandinavian Baptist Conference of Nebraska, Western Iowa, and Dakota, but soon afterwards adopted a non-denominational church concept and changed his eschatology from postmillennial to Darbyite premillennial as a result of having been involved with the eminent Dwight Lyman Moody's (1837–1899) evangelistic campaigns in Chicago. In his new career as an evangelistic activist, Franson visited Sweden in 1881 and spent the next two decades or so travelling throughout the world as a committed mission promoter involved in "aggressive" cross-cultural evangelism in Scandinavia, Germany, the United States and other places. He was influential in founding or inspiring the creation of several mission agencies in Europe and North America.

[15] For a detailed account of Franson's life and activities, see Edvard Paul Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism" (PhD. diss., International College, Los Angeles, 1984).

Table 1: Organizations Founded or Inspired by Franson

Name of Society	Nationality	Year Founded	China Mission (Province)
Swedish Evangelical Free Church Mission (merged into the Evangelical Free Church of America in 1950); *Ruimei hui* 瑞美會	American	1884	Guangdong
Swedish Holiness Union (*Helgelseförbundet*); *Ruidian shengjie hui* 瑞典聖潔會	Swedish	1887	Shanxi
Norwegian Mission in China (*Den Norske Kinamisjon*; now *Evangelisk Orientmisjon*); *Nuowei hui* 挪威會	Norwegian	1887	Shanxi
Swedish Mission in China (*Svenska Missionen i Kina*; now part of *Evangeliska Östasienmissionen*); *Rui-Hua hui* 瑞華會	Swedish	1887	Henan; Shanxi
Danish Mission Covenant (*Det Danske Missionsforbund*)	Danish	1888	Guizhou
German China Alliance Mission (*Deutsche China Allianz-Mission*; including Swiss elements who later separated as the Swiss Alliance Mission); *De-Hua meng hui* 德華盟會	German and Swiss	1889	Zhejiang and Jiangxi
Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America (*Skandinaviska Alliansmissionen*); *Beimei ruinuo hui* 北美瑞挪會	American	1890	Shaanxi; Gansu; Inner Mongolia
Swedish Mongol Mission; (*Svenska Mongolmissionen*; now part of *Evangeliska Östasienmissionen*); *Ruimeng xuandao hui* 瑞蒙宣道會	Swedish	1897	Inner Mongolia
Finnish Free Church Mission; (*Fria Missionsförbundet*; *Suomen Vapaa Lähetys*); *Ziyou hui (Fen)* 自由會(芬)	Finnish	1898	Jiangxi
German Fellowship Deaconry Union, later known as Vandsburger Mission and as Yunnan Mission; it is now the Marburger Mission; *Deutscher Gemeinschafts-Diakonieverband*; *Wanbaige xuandao hui* 萬柏格宣道會	German and Swiss	1899	Yunnan
Swedish Alliance Mission (*Svenska Alliansmissionen*); it had formerly been the Swedish branch of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America; *Rui-Hua meng hui* 瑞華盟會	Swedish	1900	Inner Mongolia

Name of Society	Nationality	Year Founded	China Mission (Province)
Mission Covenant Church of Norway (Norwegian Covenant Mission); was known in China as the Norwegian Alliance Mission (*Det Norske Misjonsforbund*); *Nuo-Hua meng hui* 挪華盟會 The Mission Covenant Church was established in 1884	Norwegian	1901	Shaanxi

Moreover, Franson proved remarkably successful in recruiting men and women for service on the China mission field—and he subsequently personally visited virtually every one of his recruits at their mission stations in inland China. It is in this context that the web of transatlantic connections becomes especially apparent. Some of his early Swedish recruits, for example, were sent to China to serve with the Christian and Missionary Alliance (*Jidutu yu xuanjiaoshi lianhui* 基督徒與宣教士聯會 / *Xuandao hui* 宣道會), a North American organization. It should also be noted that the societies listed above, with the exception of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church and the Swedish Mongol Mission, were all "associate missions" of the China Inland Mission (*Neidi hui* 內地會),[16] itself a major transatlantic venture, with home centers located in Europe and North America (as well as in Australia and New Zealand). At the same time, some of these CIM "associate missions" established their own transatlantic connections. The Swedish Alliance Mission, for example, had at first been a branch of Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America. After 1900 this mission also assumed the support of seven Swedish survivors of the Boxer Uprising who had hitherto been part of the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

[16] The thirteen Associate Missions comprised the following: (1) Swedish Mission in China; (2) Swedish Holiness Union; (3) Swedish Alliance Mission; (4) Norwegian Alliance Mission (Mission Covenant Church of Norway; Norwegian Mission Union); (5) Norwegian Mission in China; (6) China Alliance Mission of Barmen; (7) Liebenzell Mission (*Libenze xinyi hui* 立本責信義會); (8) German Women's Missionary Union (*Nugong hui* 女公會); (8) Friedenshort Deaconess Mission (*Nu zhishi hui* 女執事會); (10) Finnish Free Church Mission; (11) Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America; (12) Danish Missionary Union; (13) Vandsburger Mission (*Wanbaige xuandao hui* 萬柏格宣道會), later known as the Yunnan Mission. Members of the Pilgrim Mission St. Chrischona (based in Switzerland) worked in China as full members of the China Inland Mission. For a brief history of the German associate "faith missions," see Andreas Franz, *Mission ohne Grenzen: Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen* [Mission without Borders: Hudson Taylor and the German-speaking Faith Missions] (Giessen: Brunnen Verlag, 1993).

