

National Chengchi University
Graduate Institute of Religious Studies
國立政治大學宗教研究所
Taipei, Taiwan

PhD in Religious Studies
博士學位論文

Revisiting the Life and Theology of the Confucian-Christian
Wang Mingdao
儒家基督徒王明道生平與神學的再評估

By
Christopher Payk
白德華

Chief Advisor:
Dr. Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增教授 (CUHK)
Co-Advisor
Dr. Tsai Yuan-Lin 蔡源林 副教授 (NCCU)

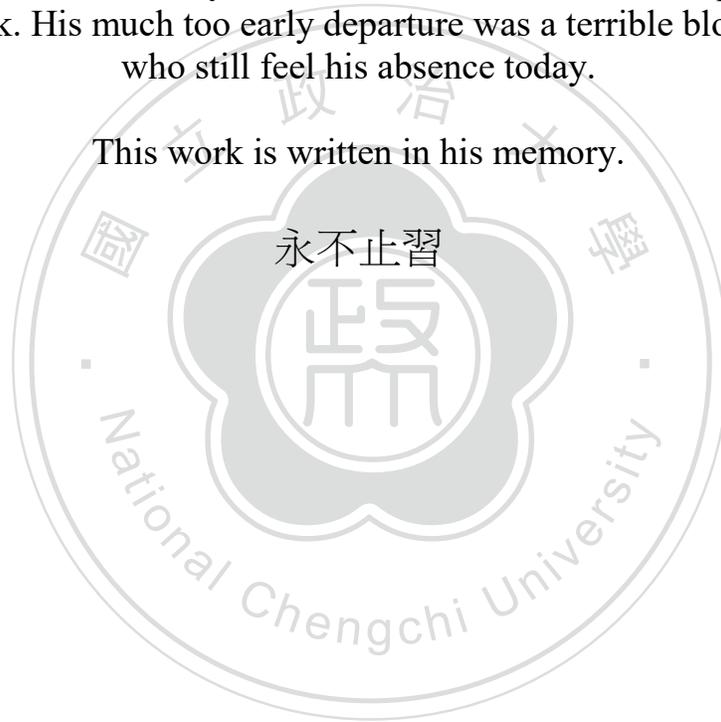
July 2021

In Memoriam of

蔡彥仁老師
Dr. Tsai Yen-Zen
(1956 – 2019)

This work would not have been possible without the guidance and help of Dr. Tsai Yen-Zen. From my very first class in the Graduate Institute of Religious Studies at NCCU, Dr. Tsai provided patient care in guiding me into the nuances of studying religion from a Chinese perspective. A world renown scholar in the fields of Confucianism and Christianity, his advice was invaluable in inspiring the ideas found in this work. His much too early departure was a terrible blow to his students who still feel his absence today.

This work is written in his memory.



Dedication

For her inspirational poem to begin the journey,

For her unwavering support from the first day of classes until the final defense,

For her patience in listening to endless stories about Wang Mingdao &
Liu Jingwen,

For her reading and editing the final draft,

For working so hard so I could take five years to pursue this work,

For her partnership in every aspect of my life,

This work is dedicated to

Terri



Acknowledgements & Thanks

I would like to recognize and thank the following people for their contributions to this work:

Pastor Daniel Lo and the members of Mucha Free Methodist Church in Taipei for inviting our family to Taiwan and me to come to work at the church. Thanks to Pastor Lo for the many times he shared with me his helpful reflections on Chinese theology.

Pastor Dan Sheffield for sharing with me insight into the culturally influenced nature of all theology.

Mrs. Grace Ching for helping to arrange an enormous number of opportunities in order to facilitate my studying at NCCU.

Miss Yang Tingting for answering endless questions about Chinese and helping me to translate Wang's "easy classical" diary into a more "baihua" version.

Dr. Kao Chenyang for generously sharing a collection of Wang's *Spiritual Food Quarterly* with me.

Dr. Gene Ng for answering several questions about Wang's unpublished diaries.

Dr. Iap Sian-Chin for sharing key information with me about Paul Wei and Bernt Bernsten.

Dr. Matsutani Yosuke for sharing his articles with me about Yanaihara Tadao.

Dr. Wang Peter Chen-Main, Dr. Chin Ken-Pa, and Dr. Wang Cheng-Wen for being a part of my dissertation committee and for their helpful suggestions.

Dr. Tsai Yuan-Lin for being willing to take me on as his student after the passing of Dr. Tsai Yen Zen and for his constant encouragement throughout the program.

Finally, Dr. Ying Fuk Tsang for sharing a digital copy of *Wang Mingdao's Last Confession*, Wang's Shanghai sermons, and many articles with me, for being willing to take me on as a student despite your incredibly busy schedule at CUHK, and for your kindness to me.

My sincerest thanks to you all.

Research for this dissertation was generously funded by:

The Free Methodist Church in Canada

The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
(SSHRC)

The Ministry of Science and Technology in Taiwan
(MOST)

科技部人文與社會科學領域博士候選人撰寫
博士論文獎勵

&

The Rev. Dr. Lien-hwa Chow Memorial Foundation
周聯華牧師紀念基金會



Abstract

This dissertation is a biographical reappraisal of Wang Mingdao, a significant twentieth century Chinese Christian. Payk contends that Wang is best understood as a Confucian-Christian which the author attempts to prove through copious references to both traditions' intellectual resources. Wang has had a significant influence on the Chinese unregistered house church movement as a “spiritual father” to the movement. However, the Confucian-Christian nature of his theology is rarely acknowledged.

Keywords: Wang Mingdao, Confucianism, Protestant Christianity, Theology

摘要

這篇論文是對王明道傳記的再評估。王明道是二十世紀一位重要的中國基督徒。Payk 主張說，最好將王明道理解為一名儒家基督徒。筆者試圖透過大量引用這兩個傳統的知識典故來證明這一點。王明道在中國的家庭教會運動中具有重大的影響力，扮演了該運動的“屬靈父親”。然而，他神學裡的儒教基督徒本質卻幾乎未被承認。

關鍵詞: 王明道, 儒家, 基督教, 神學



Table of Contents

Chapter One	
Introduction & Literature Review	8
Chapter Two	
The Dependent Years: 1900-1921	29
Chapter Three	
The Independent Years: 1921-1955	64
Chapter Four	
The Prison Years: 1955-1980	105
Chapter Five	
The Spiritual Father Years: 1980-1991	123
Chapter Six	
Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research	144
Bibliography	161
Appendix 1	
Wang Mingdao Bibliography	192
Appendix 2	
Statistics on Tsui Wen Academy	206
Appendix 3	
Contents of the <i>Spiritual Food Quarterly</i>	207
Appendix 4	
A Partial Listing of Wang Mingdao's Reading as Recorded in his Published Diary	267

Chapter One

Introduction & Literature Review

BACKGROUND OF THE AUTHOR

In his conclusion to the monumental *Handbook of Christianity in China*, R.G. Tiedemann states that those who are doing research on Christianity in China, need to state their motives for why they are doing such study. Tiedemann goes on to say that a good place to start in the next phase of research on the topic would be “the creation of a psychological profile for individual scholars.” The reason for this is that “the motives for and experiences of propagating, accepting or opposing Christianity [in China] have been mixed and varied.” In this light, a biographical reappraisal of an individual as controversial and complex as Wang Mingdao certainly necessitates such a profile of the researcher.¹

In 2009, I completed my ThM thesis on the theology of John Wesley at Tyndale Seminary in Toronto, Canada.² After a number of years of study and other preparation, I graduated from seminary, was ordained by the Free Methodist Church in Canada, and moved with my family from small town Ontario, Canada to the big city of Taipei, Taiwan to take up a three-year assignment as a pastoral missionary. My assignment for the first two years was to begin to learn Mandarin Chinese at the Language Center of National Chengchi University (NCCU) and to be a pastoral intern at a Taiwanese Free Methodist Church. Due to my study on John Wesley, I knew the importance that theologians had and have on the development of Christianity, but since I could not speak a word of Mandarin and was completely unfamiliar with the history of Chinese Christianity, I asked the Taiwanese pastor who was mentoring me, “Who are the most important Chinese Christian theologians?” My pastor responded, “Watchman Nee, John Sung, and Wang Mingdao are the Chinese theologians you should focus on.” I immediately went to the NCCU library and found an abundance of English works by Watchman Nee both in print and online, but almost nothing by John Sung or Wang Mingdao. Strangely enough, Chinese theology was largely locked away in Chinese language.

In 2016, I began the PhD program at NCCU’s Graduate Institute of Religious Studies. I was intrigued by the program because it is the only PhD program in religious studies in Taiwan offered by a national university that does not have any religious organizational affiliation. The institute also focuses on researching Chinese religions including Chinese Christianity which appealed to me as well since it allowed me to do research on Chinese Christianity under the guidance of Chinese scholars. I intentionally took as many courses as I could on Chinese Christianity, and as my confidence in Mandarin increased, I was able to find many more sources in both English and Chinese that were available to those doing research in the field.

When it came time to pick a dissertation topic, I circled back to my earlier question to my pastor, “Who are the most important Chinese Christian theologians?” I decided that, for my dissertation, I wanted to make what I had found in Chinese theology more accessible to people who could not read Chinese, and I felt that the most interesting way to do this would be through

¹ See R.G. Tiedemann, *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume Two: 1800 – Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 890.

² See Christopher Payk, *Grace First: Christian Mission and Prevenient Grace in John Wesley* (Toronto: Clements Publishing Group, 2015).

a biographical analysis of the theology of the three Chinese Christians. However, I soon discovered that Watchman Nee had already been well covered through his writings which had been made available in both Chinese and English online,³ and John Sung's life and ministry had been made accessible through Lim Ka-Tong's biography, *The Life and Ministry of John Sung*,⁴ but Wang Mingdao's full story, especially the Chinese elements, were still not accessible to non-Chinese readers.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF WANG MINGDAO

As can be deduced from my pastor's response to my query about the most famous Chinese Christians, Wang Mingdao 王明道 (1900-1991) is a well-known Chinese Christian. In later chapters, the major events of Wang's life will be described in detail. However, for introductory purposes, a brief biography will establish the topic of this study. In this outline of his story, I indicate the four major periods of Wang's life, changing at the natural turning points in his story, which will form the historical backbone of this study: the "dependent years: 1900-1921," the "independent years: 1921-1955," the "prison years: 1955-1980," and finally, the "spiritual father years: 1980-1991." The ideal way to study Wang's thought is to take account of his theology within the historical context in which it was formed in order to understand him as a Chinese theologian.

Shortly before Wang Mingdao was born on July 25, 1900, Wang's father, a Chinese doctor's assistant at the Peking Methodist Hospital, committed suicide out of fear of imminent torture and death at the hands of the Boxers. Subsequently, Wang Mingdao grew up with his widowed mother and older sister in the lower economic stratum of Beijing. He was dependent upon the Christian missionary community for his education during these "dependent years" as he was able to attend London Missionary Society (LMS) and Methodist schools. At the LMS' Tsui Wen Academy, he received instruction in both the Christian and Chinese classics. He attended missionary schools until he completed his first year of post-secondary studies but was forced to drop out of school due to family circumstances.

In 1914, a significant change took place in his life when he converted to Christianity. After the collapse of the Qing Dynasty (1911) and the subsequent search among the Chinese for the national way forward, and despite the pressure exerted on religious Chinese in the wake of May 4th Movement's exaltation of science (1919), Wang Mingdao persisted in his Christian faith: after delaying his original intention of a university education, he taught at a Presbyterian school in Baoding until he was fired in 1921 due to his insistence on being re-baptized; at this, he finally abandoned his dream of a university education. This began his "independent years," independent of missionary Christianity, which started with a difficult phase of soul searching and individual Bible study until February of 1925 when an elderly woman who was well connected in the Beijing Christian community advised him and connected him to that network. He followed her advice, and his ability as a public speaker sparked a preaching ministry which later allowed him to travel to twenty-four of China's provinces, speaking in hundreds of locations.

After the May 30th Movement in 1925, a tense situation arose for Chinese Christians due to the connection Chinese made between the Christian missionary movement and cultural

³ See "Watchman Nee," Living Stream Ministry, accessed May 5, 2020, <https://www.watchmannee.org/>.

⁴ Lim Ka-Tong, *The Life and Ministry of John Sung* (Singapore: Genesis Books, 2012). Also, more recently and with different nuances, in Daryl R. Ireland, *John Song: Modern Chinese Christianity and the Making of a New Man* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2020).

imperialism. However, it was subsequent to this period that Wang carved out a reputation as an outstanding independent Chinese preacher. In 1927, Wang, drawing on the connections he made through his itinerant preaching ministry, began his quarterly journal, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*, which he published continuously from 1927 to 1955. This further extended his influence among Protestant Christians throughout China. In 1950, he published his autobiography, *The Last Fifty Years*, which covered the initial fifty years of his life.

Wang had begun to conduct worship services in 1925. In 1933, he began to have regular church meetings in Beijing, and by August 1, 1937, just weeks after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7 which set off the Second Sino-Japanese War, Wang began services at the newly constructed Christian Tabernacle, a church he led and which grew to become one of the largest churches in Beijing at the time of his first imprisonment in 1955. The Sino-Japanese war period was an extremely challenging time for Wang due to the intense pressure he was under by the Japanese to head the North China Christian Union Group, a group designed by the Japanese to separate Chinese Christians from the Western church and political connections and to exercise control over the Chinese Church. Through an amazing series of events, and inspired by both biblical and Chinese heroes, Wang was the only Christian leader able to resist the demand to participate in the group, and after the departure of Japan from occupied territory in China, due to his resolve, he became one the most famous Protestant Christians in China.

During the period of the Chinese Civil War, Wang maintained his usual political distance by neither endorsing the Nationalists nor the Communists. In 1949, after the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) victory, due to what he saw as the restraint and discipline exhibited by the CCP, Wang was initially optimistic about the new government and believed that the CCP would continue to grant religious freedom in China. He was asked to join the newly formed Three Self Reform Movement (TSRM), the name of which was eventually changed to the Three Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM). The group was formed through the efforts of both leaders in the Chinese church and government leaders in the CCP. Wang refused to join mainly because he did not think it was right for Christians to join any organization in which "unbelievers" were members. This eventually set off a war of words chronicled in Wang's *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* and the TSPM's journal *Tianfeng*. After initially trying to woo Wang into participating in the organization, by 1954, the leaders of the TSPM changed tactics and verbally attacked Wang. The conflict eventually became so heated that after the publication of Wang's most influential article "We Are for the Faith," Wang was arrested on August 8, 1955, which brought his independent phase to an end.

Wang Mingdao was imprisoned from August 8, 1955 beginning his "prison years." On September 29, 1956, he was released after he promised to attend the TSPM meeting in Beijing and signed what he later described as a "false confession." He read the "confession" at a TSPM meeting at the Beijing YMCA on September 30. During his release period, he experienced intense anguish over what he considered was his moral failure of lying and making the "false confession;" because of this, he regularly thought of committing suicide. After passively refusing to attend the TSPM meetings, which was an understood condition of his release, he was re-arrested on April 29, 1957. He was imprisoned and there faced his greatest challenge due to being physically and psychologically tortured by fellow inmates under the direction of prison officials.

In July of 1963, he was sentenced to life imprisonment, the news of which at first devastated him, but after January of 1965, he "stood back up" and recovered his life through the inspiration given to him from the Old Testament's Micah 7:7-9, and at this point, he no longer

desired to leave prison. This was a major turning point in his life where he felt he no longer lived in fear and sensed that his relationship with God was restored.

In 1966, at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, he was transferred to the Datong Labor Reform Camp, and in 1968 he was transferred again to Yingying Labor Camp, both in Shanxi Province. It was here in Yingying, where his conditions were more relaxed that he was able to do significant personal study through newspapers and the over five hundred books and articles his son had sent or brought him. During his elementary education, Wang had memorized significant portions of the Bible and the Four Books of Confucianism (*Analects*, *Mencius*, *The Great Learning* and *The Doctrine of the Mean*). In Shanxi, he added to that foundation study in *Xunzi*, *The Records of the Grand Historian*, and the *Records of the Three Kingdoms*, among other works. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, he interpreted the events of his day in continuity with the Chinese “Spirit of Righteousness” that has guided many Chinese for millennia. This period of study in Shanxi was crucial to that development.

After Mao Zedong died and Deng Xiaoping became paramount leader, there was a subsequent opening up of Chinese society. In 1980, after being “tricked” into leaving prison without his case being rectified to his satisfaction, Wang reunited with his wife, Liu Jingwen, and his son, Wang Tianduo, in Shanghai, which began his “spiritual father” years. To his surprise, not only had he not been forgotten while in prison, but he was revered by the unregistered Chinese and global Christian community as a father figure to the Chinese house church movement due to his years of suffering. He consistently maintained that he had been imprisoned for over two decades for no criminal activity but simply for opposing the TSPM. From 1982-1983, he wrote his final major work, a request for his case to be reviewed by the president of the Supreme People’s Court of China in order to seek “rehabilitation” which would officially restore his reputation and that of those who had been implicated with him. This “Rehabilitation Request Manuscript”⁵ is, in fact, fifteen separate documents and twenty loose pages preserved by his son, Wang Tianduo, which were entrusted to and edited by Ying Fuk Tsang, professor of Chinese Christianity at the Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong. In these documents, the full development of Wang’s thought is displayed: nearly every page of this manuscript refers to an ancient Chinese story that relates to a modern Chinese context. Every page includes idioms or fixed expressions which reveal Wang’s intellectual formation as a largely self-taught Chinese intellectual. In the Rehabilitation Request Manuscript, we see Wang interpreting twentieth century Chinese history from a Confucian-Christian perspective and commenting on what he saw was the way forward for Chinese society.

In addition to his writing, Wang also re-engaged in house church ministry. In July of 1984, he began to have regular house church meetings in his home and was visited by a stream of Chinese and foreign visitors who wanted to see the man who had taken on legendary status as a spiritual father in the unregistered Chinese Protestant Church. He was so well known that it has been said that when some taxi drivers at the Shanghai Train Station heard that their customer wanted to find something to do with “Christianity” or “church,” they would drive the person to Wang Mingdao’s residence.⁶ On July 2, 1991, Wang became ill and a few weeks later, on July 28, 1991, died due to blood clots that had damaged his brain. His ashes were buried along with those of his wife, Liu Jingwen, in Dongshan Cemetery on a hill near Tahu Lake, 45 km south-

⁵ My translation of Ying Fuk Tsang’s phrase 平反遺稿. Where it seems helpful for clarity, the Chinese characters will be included in this dissertation.

⁶ Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang 林秋香, 章冠英, *An Injured Brave 受傷的勇士* (New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社, 2006), 108.

west of Suzhou, Jiangsu Province.

LITERATURE REVIEW – PRIMARY SOURCES

A significant aspect of Wang Mingdao's output was his writings. Beginning in 1926 with *The Bride of Christ*, he published various books and pamphlets until he was imprisoned for the first time in 1955 with his last publication being the 1955 essay "We Are for the Faith!"⁷ Many of these books, along with several of his sermons,⁸ were published in sections of his quarterly journal, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*, which Wang almost exclusively wrote⁹ and published from 1927-1955 in 114 quarterly volumes.¹⁰ He also kept a diary from 1915 to 1955 totaling 41 volumes which were confiscated in 1955 but later returned with the exception of the 1954 volume. His diary was written in "easy classical" Chinese as opposed to the rest of his writings which were written in the vernacular. Xerox copies of these diaries were entrusted by Wang's son, Wang Tianduo, to the Hong Kong Jiandao (Alliance Bible) Theological Seminary's Christianity and Chinese Culture Research Center in order to copy and eventually publish them.¹¹ Currently, the only diary by Wang Mingdao in publication is the Hong Kong Lingshi Publishing House's *Selections from Wang Mingdao's Diaries* which was published in 1997 but, as noted by Ying Fuk Tsang, the published material only accounts for a very small percentage of the 41 diaries.¹² As mentioned above, while in prison, Wang wrote what he described as a "false confession" in 1956¹³ and later while in prison in 1963, after receiving a life sentence, he wrote hundreds of pages refuting his previous confession.¹⁴ These documents, if they still exist, have not been released to the public. The Rehabilitation Request Manuscript, which makes up Wang's

⁷ See Wang Mingdao and Ying Fuk Tsang 王明道, 邢福增, *Wang Mingdao's Last Confession* 王明道的最後自白, (Hong Kong: Logos Publishers 基道出版社, 2013), 384-386. Ying, in Appendix 3, provides Wang Mingdao's Publication Directory in Chinese. See Appendix 1: Wang Mingdao Bibliography, of this dissertation for an updated English version. Since *Wang Mingdao's Last Confession* will have a prominent role in the research for this dissertation, there will be a distinguishing between the sections written by Wang Mingdao which are the 15 documents and 20 loose pages which were intended to be sent to Jiang Hua, the President of the Supreme People's Court of China and the sections written by Ying Fuk Tsang which are the introduction, footnotes, conclusion, and four appendices. This will be done by naming the person at the beginning of the footnote. For example, Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, with page number, or Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, with page number. This work will be abbreviated as *Last Confession* in this work.

⁸ For the sake of clarity, Wang preferred to self-publish his sermons in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* than to rely on others to record them. See Wang Mingdao, *The Last Fifty Years* 五十年來 (1950; repr., New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社, 2012), 203. In 1951, Wang published an expanded version which included previously unknown details about his father. This work will be abbreviated as *Fifty Years* in this dissertation.

⁹ That Wang was the main source of the articles written in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*, see Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 209.

¹⁰ CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社 in Taiwan has recently republished a large number of Wang Mingdao's works including the full collection of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*. See <https://www.cclm.com.tw/>. Many of these works are also available in searchable digital format through Google Play. See <https://play.google.com/store?hl=en>.

¹¹ See Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 5.

¹² Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 5. See Wang Mingdao, *Selections from Wang Mingdao's Diaries* 王明道日記選輯 (Hong Kong: Spiritual Rock Publishers 靈石出版社, 1997).

¹³ This document is available translated into English in Francis P. Jones, ed., *Documents of the Three Self-Movement: Source Materials for the Study of the Protestant Church* (New York: National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1963), 117-121.

¹⁴ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom: The Story of Wang Mingdao*, trans. Ma Min (Kent, England: Sovereign World Ltd., 2002). 170. This work will be abbreviated as *The Long Road to Freedom*.

part of *Wang Mingdao's Last Confession* that he wrote from 1982-1983,¹⁵ was published in 2013¹⁶ by Logos Publishers after painstaking effort by Ying Fuk Tsang to collect, edit, and footnote it. There is also a collection of audio CDs that contain several of the sermons that Wang preached when he began house church meetings in his home in Shanghai from July 1984 until his death on July 28, 1991.¹⁷ Some of these have been transcribed onto Microsoft Word documents and were generously shared with me by Ying Fuk Tsang for the purpose of completing this PhD research. As well, some of the sermons from this period are available for viewing on *YouTube*.¹⁸

AUTOBIOGRAPHIES AND BIOGRAPHIES

In terms of significant biographical studies, in 1950, Wang himself published an autobiography of the first fifty years of his life entitled *The Last Fifty Years*, but it only focused on the period of 1900-1950. In 1981, *Fifty Years* was translated into English by Arthur T. F. Reynolds, an English Christian missionary to China from 1933-1955 who knew Wang personally.¹⁹ Reynolds translation has provided the non-Chinese reading public with a significant contribution since so few English translations of Wang's works have been made.²⁰ However, Reynolds' translation of *The Last Fifty Years* is "haphazard" in that much of Wang's original story, including some significant Chinese elements, have been edited out.²¹

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s when little was published on Christianity in China due to the aggressive stance taken by the CCP against Christianity, a number of former missionaries to China, including Reynolds, Francis P. Jones, and Leslie Lyall, continued to provide English readers with information on the Chinese Church and Wang Mingdao. In 1962, Francis P. Jones wrote *The Church in Communist China* which discussed Wang Mingdao's imprisonment.²² In 1963, Jones translated a significant number of articles related to the Three Self Movement including Wang Mingdao's 1955 article, "We Are for the Faith!" and his 1956 "Self

¹⁵ This is the date given by Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 6.

¹⁶ Some of the introductory material that was later included in the *Last Confession* was originally published in 2010 as Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增, "A Counterrevolutionaries' Final Words – Wang Mingdao's Plea to Redress a Mishandled Case Posthumous Manuscript Analysis" 反革命分子的最後聲音－王明道平反文稿論析. In *Pondering Before the Cross: Textual Analysis and Scriptural Interpretation* 十字架前的思索：文本解讀與經典詮釋, ed., Wang Chen-Main 王成勉 (Taipei: Dawn Culture Publishers 黎明文化事業出版, 2010), 319-354.

¹⁷ See Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 5.

¹⁸ A simple search on YouTube using the Chinese characters 王明道講道 (Wang Mingdao preaching) will produce several results. See Chapter Five of this dissertation for detailed references.

¹⁹ Wong Ming-Dao, *A Stone Made Smooth*, trans., Arthur T.F. Reynolds (Southampton, UK: Mayflower Christian Books, 1981). This autobiography by Reynolds was translated from English into German and French as well. See *Wang Ming-tao: Ein Stein Wird Geschliffen* (A Stone Made Smooth), unnamed trans., (Bielefeld: Christian Literature Distribution: 1991). *Wang Ming-tao: Façonné par la main du Maître* (Shaped by the Hand of the Master), trans., Thomas Roder (Thoune: Christian Library CLC, 1998).

²⁰ See Appendix 1 for Arthur Reynold's significant contribution in translating Wang's works into English from 1981-1990.

²¹ See Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China* (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2012), 155, footnote 41. Since the English translation is not an accurate translation, the original Chinese version will be referred to in this dissertation.

²² Francis P. Jones, *The Church in Communist China: A Protestant Appraisal* (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), 103-110. For biographical information on Jones, see "Francis Price Jones," *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity*, accessed May 28, 2020, <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/jones-francis-price>.

Examination” which Wang had described as a “false confession.”²³ In 1968, Arthur Reynolds published *Pathway to Glory: The Voice of China’s Christians* in which he recounted Wang’s story.²⁴ In 1973, Leslie Lyall wrote the book *Three of China’s Mighty Men*,²⁵ which focused on Wang Mingdao, Watchman Nee, and David Yang. In 1951, Lyall, an Englishman with a long missionary career in China with the China Inland Mission, was forced to leave China after the CCP victory; he went to work for the home office of his mission and produced several important works on the unregistered churches in China. Lyall, who was a well-respected “China Watcher,” with his first-hand experience in China and personal acquaintance with several of the people he wrote about, including Wang Mingdao, interpreted for English readers around the world some of what happened to Chinese Christians.²⁶ His inclusion of Wang as one of the “mighty men,” or, “giants” of Chinese Christianity bolstered Wang’s recognition around the world.

After Wang was released from prison in 1980, an old friend, Stephen Wang, conducted a series of interviews of Wang Mingdao and his wife, Liu Jingwen, from 1989-1990 in order to write a biography that continued the story from 1950-1991. These interviews were smuggled out of China²⁷ and published in 1997 as *Another Forty Years*.²⁸ Stephen oversaw the translation of this work into English which was published in 2002 as *The Long Road to Freedom: The Story of Wang Mingdao*.²⁹

In 2001, an important perspective on Wang Mingdao was provided through his wife Liu Jingwen in the book *Sixty-three Years – Walking the Narrow Road with Mr. Wang Mingdao*. This book is a series of recollections by Liu Jingwen on her life with Wang Mingdao as collected and edited by Shi Meiling.³⁰ In 2006, an interesting biography was written by Lin Chiu-Hsiang and Chang Kuan-Ing entitled *An Injured Brave*.³¹ This biography is significant because Chang lived with Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen in Shanghai after Wang’s unsuccessful eye surgery in September of 1982, so it provides a helpful first-hand account of Wang’s later years in Shanghai. However, it really was in 2013, when *Wang Mingdao’s Last Confession* was published, that the study of Wang Mingdao’s thought advanced by a great leap forward. This book is the

²³ Francis P. Jones, *Documents of the Three Self-Movement*, 99-114 and 117-121.

²⁴ Arthur Reynolds, *Pathway to Glory: The Voice of China’s Christians* (London: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1968), 17-21. For biographical information on Reynolds, see “Arthur T.F. Reynolds,” Wikipedia, accessed on May 28, 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arthur_T._F._Reynolds.

²⁵ Leslie T. Lyall, *Three of China’s Mighty Men* (London: Overseas Missionary Fellowship Books, 1973). This book is considered important to Chinese Church history and was translated into German and Chinese. See Leslie Lyall, *Watchman Nee, David Yang, Wang Ming-tao: Standhaft im Glauben* (Steadfast in Faith), trans. Jürg Klemenz and Irma von Puskas (Giessen: Brunnen, 1974). Leslie T. Lyall, *Three of China’s Mighty Men* 中國教會三巨人, trans. Zhang Linmanmei 張林滿鏗 (New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社, 2012). Wang Mingdao is the focus of Part Three.

²⁶ For biographical information on Lyall see, “Leslie Theodore Lyall,” Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity, accessed May 28, 2020, <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/lyall-leslie-theodore>.

²⁷ The interesting story of how *Another Forty Years* was written by Stephen Wang Changxin is recounted in Wang Changxin 王長新, “How Another Forty Years Was Written” 又四十年是怎樣寫成的, *Christian Life Quarterly Digest* 生命季刊 18 (June 2001), <https://www.cclifl.org/View/Article/559>.

²⁸ Wang Changxin 王長新, *Another Forty Years* 又四十年 (Canada: Gospel Publishing House 福音出版社, 1997).

²⁹ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom: The Story of Wang Mingdao*, trans. Ma Min (Kent, England: Sovereign World Ltd., 2002). This English translation was supervised and approved by Stephen Wang, see Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 8. Since the English version is an accurate translation, the English version will be referred to in this dissertation with supplementing details added from the Chinese version, *Another Forty Years*.

³⁰ Shi Meiling 施美玲, *Sixty-three Years – Walking the Narrow Road with Mr. Wang Mingdao* 六十三年—與王明道先生牽路同行 (Hong Kong: Spiritual Rock Publishers 靈石出版社, 2001).

³¹ Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*.

culmination of Ying Fuk Tsang's efforts to collect and edit fifteen documents and twenty loose papers that Wang Mingdao wrote as his appeal to have his sentence reversed in order to clear his name from the conviction of "counter-revolutionary crimes." As well, Wang wrote this Rehabilitation Request in Manuscript in an attempt to clear those who were implicated with him in the "Wang Mingdao Counter-Revolutionary Clique."³² This was a group of people who had been punished in varying degrees of severity by the CCP government after 1955 for their connection and loyalty to Wang Mingdao and resistance to joining the TSPM. In the *Last Confession*, which is, in fact, a collection of smaller booklets and loose pages, we can see Wang Mingdao's mature thought as a Confucian-Christian who was deeply influenced by Chinese history and sage stories which informed his vision for Chinese social life.

SECONDARY SOURCES

In addition to primary sources and auto/biographical sources, secondary sources are essential to studying Wang Mingdao's development as a Confucian-Christian; however, a number of these are conflicting in the way they present Wang. Various aspects of Wang Mingdao's thought have been analyzed by academics. The most significant that have appeared thus far on Wang that are pertinent to this dissertation are the following in chronological order.³³ In 1971, Ng Lee-Ming completed his PhD at Princeton Theological Seminary entitled "Christianity and Social Change: The Case in China, 1920-1950"³⁴ in which Ng included Wang Mingdao along with Zhao Zichen and Wu Yaozong as three influential theologians in China during this period. This research by Ng was later expanded and published in 1981 as the book *Christianity and Social Change*.³⁵ Ng wrote that Wang Mingdao is probably the most respected Chinese Christian among average Chinese Christian believers³⁶ but that Wang did not have a positive assessment of society in his social analysis.³⁷ Therefore, Ng concluded that, to those who are not seeking to escape the world but rather want to positively change the world, Wang Mingdao's message is not helpful.³⁸ Wang, after his release in 1980, was aware of this book and mentioned his inclusion in it.³⁹ Ng's book will be discussed in more detail later in this dissertation.

³² See Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增, "Counter-Revolution in the Revolutionary Era: A Preliminary Study on the Case of 'Wang Mingdao's Counter-Revolutionary Clique'" 革命時代的反革命：基督教「王明道反革命集團」案始末考, in *The Journal of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 Volume 67 (March 2010): 97-147.

³³ There is a significant number of Chinese journal articles from the 1950s in such journals as *Tian Feng* 天風 and *Tian Jia* 田家 that provide critiques Wang Mingdao. For a comprehensive list, see Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 394-403. There are also several master's theses from academic institutions in Hong Kong and Taiwan on Wang Mingdao. See Appendix 1: Wang Mingdao Bibliography for a comprehensive list. Several other significant articles and dissertations that focus on Wang, but are not pertinent to this dissertation, will appear in the footnotes below.

³⁴ Ng Lee-Ming, "Christianity and Social Change: The Case in China, 1920-1950" (PhD diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1971). Ch.2 focuses on Wang Mingdao. See also Ng Lee-Ming (Wu Liming), "Wang Ming-Tao: An Evaluation of His Thought and Action," *Ching Feng* 16:2 (1973): 51-80.

³⁵ Ng Lee-Ming 吳利明, *Christianity and Social Change in China* 基督教與中國社會變遷 (Hong Kong: Chinese Christian Literature Council 基督教文藝出版社, 1981). Ng added Xu Baoqian and Wu Leichuan as other influential Chinese theologians of the period. Ch.3 focuses on Wang Mingdao.

³⁶ Ng Lee-Ming, *Christianity and Social Change in China*, 133.

³⁷ Ng Lee-Ming, *Christianity and Social Change in China*, 133.

³⁸ Ng Lee-Ming, *Christianity and Social Change in China*, 163-164.

³⁹ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 66.

Jonathan Chao,⁴⁰ of China Ministries International, published a number of articles in his journal *China and the Church* which provided information on the influence of Wang Mingdao's life and thought on the unregistered church in China. For example, Li Boxiong's 1980 article "Wang Mingdao's Contribution to Popular Theology" states that Wang Mingdao's theology was particularly relevant to the Chinese context since Chinese respect the convergence between thought and action which Wang Mingdao perfectly represented.⁴¹ Li believed that Wang's focus on concrete problems and not abstract societal-level problems was helpful to Chinese Christians who were trying to live their lives in a socialist society.⁴²

In 1982, Lam Wing-hung wrote *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*.⁴³ This book is significant in that it is the first comprehensive study of Wang's published material up to 1955 and investigates Wang's thought within its historical context to examine the relationship between the spiritual leader and the Chinese church.⁴⁴ Lam indicated that, at the time of publication, which was shortly after the release of Wang from prison in 1980, Wang's theology was representative of conservative mainstream theology in China.⁴⁵ Lam also briefly considers Wang's dual Confucian and Christian heritage and states that the development of Wang's thought was influenced by Confucian classical training on the one hand and Christian religious beliefs on the other hand. Lam notes that Wang wrote a letter on January 15, 1981 to a Mr. Liu Yiling writing, "Brother, the two most beneficial books in life are the Bible and the Four Books."⁴⁶ This makes Lam the first scholar to bring attention to the Confucian-Christian nature of Wang's thought. He argues that Wang should be considered an important spokesperson for conservative theology in modern Chinese Christianity because he has deeply influenced popular theology in the Chinese church.⁴⁷

Like Ng Lee-Ming, Lam also felt that Wang's theology was lacking in a particular way. Lam's most significant critique of Wang's theology is that it is largely from an individualistic perspective and lacked social consciousness. Lam states that social ideas received very little attention in Wang's writings mainly due to the fact that he promulgated the theological sequence of "first transform a person, then reform society." However, according to Lam, after people

⁴⁰ Jonathan Chao (Zhao Tianen) was a significant leader and educator in the Chinese unregistered "house church" movement through China Ministries International. See Jonathan Chao, "The Chinese Indigenous Church Movement, 1919-1927: A Protestant Response to the Anti-Christian Movements in Modern China" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1986).

⁴¹ Li Boxiong 李柏雄, "Wang Mingdao's Contribution to Popular Theology" 王明道對眾神學的貢獻, *China and the Church* 中國與教會 9-10 (May-June 1980): 22. There is also a biographical sketch of Wang Mingdao in this issue on pages 15-18 by Wen Weiyao 溫偉耀.

⁴² Li Boxiong, "Wang Mingdao's Contribution to Popular Theology," 21. This article, written in February of 1979, was written around the time of Deng Xiaoping's reforms when Chinese began to ask what contributions religious Chinese could make to the modernization of China. This marked a new era in the Chinese government's attitude toward religious Chinese.

⁴³ Lam Wing-hung 林榮洪, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church* 王明道與中國教會 (Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology 中國神學研究院, 1982). See also Lam Wing-hung, "The Emergence of a Protestant Christian Apologetics in the Chinese Church during the Anti-Christian Movement in the 1920s" (PhD diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1978).

⁴⁴ Lam Wing-hung, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 4.

⁴⁵ Lam Wing-hung, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 4.

⁴⁶ Lam Wing-hung, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 18, footnote 9. The letter's original reference is Wang Mingdao, "New Year's Letter from Wang Mingdao" 王明道新年來信, *Evangelical Communications* 福音文宣社通訊 31 (Jan-Feb 1981): 2.