While much attention has thus far been paid to the Swedish dimension, it should be noted that the Norwegian factor in the complex transatlantic interaction was equally significant in stimulating support for the China missions at the end of the nineteenth century. In Norway, too, Fredrik Franson's revival meetings among the various emerging evangelical free churches had a profound impact in the 1880s. Responding to his insistence during his visit in 1883, members of these churches founded the Norwegian Mission Covenant in 1884. It was, however, not until August 1898 that—with Franson's continued encouragement—the Norwegian Covenant Mission set up its own mission committee in co-operation with the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America. After the Swedish missionary Wilhelm Hagquist (*He Dianchen* 何殿臣, 1871–1960), a member of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America in China, had raised sufficient funds during his furlough in Europe, the Covenant Board was enabled to send two missionaries from Norway to China. Kristian Vatsaas (*Wang Yaoji* 王耀基, 1873–1932) and John Andreas Christensen (1878–1964) arrived in Shanghai in April 1900 as Norwegian Covenant Mission associates of the China Inland Mission.

It is clear that Fredrik Franson—along with James Hudson Taylor—was one of the most successful promoters and organizers of the non-mainline Protestant missionary enterprise in China. However, he was only one of several "reverse emigrants who returned to their original countries as Holiness missionaries and mission agents."[17] Another was John Ongman (1845–1931) who employed methods similar to Franson's. Having become a Baptist in Sweden, in 1868 he left with his family for Minnesota where he was ordained as a Baptist minister of the Swedish Baptist Conference in the American Baptist Church. As an energetic evangelist and influential leader of the Swedish Baptists in the United States, he subsequently became involved in the international Holiness revivalist and healing networks in Chicago and the upper Midwest. In 1890 he returned to his native Sweden and assumed the pastorate of the First Baptist Church in Örebro. Two years later Ongman founded the Örebro Missionary Society (*Örebro Missionsförening*, *Ruidian guo Jinli hui* 瑞典國浸禮會). In 1897 he resigned the pastorate of the First Baptist congregation and accepted charge of the newly organized Filadelfia Baptist congregation in Örebro which, according to David Bundy, would

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[17] David Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission: Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission to 1935* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2009), 481.

develop into a "denomination of Swedish Pentecostal Holiness Baptists."[18] Indeed, the Filadelfia Church in Örebro became the center for the growing interest in the Pentecostal message among several Swedish Baptist churches. Like Franson, Ongman emphasized the imminent second coming of Christ, prophesy, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and "speaking with tongues."[19] His Örebro Missionary Society played, however, only a minor role in China.

The early Scandinavian Pentecostal churches were to some extent influenced by various North American Holiness currents, but drew inspiration primarily from native pietistic traditions as well as from the Welsh Revival. In addition, there had been revivals in the United States and elsewhere around 1900 at which people, including Scandinavian settlers in the northern Great Plains,[20] experienced dreams, visions, prophecy, tongues and interpretations. Particulars of such events would have reached the folks back in Norway and Sweden. Certainly people like John Ongman, who as a naturalized US citizen[21] had worked among Swedish-Americans in Chicago and Minnesota, were in touch with these Scandinavian evangelicals in America. There can, however, be no doubt that the Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles in 1906/07 served as the focal point of and provided defining impulses to early twentieth-century Pentecostalism in both North America and Europe. News of this event spread quickly across the Atlantic in print as well as by participants who returned to Norway and Sweden.[22] The many Pentecostal or proto-Pentecostal periodical publications were instrumental in the transatlantic exchange of news as well as in raising the consciousness of Pentecostals and other supporters in Europe and North America about the importance of missionary work. It was above all revivalist reports in the Azusa Street periodical, *The Apostolic Faith*, which from 1906 onwards informed a world-wide readership of the events in Los Angeles and brought home to evangelical Christians the urgency of evangelizing non-Christian peoples. Since the early

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[18] Ibid., 300.

[19] Stephenson, *Religious Aspect of Swedish Immigration*, 128.

[20] For a detailed discussion of the pre-Azusa Scandinavian Pentecostal phenomena in the upper Midwest, see Darrin J. Rodgers, *Northern Harvest: Pentecostalism in North Dakota* (Bismarck, ND: North Dakota District Council of the Assemblies of God, 2003).

[21] He became a naturalized US citizen on October 26, 1880.

[22] Three eyewitnesses who returned to Sweden, Andrew Johnson-Ek (1878–1965) and Erik and Ida Hollingsworth, made important contributions to the early Pentecostal movement in Scandinavia. Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission*, 482.

Pentecostal fellowships were generally independent local churches, free from denominational structures and influences, missionaries "were entrepreneurial by necessity as they attempted to piece together funds to support their livelihoods and ministries. Therefore, they often wrote to different sources in different countries and to competing sources of funding in the same country."[23] Numerous letters from Swedish Pentecostal missionaries were, for example, published in the American periodicals *Sanningens Vittne* (Minneapolis) and in *The Full Gospel Testimony* (Duluth).[24]

In some instances Scandinavian immigrants to the United States and Canada undertook to support individual European missionaries directly. Note, for instance, the group of independent Pentecostal missionaries, formerly members of Norway's Free Evangelical Mission to the Heathen (*Nuowei Fuyin hui* 挪威福音會; NFEH). When this society was dissolved in 1934 on account of opposition by the Pentecostal assemblies in Norway to the centralizing tendencies of the NFEH, the now independent missionaries had to rely on the voluntary co-operation and support of local churches back home. The *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China* lists the local Norwegian fellowships providing individual missionaries with the necessary resources. Yet some of them received financial assistance from particular assemblies in the United States. Thus, the Salem Scandinavian Pentecostal Assembly of Brooklyn, New York, supported Inga Johannesen (*Yang Ensheng* 楊恩生, 1893–1982); the El Bethel Pentecostal Assembly in Staten Island, New York, looked after the material needs of Agnes Theresie Moy (1901–1979).[25]

Whether there were other North American Pentecostal assemblies sponsoring particular European missionaries in China is difficult to ascertain. Especially for the early period of Pentecostal missions, with the strong opposition among the faithful and their leaders to the setting up of central bureaucratic structures, there is a distinct paucity of archival material. Some idea of the extent of transatlantic support can, however, be gleaned from the tables of contributions in the periodical

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[23] Ibid., 304.