⁴⁷ Lam Wing-hung, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 227.

receive salvation, they will not necessarily naturally reform society.⁴⁸ Also, Lam claims that Wang's attacks on church and societal sin only led to ways of dealing with these macro-level sins at the personal level. Lam argues that believers should resist societal evil and attempt to remove it or at least reduce it. Many organizational level sins require organizational level power and actions to destroy.⁴⁹ However, as Lam concedes, there has been no way to plan social movements in order to reform society in China in any way that is not approved by the CCP.⁵⁰ Despite his criticism of Wang's social consciousness, Lam holds Wang in high regard as he concludes his monograph by indicating the profound influence Wang's testimony has had on Chinese Christians: it is "written on the hearts of millions of Chinese Christians, the mark of which will never be worn away."⁵¹

During Wang's later years,⁵² several appeals were published by the TSPM in the journal *Tian Feng* and translated into English in the journal *Chinese Theological Review*. These articles called on Wang to reconcile his differences with the TSPM⁵³ and Wu Yaozong, the first leader of the TSPM who had died in 1979.⁵⁴ These articles were written during a period in which TSPM leaders like Ding Guangxun (K.H. Ting) were travelling abroad and were being asked questions about the persecution of Chinese Christians such as Wang Mingdao.⁵⁵ As indicated in these articles, the Christians connected with the TSPM continued to discuss and pray for Wang Mingdao, as well as write these articles, which shows the ongoing relevance of Wang to Christianity in China even in his later years.⁵⁶

Wang Mingdao's death on July 28th, 1991 resulted in a significant outpouring of grief by many Christians around the world. Several tributes were written in honor of Wang that increase our knowledge of him and his influence on the Chinese Church including the majority of the November 1991 volume of Jonathan Chao's *China and the Church*.⁵⁷ His article entitled "A Brief Outline of Mr. Wang Mingdao's Contribution to the Chinese Church" describes Wang's multi-faceted contribution to the Chinese church.⁵⁸

In 1998, Lam Wing-hung wrote another important book, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology: 1900-1949*⁵⁹ which is a survey of Chinese theology in first half of the twentieth

⁴⁸ Lam Wing-hung, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 232.

⁴⁹ Lam Wing-hung, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 233.

⁵⁰ Lam Wing-hung, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 235.

⁵¹ Lam Wing-hung, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 241.

⁵² In 1985, Lee Samuel Mau Cheng included Wang in his dissertation. See Lee Samuel Mau Cheng, "A Comparative Study of Leadership Selection Processes Among Four Chinese Leaders" (DMiss diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1985), 46-55.

⁵³ Jiang Peifen, "An Appeal to Mr. Wang Mingdao." *Chinese Theological Review* 3 (1987):57-59.

⁵⁴ Wang Weifan, "Wu Yaozong and Wang Mingdao." *Chinese Theological Review* 5 (1989): 44-48.

⁵⁵ See Richard Madsen, *China and the American Dream* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 246, footnote 13. See also Wang Mingdao's perspective on these TSPM overseas trips in Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 96-97.

⁵⁶ There were other authors who would write a defense of Wang's perspective for not joining the TSPM nor reconciling with Wu Yaozong. See Yan Liming 嚴立明, "After Reading Wang Weifan's 'Wu Yaozong and Wang Mingdao'" 讀汪維藩吳耀宗與王明道後, *Shout Quarterly* 呼喊季刊 58 (February 1990): 120-128. Also, Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 229.

⁵⁷ See Various Authors, "Wang Mingdao Memorial Collection" 王明道紀念專輯, *China and Church* 中國與教會 86, November, 1991: 1-19.

⁵⁸ Jonathan Chao 趙天恩, "'A Brief Outline of Mr. Wang Mingdao's Contribution to Chinese Churches'" 略述王明道先生對中國教會的貢獻, in *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991):2-3.

⁵⁹ Lam Wing-hung 林榮洪, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900-1949* 中華神學五十年 (Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology 中國神學研究院, 1998).

century. In this work, Lam reiterates Wang's negative perspective toward the social aspects of the Christian message.⁶⁰ He also states that Wang thought that social reform was not only useless but that it went against God's will because people cannot establish the Kingdom of God.⁶¹ Lam repeats his idea that, for Wang, in order to reform society, the individual member of society – the individual human being - must first be reformed. Therefore, for Wang, the new birth was the core Christian doctrine.⁶² With regard to the pursuit of holiness, Lam believes that Wang was deeply influenced by his Confucian background. Wang advocated for the unity of knowledge and practice. Confucian doctrine emphasized the nobleman achieving virtue, rendering meritorious service, writing to express one's ideas, and having moral integrity which displays the truth, so these influenced Wang to value highly the practical nature of life. He combined the Bible's doctrine and Confucianism's morals hoping to become a Christian Confucian "nobleman." This hope was the motivating force behind his quest for a pious life. However, Confucian morality stressed self-renewal while Christian morality stressed the need for external help in order to achieve self-renewal. Wang held to the Christian understanding of seeking external help for self-renewal as only the born-again can practically carry out the Bible's moral standards and be successful in imitating Jesus' moral character.⁶³

Another researcher who discussed the social aspect of Wang's theology is Liang Shouhua, who wrote an important article in 1998 entitled "Independent Religious Beliefs' Effect on Society: A Reinterpretation of Wang Mingdao's Thoughts on Society,"⁶⁴ in which he reinterprets Wang Mingdao's thoughts on the social implications of Christianity. Liang notes that Wang is one of the most respected people in the modern Chinese church and that he is viewed as a model of faithfulness unto death by many Christians. He argues that even though some people claim Wang held an estranged, negative view toward society, Liang maintains that it is not difficult to see that Wang's writings have a social nature and modern significance because his thought does not escape reality but often responds to social situations. Therefore, in contrast to Ng Lee-Ming and Lam Wing-hung, Liang sees Wang's writings as being very meaningful to society.⁶⁵ Furthermore, Liang argues that Wang's attitude toward society was based on the Bible and on Wang's observations and concerns and that his dissatisfaction and distrust of society was in continuity with contemporary liberal academics and Marxists in China. Liang thinks that Wang's thought is conservative but modern and critically conservative and that he is even more critical than cultural and social activists of his time. He sees Wang as having maintained an independent, detached position that was not manipulated by secular power. Because his detached religious beliefs did not have a fixed political position, this allowed him a free and independent critique of all authority that did not meet his standard.⁶⁶ Liang's article attempts to show how the social situation Wang encountered affected his attitude toward society and that this attitude was appropriate and widespread in Chinese society

⁶⁰ Lam Wing-hung, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology*, 222.

⁶¹ Lam Wing-hung, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology*, 258.

⁶² Lam Wing-hung, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology*, 376.

⁶³ Lam Wing-hung, *A Half Century of Chinese Theology*, 379.

⁶⁴ Liang Shouhua 梁壽華, "Independent Religious Beliefs' Effect on Society: A Reinterpretation of Wang Mingdao's Thoughts on Society" 超然信仰的社會實效性 – 王明道社會觀的再詮釋, *Dao Feng Chinese Theological Journal* 道風漢語神學學刊 9 (1998): 169-200.

⁶⁵ Liang Shouhua, "A Reinterpretation of Wang Mingdao's Thoughts on Society," 169.

⁶⁶ For example, see Wang's statement in *Wang Mingdao's Last Confession* that Chiang Kai Shek converted to Christianity not out of genuine religious faith, but rather to curry favor with the United States. Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 143.

at the time.⁶⁷

Liang believes that Wang's negative attitude towards people establishing the ideal society created a false impression that Wang had no concern for society and that critics have missed that his teaching and thought have social implications. Due to historical factors and a limited period of development due to his arrest in 1955, Wang was not able to fully develop his ideas of how the gospel was to affect society. However, it is clear from his works that he was interested in the practical nature of how Christians should interact with society.⁶⁸ Liang interprets Wang's separation from the naivety of the modernist theologians of his time as having allowed him to be a more independent critic than they were of the powerful. His high morality and suspicious spirit combined with this separation from society allowed him to be a more thorough and broad critic of society. This sort of transcendent critique was not loyal to any group or personal loyalty, so he was able to become a properly objective critic, not controlled by the power of the political right or left.⁶⁹ The social implications of his thought as a Confucian-Christian are not fully revealed until his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript was written in 1982 as will be revealed later in later chapters of this work.

In 1998, Thomas Alan Harvey completed the first PhD that was entirely focused on Wang Mingdao;⁷⁰ it was later published in 2002 as *Acquainted with Grief: Wang Mingdao's Stand for the Persecuted Church in China*.⁷¹ Due to Wang's influence on the unregistered house church movement in China, Harvey refers to him as the "Dean of the House Churches"⁷² but this work is almost entirely focused on Wang's conflict with the TSPM during the 1950s. Harvey's significant contribution is in explaining how it was political ideology that provided the foundation for the TSPM case against Wang. Harvey asserts that for the TSPM of the 1950s, political essence was the ground of human existence. Therefore, to the TSPM, Wang's religious beliefs were a "mere cloak" that hid his true essence. His religious views could only be understood according to his political ideology with his political essence defining his religious essence. This explains why, for those connected to the TSPM, Wang's refusal to unite with the TSPM was a betrayal not only of country but also of Christ and the church.⁷³ In other words, before 1955, Wang Mingdao thought that the argument was theological, but for the TSPM and CCP, it was entirely political.⁷⁴

Perhaps the most thorough scholar on Wang Mingdao's thought is Ying Fuk Tsang who began his copious published studies on Wang Mingdao in 2002 with his article, "Wang Mingdao and the North China Christian Union Group – Enemy Occupied Area Church Leader's Resistance and Cooperation Case Studies"⁷⁵ which chronicles in detail Wang's thoughts and actions during

⁶⁷ Liang Shouhua, "A Reinterpretation of Wang Mingdao's Thoughts on Society," 170.

⁶⁸ Liang Shouhua, "A Reinterpretation of Wang Mingdao's Thoughts on Society," 199.

⁶⁹ Liang Shouhua, "A Reinterpretation of Wang Mingdao's Thoughts on Society," 199.

⁷⁰ Thomas Alan Harvey, "Challenging Heaven's Mandate: An Analysis of the Conflict Between Wang Mingdao and the Chinese Nation-state" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1998).

⁷¹ Thomas Alan Harvey, *Acquainted with Grief: Wang Mingdao's Stand for the Persecuted Church in China* (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2002).

⁷² Harvey, *Acquainted with Grief*, 9.

⁷³ Harvey, *Acquainted with Grief*, 79.

⁷⁴ In 2000, Moses Lee wrote a PhD that focuses on Wang in chapter five. See Moses Lee-Kung Yu, "Aspects of the Emergence of the Chinese Church from the Missionary Movement, 1900-1949" (ThD diss., University of South Africa, 2000), Ch.5.

⁷⁵ Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增, "Wang Mingdao and the North China Christian Union Group – Enemy Occupied Area Church Leader's Resistance and Cooperation Case Studies" 王明道與華北中華基督教團—淪陷教會人士抵抗與合作的個案研究, in *Jian Dao Journal* 建道學刊 17 (January 2002): 1-56. This article was revised and expanded in *Conflict and Assimilation: Modern Chinese Christian History Research* 衝突與融合—近代中

the period of Japanese occupation of north-east China including his resistance to joining the Japanese controlled North China Christian Union Group. This article will be discussed in more detail later in the dissertation.

In 2003, Richard Cook wrote his PhD dissertation on Wang Mingdao entitled “Fundamentalism and Modern Culture in Republican China: The Popular Language of Wang Mingdao, 1900-1991” in which he described Wang as neither a theologian, nor a profound thinker, but rather an effective speaker and writer who effectively used the popular ideas and language of his era in China.⁷⁶ Cook says that Wang is best remembered as “a stalwart emblem of conservative Christian orthodoxy and as a Christian martyr”⁷⁷ but notes that Wang did not create a comprehensive or systematic theology.⁷⁸

In 2005, Sun Poking wrote an article entitled “Jesus in the Writings of Wang Mingdao”⁷⁹ in which Sun argues that Wang, in his description of Jesus, rebuked Christian leaders who, in his view, betrayed the heart of the Gospel by portraying Jesus as merely a model for the improvement of history or culture.⁸⁰ Wang believed that the idea of Jesus as merely a model replaced traditional beliefs in Jesus’ virgin birth and resurrection with simply Jesus’ inspiration for personal and social life, which Wang argues, distorted the Gospel.⁸¹ Wang held that Jesus was the Son of God and held firm to many orthodox Christian doctrines, but as will be shown later, his Christology and Trinitarian theology is not fully in line with orthodox Christian teaching.

In 2007, Richard Cook wrote “Wang Mingdao and the Evolution of Contextualized Chinese Churches.”⁸² Following the model of missiologist Andrew Walls, Cook describes three stages of the contextualization of Christianity: “missions,” “indigenization,” and “contextualization.” Cook believes that Wang did not reach the third stage of comprehensively contextualized theology but remained at the second transitional stage of “indigenization.” He notes that Wang’s significant contributions were his establishment of an indigenous preaching ministry, a Chinese-led Christian quarterly journal, and an independent church, but that he did not significantly contribute to the development of a Chinese theology; rather, Cook notes, Wang Mingdao “remained, for the most part, an American-style fundamentalist.”⁸³ Cook’s conclusion is particularly important for this dissertation:

Wang is probably best remembered by conservative Protestants...as a hero and a martyr for the faith. Yet his most important contribution may have been his role in serving in the transition from the missionary Church to the indigenous Church in China. It will be from a later generation of Church leaders that will emerge an “Origen” or an Augustine in China who is able to produce a contextualized theology that is equally conversant in Chinese

基督教史研究論集 (Taipei: Universal Light Publishers 宇宙光出版社, 2006), 103-174. References in this dissertation will be from the revised 2006 version.

⁷⁶ Richard R. Cook, “Fundamentalism and Modern Culture in Republican China: The Popular Language of Wang Mingdao, 1900-1991” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2003), 3.

⁷⁷ Richard R. Cook, “The Popular Language of Wang Mingdao,” 9.

⁷⁸ Richard R. Cook, “The Popular Language of Wang Mingdao,” 185.

⁷⁹ Sun Poking J. “Jesus in the Writings of Wang Mingdao,” in *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*. Vol. 3a, ed., Roman Malek (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica and China-Zentrum, 2005), 1137-1148.

⁸⁰ Sun Poking J. “Jesus in the Writings of Wang Mingdao,” 1147.

⁸¹ Sun Poking J. “Jesus in the Writings of Wang Mingdao,” 1146.

⁸² Richard R. Cook, “Wang Mingdao and the Evolution of Contextualized Chinese Churches,” in *Contextualization of Christianity in China: An Evaluation in Modern Perspective*, ed., Peter Chen-main Wang (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta, 2007), 209-223.

⁸³ Richard R. Cook, “Wang Mingdao and the Evolution of Contextualized Chinese Churches,” 209.

culture and thinking as well as Christian biblical studies and systematic theology.⁸⁴

As will be argued in the following chapters, this author disagrees with Cook's conclusions that Wang was not a fully contextualized theologian because he was not conversant with academic Christian theology. Cook's comments were written before *Wang Mingdao's Last Confession* was published in 2013 and so he was unable to read Wang's more mature theological thought at the time of publication of his article. Perhaps if he could have read Wang's *Last Confession* Cook would have rethought his position.

In 2008, at Claremont Graduate University, Ni Huiliang completed his PhD entitled "Sinicizing Jesus in the First Half of the Twentieth Century – How Chinese Christians Understood Jesus" in which he discussed Wang Mingdao's theology in chapter four.⁸⁵ Ni provides helpful information on how Wang rejected Nicene Christology in favor for what he describes as a "relation-centric" perspective on the divine Father-Son relationship.⁸⁶ Ni asserts that Wang determined the nature of Jesus, not by his essence, but rather by his relationship with the Father as the Son of God.⁸⁷ This Christology is connected to the influence of the relational nature of Confucianism which influenced Wang through both Confucius and Mencius.⁸⁸

Also in 2008, Carsten T. Vala completed his PhD "Failing to Contain Religion: The Emergence of a Protestant Movement in Contemporary China," in which Vala describes Wang's life and influence in chapter three.⁸⁹ Particularly noteworthy is Vala's contention that Wang utilized *religious* leadership capital by mobilizing Chinese Christians through his references to commonly known mythic and historical narratives to reposition modern affairs in the light of ancient battles.⁹⁰

In 2009, Ying Fuk Tsang wrote his second article on Wang Mingdao entitled "Wang Mingdao Discusses Chinese Church Leaders and Affairs – An Annotated Analysis of a Conversation in the 1980s"⁹¹ which is the distillation of a 1982 conversation between some Chinese Christians and Wang Mingdao. In this article, Wang's views on Watchman Nee and the Local Church, as well as the Christian practices of foot-washing⁹² and greeting with a holy kiss are recorded.⁹³ This article is important as it is the first to address the rift that developed between Wang and Nee, two "giants" of the Chinese Church.

In 2010, Ying Fuk Tsang published another important article on Wang entitled "Counter-Revolution in the Revolutionary Era: A Preliminary Study on the Case of 'Wang Mingdao's Counter-Revolutionary Clique.'"⁹⁴ This article discusses in detail the purges of the 1950s in

⁸⁴ Richard R. Cook, "Wang Mingdao and the Evolution of Contextualized Chinese Churches," 219.

⁸⁵ Ni Huiliang, "Sinicizing Jesus in the First Half of the Twentieth Century – How Chinese Christians Understood Jesus" (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2008), 156-212.

⁸⁶ Ni Huiliang, "Sinicizing Jesus," 167.

⁸⁷ Ni Huiliang, "Sinicizing Jesus," 171.

⁸⁸ Ni Huiliang, "Sinicizing Jesus," 200-206.

⁸⁹ Carsten T. Vala, "Failing to Contain Religion: The Emergence of a Protestant Movement in Contemporary China" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2008), 66-83.

⁹⁰ Carsten T. Vala, "Failing to Contain Religion," 68-69.

⁹¹ Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增, "Wang Mingdao Discusses Chinese Church Leaders and Affairs – An Annotated Analysis of a Conversation in the 1980s" 王明道談中國教會的人與事 – 1980年代的一次談話考釋, in *Journal of the History of Christianity in Modern China* 近代中國基督教史研究集刊, 8 (December 2009): 80-91.

⁹² See John 13:14-17.

⁹³ See Romans 16:16 and I Peter 5:14.

⁹⁴ Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增, "Counter-Revolution in the Revolutionary Era: A Preliminary Study on the Case of 'Wang Mingdao's Counter-Revolutionary Clique'" 革命時代的反革命：基督教「王明道反革命集團」案始末

China that brought Wang to be finally arrested in 1955 as well as the “Wang Mingdao Counter-Revolutionary Clique,” a designation given to those that remained loyal to Wang in resisting participation in the TSPM. In a subsequent chapter, this article will be discussed in greater detail.

Also in 2010, Lian Xi wrote his ground-breaking work, *Redeemed by Fire, The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China*, in which Wang Mingdao is the focus of chapter five.⁹⁵ Lian mentions Wang’s bi-cultural Confucian-Christian education and that “the [Chinese] classics evoked an orderly world populated with sages and scholars who presented a clear moral compass and offered inspiring examples of virtuous living;”⁹⁶ however, since the focus of Lian’s work is on the narrative of the development of independent Chinese Christianity, he tells Wang’s story instead of analyzing the influence of classical Chinese sources on Wang. Lian notes that after the death of John Sung in 1944, and after resisting the Japanese pressure to participate in the North China Christian Union Group, “Wang Mingdao became the preeminent popular preacher in China.”⁹⁷

In 2011, Hing Hung Otto Lui completed his PhD dissertation on the “Development of Chinese Church Leaders – A Study of Relational Leadership in Contemporary Chinese Churches” in which he discusses Wang Mingdao in chapter five.⁹⁸ This dissertation was later published in 2013 as the monograph *Development of Chinese Church Leaders*.⁹⁹ Lui’s work focuses on the influence that Confucianism has had on Chinese churches, particularly in terms of the relational leadership that Confucian-Christian leaders provide, and Lui describes Wang Mingdao as an example of a Confucian pastor. Lui, who has been involved in extensive theological education in China, indicates that Wang’s “fundamentalist theological perspective is the framework for pastoral training in the house churches”¹⁰⁰ and that his refusal to join the TSPM has given rise to him being considered “the symbol of the house church movement.”¹⁰¹

In 2012, Matsutani Yosuke, published an interesting article entitled “Yanaihara Tadao and China: His Article, ‘The Ideal of the Nation’ and His Visit to Wang Mingdao.”¹⁰² in which Matsutani describes the significant visit of Japanese Christian Yanaihara Tadao in 1942 to Beijing which included a meeting with and support for Wang Mingdao during the war period when Wang was under enormous pressure to capitulate to the Japanese desire for him to participate in the North China Christian Union Group. Also in 2012, based on his field research from 2004-2005 in China,¹⁰³ Kao Chen-yang wrote an article entitled “The House Church Identity and Preservation

考, *The Journal of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 67 (March 2010): 97-147.

⁹⁵ Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire, The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 109-130 and also 193-201.

⁹⁶ Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 111.

⁹⁷ Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 193.

⁹⁸ Hing Hung Otto Lui, “Development of Chinese Church Leaders – A Study of Relational Leadership in Contemporary Chinese Churches” (PhD diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 2011), 140-159.

⁹⁹ Otto Lui, *Development of Chinese Church Leaders* (Carlisle, UK: Langham Monographs, 2013).

¹⁰⁰ Otto Lui, *Development of Chinese Church Leaders*, 132.

¹⁰¹ Otto Lui, *Development of Chinese Church Leaders*, 136.

¹⁰² Matsutani Yosuke, “Yanaihara Tadao and China: His Article, ‘The Ideal of the Nation’ and His Visit to Wang Mingdao,” *Sociological Studies* 25 (2012): 97-123,

<http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/acd/re/ssrc/result/memoirs/kiyou25/25-05.pdf> (Japanese)

¹⁰³ See Kao Chen-yang, “The Cultural Revolution and the Post-Missionary Transformation of Protestantism in China” (PhD diss., University of Lancaster, 2009).

of Pentecostal-style Protestantism in China”¹⁰⁴ in which he describes Wang Mingdao as being recognized by many in China as the “spiritual leader” of the unregistered house church movement.¹⁰⁵ Kao argues that Wang’s anti-TSPM ideology legitimizes the ministry of house church leaders outside of the TSPM. As a result, many modern unregistered house church leaders believe, in part due to Wang’s writings and example, that the unregistered church is not an alternative to the official one but is the *only* divinely sanctioned church in China.¹⁰⁶

In her article “Revival Preaching and the Indigenization of Christianity in Republican China,” published in 2014, Gloria S. Tseng provides a careful analysis of Wang’s actual preaching based on a series of sermons he preached in 1934.¹⁰⁷ Tseng argues that Wang’s sermons and writings are not profound but that they are simple and full of common-sense that met the needs of those who came to hear him preach.¹⁰⁸ She describes the key to Wang’s gift as a preacher in this way:

Wang’s sermons and writings were not characterized by great theological insight or erudite biblical exegesis. Yet there was evidently a spiritual hunger among Chinese believers for his reasoned and pragmatic application of the biblical narrative to Christian living and the witness of the Chinese church, as evidenced by the steady stream of invitations he received. Furthermore, behind such plain teaching was the testimony of a life of well-attested integrity.¹⁰⁹

Wang’s theological insight was effective in that it met the needs of those who heard and read his sermons. Tseng also mentions that Wang’s distaste for theological education was a reaction to what he perceived as the domination of theological education in China by theological Modernists. However, as Tseng indicates, this suspicion of theological education is regrettable due to the fact that it did not allow Wang to reach his full potential as a theologian.¹¹⁰

In his latest 2016 article on Wang Mingdao, “Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao, Ying Fuk Tsang discusses more comprehensively the interaction between Wang and Watchman Nee.”¹¹¹ Ying concludes that the standard by which Wang judged all Christian leaders, including himself, is that morality in the Christian life is the mesh which connects beliefs with ethics. Therefore, Nee’s moral failures ultimately led Wang to have a negative assessment of Nee’s life and ministry.¹¹²

In 2017, Baiyu Andrew Song wrote, “Christ Against Culture? A Re-evaluation of Wang

¹⁰⁴ Kao Chen-yang, “The House Church Identity and Preservation of Pentecostal-style Protestantism in China,” in *Christianity in Contemporary China: Socio-Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Francis Lim (New York: Routledge, 2012), 207-219.

¹⁰⁵ Kao Chen-yang, “The House Church Identity,” 211.

¹⁰⁶ Kao Chen-yang, “The House Church Identity,” 212-214.

¹⁰⁷ Gloria S. Tseng, “Revival Preaching and the Indigenization of Christianity in Republican China,” in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 38, no.4 (October 2014):177-182, <http://www.internationalbulletin.org/issues/2014-04/2014-04-177-tseng.html>

¹⁰⁸ Gloria S. Tseng, “Revival Preaching,” 179.

¹⁰⁹ Gloria S. Tseng, “Revival Preaching,” 180.

¹¹⁰ Gloria S. Tseng, “Revival Preaching,” 180. Tseng followed up this article with Gloria S. Tseng, “Bathsheba as an Object Lesson: Gender, Modernity and Biblical Examples in Wang Mingdao’s Sermons and Writings,” *Studies in World Christianity* 21.1 (2015): 52-65.

¹¹¹ Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增, “Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao” 巨人愛恨—王明道所認識的倪柝聲, *Ching Feng 景風* 15, issue 1/2 (2016): 131-158.

¹¹² Ying Fuk Tsang, “Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao,” 158.

Mingdao's Popular Theology"¹¹³ in which he argues that Wang's theology held a passive view toward cultural changes due to the total corruption of human nature and society due to the Fall. However, Wang was also optimistic about God's grace which worked through individual believers and so he encouraged Christians to be hard-working and morally upright. Ultimately, he believed in the sequential order of personal conversion leading to social change.¹¹⁴

Also in 2017, Thomas Alan Harvey wrote an article entitled "Sermon, Story, and Song in the Enculturation of Christianity in China,"¹¹⁵ in which he describes Wang as "a master storyteller who was able to cleverly weave current circumstance into the ancient text,"¹¹⁶ but Harvey only focuses on Wang's use of the Bible as an ancient text which had significance for Wang's interpretation of the current situation and does not address Wang's use of ancient Chinese texts since Harvey's focus in the article was on Wang's Christian sermonizing.

Finally, Gene Ng has written two important articles on Wang Mingdao. The first, published in 2018 is entitled, "The Shaping Influence of the YMCA on the Young Wang Mingdao."¹¹⁷ The second was published in 2019 and is entitled, "The Situation of the Christian Tabernacle and Wang Mingdao's Preaching During the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949)."¹¹⁸ Both articles utilize the unpublished diaries of Wang Mingdao stored at Alliance Bible Seminary in Hong Kong and reveal previously unknown details about Wang's life and theology.¹¹⁹ This groundbreaking work by Ng reveals the need to publish these diaries for a wider audience interested in the life and theology of Wang Mingdao.¹²⁰

THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Since there are already such extensive writings on Wang Mingdao's life and theology, what more is there to say? More importantly for writing a PhD dissertation in which an original contribution to the field of research is required, what further *original* contributions on the life

¹¹³ Baiyu Andrew Song, "Christ Against Culture? A Re-evaluation of Wang Mingdao's Popular Theology," *Journal of Global Christianity* 3.1 (February 2017): 48-64, <https://trainingleadersinternational.org/jgc/75/christ-against-culture-a-re-evaluation-of-wang-mingdaos-popular-theology>.

¹¹⁴ Baiyu Andrew Song, "Christ Against Culture," 64.

¹¹⁵ Thomas Alan Harvey, "Sermon, Story, and Song in the Inculturation of Christianity in China," in *Sinicizing Christianity*, ed., Peggy Brock (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 138-166.

¹¹⁶ Thomas Alan Harvey, "Sermon, Story and Song," 145.

¹¹⁷ Gene Ng 吳劍麗, "The Shaping Influence of the Chinese YMCA on the Young Wang Mingdao" 中國基督教青年會對少年王明道的信仰形塑, in *I Believed; Therefore, I Spoke: Essays in Honor of Leung Ka-lun at the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* 我信，所以說話：梁家麟院長六秩壽辰紀念祝賀文集 eds. Zhang Yunkai 張雲開, Chen Zhiheng 陳智衡 (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary 建道神學院, 2018), 159-194.

¹¹⁸ Gene Ng 吳劍麗, "The Situation of the Christian Tabernacle and Wang Mingdao's Preaching During the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949)" 內戰時期基督徒會堂的處境及王明道的傳道事業 (1945-1949), in *Instant in Season, Out of Season: The Chinese Church During the Civil War Period* 務要傳道——內戰時期的中國教會, eds. Huang Wenjiang 黃文江, Zhang Yunkai 張雲開, Chen Zhiheng 陳智衡 (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary 建道神學院, 2019), 233-254.

¹¹⁹ Professor Gene Ng has been kind enough to answer several questions this author has asked her regarding details about Wang's life from the unpublished diaries of Wang Mingdao.

¹²⁰ Two other important articles were written on Wang more recently including Yosuke Matsutani, "Wang Mingdao, Counter-Revolutionary Chinese Evangelist Has Yet to Restore His Honor," *China 21* 48 (2018):119-146. (Japanese) Also the English article, Wai Luen Kwok, "Sola Scriptura's and the Chinese Union Version Bible's Impact Upon Conservative Christian Leaders: The Case of Watchman Nee and Wang Mingdao," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30, no.1 (2020): 93-103.

and work of Wang Mingdao can be added to the field? Chloe Starr, professor of Chinese theology at Yale Divinity School, notes that the two other theologians mentioned by my pastor, Watchman Nee and John Sung, could be read without knowing anything of the situation in China.¹²¹ However, when reading Wang's autobiography, *The Last Fifty Years*, the biography, *Another Forty Years*, and *Wang Mingdao's Last Confession*, knowledge of the twentieth century Chinese historical context and ancient stories of the Chinese past are crucial for understanding. An in-depth analysis of the influence of these "Chinese elements," as Starr describes them, on Wang and the impact he believed Confucian-Christians could have on society, within the social network of his time as his thought developed over the four stages of his life, is the contribution of this dissertation. In this dissertation, "Chinese elements" refers to the Confucian stories of the past understood within the Chinese social context of twentieth century China. Thus far, no scholar has analyzed in detail how the ancient stories from the Chinese Classics, sages, and histories informed Wang Mingdao's writing and sermons throughout his whole life including his later Shanghai years. In the examples of men such as Confucius, Qu Yuan, Xunzi, Wei Zheng, Zhang Xun, Wen Tianxiang, and others, Wang saw a "Spirit of Righteousness" that he believed pervaded Chinese history and provided the Chinese people with knowledge of how to live upright moral lives both individually and socially. Stemming from this, my research question then is "How did these Chinese Classics, sages, and histories shape Wang Mingdao's Christian theology within his twentieth century social context and thus qualify him to be considered a significant *Chinese* theologian?"

WANG MINGDAO AS CHINESE THEOLOGIAN

Wang Mingdao, known as a "giant" of Chinese Christianity (Lyll and Ying), a "pioneer in indigenous Chinese church planting," (Chao) the "Dean of the House Churches" (Harvey), a "hero and martyr of the faith" (Cook), and the "symbol" (Lui) and "spiritual leader" (Kao) of the house church movement as referenced above, has firmly established his position as a significant Chinese Christian leader. However, his credentials as a significant Chinese *theologian* are not as well established. Such statements that Wang's theology provides no help to those who are seeking to change the world (Ng) and shows a lack of social consciousness (Lam) as well as the fact that some see him as "neither a theologian, nor a profound thinker" as well as basically being an "American-style fundamentalist" (Cook), or even worse, "a pawn of foreign reactionary forces,"¹²² reveals that not everyone agrees that Wang was an outstanding Chinese theologian.

While it is true that Wang was not an academic nor systematic theologian, he should still be considered a significant theologian. Comparatively, in 1964, Albert Outler made the case that John Wesley, the influential English founder of the Methodist Church, was not appreciated as a theologian on the same level as academic or systematic theologians but nevertheless deserved recognition as a major theologian. Outler argued that Wesley's theology was that of a "folk theologian."¹²³ Wesley's theological genius was not in academic speculative theology, but in clearly communicating the essentials of Christian theology to lay people.¹²⁴ Wang's theological

¹²¹ Chloe Starr, *Chinese Theology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 4.

¹²² Zhang Zhiyi 張執一 (1911-1983), Deputy Minister of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee described Wang in this way. At the third National Conference of Christianity held in 1981, he criticized Wang Mingdao by name and said, "There are also a few people like Wang Mingdao who are pawns of foreign reactionary forces." See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 67, fn. 34.

¹²³ See John Wesley, *John Wesley*, ed. Albert C. Outler (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), iii.

¹²⁴ See Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1994),

genius is similar to that of Wesley. One need not be an academic or systematic theologian like Thomas Aquinas, John Calvin, or Karl Barth to be a significant theologian. Martin Luther and John Wesley were both non-systematics that are now universally recognized as being significant theologians. Wang's theological genius was in his clear explanation of Christian theology from a perspective that took the Bible, as well as Chinese history and morality, seriously. His intellectual formation in the Confucian Classics, sages, and histories shaped his Christian theology. What Archie C.C. Lee has pointed out about other Asian Christians attempting to do biblical hermeneutics and fashion Christian theology can also be applied to Wang's connection to Confucianism:

The whole problematic of Asian hermeneutics is largely that while the newly-acquired Christian Bible began to provide them with a new meaning of life, Asian Christians could not completely sever their connection with their community and its cultural-religious texts, which had nurtured and shaped their lives and continued to sustain and nourish their well-being.¹²⁵

What Lee sees as crucial in Asian hermeneutics, the lack of detachment from the theologian's historical and social context, is also true of Wang Mingdao. He never severed his connection to the Confucian tradition when he became a Christian. Wang believed that the Confucian revelation was for Chinese fulfilled by the Christian revelation.¹²⁶ He recognized that he did not have a long nor thorough education, so treasured among Chinese, but that his talent was rather in his ability to write and speak in ways that communicated the Way, or, Dao of God, attested to throughout Chinese history in the teachings of Confucius and his subsequent followers in China, in ways that were simple to understand.¹²⁷ Wang's well-attested life of high moral integrity provided the important connection in Christianity between theology and praxis. The shift away from the extreme valuation of academic or systematic theology toward the valuation of a theology like Wang's that was deeply connected to the life of Chinese Christian believers is an ongoing process.¹²⁸ I hope this work will contribute to a re-evaluation of Wang Mingdao, particularly of him in his later Shanghai years, as a significant Chinese Christian *theologian*.

This discussion of Wang as a significant Chinese theologian brings up an important point: how should "theology" be defined? It was reported in 1948 in a Christian journal that a student once asked Mr. Wang Mingdao, "What theology did you study?" to which Wang responded, "bitter toil theology" 苦力神學.¹²⁹ Wang did not like the idea of studying "theology" due to his perception, common among Chinese Fundamentalists at the time, that the major theological seminaries and departments of religion in China were dominated by theological Modernists, or as he called them, "unbelievers" 不信派.¹³⁰ However, he certainly engaged in theological reflection

16.

¹²⁵ Archie C.C. Lee, "Cross-textual Hermeneutics and Identity in Multi-Scriptural Asia," in *Christian Theology in Asia*, ed., Sebastian C. H. Kim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 182.

¹²⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 266.

¹²⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 43.

¹²⁸ See Randy L. Maddox, "The Recovery of Theology as a Practical Discipline," *Theological Studies* 51 (1990): 650-672. For the non-systematic nature of much of Chinese theology, see Chloe Starr, *Chinese Theology*, 280.

¹²⁹ Li Kaihuan 李開煥 ed., "Wang Mingdao's Theology" 王明道的神學, *Jiang He* 江河 28 (August 1948): 110.

¹³⁰ For example, Wang believed that Timothy (Tingfang) Lew 劉廷芳 and Zhao Zichen 趙紫宸 at Yenching University 燕京大學, and later, Ding Guangxun 丁光訓 at Nanjing (Jinling) Union Theological Seminary 金陵協神學院, were all theological Modernists who promulgated a "social gospel" that in Wang's opinion ignored personal

and wrote theological works as even a cursory reading of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* reveals. To define “theology” with regard to Wang Mingdao, the term means Wang’s reflection on God and God’s interaction with the creation, as recorded in his writings and audio-visual recordings. As will be revealed in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation, Wang’s theology was largely based on the Bible but was also shaped by his Confucian background, experience and reason.