[24] Ibid., 305, n.312.

[25] Moy is an example of the ease with which Norwegians—and other Scandinavians—were able to utilize transatlantic connections in their travels and religious preparations. She was born in Colorado, grew up in Norway, and subsequently worked as a domestic servant in New York before joining the Norwegian Pentecostal missionaries in China. Agnes Moy ended her days in Norway.

literature of that time. Such tables were, of course, a means to indirectly solicit funds (most Pentecostal as well as Holiness "faith" missions seem to have employed this "hidden" method). At the same time, these periodicals have become essential sources for the early history of the Pentecostal missionary movement. Still, as Darren Rodgers has observed, even these printed sources are incomplete.

> Most histories of the Pentecostal movement in the U.S. concentrate on its development among English-speakers. While a large number of early American Pentecostals were immigrants who did not speak English, their stories remain largely untold. Over time, immigrants and their churches were Americanized and their histories forgotten. . . . What few records of immigrant churches did exist often were tossed, valued little by the Americanized descendants of immigrants. Histories of English-speaking Pentecostalism are most prevalent, not because revival among English-speakers was more remarkable than among immigrants, but because historians had easiest access to records of English-speakers.[26]

Consequently, we still know remarkably little about the histories and missionary activities of especially the smaller "ethnic" Pentecostal associations.

EMIGRANT MISSIONARIES FROM THE UNITED STATES

As is apparent from the preceding account, the migrations from northern Europe to North America contributed significantly to the creation of transatlantic networks facilitating the spread of revivalist ideas and practices. The period from 1865 to 1895, in particular, was a time of mass emigration, especially from Sweden. Whereas the migrants of the 1840s and 1850s had been families of landed farmers, skilled artisans and other members of the lower middle class with the knowledge and resources to seek out better opportunities in North America, during the last decades of the nineteenth century thousands upon thousands of poor laborers, mostly young single men and women unable to obtain employment in their own overpopulated lands, crossed the Atlantic.

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[26] Rodgers, *Northern Harvest*, 2–3.

"Over them swept a breeze from the great land of the West, the wonderful America, for which multitudes longed and to which sister, brother, or sweetheart had already gone."[27]

The years of greatest emigration from the Nordic countries coincided with significant changes in the patterns of church life in Scandinavian communities on both sides of the Atlantic. New forms of European pietism and Anglo-American revivalist currents, especially Moody's "new" premillennialist eschatology, began to challenge the religious homogeneity of Lutheran state churches. Within the Church of Sweden, for example, new organizations emerged in the form of mission societies promoting home and foreign missions. Members of this diverse movement became known as Mission Friends (*Missionsvänner*). One such group with spiritual roots in the pietistic Lutheran revivalism, led by Paul Petter Waldenström (*Wang Dunchang* 王敦昌, 1838–1917), formed the Swedish Mission Covenant Church (*Ruidian Xingdao hui* 瑞典行道會, *Svenska Missionsförbundet*, now *Svenska Missionskyrkan*) in 1878. It was an outgrowth of pietistic revivalism among Lutherans in Sweden.[28]

In spite of greater religious toleration in Sweden after 1858, religion remained one of the factors that prompted Swedish Baptists, Methodists, Mission Friends as well as other dissatisfied Lutherans to emigrate to North America. Most immigrants—whose primary language was not English—remained attached to their native cultural values and maintained significant connections to their religious roots, in familiar Lutheranism, in strands of Scandinavian pietism or the new millenarianism that was shaping some of the emerging free-church movements. At the same time, in the New World they encountered a context of religious pluralism and what David Gustafson calls a

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[27] E. H. Thörnberg: "Pingstväckelsen och Sveriges religiösa folkrörelser" [Pentecostal Revival and Sweden's Religious Grassroots Movements], *Svensk Tidskrift* [Swedish Magazine] (1926): 298–310, quoted in translation in Stephenson, *Religious Aspect of Swedish Immigration*, 105.

[28] In contrast to the historic forms of premillennialism promoted by Waldenström, Moody's "new" premillennial vision was largely based on John Nelson Derby's dispensationalist theology. On Moody's influence on the transatlantic Scandinavian revival movements, see David M. Gustafson, *D. L. Moody and Swedes: Shaping Evangelical Identity among Swedish Mission Friends* (Linköping: Department of Culture and Communication, Linköping University, 2008). On Moody's influential premillennialism, see also Bernie A. Van De Walle, *The Heart of the Gospel: A. B. Simpson, the Fourfold Gospel, and Late Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Theology* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2009), 156–158. It should be noted that despite the similarity of their names, the Mission Covenants of Norway and Denmark inspired by Fredrik Franson had little in common with the Swedish body.