CHAPTER LAYOUT

To rigorously engage with how Wang Mingdao was simultaneously a thoroughly Chinese and a thoroughly Christian theologian necessitates a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of each of the four major stages of his life, within his social context, in order to trace at what points he was introduced to the Chinese Classics, sages, and histories and to analyze how these influenced him as a Christian theologian. In order to do this, the following chapters will contain a re-evaluated biography of Wang Mingdao, relying mainly on the autobiographical and biographical sources, and supplemented by secondary sources, referenced as abundantly as possible with the Chinese Classics, sages, and histories in order to show that Wang Mingdao was a significant Chinese Christian theologian. The chapter layout for the dissertation is as follows:

- 1) Introduction and Literature Review
- 2) The Dependent Years: 1900-1921
- 3) The Independent Years: 1921-1955
- 4) The Prison Years: 1955-1980
- 5) The Spiritual Father Years: 1980-1991
- 6) Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

Wang Mingdao’s story begins at the very beginning of the twentieth century with an event that was both catastrophic for China and for Wang personally: the Boxer Uprising.

salvation. See Wang Mingdao, “How Many Gospels Are There?” 一共有幾個福音呢? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 23 (Fall 1932): 137-138. Kevin Xiyi Yao writes that “A common view among the fundamentalists was that the modernists’ strongholds were schools.” See Kevin Xiyi Yao, *The Fundamentalist Movement Among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1927-1937* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003), 101. See also Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 87 and 157 to see Wang’s negative evaluation of studying theology. These evaluations must be read in light of Wang’s perception that “studying theology” inevitably would mean enrollment in a Modernist institution, thus his preference for personal Bible study. See also Wu Chang Shing 吳昶興, “Searching Modern Christian Identities During an Anti-Christian Movement: A Case Study of Timothy Tingfang Lew” 非基督教育運下現代基督徒身分的尋索：以劉廷芳為例, *Sino-Christian Studies* 漢語基督教學術論評 17 (2014): 36-37.



Chapter Two

The Dependent Years: 1900-1921

Autobiographies are calculated expressions of self-revelation for a reading audience in which the author has intended goals. Religious experience contained within an autobiography is already interpreted in the retelling of the account. Autobiographical narratives are thus attempts to make sense of these experiences and convey meaning.¹ Wang Mingdao's *The Last Fifty Years* is no exception. He began his writing of *Fifty Years* in 1948 and published it for the first time in 1950 with the inclusion of his 1947 memorial essay for his mother. In 1951, he later added details about his father in a subsequent re-publishing of *Fifty Years*. Wang stated that the goal of his autobiography was to help other people by candidly sharing his experience of achievements, endurance, and temptation in order to encourage and comfort them.² Another goal of Wang's autobiographical writings and interviews was to show that he was a thoroughly *Chinese* Christian. Time and again he references Chinese stories and events that show that his early formative years were thoroughly Chinese in cultural context. He begins *Fifty Years* in 1900, the beginning of the twentieth century that was unimaginably painful for millions of Chinese, by recounting how he himself was born in the fire of what he described as an extremely painful and shameful event, the Boxer Uprising.³ Due to this event, he never knew what his ancestral village was, nor much information about his paternal family line.⁴ What was the cause of such a pitiful lack of knowledge among a people so proud of history and lineage?

THE BOXER UPRISING

The Boxer Uprising was the result of many factors.⁵ In the previous decade, the Qing government had suffered several humiliating defeats at the hands of foreign armies. The Chinese people's resentment toward foreign Christian missionaries and local Chinese Christians further increased when these latter groups took advantage of favorable tax agreements and extraterritorial rights. At the same time, groups of men known as "Boxers," or "Yihequan," 義和拳 translated as "Boxers united [in] righteousness," had grown desperate on the North China Plain due to drought and economic disruption. These Boxers, who practiced martial arts and spiritual possession practices, believed the problems China faced were due to deviation to Christianity from proper religious patterns laid out in Chinese traditions. Consequently, the Boxers decided the solution was to expunge the foreign and local Christians and thus restore the heavenly balance on earth. On June 21, 1900, the Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧太后 (r.1861-1908) declared war on the foreign powers and gave imperial backing to the Boxers. Soon, assaults on Chinese Christians began to include attacks on missionaries and other foreigners. As a result, foreign residents and many thousands of Chinese Christians sought shelter from the

¹ See David Yamane, "Narrative and Religious Experience," *Sociology of Religion* 61.2 (Summer 2000): 177-178.

² Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 9.

³ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 20.

⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 19.

⁵ For a detailed analysis of the background factors that led to the Boxer Rebellion see Robert Bickers, "Introduction," in *The Boxers, China, and the World* eds. Robert Bickers and R.G. Tiedemann (Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), xi-xvii.

Boxers in the fortified Legation quarter of Beijing.⁶

To seek protection, Wang Mingdao's father, Wang Zihou 王子厚, mother, Li Wenyi 李文義, and older sister, Wang Enrong 王恩榮, entered the Dongjiao Minxiang 東交民巷,⁷ a street to the south of the Forbidden City that entered the Legation quarter during the Boxer uprising. Both Wang Zihou and Li Wenyi were members of the London Missionary Society (LMS) which would have enabled them access to the Legation quarter.⁸ At this time, Wang Mingdao was still in his mother's womb. In *Fifty Years*, Wang reports that his father went up on a ladder to look over the Legation wall and saw countless Boxers and Qing soldiers surrounding the Legation quarter. As Paul Cohen has observed, among Christians, the anxiety of death at the hands of the Boxers was powerful at the time.⁹ Many reports circulating at the time spoke of Chinese Christians being mutilated by the Boxers.¹⁰ Figuring that an excruciating death was inevitable, Wang Zihou told his wife, Wang Mingdao's mother, that it would be better to avoid suffering by committing suicide. On June 22, 1900, a person informed Wang's mother, Li Wenyi, that her husband had hung himself in the garden of the Su Prince's Mansion 肅王府花園;¹¹ her husband's death left Li Wenyi widowed with a young daughter and yet unborn son.¹²

Then, and for many years to come, Wang Zihou's suicide had profound effects upon his family and Wang Mingdao in particular. Recent social scientific studies have shown that the children of people who commit suicide are much more likely to commit suicide than those whose parents do not take their own lives.¹³ Over five decades after the Boxer Uprising, Wang Mingdao's wife, Liu Jingwen, demonstrated intuitive knowledge of this fact when she expressed her fear that, like his father Wang Zihou, Wang Mingdao would try to commit suicide when faced with the humiliation he had endured in writing a "false confession" and lying in order to be released after being first arrested on August 8, 1955. During his release from September 29, 1956 to April 29, 1957, Wang fixated on a plan to bring Liu Jingwen back to her home in Hangzhou 杭州, Zhejiang Province, and for him to commit suicide by drowning himself in the West Lake 西湖, a beautiful lake rich in historical meaning for Chinese poets,¹⁴ the beauty of which Wang

⁶ Robert Bickers, "Introduction," xiii. Lian Xi estimates the number of Chinese Christians seeking shelter in the Beijing Legation was more than 3000 people. Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 111.

⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 19.

⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 32.

⁹ Paul Cohen, "Humanizing the Boxers," in *The Boxers, China, and the World* eds. Robert Bickers and R.G. Tiedemann (Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 183.

¹⁰ One such account is given in Paul Cohen, "Humanizing the Boxers," 186.

¹¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 20.

¹² In 1951, shortly after first publishing his autobiography, Wang Mingdao read an article by Lu Wantian 鹿完天 entitled "Record of the 1900 Beijing Incident" in which Lu describes Wang Zihou's suicide. Lu dates Wang's suicide to June 22, 1900 at 5 a.m. in the garden of the Huashen Temple. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 21. Also, see Lu Wantian 鹿完天, "Record of the 1900 Beijing Incident" 庚子北京事變紀略, in *The Boxers 義和拳* (Shenzhou Guoguang Publishing 神州國光社, 1951), 27, <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=104572&page=27>.

¹³ Holy C. Wilcox, "Psychiatric Morbidity, Violent Crime, and Suicide Among Children and Adolescents Exposed to Parental Death," *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry* vol. 49, issue 5 (May 2010): 514-523. [https://www.jaacap.org/article/S0890-8567\(10\)00204-2/fulltext](https://www.jaacap.org/article/S0890-8567(10)00204-2/fulltext). The article reports a three-fold greater risk of suicide for suicide decedents.

¹⁴ The West Lake undoubtedly appealed to Wang Mingdao's poetic side during his melancholic period of release from prison. Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846 CE), a poet Wang Mingdao read, wrote several poems about the West Lake including a poem entitled "Walking in Spring by West Lake" 錢塘湖春行. See A.C. Graham, *Poems of the West Lake: Translations from the Chinese* (London: Wellsweep, 1990), 15.

http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=028_graham.inc&issue=028.

Mingdao had heard about since childhood¹⁵ but his plan was foiled when he was not permitted to leave Beijing. Liu Jingwen believed that Wang Mingdao's intention to commit suicide was related to his father's suicide more than half a century earlier.¹⁶

PEKING METHODIST HOSPITAL

Years before his death, at some unknown date, Wang's father, Wang Zihou, had migrated to Beijing and had been working as a Chinese assistant to Western doctors at what was then known as Peking Methodist Hospital 同仁醫院, or simply Peking Hospital. The hospital was destroyed during the Boxer Uprising¹⁷ and was rebuilt from funds provided by a donation from the Hopkins family in the United States around 1900 when it became known as Hopkins Memorial Hospital.¹⁸ The Peking Methodist Hospital had been established in 1886 by the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC)¹⁹ and was located originally in the MEC's mission compound in the Legation quarter, but after it was rebuilt, it was moved just south-east of the Forbidden City.²⁰ Wang Mingdao reports that, at that time in China, no programs for teaching Western medicine nor Western style medical schools existed except for Christian hospitals like the Peking Methodist Hospital. Wang Zihou was one of three Chinese men who worked closely with foreign doctors to study Western medicine, and he gradually became a Chinese doctor's apprentice at the Peking Methodist Hospital.²¹ Since there were only two to three foreign doctors

¹⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 227.

¹⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 61.

¹⁷ Henry D. Porter "The Boxers and the Hospitals," *The China Missionary Medical Journal* XIV, no.4 (October 1900): 294.

<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11243818#page/72/mode/1up>. The hospital is named "Methodist Episcopal" Hospital, Peking in the list. See also, Unnamed Author, "The Situation in the North," 276.

<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11243818#page/54/mode/1up>.

¹⁸ A picture of the Hopkins Memorial Hospital, still known as Peking Methodist Hospital, is available at "15532 Methodist Men's Hospital from City Wall, Peking," Mission Photograph Album – China #4 Page 0070, UMC Digital Galleries, accessed September 5, 2020,

<https://catalog.gcuh.org/omeka/files/original/8d8e832f2cf5b85365a3fe3b20ff4ef3.jpg>.

¹⁹ "Hopkins Memorial Hospital," The History of Western Medicine in China, Indiana University Library, accessed June 30, 2020, <http://www.ulib.iupui.edu/wmicproject/node/511>.

²⁰ See C. E. Lim et al, *National Medical Association of China Medical Guide, 1928* (Peking: Chinese Medical Association, 1928), 32-33. <http://ulib.iupuidigital.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/WMIC/id/561/rec/4>.

See also the key and map for the physical location of the hospital which was located at the corner of Hatamen and Legation streets very close to the Forbidden City. However, when Wang Zihou worked at the hospital, it seems that it was located at the MEC mission compound which was located on Filial Piety Alley, very close to the Hatamen Entrance. See Charles and Bessie Ewing, *Death Throes of a Dynasty*, ed. E.G. Ruoff (Kent, Kent State University Press, 1990), 74, fn.8. A good map of the Legation Quarter in 1900 is available in Michael J. Moser and Yeone Wei-Chih Moser, *Foreigners Within the Gates: The Legations at Peking* (Chicago: Serindia Press, 2006), 88-89.

²¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 19. This author has translated 中國醫士 as Chinese doctor's apprentice since they were not full doctors 醫師. In 1896 there were 9 men studying to become doctors in all the missionary hospitals in Peking. See James Boyd Neal, "Medical Teaching in China," *China Medical Missionary Journal* XI, no.2 (June 1897): 91. <http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11240513#page/3/mode/1up>. However, there were two levels to this training. One level of missionary training was given to "native doctors" and one was for "native assistants" who were not as fully trained as the "native doctors." It is not always clear in the missionary literature when missionaries are writing about training Chinese in medicine, if they are talking about "native doctors" or "native assistants." It is also possible that the two groups were separated out in the course of training which lasted several years. See Paul A. Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact to 1900," in *The*

at the Peking Methodist Hospital who were training Chinese assistants like Wang Zihou,²² by researching the history of the Peking Methodist Hospital, it is possible to ascertain with a reasonable amount of certainty the identity of the doctors who were involved in medical training of Chinese assistants. Two doctors in particular are likely candidates to have been involved in Wang Zihou's training.

One doctor that was mentioned in the work of Peking Methodist Hospital who possibly trained Wang Zihou is Dr. Nehemiah Somes Hopkins,²³ an MEC missionary eye doctor who arrived in China in 1886.²⁴ Another who may have participated in training Wang is Dr. George Davis Lowry,²⁵ a MEC medical missionary who arrived in China on November 8, 1894.²⁶ Both Dr. Hopkins and Dr. Lowry spent many years of service at the Peking Methodist Hospital and were active in 1900 during the time Wang Zihou was being trained there. Dr. Lowry was among those listed during the Boxer Uprising that sought shelter in the Legation quarter along with Wang's family in Beijing.²⁷ The interest and experience of these two doctors in training Chinese assistants is revealed in their 1906 report on medical work in Peking where they write:

There can be no more important work coming to the foreign physician than that of giving a knowledge of medicine to the Christian men of this nation and no one should be as competent to do this work as the medical missionary.²⁸

The significance of this connection of Wang Zihou's job at the Peking Methodist Hospital to the

Cambridge History of China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 10:575.

²² C. E. Lim et al, *China Medical Guide*, 33.

²³ C. E. Lim et al, *China Medical Guide*, 32.

²⁴ James W. Bashford, *China and Methodism* (Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1906), 111.

<https://archive.org/details/chinamethodism01bash/page/110/mode/2up?q=Hopkins>. See also "Hopkins, N.S., North China," *Missionary Files: Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Correspondence, 1846-1912 (China), 1887-1904*. General Commission on Archives & History, United Methodist Church.

²⁵ C. E. Lim et al, *China Medical Guide*, 32.

²⁶ James W. Bashford, *China and Methodism*, 113.

<https://archive.org/details/chinamethodism01bash/page/112/mode/2up?q=Lowry>.

See also "Lowry, George D., North China," *Missionary Files: Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Correspondence, 1846-1912 (China), 1894-1901*. General Commission on Archives & History, United Methodist Church.

²⁷ See Henry D. Porter "The Boxers and the Hospitals," *The China Missionary Medical Journal* XIV, no.4 (October 1900): 296.

<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11243818#page/74/mode/1up>.

As well as Larry C. Thompson, *William Scott Ament and the Boxer Rebellion* (Jefferson, NC, McFarland & Company, Inc., 2009), 221. However, during the Boxer Uprising, Dr. Hopkins was listed as being in Tsunhua (遵化 Zunhua), Hebei, most likely at the Tsunhua Methodist Hospital. See Unnamed Author, "Personal Notes," *The China Missionary Medical Journal* XIV, no.4 (October 1900): 309.

<https://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11243818#page/86/mode/1up>.

²⁸ N.S. Hopkins and G.D. Lowry, "Hospital Reports: Peking Medical Work," *The China Missionary Medical Journal* XX, no.3 (May 1906): 149.

<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11354884#page/51/mode/1up>.

Dr. Hopkins' MEC biography states that he was involved in training many Chinese doctors in eye surgery in connection with Hopkins Memorial Hospital. Unnamed Author, "Nehemiah S. Hopkins, M.D., Passes" *Missionary Bio*, Madison, NJ, 1954, Drew University MEC Archives.

See also the mention of these two doctors in the work at Peking Methodist Hospital in J.J. Mullowney, "Report of the Peking Hospital, October, 1910," *The China Missionary Medical Journal* XXV, no.3 (May 1911): 206-209.

<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11194955#page/71/mode/1up>.

foreign Christian community and foreign missionaries is that it put Wang and his family in great danger during the Boxer Uprising. Although it cannot be proven, his membership in the LMS and opportunity to train to become a doctor's assistant make it likely that Wang Zihou was a Chinese convert to Christianity,²⁹ since foreign missionary doctors in China at the time said, "We are to give our instruction to those who are likely to use their abilities for the extension of Christ's kingdom."³⁰ Possibly Wang Zihou's religion, but certainly his foreign Christian connections, would make him a target during the Boxer Uprising. The anxiety of this threat convinced him that suicide was the more preferable option to torture and death at the hands of the Boxers.

THE STRENGTH OF A MOTHER

After her husband's suicide, Li Wenyi did not abandon her family. On July 25, 1900, after being newly widowed for only just over a month, Li Wenyi delivered Wang Mingdao.³¹ His maternal grandmother delivered the newborn and was overjoyed to see that he was a stout baby boy; she gave him the nickname "Iron." He did not like this name as a boy but gradually came to appreciate its connection to the iron will that Old Testament prophets such as Jeremiah were given by God.³² When her husband was alive, Li Wenyi had lived with him in the dormitories of the Peking Methodist Hospital. However, once the Boxer Rebellion had subsided, the fatherless family had to leave the Beijing Legation and seek housing elsewhere. The now matriarchal family found a small house to rent on East Beijing's Dry Fish Lane which would later become known as Sweet Rain Lane, a short distance away from the Forbidden City.³³

Wang Zihou's connection to the Peking Methodist Hospital and his suicide sparked by anxiety caused by the Boxers qualified the family to receive compensation funds from the Qing government. After the uprising, as punishment for supporting the Boxers and the resultant killing of foreign and Chinese Christians, the Eight Nation Alliance that provided military forces created the Boxer Protocol which stipulated that the Qing government was required to pay an enormous 450 million taels of silver as indemnity payments.³⁴ There were also untold losses in looting by foreigners, missionaries included, with Beijing being described by some observers as "a carnival of loot" after the uprising. Some of this indemnity money was given to churches by the foreign

²⁹ For medical missionaries' preference to choose Christian Chinese men to be their assistants, see Michelle Campbell Renshaw, "Accommodating the Chinese: The American Hospital in China, 1880-1920" (PhD diss., University of Adelaide, 2003), 181. Also, "Christian character" was an expectation of Chinese assistants. See Duncan Main, "Hospital Reports," *The China Medical Missionary Journal* II, no.4 (December 1888): 186. See section on "Students."

<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11153634#page/38/mode/1up>.

³⁰ Robert C. Beebe, "Our Medical Students," *The China Medical Missionary Journal* III, no.1 (March 1889): 2. <http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11176074#page/2/mode/1up>.

³¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 21.

³² Jeremiah was described as being "an iron pillar," as noted by Wang, in Jeremiah 1:18. Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 22.

³³ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 22. Dried Fish Lane is 幹魚胡同 and Sweet Rain Lane is 甘雨胡同. They have a very similar pronunciation in Chinese. Many lane (hutong) names were changed in Beijing during the Republican period from "vulgar," to more "cultured," names. See Madeleine Yue Dong, *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 74.

³⁴ Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1997), 56. The value was calculated by Cohen in 1997 to be U.S. \$333 million to be paid in 39 annual installments with 4 percent interest on unpaid principal.

governments and then the churches, in turn, gave “a few hundred taels of silver” to Chinese Christians such as Wang Mingdao’s mother. Li Wenyi saved some of that money and later purchased the housing unit she was renting on Sweet Rain Lane.³⁵ In order to make adequate money for the family to live on, she began renting out rooms, thus becoming a landlord.

Li Wenyi had studied for a few years at a London Missionary Society girls elementary school.³⁶ Wang Mingdao, in his memorial essay for his mother, recalled that she was not highly intelligent but had a very strong memory, even into her senior years.³⁷ During her elementary school education in an LMS girl’s school, she had memorized sections of the *Four Books* 四書, *Poems of One Thousand Writers* 千家詩, an anthology of poems from the Tang to the Song Dynasties, and other quotations from ancient Chinese books which she could recite even into her eighties.³⁸ That Wang Mingdao knew this indicates that she would quote these passages to Wang when he was a child. She had a violent temper and was stubborn in her opinions which caused many difficulties for her in her role as a landlord. Even in this entrepreneurial position, however, the rent Li Wenyi collected was not enough to support herself and her two children. This was partly due to the fact that her renters took advantage of her widowed situation: they often would not pay her the rent fees that were due since they thought that there was nothing she could do about it. In order to reduce one expense for his family, Wang Mingdao began to collect unused charcoal from other homes’ garbage piles, a task which he continued until he was 12 years old and began boarding at school.³⁹

BI-CULTURAL EDUCATION

From an early age, Wang Mingdao evidenced an academic inclination in that he enjoyed reading, and the selection of books he read from as a child reveals his immersion in a bi-cultural Chinese Christian heritage that began even before he went to school. He recalls that in his early years he read the *Three Character Classic* 三字經,⁴⁰ the *Hundred Family Names* 百家姓,⁴¹ the *Thousand Characters Text* 千字文,⁴² and the *Collection of Writings of Famous Worthies* 名賢

³⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 22. She was renting one housing unit but the sale was for the whole housing complex of seven units and four sheds. She eventually modified the complex to include 14 rooms which housed herself with her two children, her mother, two sisters with their own families, and eight unrelated families for a total of ten family members and over 30 people. Despite Wang’s comment that his mother Li Wenyi was not very intelligent, she did seem to possess some entrepreneurial skills. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 23.

³⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 22.

³⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 256. His father was almost certainly highly intelligent to be selected to become a doctor’s assistant as only those deemed highly intelligent were selected by foreign doctors to become Chinese doctor’s assistants. See Unnamed Author, “Medical Education in China,” *The China Medical Missionary Journal* I, no.3 (September 1887): 127.

<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11107971#page/39/mode/1up>.

³⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 256. For the *Poems of One Thousand Writers*, see “Qianjiashi,” Chinese Literature, China Knowledge, last modified May 19, 2011. <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Poetry/qianjiashi.html>.

³⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 24.

⁴⁰ For an English translation of the *Three Character Classic*, see “Sanzijing,” Chinese Knowledge, accessed July 1, 2020. <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Classics/sanzijing.html>.

⁴¹ See “Baijiaxing,” Chinese Knowledge, accessed July 1, 2020.

<http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Classics/baijiaxing.html>.

⁴² See “Qianziwen,” Chinese Knowledge, accessed July 1, 2020.

<http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Classics/qianziwen.html>

集,⁴³ the first three of which have been central to Chinese elementary education since the Song Dynasty.⁴⁴ He also notes that he read another set of texts: John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* 天路歷程, *Pilgrim's Progress Part II* 續天路歷程, the Christian classic which had been fully translated into Mandarin in 1866,⁴⁵ Favell Lee Mortimer's *The Peep of Day* 正道啟蒙, a collection of Christian religious instruction for children written in 1833 and translated into Chinese in 1864,⁴⁶ and the Old and New Testaments of the Bible. Wang's maternal grandmother was a Christian and taught her grandson Christian songs when he was a child.⁴⁷ Through reading both Chinese and Christian texts as a child, the intellectual foundation was laid early on for Wang's later self-identification as a Confucian-Christian.⁴⁸

Coupled with his academic propensity, Wang was a curious, thoughtful child who, somewhere from 1906 to 1909 between the ages of six and nine, became very concerned about the question of what happens to a person after they died. He had a maternal-uncle 舅父⁴⁹ who knew many stories and would often share these tales with Wang Mingdao and his older sister. Wang asked him, "Uncle, is there a way not to die?" His uncle responded, "There is a way." His uncle told him that the way to immortality was to retreat into the mountains and seek the Way, forsake the world of mortals, abandon fame and profit, put an end to the pursuit of pleasure, meditate in mountain caves, drink the dew from grass and leaves, unearth mushrooms for food, practice austerities and eventually become an immortal, thus avoiding death. This possibility filled Wang Mingdao with great joy and comfort.⁵⁰ His uncle's advice has some interesting parallels with the adventures recorded in the Chinese classic *The Journey to the West* 西遊記. For example, the Chinese phrase his uncle uses, "to practice austerities and become an immortal 修煉成仙" is used in *The Journey to the West* in reference to the Monkey King who himself "became an immortal" and that "within the three regions, all creatures endowed with the nine apertures can, through exercise, become immortals."⁵¹ A man with such extensive knowledge of Chinese novels and stories such as Wang Mingdao's uncle was surely familiar with *The Journey*

⁴³ See "Mingxianji," Chinese Knowledge, accessed July 1, 2020.

<http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Classics/mingxianji.html>

⁴⁴ Evelyn S. Rawski, "Elementary Education in the Mission Enterprise," in *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, eds. Suzanne W. Barnett & John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 138.

⁴⁵ See Xie Jiapeng and Su Yuxiao, "Chinese Translations of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*," *Bunyan Studies* 22 (2018):114-141.

⁴⁶ See Li Zipeng 黎子鵬, "Late Qing Chinese Christian Literature: The Narrative Features of *The Peep of Day*, 1864" 晚清基督教文學：《正道啟蒙》(1864)的中國小說敘事特徵, *Dao Feng Chinese Theological Journal* 道風 35 (July 2011): 280, <https://repository.lib.cuhk.edu.hk/en/item/cuhk-531011>.

⁴⁷ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 220. Unfortunately, there is very little mention of Wang's maternal grandmother in the biographies.

⁴⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 52-53.

⁴⁹ Wang seems to have completely lost contact with his father's side of the family after Wang Zihou's suicide.

⁵⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 26.

⁵¹ See Wu Chengen, *The Monkey and the Monk: An Abridgement of The Journey to the West*, trans. Anthony C. Yu (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 48. The passage is also found in Chinese at *The Journey to the West* 西遊記, Chapter 3.24, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=93394>. The lingzhi mushroom 靈芝草 that his uncle indicates Wang will need to eat in order to become immortal has a long history in Chinese medicine and is also referred to in *The Journey to the West*, Chapter 63.26, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=95724>. Anthony C. Yu translates the mushroom as "the nine-leaf divine agaric" which to those who are nourished by it, according to the classic novel, "would remain indestructible for a thousand years and luminous in all ages." See *The Journey to the West*, trans. Anthony C. Yu (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 3:218.

to the West, one of the most famous books in Chinese literature, and used his knowledge of such stories to reply to his young nephew's question about immortality. Wang Mingdao wanted to leave immediately for the mountains to pursue what would likely have been the path of a Daoist hermit or priest, although his uncle evaded his request; still, the hope of this path to escape death provided Wang with comfort for several years until his second year of school.

TSUI WEN PRIMARY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Wang's thoroughly bi-cultural Chinese and Christian education continued in 1909 when, at nine years of age, he began his studies at the Tsui Wen Primary Elementary School (Tsui Wen Academy) 萃文初等小學⁵² which had been established by the London Missionary Society. The school was located in the LMS compound on Lilu Hutong in West Beijing and contained the primary school, separate boarding schools for boys and girls, a clinic, and three mission houses.⁵³ According to Wang Mingdao, the school was half-way between an older-style private school 私塾 and a modern Christian school. Despite the fact that, in 1905, the Qing government abolished the imperial examination system, Confucian-style education still persisted in China for at least another decade. Although there was great eagerness in China to learn from the foreign powers and adopt elements from foreign education systems, a strong desire also remained to preserve the best aspects of Chinese history and literature in education, and there were very few teachers in China who had the skills and experience to provide alternative education options other than a Confucian-style education.⁵⁴ Wang notes that Tsui Wen Elementary School's curriculum included arithmetic, history, geography, moral cultivation, and Chinese literature, yet the main emphasis was on memorizing the Four Books and Five Classics 四書五經, the authoritative books of the Confucian tradition in China.⁵⁵ The study of the Confucian Classics had been the path to upward social mobility for even commoners like Wang since the Han Dynasty.⁵⁶ Despite the changes in the education system in 1905 and the inclusion of other elements into the curriculum at Christian schools, Wang was given a Confucian-style elementary education at Tsui Wen.

He began by memorizing *The Analects* 論語, then worked through *Mencius* 孟子, *The Great Learning* 大學, and *The Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸, completing the Four Books, as well as *Mr. Zuo's Commentary on Chun Qiu* 左傳. He memorized significant sections of these books as evidenced by the fact that when he was writing his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript in 1982, he used many quotations in this manuscript from the Four Books.⁵⁷ Tsui Wen Elementary School had only one teacher but this man had a significant impact on Wang Mingdao. His name

⁵² The English name in YMCA documents is Tsui Wen Academy 萃文學校, but in order to provide more precise information on Wang's education, the elementary primary, elementary senior, and middle school at Tsui Wen Academy will be named in order to distinguish them in Wang's chronology.

⁵³ See Robert A. Bickers, "New Light on Lao She, London, and the London Missionary Society, 1921-1929," *Modern Chinese Literature* 8 (Spring/Fall 1994) no. 1/2: 24.

⁵⁴ Wang Gungwu, *China Reconnects: Joining a Deep-rooted Past to a New World Order* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2019), 95.

⁵⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 26.

⁵⁶ See Tsai Yen-zen, "Scriptures and Their Popularization: The Case of the *Lun-yu* and *Hsiao-ching* in the Han Dynasty," *Journal of Humanities East/West* 18 (December 1998): 145.

⁵⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 179-210. The fact that he wrote these quotations, despite the fact that he could no longer read due to his deteriorating eyesight in 1982, indicates his memorization of the quotes.

was Xu Zhichen 徐質臣⁵⁸ and Wang notes that his teacher was well versed in literature. Since Xu was in his fifties when he taught Wang at the school sponsored by the LMS, it is almost certain that Xu had received a traditional Chinese education since he taught a Classical Chinese literature curriculum focused on the Four Books and Five Classics. Curriculum in all elementary mission schools at the time, despite being established by Christian missionaries, still had a significant classical Chinese orientation, with the curriculum largely dependent on the instructor's background⁵⁹ with even the poorest of families whose children were enrolled in mission schools desiring adherence to the traditional Confucian curriculum.⁶⁰ Xu was both encouraging of Wang Mingdao's strong academic ability but also strict when he noticed Wang was negligent in his studies. The great care his teacher showed Wang Mingdao prompted him to describe Xu Zhichen as his "strict teacher" 嚴師,⁶¹ a term of endearment and reference to the *Book of Rites*' 禮記 record on the subject of education in which the author advises that proper reverence for a worthy teacher or master is crucial to education.⁶²

Around 1911, the year the Qing Dynasty began to crumble, the comfort Wang derived from his uncle's idea of retreating to the mountains to become an immortal also disintegrated due to what he was learning at school. In the course of his studies, he learned about how the emperors Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 and Han Wudi 漢武帝 had both pursued the elixir of immortality without success. Although Wang does not reveal the source of the information about the emperors, the search by Qin Shihuang, the first emperor of a unified China, for the elixir of immortality is recorded in *The Grand Scribe's Records* 史記.⁶³ That these two emperors, with the unlimited resources of the entire Chinese empire available to them, could not find the path to immortality made Wang Mingdao despair that a poor boy like himself could never find it. He asked his uncle about this, and his uncle admitted that he had deceived him. The realization that his path to immortality had collapsed combined with his fear of death filled Wang with a terrible sense of dread. He recalled that his feeling at the time was described perfectly in the poem entitled, "On a Gate Tower at Yuzhou," by Tang Dynasty era poet Chen Zi'ang 陳子昂 (661-702 CE),

Where before me are the ages that have gone?
And where behind me are the coming generations?
I think of heaven and earth, without limit, without end,

⁵⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years* 26, and Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 52. There were two assistant teachers, Mr. Xu's son who was a medical student and his son's friend, both of whom are not named. Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 26.

⁵⁹ See Ryan Dunch, "Science, Religion, and the Classics in Christian Higher Education to 1920," in *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950*, eds. Daniel H. Bays and Ellen Widmer (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 64.

⁶⁰ Evelyn S. Rawski, "Elementary Education in the Mission Enterprise," 142.

⁶¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 27.

⁶² *Book of Rites*, Record on the Subject of Education, 12. <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=10108>. Wang Mingdao has several references to the Five Classics 五經 (*Classic of Poetry*, *Book of Documents*, *Book of Rites*, *Book of Changes*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) in *Fifty Years* and the *Last Confession*. The traditional view is that Confucius was the editor of the Five Classics which Wang Mingdao subscribed to.

⁶³ Sima Qian, *The Grand Scribe's Records*, trans. Tsai-Fa Cheng (et al.), ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 1:153-154. These records, the first and most influential of the 24 dynastic histories of China, are foundational to historical knowledge in China.

And I am all alone and my tears fall down.⁶⁴

Wang Mingdao, as will be shown in the following chapters, was deeply touched by Chinese poetry that could express his feelings as captured in the writing of past poets. While it is not clear where Wang picked up his love of poetry, it is likely that his education at Tsui Wen Academy included poetry components in his literature classes, and poetry became a life-long delight. In 1980, upon being released from prison and awaiting travel arrangements to his new home in Shanghai, an old friend Zeng Pingdao 甄品道 had come with Wang's son Wang Tianduo 王天鐸 to celebrate his release. As they waited for the paperwork for Wang's release to be processed, the two old friends discussed the past, prayed, read the Bible, and discussed poetry with the two taking turns reciting the verses of their favorite poems.⁶⁵

TSUI WEN SENIOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

In the course of his diligent study and memorization of the Four Books, Wang encountered Mencius's statements that human nature is good.⁶⁶ However, his home life provided an alternative perspective on human nature. His mother's renting out her housing complex units to renters of Beijing's lower socio-economic class brought Wang Mingdao into contact with tenants who abused one another and engaged in prostitution and gambling. Wang lamented that if his mother followed Mencius's mother's example to move until she could find a suitable environment for her son's proper moral development,⁶⁷ his family would starve to death because no such upstanding renters could be found among Beijing's lower socio-economic class.⁶⁸ He originally thought the problem of human nature was due to a lack of a proper education; however, in 1912, the same year that the Qing Dynasty finally ended, he came to the conclusion that the problem with humankind's degenerate moral state was a problem of human nature. Now twelve years of age and entering adolescence, Wang moved up to Tsui Wen Senior Elementary School 萃文高等小學 and began to board at the school. He was surprised to discover that some of the older classmates, those who had received a higher level of education than he had, were just as morally degenerate as the poor Beijing residents he had grown up with in his mother's housing complex: vicious bullying, lude sexual story-telling, and coarse language were common at the school of around 35 students. Wang himself felt that his morality had degenerated from living at the school.⁶⁹ Beginning in the senior elementary level, since he now had higher fees due to living at the school and his mother did not earn enough money through her rental income to pay his school fees, Wang relied on scholarships from the LMS that he attained through an

⁶⁴ Chen Ziang 陳子昂, "On a Gate Tower at Yuzhou" 登幽州臺歌, Chinese Ancient Poetry, accessed July 6, 2020. https://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/4035. Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 27.

⁶⁵ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 212. Zhen Pindao would be the Hanyu Pinyin transliteration but I retain Ma Min's transliteration for clarity.

⁶⁶ *Mencius*, Gaozi I, 6.2. <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=13676>. For a more nuanced perspective on Mencius' statement that human nature is good, see Bryan Van Norden, "Mencius," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Fall 2019). Section 3, The Goodness of Human Nature, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/mencius/#GoodHumaNatu>.

⁶⁷ See *Biographies of Outstanding Women* 列女傳, Maternal and Polite, Zou Meng Ke Mu, 1-9, <https://ctext.org/lie-nv-zhuan/zou-meng-ke-mu>.

⁶⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 29.

⁶⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 30.

excellent academic performance.⁷⁰ Thus began Wang's dependence upon missionary Christianity that lasted until his break with missionary churches in 1921.

He was only allowed to go home on Saturday afternoons, and he spent the rest of his time living on the school campus. A physically weak and sickly child, certain aspects of Wang's personality were revealed at this time that would come out more clearly later in his life, including an "iron" strong will. When he was bullied by older and stronger classmates, he would not yield, even when beaten. Also, he would not follow other people blindly if he was not clear on the issue. However, if his conviction was set on an issue, no matter who opposed him, he would persist in his conviction. Looking back three decades later, Wang Mingdao described himself as having both radical and conservative aspects to his personality.⁷¹ In this duality, Wang reveals himself to be a young man well suited to the early twentieth century Chinese context as many Chinese at the time wanted to see radical change, while others hoped to conserve the best of Chinese culture. Some, like Wang Mingdao, wanted both. On February 12, 1912, with the forced abdication of the child Emperor Puyi 溥儀, who reigned as the Xuantong Emperor 宣統帝, a new post-imperial age had dawned in China. Many Chinese hoped to see the benefits of radical change with the formation of the Republic of China under Sun Yat Sen's 孫中山 Guomindang Party (KMT) 國民黨, but they were also hopeful that they could conserve the best aspects of Chinese civilization.⁷² There was a greater consciousness of the need for fundamental change among Chinese who were hopeful to see a "new China" emerge.⁷³ Wang was one among many "radical conservatives" of the time.

CHANGE IS IN THE AIR

At the beginning of his autobiography *Fifty Years*, Wang reveals himself to be a young man of his time: hoping to preserve the best of Chinese culture, while at the same time eager for the hope that change can bring. His early formation in the Chinese and Christian classics provided the intellectual formation for him to develop into the Chinese Christian theologian he would later become. However, he was not yet a Christian: by 1914, with his fear of death still not waylaid, and now combined with rapid social changes on the outside and his guilt over his moral degeneration inside, the conditions were right for a significant change to happen in Wang Mingdao's life. In 1913, Yuan Shikai 袁世凱, the commander of the Beiyang Army, was elected president of the Republic of China. Shortly thereafter, he dissolved the KMT and did not abide by the provisional constitution that the young republic had proposed, instead declaring himself the Emperor of China in 1915. He also attempted to dissolve the provincial system of China in order to create a strong central government to control the country, but this created an enormous backlash which resulted in several provinces degenerating into warlord states. Yuan abdicated in 1916 and died shortly thereafter of natural causes.⁷⁴ This volatile national situation corresponded

⁷⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 258.