"theological *smörgåsbord* from which Swedes drew broad, evangelical beliefs and methods, adopting new elements and shaping new identities."[29] As a consequence of continuing evangelistic campaigns among the immigrants, several new yet distinctly Swedish religious institutions came into being in the United States during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. While the majority of immigrants from a Church of Sweden background joined the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod, dissenting voices opposed to what they perceived to be denominational zealotry decided to form independent organizations. Thus, Fredrik Franson and "Moodyite" Mission Friends who favored congregationalism established the Swedish Evangelical Free Church of America (*Svenska Evangeliska Frikyrkans i Amerika*; now Evangelical Free Church of America) as a non-sectarian association of independent evangelical Christian congregations in 1884. Other Mission Friends who had emigrated to America wanted a formal union of churches and formed the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America (*Svenska Evangeliska Missions förbundet i Amerika*; now the Evangelical Covenant Church) in 1885. These and several other Scandinavian-American churches had their counterparts in the Nordic countries.[30] They all organized sending agencies, maintained transatlantic links and sent missionaries to China. In addition, Fredrik Franson was instrumental in setting up the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America in 1890. This mission "represented denominational groups of evangelical, free churches, [yet was] independent of denominational control, non-denominational in character, working on an unchangeable principle never to become a church denomination, but welcoming interdenominational cooperation."[31] The Scandinavian Alliance

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[29] Gustafson, *D. L. Moody and Swedes*, 12.

[30] For an excellent study of the Evangelical Covenant Church and its counterpart in Sweden, the Swedish Mission Covenant, see Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago: Covenant, 1962). It should, however, be noted that the Mission Covenant Church of Norway and the Danish Mission Covenant, although similar in name to the Evangelical Covenant Church, were in fact shaped by returned emigrants who had tasted Darbyite millenarianism of Moody and Franson and were, therefore, closer to the Evangelical Free Church of America. See Frederick Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno, 1979), 16, 137.

[31] Otto Christopher Grauer, *Fifty Wonderful Years: Missionary Service in Foreign Lands* (Chicago, IL: Scandinavian Alliance Mission, 1940). See also Jon P. DePriest, *Send the Light: TEAM and the Evangelical Mission, 1890–1975* (Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2007). For a list of the several missionary societies founded or inspired by Franson, see Table 1.

Mission sent hundreds of Nordic-Americans—as well as Norwegians and Swedes—to the Chinese mission field.

Not all immigrants were able to settle into a stable religious environment upon their arrival in the New World. Some were living in small, struggling settlements dotting the landscape at great distances. "Emigration had weaned a considerable number away from the [Lutheran] church. Uprooted from the environment of youth and early manhood, exposed to new scenes and strange experiences, living without a church for a time, the immigrant was a hard man for the pastor to approach."[32] Then there were those for whom life was not necessarily more secure in the major Scandinavian settlements of Chicago and the rural communities on the North American prairie than it had been in the old country. Thus in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many desperate recent immigrants joined the great American internal migration into the western states. During these hardship-plagued pioneer years American Protestant denominations (Baptists, Episcopalians, and Methodists) began to compete for the loyalty of the scattered and mobile Scandinavians and sent missionaries amongst them.[33] Moreover, as has been indicated in the previous section, some Nordic immigrants were also drawn into the Pentecostal revivals.

The missionary enthusiasm that had developed in response to the Scandinavian revivals migrated with the immigrants across the Atlantic. It was, therefore, quite natural for the newly established Scandinavian-American churches to take an interest in overseas missions as well. Thus, it was not only the new missionary associations established in response to the evangelistic campaigns of Franson and others that sent missionaries to China, but also the several American Lutheran "mainline" churches (see Table 2). What is perhaps rather more surprising is the fact that during the early years of these missionary endeavors substantial numbers of recent emigrants to the United States chose to serve as members of Scandinavian-American missions in China. This is a fascinating but as yet little researched phenomenon.

Just three years after its beginning in 1884, the Swedish Evangelical Free Church gave birth to its own missionary sending agency, known

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[32] Stephenson, *Religious Aspect of Swedish Immigration*, 148.

[33] After initial co-operation with American Congregationalists, many Swedish Mission Friends and later members of the Mission Covenant preferred to maintain links with their Old World culture and resisted nationalistic attempts at Americanization. Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism*, 12.

today as the EFCA International Mission. At the end of 1887 Hans Jensen von Qualen (*Kuan Kualun* 寬誇倫, 1854–1918), a Danish emigrant to the United States in 1873, became its first missionary to China. In 1888 he established what became known as the Swedish American Mission and is now the Hongkong-based Evangelical Free Church of China (*Zhongguo Jidujiao Bodao hui* 中國基督教播道會; EFCC). Most of his colleagues who joined him in subsequent years had been recruited from among Swedish immigrants in the United States.[34] China was also the Covenant Missionary Society's (*Xingdao hui* 行道會) first mission field, opened by Swedish-born Peter Matson (*Ma Desheng* 馬德盛, 1868–1943) and his first wife Christine Swensson Matson (1864–1922) in 1890.[35]

The most spectacular gathering of emigrant evangelists for the China field was surely Fredrik Franson's recruitment drive in 1890 in response to James Hudson Taylor's call for one thousand missionaries. In 1891 thirty-five new persons who had been selected by Franson as China missionaries of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission left San Francisco in early January 1891, followed by another fifteen men and women a few weeks later. The sudden arrival of such a large number of missionaries appears to have overwhelmed the CIM reception committee in Shanghai. Most of these new lay evangelists and subsequent arrivals were recent immigrants from Scandinavia.[36] Although the phenomenon of emigrant missionaries was most prevalent in the Scandinavian Alliance, Free Church and Covenant missions, there were also some Swedish, Norwegian and—to a lesser extent—German immigrants in the American Lutheran missionary enterprise in China during the last decade of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries.