⁷¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 31. We can see with his analysis of himself as both a radical and a conservative he is interpreting himself in ways that Wang would not have been aware of as a pre-teen. It must always be remembered that his autobiography *Fifty Years* is an account that has been interpreted with specific goals in mind. However, this does not mean that his account is fictional.

⁷² See Charlotte Furth, "Intellectual Change: From the Reform Movement to the May Fourth Movement, 1895-1920," in *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 12:350-354.

⁷³ Paul A. Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact to 1900," 544.

⁷⁴ The political situation during these years is described in detail in Ernest P. Young, "Politics in the Aftermath of

with Wang Mingdao's volatile personal situation.

Wang recalled that, at this time, both his home environment and his school environment were morally poor. The fine instruction of his beloved "strict teacher" Xu Zichen at the primary level of Tsui Wen Elementary School had been replaced by inferior instructors at the senior level of the elementary school. Wang states that, although he still had a class on cultivating moral character 修身, the emphasis of the class was on the literature aspect of the lessons and not actually on the cultivation of a superior moral life. The teachers at Tsui Wen Senior Elementary School emphasized good hygiene and etiquette but it was not until he was 14 years of age that he paid careful attention to moral improvement.⁷⁵

His mother and father were both members of the LMS, and he could recall being brought to attend Christian worship services by his mother since he had been a young child. After he entered school at nine years of age, he attended daily Christian meetings. Once he began boarding at the school at twelve years of age, he attended upwards of ten Christian meetings a week. The students from both his boys' school and the affiliated girls' school⁷⁶ met together in corporate worship in the early morning for a half an hour every day from Monday to Saturday. On Wednesday afternoons, he attended a prayer meeting. On Sundays mornings, he attended Sunday school and a large-scale worship service, in the afternoon an "encouragement group," and in the evening a meeting for young people. In addition to all this, he also attended three or four bible classes a week.⁷⁷ Wang Mingdao received both a thorough Chinese education and also a thorough Christian education. Therefore, it is curious as to why some scholars do not see Wang as having grown up in the Christian faith since he was immersed in Christian teaching and activities from his earliest years.⁷⁸

Later, Wang recalled that attendance at these meetings had been mandatory and that the Bible classes' content was tested for grades, which therefore resulted in mechanical memorization that led to the content soon being forgotten after the test. Wang lamented that no one was interested in the "truths of the Bible" and that the preachers lacked both ability and interest which resulted in students detesting having to go to the meetings. When attendance became voluntary during holidays, the students were "rare as morning stars."⁷⁹ Correspondingly, in the spring of his fourteenth year, Wang described himself as having no religious beliefs. However, this was soon to change.

During the spring of 1914, a student who was three years older initiated a conversation with Wang.⁸⁰ This student's moral conduct and care for others had earlier impressed Wang and had

Revolution: The Era of Yuan Shih-kai, 1912-1916," in *The Cambridge History of China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 12:237-246.

⁷⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 32.

⁷⁶ The *Educational Review* was a journal produced in the early twentieth century in Shanghai that was focused on providing information on education in China and was heavily influenced by Christian missionaries. The November 1910 issue indicates that at the time there were two schools in Peking that were being operated under the auspices of the LMS under the leadership of the "Chinese Church Council." See Unnamed Author, "Day Schools in Chihli," *Educational Review* 3, no.11 (November 1910): 14. These two schools appear to be the Tsui Wen Elementary & Middle School for boys that Wang Mingdao attended and the affiliated girl's school that Wang mentions in Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 32. For more on the girl's school, see Unnamed Author, *Peking Lassies: A Sketch of Life and Work in an LMS Girls' Boarding School* (Peking: London Missionary Society, 1910). Unfortunately, no such record exists for the Tsui Wen Elementary & Middle School for boys that Wang attended.

⁷⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 32-33.

⁷⁸ See Richard R. Cook, "Wang Mingdao and the Evolution of Contextualized Chinese Churches," 211 and 217.

⁷⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 33.

⁸⁰ Gene Ng 吳劍麗, a professor who is working on publishing Wang's complete diary at Alliance Bible Seminary in

given him a good impression of his older schoolmate. Wang describes him as first leading him “to know God”⁸¹ and then taking up the role of mentor by guiding Wang on how to revere God through the practice of Christian religious disciplines such as prayer, Bible reading, daily self-examination, and diary keeping. Although Wang would later experience other significant moments in his religious life, including his re-baptism,⁸² his acceptance of the doctrine of salvation by faith,⁸³ and his “standing up again” through repentance after an eight-year long period of lying in prison,⁸⁴ Wang consistently looked back at this moment when he was 14 years old as his conversion to Christianity. When Wang was 82 years old, in his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript, he wrote that “at 14 years of age, due to the leading of an older schoolmate, I became a Christian.”⁸⁵ This reveals something significant about Wang’s theology: he consistently believed that it is the point where a person expresses faith in Jesus Christ that he or she becomes a Christian, not a further act of cognitive recognition of correct doctrine, nor further obedience to the will of God that marks the change.

His own conversion to Christianity was a significant turning point for Wang as it opened a path that would eventually resolve his concern about life after death, and it also provided him with a way to achieve the moral cultivation that the Confucian tradition called for.⁸⁶ His mature thought on the subject as an octogenarian describes what was beginning to transpire in the thoughts of the young teenager:

I gradually felt that the lessons in the Four Books were consistent with the truth in the Bible, and I began to understand the statement in the *Great Learning*: ‘Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy.’⁸⁷ I was a primary school student at the time, and of course I could not say anything about ‘Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy.’ But I was able to learn the lesson of ‘Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated.’ Therefore, I started to pay attention to ‘thoughts being sincere, hearts being rectified, and persons being cultivated’ from that day, and I made progress in the future. The Bible and the Four Books laid the foundation for my life. No matter what I read, I paid careful attention to ethics.⁸⁸

Hong Kong notes that even in Wang’s unpublished diary he does not mention this classmate’s name. Gene Ng 吳劍麗, Facebook message to the author, April 19, 2021.

⁸¹ 認識神 can be translated as “to know God” or “to gain an understanding of God.” Since this is Wang’s religious conversion narrative, I prefer the former translation.

⁸² See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 80.

⁸³ See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 95.

⁸⁴ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 56-57.

⁸⁵ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 52.

⁸⁶ Lam Wing-hung sees these two issues, what happens after death and moral cultivation, as being the two main concerns of Wang Mingdao’s early life. See Lam Wing-hung, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 21. However, Wang continued to fear death even after his conversion to Christianity. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 45.

⁸⁷ *The Book of Rites: The Great Learning*, 2. <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=10383#s10035493>.

⁸⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 52. See also, *The Great Learning*, 2, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=10383>.

Clearly, Wang Mingdao saw no inconsistency between the ethical demands of the Bible and the Four Books but rather saw the two as representing largely harmonious views on the moral requirements for human beings. This is another important facet of Wang Mingdao's theology. It is well known that Modernist theologians such as Zhao Zichen 趙紫宸 thought that the Confucian and Christian traditions were largely consistent,⁸⁹ but it is less well-known that some self-described fundamentalists such as Wang Mingdao also saw Confucian thought as being compatible with Christian religious beliefs. This harmonization between the two traditions, Confucianism and Christianity, began in Wang's thought when he was converted in 1914 and continued throughout his life.

XIE HONGLAI & THE YMCA

This harmonization of traditions was not the product of Wang's thoughts alone, however. The older schoolmate who was such an influential mentor gave Wang a copy of Xie Honglai's (H.L. Zia) 謝洪賚 book, *Friendly Talks to Students* 修學一助, which had a profound effect on Wang. Wang was so impressed by this work that he proceeded to buy every book he could find written by the author.⁹⁰ Xie Honglai (1873-1916) had been born into a Christian family in Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, and at seven years old, he began a traditional education at a private school which familiarized him with the Confucian classics. At 11, he left home to attend the Buffington Institute and was baptized into the Methodist Episcopal Church at the age of 13. In 1895, Xie Honglai graduated from the institute as the student with the top academic score, went on to work at the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai, and eventually moved into publishing with the YMCA.⁹¹ He became fluent in both English and Japanese and was particularly interested in training young people which led him to become the head of the YMCA's publishing department and its secretary of the national board in China in 1904, a position which he held until his death from tuberculosis in 1916.⁹² In his dozen years with the YMCA, Xie Honglai published or translated over 106 titles, becoming possibly "the greatest pioneer Chinese Christian writer in early twentieth century China."⁹³ By the time Wang read *Friendly Talks to Students* in 1914, the book had already gone through four editions with Xie being a nationally recognized author in China.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ See Zhao Zichen, "A Chinese Delegate Looks at Tambaram (1939)," in *The Collected English Writings of Tsu Chen Chao*, ed. Xiaochao Wang (Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua, 2009), 463-464. Also Zhao Zichen, "The Articulate Word – The Problem of Communication (1947)," in *The Collected English Writings of Tsu Chen Chao*, 485-486.

⁹⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 34.

⁹¹ See Xie Honglai 謝洪賚, *The Protestant Missions in China: Selected Works of Xie Honglai (H.L. Zia)* 中國耶穌教會小史：謝洪賚文選, ed. Zhao Xiaoyang 趙曉陽 (New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社, 2020): xv-xvii.

⁹² Samuel C. Chu, "Early 20th Century Chinese Christian Writers and the Church Indigenization Movement," *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History: Academia Sinica*, 12 (1983): 197-198.

http://www.mh.sinica.edu.tw/MHDocument/PublicationDetail/PublicationDetail_1019.pdf.

⁹³ Samuel C. Chu, "Early 20th Century Chinese Christian Writers," 200. It has been said that it was because of Xie Honglai's writings that the publications of the YMCA made a significant impact on the thinking men of China during the early twentieth century. Walter N. Lacy, *A Hundred Years of Chinese Methodism* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948), 192.

⁹⁴ H.L. Zia (Xie Honglai) 謝洪賚, ed., *Friendly Talks with Students* 修學一助, 4th ed. (Shanghai: The National Committee of the YMCA of China 中華基督教青年會組合, 1914), unnumbered publisher's page. Wang likely read the previous 1912 edition since the 1914 edition was published in August of 1914 and he indicates reading the book around May of 1914.

The book, *Friendly Talks with Students*, first published in 1912, is actually a compilation work by several authors. Xie Honglai wrote five and translated 12 of the 29 sections.⁹⁵ The book covers several practical topics such as “How to Use a Dictionary” and “How I Learned to Read English.” There are also some more philosophical topics such as the section on “The Aim of Education” in which the author states that the goal of education is moral cultivation, to rectify, or correct thinking, and for the student to become a mature person.⁹⁶ The author in the section on “The Object of Study” states that the purpose of study is to pursue self-perfection to the greatest degree. Consequently, one should obtain the highest useful position one can reach in order to be the person God wants one to become through seeking wisdom, self-control, excellence, and application through what one has learned.⁹⁷ The section on “Books and How to Read Them” contains an interesting idea about moral integrity. Xie advises readers to only recommend a book to others after reading it fully as only then can a reader truly understand the argument of the book instead of simply trying to appear learned.⁹⁸ Wang would remember this lesson and described himself in the 1980s as a person who does not speak about a book unless he has read it.⁹⁹ In the section entitled “How to Spend a Vacation Properly,” Xie states that when a student returns home from summer vacation and there is no set schedule, it is easy to lose self-discipline. He encourages students to pray and read the Bible every day, with the first week after returning home being especially crucial for this, before one becomes undisciplined. If there is no place to worship, Christian students should gather and conduct worship or meet in groups together and that the summer break is a good opportunity to train one’s faith.¹⁰⁰ The “Student’s Decalogue” at book’s conclusion is comprised of ten commandments for students to frame their thinking about life and education. The final three commandments are instructive on how Xie approved of a disciplined Christianity:

8. Love your friends more than yourself. Love your school more than your friends. Love your homeland more than your school. Love God more than anything.
9. In self-cultivation use the finest as your expectation. When you find a person of virtue, you should follow that example.
10. Be rigorous in self-discipline with every day’s self-governance becoming stricter.¹⁰¹

Xie’s works were well received by Chinese Christians like Wang because Xie emphasized practical methods that students could use to improve themselves. Xie did this in a way that combined a Confucian sense of morality and self-discipline with his own deep commitment to the Christian scriptures, along with a desire to learn from the best of what the West could provide

⁹⁵ H.L. Zia, *Friendly Talks with Students*, Table of Contents 2-4. The original contributions by Xie Honglai were Part I, Section 1. Entering School: Hints to New Students, 12. How to Use a Dictionary, Part II, Section 2. The Value of Evening Schools, 3. How to Spend a Vacation Profitably, and 5. How I Learned to Read English. Since Xie was the editor of the book, the various author’s ideas can be considered to represent Xie’s perspectives on the topics.

⁹⁶ H.L. Zia, *Friendly Talks with Students*, Part I, 11.

⁹⁷ H.L. Zia, *Friendly Talks with Students*, Part I, 20.

⁹⁸ H.L. Zia, *Friendly Talks with Students*, Part I, 29. Although in this section he recommends reading modern authors instead of ancient, his strong emphasis on the practical discipline of Christianity shapes Xie Honglai’s thought to have a Confucian-Christian character to it.

⁹⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 153-154.

¹⁰⁰ H.L. Zia, *Friendly Talks with Students*, Part II, 7-8.

¹⁰¹ H.L. Zia, *Friendly Talks with Students*, Part II, 46.

Chinese students with, thus creating his own modern Confucian-Christian thought that Wang Mingdao deeply admired.¹⁰²

TSUI WEN MIDDLE SCHOOL

Wang indicates that, after his conversion, with the instruction from his older schoolmate and that from the works of Xie Honglai, over the next few months, his mental state and life began to change significantly.¹⁰³ He started to become clear on the meaning and responsibility of life. He became very interested in reading the Bible, praying, and attending Christian worship meetings. At the same time, he developed a revulsion for what he considered immoral behavior and vile language, both of which he had engaged in previously. On April 12, 1914, Easter Sunday, Wang was baptized at an LMS worship service. He graduated from the Tsui Wen Senior Elementary School in the summer of 1914 and that fall entered the Tsui Wen Middle School 萃文中學 which at that time offered a four-year academic program. His older schoolmate who was in his fourth and final year of middle school continued to mentor Wang through his first year of middle school until he graduated in 1915, leaving Wang behind at Tsui Wen.¹⁰⁴ One evening in the fall of 1914 before his mentor left the school, Wang and this student went for a walk on the school campus. His older schoolmate asked him what career he aspired to. Wang responded that he had no particular ambitions and was rebuked by his mentor that a young person must have ambition. His older mentor quoted Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130-1200 CE) comment on *Analects* 7.6 that "in order to learn, one must first be determined"¹⁰⁵ and from the *Book of the Later Han* 後漢書 that "a truly determined person will find a solution"¹⁰⁶ to Wang.¹⁰⁷ This conversation prompted Wang to begin to think about his career. In spite of his negative assessment of the quality of religious life at Tsui Wen Elementary School, Wang Mingdao was deeply influenced by his first teacher, Xu Zhichen, who was most likely a Confucian-Christian. Also, Xie Honglai's Confucian-Christian instruction which, according to Wang, paired commitment to all essential points of Christian scripture with emphasis on Christian behavior, and was written in an accessible way for young people, had a deep impact on his life.¹⁰⁸ The influence of these two important teachers, combined with his older

¹⁰² See Xie Honglai, *Selected Works of Xie Honglai*, xxvii and 293-306. However, as the translator of influential American Modernists Harry Emerson Fosdick 富司迪 and Sherwood Eddy 艾迪, Xie Honglai's theology may have been more Modernist than Wang Mingdao realized. See Xie Honglai, *Selected Works of Xie Honglai*, xxxiv. Wang Mingdao described Fosdick as a leading Modernist thinker and notes that the YMCA translated his works but did not make mention of Xie's translation of Fosdick. See Wang Mingdao, "We Are for the Faith!" 我們是為了信仰! *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955; repr., New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group, 2014): 136-137. Subsequent references to *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* are from the CCLM Publishing Group version. Wang described Sherwood Eddy as a preacher of the Modernist gospel. See Wang Mingdao, "Does Dr. Sherwood Eddy Preach the Gospel?" 艾迪博士是傳福音的麼? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 32 (Winter 1934): 245-247.

¹⁰³ See Gene Ng 吳劍麗, "The Shaping Influence of the Chinese YMCA on the Young Wang Mingdao" 中國基督教青年會對少年王明道的信仰形塑, in *I Believed; Therefore, I Spoke: Essays in Honor of Leung Ka-lun at the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* 我信，所以說話：梁家麟院長六秩壽辰紀念祝賀文集 eds. Zhang Yunkai 張雲開, Chen Zhiheng 陳智衡 (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary 建道神學院, 2018), 159-194. Ng's article shows from Wang's unpublished diary that the YMCA had a deep influence on Wang between the years of 1915-1920 before the split between Fundamentalists and Modernists in China.

¹⁰⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 34.

¹⁰⁵ Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Interlinear Analysis of and Collected Commentaries on the Four Books* 四書章句集注, Commentary on *Analects* 7.6. <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=89768>.

¹⁰⁶ *Book of the Later Han* 後漢書, Biography of Geng Yan, 12. <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=74180>.

¹⁰⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 44.

¹⁰⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 37. Wang recalled that when he went to visit Xie Honglai's grave in 1925, that

schoolmate's mentorship, who himself had received several years of a similar education, conveyed Christianity to Wang in a way that he could embrace with his bi-cultural Confucian-Christian background. His years at Tsui Wen Elementary School and his first year at Tsui Wen Middle School with his older schoolmate provided some foundational concepts and examples which Wang would later build on to become a Christian leader in the future. This was, in fact, one of the goals of Christian education at the time in China with teachers attempting to influence Chinese students by example in order to provide the lessons and morals to become the future leaders of the Chinese church.¹⁰⁹ Research into YMCA records reveals that there were more Christians at Tsui Wen than Wang Mingdao thought, although the number of baptized students remained quite low and the number of baptisms decreased over time.¹¹⁰

In his second year of middle school, at the age of 15, Wang was now without a personal mentor to help him navigate his new religious life. Research on the religious life at Christian middle schools in China during this time has revealed that most students went unconverted, to the disappointment and concern of missionaries. The majority of families desired their children to go to Christian middle schools such as Tsui Wen Middle School, not for Christian religious instruction, but simply in order for their children to learn English¹¹¹ which would increase academic and employment opportunities in the post-Imperial examination period of China.¹¹² YMCA statistics reveal that in 1915, there was a significant drop in the number of Christian students at Tsui Wen. Out of 88 students, only three were Christians.¹¹³ However, Wang looked back from his later perspective and saw the low quality of moral and religious life at Tsui Wen Middle School as being providential. In 1915, during his second year of studies at middle school, there were several new students who came from government official and successful business families. Several of these students not only had poor behavior, but some of them had contracted venereal diseases indicating fornication, which was in violation of behavior policies of Christian schools. Wang was concerned that these students were leading others who had formerly exhibited good behavior to regress. He spoke with the school's directing teacher¹¹⁴ in order to reign in these students and was shocked by the teacher's response that if he were to expel them, the school's finances would suffer leading to the school's closure, and so he would not do it. Infuriated by this statement, Wang responded that

Wang's commitment to the practical aspects of Christian life was in part due to Xie's influence.