As has been pointed out above, the Pentecostal revivals also took root among Scandinavian settlers in the United States and among the early missionaries who took the Pentecostal message to China were a number of recent arrivals from Europe. The career of Bernt Berntsen (*Bi Dexin* 賁德新, 1863–1933) is representative of the American im-

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[34] Hugo Wilbert Norton, *European Background and History of Evangelical Free Church Foreign Missions, 1887–1955*, 2nd rev. ed. (Moline, IL: Christian Service Foundation, 1964).

[35] Peter Matson, *Our China Mission: A Story of the Mission Covenants Work in China* (Chicago: Covenant Book Concern, 1934). The mission was first known as the Swedish American Missionary Covenant.

[36] For details, see Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson*, 520–528.

migrant missionary to China. Born near Larvik, Norway, he emigrated to the United States in 1893 and worked for several years as a grocery storekeeper in Chicago. Having married Magna Berg (1867–1935) in 1896, Berntsen and his family joined Horace William Houlding's (*Hou Liding* 侯理定, 1861–1922) little-known non-denominational South Chihli Mission (*Nan Zhili fuyin hui* 南直隸福音會) in northern China in 1904. When he read about the Azusa Street Revival in an early issue of *The Apostolic Faith* published by the Azusa Street Mission of Los Angeles, Berntsen travelled in 1907 from Zhili province via Shanghai to Los Angeles where he was baptized in the Spirit on September 15, 1907. Towards the end of that year Berntsen returned to China with eleven hurriedly gathered recruits, mostly Scandinavian immigrants, to start a new Pentecostal work based around Zhengding in central Zhili province.[37] During this early phase of the Pentecostal presence in China, Berntsen maintained contacts not only with Pentecostal groups in the United States but also with the emerging Pentecostal movement in Norway, led by Thomas Ball Barratt (1862–1940) and Erik Andersen Nordquelle (1858–1938).[38] The Scandinavian transatlantic dimension of Pentecostalism in the China missions was reinforced by the arrival of Scandinavian immigrants to the United States as well as workers directly from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

The emigrant missionaries to China had for the most part come from the Nordic countries to the United States. There were, however, a few exceptions to the basic pattern, such as the Cornish Baptist minister Joseph Smale (1867–1926) who moved to America as an ordained Baptist minister in 1892 and took charge of a Baptist church in Los Angeles by the beginning of the twentieth century. While on a visit to Britain, he witnessed and was influenced by the Welsh Revival of 1904–1905 and subsequently became "instrumental in the founding of Pentecostalism" yet remained "a prominent independent Baptist Holiness pastor,"[39] having opened the First New Testament Church in Los Angeles in 1906. In the following year Smale went briefly to China to set up the China New Testament Mission (*Xinyue jiaohui* 新約教會) at

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[37] For some details concerning Berntsen's Pentecostal missionary activities in China, see R. G. Tiedemann, "The Origins and Organizational Developments of the Pentecostal Missionary Enterprise in China," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 14, no. 1 (2011): 121–124; Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2006), 260–262.

[38] See the scattered references to Berntsen in Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission*.

[39] Ibid., 80.

Beihai (*Pakhoi* 北海), at that time in Guangdong province. As is the case with so many of the small "faith" missions in China after 1900, information about the Pakhoi operation is a little sketchy. It is clear, though, that when Joseph Smale and his third wife Esther Isabell Hargrave (1879–1958) visited China again in 1922, the Baptist minister William Herbert Crofts (1884–1963) and his wife Eleanor Wilson (1886–1979), both immigrants from Nottingham, England, were in charge of the New Testament Mission at Beihai. Following the departure of the Crofts for the United States in 1923, the Pakhoi mission was transferred to the Pentecostal Holiness Church.[40]

The United Free Gospel Mission, with evangelistic work in Guangdong province, had its origins in the churches established at Turtle Creek and nearby localities in Pennsylvania by the Englishman Francis ("Frank") John Casley (1872–1954) at the beginning of the twentieth century. Initially Casley's churches were loosely associated with the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA), but when people began to experience the spirit baptism and speak in tongues, this was not accepted by the CMA. Thereupon these churches were incorporated under the name of United Free Gospel and Missionary Society in 1916. Again, it is difficult to properly identify the small band of evangelists who were sent to China. However, in the 1930s Albert A. Kehr (1895–1969), an ethnic German immigrant from what at the time was Russian Poland, was superintendent of the evangelistic work in Guangdong.

It is, of course, virtually impossible to determine what motivated the many emigrant missionaries to set out from the United States on new religious ventures in the alien environment that was China. Perhaps it is reasonable to assume that the European-born members of American Lutheran mainline sending agencies had the same postmillennial concerns as missionaries from other American mainline denominations. The Scandinavian newcomers to the United States who were recruited by Franson and others, on the other hand, shared the beliefs of a different transatlantic eschatological community. It was the premillennialism that furnished much of the impetus for the immigrant revivalism during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In particular, the belief in the *imminent* Second Coming of Christ underscored the urgency in the rapidly expanding Scandinavian-

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[40] Tim Welch, "Preparing the Way for the Azusa Street Revival: Joseph Smale, God's 'Moses' for Pentecostalism," *Assemblies of God Heritage* (2009): 27–33; idem, *Joseph Smale: God's Moses' for Pentecostalism* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2013). The Spanish Gospel Mission which Smale established in 1913 is still in existence.

American Holiness missions to do something for China's "perishing millions." At the same time, the act of migration may itself have attracted some individuals to New World revivals and prompted them to assume new religious identities. It would also seem that the rather more radical Pentecostal revivals at the beginning of the twentieth century—and possibly the sense of adventure—attracted many restless and uprooted individuals and families to journey from North America across the Pacific as lay preachers.

The rapid expansion of the free-church, Holiness and Pentecostal missionary enterprises in China did not meet with universal approval in Europe. One contributor to Gustav Warneck's journal observed, for instance: "The mass importation of missionaries (it cannot be called anything else), which Franson is carrying on, can be explained in terms of his zeal; but even apart from political considerations, it is not wise".[41] Concern was also voiced in Sweden, as recorded by Emanuel Linderholm in his history of the Pentecostal movement there:

> Franson . . . later was subjected to a sharp criticism in connection with his recruiting here in Sweden and in America of a mass of uneducated Swedish youths and young women for the mission in China. This was in response to Hudson Taylor's appeal, but it was an undertaking that was certainly not very well thought through, but which, nevertheless, in the end went better than had been expected.[42]

Similar sentiments among the mainline Swedish-American congregations were expressed at the time of Franson's formation of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission in 1890. However, in response to the accusation that the plan to uproot "youths and maidens" from their everyday pursuits and hurriedly send them as lay evangelists to China, an editorial in the independent Swedish religious newspaper *Chicago-Bladet* defended Franson's approach.

> All those that we have talked with have not just suddenly in one moment gotten their thoughts and minds on missions. Some of them

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[41] P. Berlin, "Die freikirchlichen Missionsunternehmungen in Schweden" [The Free Church Missionary Enterprises in Sweden], *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* [General Mission Magazine] (1893): 551.

[42] Emanuel Linderholm, *Pingströrelsen i Sverige: ekstas, under och apokalyptik i nutida svenska folkreligiositet* [Pentecostal Movement in Sweden: Ecstasy, Miracles and Apocalypticism in Contemporary Swedish Folk Religiosity] (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers, 1925), 19.

> have gone with a longing from as far back as their childhood days that when they grew up, they might go to the foreign mission field. One brother said that he had been praying for several years that the Lord would open a door for him to China. . . . Therefore, it is not some momentary ecstasy that has produced these decisions. Rather, these people seem to have made these decisions through a higher power, which has enabled them, as hard as it may seem, to say farewell to parents as well as brothers and sisters and relatives, and to leave home and conveniences to go to a land where they know that these and much more cannot be had.[43]

Whatever their particular motives, after 1900 a significant number of emigrant missionaries were active on the China mission field.

THE "FOREIGN" IN AMERICAN MAINLINE MISSIONS

The phenomenon of the emigrant missionary alerts us to an aspect of the Christianizing effort in China that has received very little scholarly attention. Existing English-language studies of the Protestant missionary endeavor in China have focused on the activities of a few major American and British missionary societies. This approach has obscured the complexity of the Protestant presence in China, for it has taken little account of the presence of Continental European evangelists.[44] Moreover, a substantial segment of the American-based Protestant missionary enterprise came from German and Scandinavian backgrounds. As has already been pointed out in connection with Swedish emigration to the United States, during the fluid times of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the newcomers were Swedes first,

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[43] Quoted in "En förklaring" [An explanation], *Chicago-Bladet* (December 30, 1890).

[44] There are some rare exceptions: Jessie G. Lutz and Ray R. Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850–1900* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), have made use of the German-language publications and archival resources of the Basel Mission. The unpublished dissertation by Edvard Paul Torjesen, "A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of His Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism" (PhD. diss., International College, Los Angeles, 1984) has relied extensively on Norwegian, Swedish, and German sources. More recently David Bundy has completed his doctoral research on Scandinavian Pentecostal movements based on Norwegian and Swedish language material. This work, *Visions of Apostolic Mission*, provides some coverage of the China missions.

and Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, Free Church or Covenant members second—and those who went off to China continued to be Swedes first. Their non-English archival and published records concerning the China missions have not received sufficient scholarly attention either. Several mission societies whose operating language was not English but German, Swedish, Norwegian or Danish have already been mentioned (see Table 1). In this part of the essay the focus is primarily on certain American mainline denominations, especially the Lutheran churches and their missions. That Lutheran churches played a significant role in American society, at least in certain parts of the country, is not surprising. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century immigrants from Lutheran countries represented the largest ethnic groups in the United States: Germans, Swedes, and Norwegians. These American Lutheran immigrant churches supported missionary work in China along ethnic lines. Their published and archival materials are for the most part in their native languages.

Their ethnic and linguistic distinctiveness notwithstanding, by the second decade of the twentieth century the various American and Lutheran missions had begun to recognize the value of nation-wide Chinese Lutheran church. Under an agreement reached at the *Jigongshan* 雞公山 Conference of 1917, the Chinese churches of most American and European Lutheran mission societies became part of the Lutheran Church of China (*Zhonghua Xinyi hui* 中華信義會)—which was formally established in 1920. Not all the Lutheran bodies in China joined immediately. Indeed, five missions were accepted as "synods" as late as 1949, including the Basel (*Base hui* 巴色會; *Chongzhen hui* 崇真會) and Rhenish (*Lixian hui* 禮賢會) missions.[45] The Lutheran Church of China maintained the Lutheran Board of Publication and the Lutheran Theological Seminary for all the member churches.

It should, however, be noted that the Evangelical Lutheran Mission of Missouri and Other States (*Lude jiao* 路德教), now known as the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, did not join the Lutheran Church of China. The Missouri Synod, a traditional, confessional Lutheran denomination, was formed in 1847 by several communities of German Lutheran immigrants. The origins of its China mission are found in the independent work established in 1913 by Edward Louis Arndt (1864–1929), a German immigrant pastor and professor. The Missouri Synod took over this work in 1917 and expanded it. Another mission not af-

[45] The Basel and Rhenish missions had both Lutheran and Reformed members.

filiated with the Lutheran Church in China was the World Mission Prayer League (*Shijie Xinyi hui* 世界信義會). That work started in 1945 amongst the Tibetans at *Kangding* (康定; formerly *Dajianlu* 打箭爐), western Sichuan (in the late 1940s this region was part of the short-lived *Xikang* 西康 province).

Table 2: Members of the Lutheran Church of China 中華信義會

China Start	Missionary Society	Nationality
1882	**Berlin Missionary Society**; *Baling Xinyi hui* 巴陵信義會; Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der evangelischen Mission unter den Heiden; Berliner Missionsgesellschaft; Berlin Mission; Berlin I (Guangdong; Jiangxi; Shandong; Hong Kong)	German
1890	**United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America**; *Mei Lude hui* 美路德會; Forenede norsk-lutherske kirke i Amerika; American Lutheran Mission (Hubei; Henan)	American
1891	**Hauge's Synod Mission**; Hauge's Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod; *Hong'en hui* 鴻恩會; (Hubei; Henan). In 1917 the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America and Hauge's Synod Mission merged to form the **Norwegian Lutheran Church of America**; Forenede norsk-lutherske kirke i Amerika; Known in China as the Lutheran United Mission (LUM); *Yu'e Xinyi hui* 豫鄂信義會	American
1891	**Norwegian Lutheran Mission**; *Naoguo Lude hui* 瑙國路得會; Norsk Lutherske Kinamisjonsforbund; Norsk Luthersk Misjonssamband (NLM since 1949); Norwegian Lutheran China Mission Association (NMC) (Henan; Hubei; Manchuria)	Norwegian
1896	**Danish Missionary Society**; *Lude hui (Dan)* 路德會(丹); *Guandong Jidujiao Xinyi hui* 關東基督教信義會; Danske Missions-Selskab (Manchuria)	Danish
1901	**Finnish Missionary Society**; *Xiang xibei Xinyi hui* 湘西北信義會; Suomen Lähetysseura; Finska Missionssälskapet; Finland Missionary Society (Hunan; Hubei)	Finnish
1902	**Norwegian Missionary Society**; *Nuo Xinyi hui* 挪信義會; Det Norske Misjonsselkskap (Hunan)	Norwegian
1902	**Lutheran Brethren Mission**; *Zundao hui* 遵道會; Evangelical Lutheran Norwegian Brethren, Mission Board of; American Lutheran Brethren Mission (Henan; Hubei)	American
1905	**Augustana Synod Mission**; *Xinyi hui* 信義會; Board of Foreign Missions of the Augustana Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America (FMAS) (Henan; Hubei)	American

1917	**Lutheran Board of Missions**; *Xinyi Gongli hui* 信義公理會; Den Lutherske Frikirkes Hedningemission; Lutheran Free Church, Foreign Mission Board; Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church, Board of Missions (Henan)	American
1918	**Church of Sweden Mission**; *Rui-Hua Xinyi hui* 瑞華信義會; *Xiangbei Rui-Hua Xinyi hui* 湘北瑞華信義會; Svenska Kyrkans Mission; Swedish Church Mission. (Hunan)	Swedish
1918	**Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission**; *Xinyi Zhanglao hui* 信義長老會; Norske Evangelisk Lutherske Frikirkes Kinamisjon; China Mission of the Norwegian Evangelical Free Church; Norwegian Lutheran Free Church (Shaanxi)	Norwegian
1921	**Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission**; *Yue-Nan Xinyi hui* 粵南信義會; Schleswig-Holsteinische Evangelisch-Lutherische Missionsgesellschaft zu Breklum; Breklum Mission. SHELM took over the work of the independent Kiel China Mission (est. 1896) (formerly in Guangdong, now in Guangxi)	German
1922	**Christian Missions to Buddhists in China**; *Nanjing Jingfengshan Jidujiao conglin daoyou hui zongyuan*; Kristne Buddhistmisjon i de Nordiske Land; Tao Fong Shan Christian Institute (based first in Nanjing; later in Hong Kong)	Norwegian
1925	**American Lutheran Mission (of Shandong)**; *Zhonghua Xinyi hui*; United Lutheran Church in America, Board of Foreign Missions (took over the Shandong field from the Berlin Missionary Society)	American

The above examples indicate that it was not only some of the American Holiness and Pentecostal churches that attracted emigrants from Europe to serve as evangelists in China, but also the mainline Lutherans. Moreover, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries these emigrant missionaries and their sending agencies back home continued to employ German, Norwegian or Swedish as their working language. It was only after the First World War that the process of Americanization accelerated and the churches as well as their missionary societies began to operate primarily in English. It should be noted though that linguistic separateness did not necessarily preclude the pursuit of common transatlantic interests and co-operation on the Chinese mission field. As Frederick Hale has put it with regard to Scandinavian immigrants: “Both before and after Scandinavian-American Christians adopted English, many participated in this international community, in

which ideas and practices shuttled from shore to shore with surprising rapidity."[46]

The Mennonite presence in China offers yet another aspect of the language issue. Henry Cornelius Bartel (*Bao Zhili* 包志理, 1873–1965), who had come from Kansas to China with the South Chihli Mission in 1901, founded the China Mennonite Mission Society (*Mengna Fuyin hui* 孟那福音會) in 1905. Initially the mission was jointly supervised in the US by representatives from the Mennonite Brethren, the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren (*Yesu jiao Fuyin hui* 耶穌教福音會; *Zhuozi shan Fuyin hui* 卓資山福音會), the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, and the Missionary Church Association in the United States. However, as a result of theological differences, the Krimmer Mennonite Church decided to set up its own mission board in 1922 and began a separate work in Inner Mongolia. The Mennonite General Conference Mission (*Meiguo qingjie hui* 美國清潔會) was started as a separate venture in 1909, followed by the first independent Mennonite Brethren Mission (*Mengna Jinxin hui* 孟那浸信會) work in 1911. What makes the Mennonite missions unusual is the fact that the working language of many missionaries was German, although they or their parents were immigrants from the Russian Empire. Many of the settlers who had come to North America in 1874 and afterwards from Mennonite colonies in various parts of the Russian Empire that date from the late eighteenth century continued to function in the language of their ancestors. Thus, the periodical *Christlicher Bundesbote* (1882–1942) was the organ of the Mennonite General Conference; the *Zion's-Bote* (1884–1964) served the Mennonite Brethren Church; and the *Wahrheitsfreund* (1915–1947) the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church.

[46] Frederick Hale, "Norwegians, Danes, and the Origins of the Evangelical Free Tradition," *Norwegian-American Studies* 28 (1979): 106, available at NAHA Online, last accessed June 5, 2017, https://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume28/Nor-Am%20Studies%20Vol%2028%20Article%20Four.pdf.

CONCLUSION

From the late eighteenth century onward transatlantic religious networks were coming into being, shaped by theological, denominational, ethnic and linguistic factors. They were heavily influenced by and the product of the various revivalist currents flowing across the Atlantic in both directions. Consequently, the nineteenth century witnessed the internationalization of the Western Protestant movement, marked by a high degree of unity, consultation, and co-operation. However, a fresh round of transatlantic revivals at the turn of the twentieth century created extreme religious ferment among "radical evangelicals," producing new religious movements that would severely challenge the prevailing consensus after 1900. The manifold transatlantic developments along denominational and ecumenical as well as interdenominational and nondenominational lines were in turn reflected in the decline of coordinated missionary activities in China. Whereas the old denominational missions continued to develop cooperative projects by promoting common institution-building in the areas of education, medicine, publishing, journalism, and other efforts, many of the new mission bodies were not part of this ecumenical movement. After all, given Protestantism's remarkable propensity to forever fragment, as well as the national differences within the same denominations, certainly by the 1920s the missionary enterprise ceased to be a united effort in China. As Daniel Bays has put it, "The National Christian Conference of 1922 was the last major Protestant forum at which almost all missions and even some new independent Chinese churches were represented."[47] At least by this time it is perhaps more appropriate to speak of a kaleidoscope of Christianities in China, ranging from the missionary endeavors of several major mainline denominations, the international effort with strong transatlantic connections of the China Inland Mission and its associate missions, to the many small informal fellowships of churches, ministers, and missionaries that drew upon the more extreme

[47] Daniel H. Bays, "New Protestant Theological Issues, 1900–1949," *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 2, *1800 to the Present*, ed. R. G. Tiedemann (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 671.

transatlantic Protestant religious currents which had come to China with Holiness, Pentecostal, and Adventist groups after 1900.[48]

In the Anglo-American world academic studies of the history of Protestant Christianity in China have usually been based on the English-language material generated by the missionaries of major British and American mainline denominations. Generally speaking, the activities of the "classical" mission societies from continental Europe or the non-English language American missions have received inadequate attention in these accounts. Nor do the new "faith" missions—with their discreet transatlantic connections—feature prominently in the scholarly literature. Note, for example, that only one academic monograph has been devoted to the largest of all Protestant societies in China, the China Inland Mission—and that work covers only the nineteenth century.[49] Yet in the aggregate these numerous non-mainline mission bodies and their work represented a substantial component of the Protestant missionary enterprise.

How significant were these "other" missions to our perception of the overall missionary project in China? In what ways were the conversion methods of, for example, Holiness and Pentecostal evangelists different from mainline Protestant approaches? To what extent would the inclusion of the "invisible" missionaries and their activities in comprehensive studies alter our understanding of Protestant Christianity in China? For example, it may very well be that the belief of Pentecostals in divine healing, visions, ecstatic worship, miraculous events and speaking in tongues was not necessarily unfamiliar to the ordinary folk in the countryside and among at least some of China's ethnic minorities. In any case, it would seem that in China today the unregistered Protestant Christians in China—considerably more numerous than the members of the government-sponsored Three-Self

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[48] For a brief introduction, see Daniel H. Bays, "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937," *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Daniel H. Bays (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 307–316. See also "Indigenous Protestant Churches in China, 1900–1937: A Pentecostal Case Study," *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity*, ed. Steven Kaplan (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 124–143. By the middle of the twentieth century there were well over two hundred Protestant missionary bodies active in China. For details, see R. G. Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2009), part 4, Protestant Missionary Societies.

[49] Alvin Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832–1905* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2007).

Patriotic Movement churches—derived their beliefs and practices from Holiness, Pentecostal, and related fundamentalist influences.

In the past—and to some extent even today—it has been customary to associate the Protestant missionary enterprise with cultural and political imperialist aggression in China. A comprehensive, inclusive, and accurate portrayal of its rich variety and diversity would, however, undermine such inappropriate and ill-intentioned generalizations advanced by detractors of the missionary endeavor. Whatever the relationship between some mainline missionaries and their Anglo-American governments, as far as the new evangelical workers are concerned, their premillennialist concerns prompted them to focus exclusively on direct evangelistic work, usually without reliance on indirect conversion methods or recourse to official intervention. Thus, while the transatlantic dimension was an important factor, Protestant evangelization of China was by no means a homogeneous phenomenon. In other words, a significant aspect of Christianity in China has remained hidden as a result of language issues as well as the unobtrusive missionary engagement with unevangelized peoples and still awaits serious scholarly investigation.