¹⁰⁹ See Guo Jingwei 郭經緯, "Protestant Christian Elementary Education in China – A Discussion on the Establishment of Universal Elementary and Middle School Education" 基督教新教在華基礎教育—興辦普及, 特殊中小學教育商榷, in *Setting the Roots Right – Christian Education in China and Taiwan* 將根紮好—基督宗教在華教育的檢討, ed. Wang Chen-Main 王成勉 (Taipei: Liming Publishers 黎明文化, 2007), 630-632.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix 2: Tsui Wen Academy Statistics. It is almost certain that Wang would only have considered the baptized students as being true Christians. There are only three years available in *China's Young Men* that include statistics on Tsui Wen Academy. Coincidentally, the years that are available range from 1913-1915, bookmarking the years of Wang's conversion.

¹¹¹ Wang himself was able to master English to the level that he was later able to translate English theological works into Chinese such as four books by George Halley Knight (1835-1917) including, *In the Secret of His Presence* (1906) and, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day* (1910). See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 209. He was also able to "skillfully" converse with English speaking foreign visitors even into his later years. See Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 133. However, he did not publish any works in English.

¹¹² See Jessie G. Lutz, "Middle Schools – The Roots of Christian Education in China and Taiwan," in *Setting the Roots Right – Christian Education in China and Taiwan*, ed. Wang Chen-Main (Taipei: Liming Publishers, 2007), 12-13.

¹¹³ See Appendix 2. No explanation is offered in *China's Young Men* to explain the dramatic drop-off in Christians at Tsui Wen Academy.

¹¹⁴ A Chinese teacher acted as the directing teacher in the frequent absence of the principle, Thomas Biggin.

it would be better to close the school than to have a school run by morally incompetent teachers that lead young people astray and that to have Christians running a school that allows students to be immoral loses the propriety of Christ.¹¹⁵

In Wang's statement to his teacher, we encounter for the first time in Wang Mingdao's post-conversion life an internal principle that he consistently maintains until 1955. The principle is that it would be better to lose everything than to compromise righteousness. This principle was nourished by his exposure to both the Christian and Confucian traditions as will be displayed in the research on the years to follow. One of the offending students overheard Wang's outburst to the supervising teacher and shared the information with other students, which caused them to detest Wang. For the next few years of middle school, these classmates, hoping to catch him in misbehavior, carefully examined everything Wang did. According to Wang, God used these students to improve his moral behavior, and by the time he was ready to graduate from middle school, he was a model student.¹¹⁶

Looking back on his life, Wang recalled that, at 15, he was thankful to his mentor for guiding him to revere God and to have faith in Christ, but in Wang's opinion, his older schoolmate had not helped him to understand Christian salvation nor the promises of the afterlife. This lack of certainty resulted in Wang continuing to fear death despite his conversion.¹¹⁷ In order to resolve this tension at the time, and prompted by the earlier conversation with his mentor about a career, Wang began to think about becoming a politician. Looking back, the desire to live on through reputation and become a politician made sense since to him at 15 years of age because, at that time, he followed the logic of the Chinese proverb that "after death, a tiger leaves to later generations its fur, but a man, his reputation."¹¹⁸ In the same way, Wang hoped to develop a name for himself as other great men such as Abraham Lincoln had done in order to live on in the memories of other people. Wang had read a biography of Lincoln and was impressed that, like him, Lincoln had grown up in poverty, and yet he had risen to great fame throughout the world. Wang longed to become the "Lincoln of China."¹¹⁹ Upon reflection, he later realized that his motivation to become a politician was not due to political aspirations, even though news of Beijing's political situation surely reached him living in the capital, but rather because he saw politics as a pathway to escape death through his name living on in fame.¹²⁰

In spite of his career plans, during the first half of 1915, Wang began to sense "God's call"

¹¹⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 35-37.

¹¹⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 37. Even though he had many enemies at Tsui Wen Middle School, Wang also developed a close friendship in 1916 or 1917 with a student named Chen Zigao 陳子誥, but he only makes mention of it later in life. Wang respected Chen's morality and knowledge and was deeply concerned when Chen later wavered in his Christian faith. See Wang Mingdao *Fifty Years*, 132.

¹¹⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 44-45.

¹¹⁸ Originally from the *Later History of the Five Dynasties* 新五代史, Book 32, 10.

<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=790583#p11>. The original proverb refers to a leopard (bao) 豹死留皮，人死留名, but Wang uses the tiger (hu) version.

¹¹⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 45. He mentions in Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 265, the biography on Abraham Lincoln that he read while in middle school but the first character could not be discerned by the editor due to Wang's illegible hand-writing. The reference is to 英雄 which is translated Heroes. Since he was an avid reader of Xie Honglai's works, he may also have read, Xie Honglai 謝洪賚, ed., *World Leaders* 後進楷模 (Shanghai: The National Committee of the YMCA of China 中華基督教青年會組合, 1912) which contained a biography of Abraham Lincoln in Chinese translated by Xie Honglai.

¹²⁰ Lian Xi thinks that the deteriorating political situation in Beijing also motivated his desire to become a politician. See Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 113. However, Wang makes no mention of a political source of motivation to enter politics.

on his life to enter into Christian ministry. He immediately resisted this call as he saw political life as being glorious and the life of a preacher being petty and low. To communicate how he felt about going from pursuing a political career to an ecclesial career, he referred to Mencius's statement that a bird does not descend from a lofty tree to enter into a dark valley.¹²¹ The reason for this revulsion toward Christian ministry was the fact that he saw Chinese preachers as not being useful people. In his young opinion, they were the lowly assistants of Western missionaries or second class students who were not intelligent enough to go into medicine or teaching, and so without other options, they entered into theological training and church work. Since during his education thus far he had always scored among the top students which provided him with scholarships, he did not think a lowly career as a preacher was appropriate for such a talented person like himself, and so he rejected God's initial overtures for him to become a preacher.¹²² He recalled that he resisted God's call on his life for more than three years from the ages of 15 to 18 which made up the majority of his time at Tsui Wen Middle School. The middle school program at Tsui Wen still operated on the old four-year middle school system, and he was scheduled to graduate from the school in the summer of 1918.¹²³

However, in the spring before graduation, he had to determine what to study in university. He resolved that he was going to major in political studies feeling that "man can conquer heaven."¹²⁴ He later concluded that to resist God's call on his life was like "striking a stone with an egg"¹²⁵ and was a useless battle that he could not win. During the middle of March 1918, he became extremely ill with symptoms of fatigue, dizziness and high fever and spent over a month sick in bed at home and could only return to school on May 7th but remained ill. He had a relapse and returned home on May 23rd getting worse by the day. However, he still went to take the Christian universities' entrance examination for middle school students which was scheduled for June 3-7, but he was only able to test for the first two days so severe was his illness, and on the third day, he could not get out of bed. Fearing his death was immanent, since an LMS hospital doctor told his sister that his condition was beyond hope, and still having a terrible fear of death, he finally gave up his aspiration of becoming a famous politician and promised to no longer resist God's call on his life, realizing that the idiom "man can resist heaven" was nonsense. By the end of June, his health returned. On June 27, 1918, since his academic performance had been excellent up until he became ill, Wang was allowed to graduate from Tsui Wen Middle School with the rest of his class.¹²⁶

UNIVERSITY DREAMS & THE MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT

¹²¹ Mencius, Teng Wen Gong I, 4.16, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=13264#s10030359>.

¹²² Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 45-46.

¹²³ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 47.

¹²⁴ Wang uses the idiom 人強勝天 "man can conquer nature," a concept that is universal as well as Chinese. The idea appears in China at least as early as the unofficial dynastic history *The Lost Book of Zhou* 逸周書, Wenzhuanjie, 1. <https://ctext.org/lost-book-of-zhou/wen-zhuan>. I use "heaven" in the translation because Wang's use of the idiom is clearly referring to resisting God.

¹²⁵ Here Wang uses another idiom 以卵擊石 "to strike a stone with an egg," from the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* 三國演義, 43.11. <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=98489>. He frequently used idioms in *Fifty Years*. It is not known whether or not he read these classics, as idioms are commonly used in Chinese writing, but his use of idioms reveals that he is attempting to convey that he is an educated, or at least, a well-read man, despite his unspectacular formal educational achievements. A partial list of his reading from his very limited published diary is provided in Appendix 4: A Partial Listing of Wang Mingdao's Reading from his Published Diary.

¹²⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 48.

Since Wang was still quite weak after his illness, many people encouraged him to take a year off to recuperate, but in order to continue his formal education without delay, he resumed his study schedule and began his studies in the middle of July 1918 at what became known as Chong Wen Middle University Preparatory School 崇文中學預科班.¹²⁷ The story of his post-middle school education is quite complicated as is the whole story of education in China during the May Fourth Movement. According to Wang, when he was in middle school, the Beijing region had two Christian universities. Xiehe University 協和大學, also known as North China College (f.1867), was located in the Tong County 通縣 of Beijing and was operated as a cooperative effort by the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and London Missionary Societies. The other was Huiwen (Huiwen) University 匯文大學, also known as Methodist Peking University (f.1870), which was located in Beijing and was operated by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Since Wang had graduated from an LMS middle school, he would have gone to Xiehe University to begin his university career. However, in the fall of 1918, the church missionary societies decided to amalgamate the two schools into what would eventually become Yenching University 燕京大學 in Beijing.¹²⁸ The university was to have a six-year program with two years for a university preparatory course (預科) and four years for the undergraduate degree course (本科). Since Wang had just graduated from middle school, he had to first take the preparatory course before he could begin his undergraduate degree.¹²⁹ The undergraduate course was to be conducted in the east part of Beijing while the preparatory course was to be conducted on the old campus of Huiwen University in Beijing which continued to be known in English as (Methodist) Peking University.¹³⁰

In July 1918, Wang entered his first year of studies in the two-year university preparatory course.¹³¹ He never reveals what program he decided to study but one can assume, due to his resignation to God's call on his life to prepare for Christian ministry, that he enrolled in a liberal arts program geared toward eventual acceptance into Yenching University's prestigious religion program.¹³² However, after the initial 3000 students from Beijing institutions gathered at Tiananmen on May 4th,¹³³ Wang reports near the end of the academic year on May 19, 1919, that all university students in Beijing began to skip classes due to the influence of the May Fourth

¹²⁷ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 55, footnote 6.

¹²⁸ Wang does not mention that the Yenching Women's College, also known as the North China Union Women's College (f. 1905) and the School of Theology (f. 1906), itself a union of three schools, were also part of the merger that resulted in Yenching University. See Hin Wong, "The Formal Opening of Yenching University," *Educational Review* 21, no.4 (October 1929): 348. As well as Philip West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 34-35.

¹²⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 49. The university preparatory program Wang entered into existed in a similar format in the American school system known as an associate degree awarded after a course of post-secondary study lasting two years.

¹³⁰ Not to be confused with National Peking University 北京大學 (f.1898).

¹³¹ This would be thought of today as the first year of university studies, and in fact, Wang describes it as such in Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 54.

¹³² The preparatory program was likely composed of general subjects to prepare students for the rigors of university education. He mentions a course in May of 1919 that he took on English history in which the teacher inspired him to work for moral reform in China like John Wesley did in England. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 61. Even the first two years of the undergraduate program at Yenching University were composed of general subjects with students only specializing in certain fields of study in their third year. See Hin Wong, "The Formal Opening of Yenching University," 349-350.

¹³³ See Benjamin J. Schwartz, "Themes in Intellectual History: May Fourth and After," in *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 12:407.

Movement. From that point on, students did not attend classes, and so an early summer vacation began on June 3rd and Wang returned home. On June 5th, he received the news that the university preparatory school he attended would no longer be offering courses on the Beijing campus, and students in the program were to transfer to Cheeloo University 齊魯大學 in Jinan 濟南, Shandong Province. He had never lived far from home and felt that he and his mother were “mutually dependent upon one another for survival,”¹³⁴ a very Confucian way of expressing his filial piety towards his mother. While he studied in Beijing, he was able to see his mother at least once a week. If he moved to study in Jinan, he would only be able to return home twice a year. In his first year of university preparatory studies, his mother and sister had already been severely ill, requiring him to take several days off from school to take care of them, and he was concerned that his mother could not survive his departure to study so far away.¹³⁵ The summer of 1919 was difficult for Wang as he considered what to do.

By the fall of 1919, Wang heard that Yenching University had officially selected its name. This would be the undergraduate program that he would naturally enter into if he were to complete his two-year university preparatory program. However, to do so, now he would have to move to Jinan, Shandong Province for at least one year to complete the preparatory program which he felt he could not do without compromising his mother's health. He came up with an idea that would allow him to remain in Beijing to care for his mother and yet also provide a way for him to continue his academic career. He decided to request to be able to skip his second year of the university preparatory course and write the examination to qualify him to directly enter into the undergraduate program at Yenching University. He wrote the university president to seek permission to write the qualifying examination but received no response. At that time, the president of the university, since February of 1919, had been the American missionary John Leighton Stuart.¹³⁶ Wang felt rejected, and showing little awareness of the audacity of his request, did not expect that such an earnest student as himself would be rejected in this way by an American missionary who was in China to serve the Chinese church.¹³⁷ What Wang did not know was that from the time Yenching University began classes in the fall of 1918, the university president Leighton Stuart struggled under a very limited budget.¹³⁸ In such a strained environment, Wang's request to allow an unqualified candidate such as himself, who would have to rely on scholarship funds, to skip a year and enter the already crowded university, was quickly dismissed, especially considering that his attendance in his first year of study was spotty due to having to care for his mother and sister.¹³⁹ Devastated by the lack of response from Yenching University, and the resultant implication that his education

¹³⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 51. Wang uses the idiom 相依為命. His education until the completion of his first year of university was supplemented by a life-long love of reading that provided him with a rich vocabulary full of idiomatic expressions. He said that of all his possessions, he treasured his books the most. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 247.

¹³⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 51.

¹³⁶ Yu Ming-Shaw, *An American Missionary in China: John Leighton Stuart and Chinese-American Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 47. Wang said that the person he wrote to was a Western missionary but did not name him.

¹³⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 52. The disappointment from the complete lack of response from Stuart may be why he always wrote back to those who requested his ministry even when he rejected the request, an onerous task considering he would become one of the most famous Christians in China in the 1930s, and encouraged John Sung to do so as well. See Wang Mingdao, “Mr. Song Shangjie [John Sung] Has Died” 宋尚節先生去世了, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 71 (Fall 1944): 152.

¹³⁸ For budget information on Yenching University, see Philip West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations*, 36-37.

¹³⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 51-52.

was coming to an end, Wang felt that he had no alternative but to leave school.

Describing his mood when he was cut off from formal education, Wang referred to Qu Yuan's 屈原 (339-278 BCE) poem "Encountering Sorrow"¹⁴⁰ which describes the poet's despair after being unfairly removed from his position as a righteous minister in the King of Chu's court during the Warring States Period in China.¹⁴¹ Wang makes this allusion to Qu Yuan in a diary entry on August 20, 1919, revealing that at 19 years of age, classical Chinese poetry such as the Chu Ci poems had already formed some of his ideas of what can aptly be described as "the Spirit of Righteousness" in the Chinese tradition.¹⁴² In 1919, Wang, like Qu Yuan before him, felt very disappointed with the world and uncertain about his future. Two lines from the conclusion to Qu Yuan's "Encountering Sorrow" must have particularly resonated with how Wang felt at the time: "Enough! There are no true men in the state: no one to understand me. Why should I cleave to the city of my birth?"¹⁴³

Not being fully aware of some of the factors that eliminated his chances for being allowed to enter Yenching University, Wang saw himself as a righteous student who was unfairly rejected by a powerful university president. Wang would later describe this experience as a battle against evil forces in the missionary school.¹⁴⁴ Now back at home on August 22nd, 1919, he woke and read Romans 14:8 from the Bible and the next day, Isaiah 54:8 and 10, and those promises from the Christian scriptures comforted him: "But with everlasting kindness I will have compassion on you...my unfailing love will not be shaken." Wang found resonance with the rejection of the poet Qu Yuan and comfort provided by the Christian scriptures. Both the Chinese and Christian traditions provided him with intellectual and emotional resources to deal with what had been the most significant disappointment of his life thus far. He then left the role of the student behind, never to return, and also, for a time, the city of his birth. A new opportunity was about to open up for him, this time on the teaching side of the classroom.

It would be helpful to step back from Wang's story for a moment in order to analyze what had happened on May 4, 1919, in order to gain a broader perspective on Wang's story. After the death of Yuan Shikai in 1916, various warlords vied for power in several regions of China while Sun Yatsen's nationalist Kuomintang government, based in Guangzhou, tried to regain power from Yuan's Beiyang government which was based in Beijing. In the midst of this political chaos, some important intellectual movements were taking shape. The most important of them for Chinese Christians such as Wang Mingdao was the May Fourth Movement which is named after the date of the protests of several thousand of Wang Mingdao's fellow Beijing students who gathered at Tianamen on May 4, 1919. The reason for this mass gathering of students was to protest the move during the Paris Peace Conference after the conclusion of World War I to allow Japan to retain the entitlements of Germany in Shandong Province. This complete lack of self-determination for

¹⁴⁰ "Encountering Sorrow" 離騷 is an extremely influential poem from the Songs of Chu 楚辭, a collection of poetry from the ancient Chinese state of Chu. Until the twentieth century, the traditional view has been that Qu Yuan wrote "Encountering Sorrow." See David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide, Part One* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 127. Wang normally accepts traditional authorship of classical Chinese and Christian writings.

¹⁴¹ Qu Yuan's biography is recorded in Sima Qian, *The Grand Scribe's Records*, trans. Tsai-Fa Cheng (et al.), ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 7:295-302.

¹⁴² Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 52-53.

¹⁴³ David Hawkes, trans., *Chu Tzu: The Songs of the South*, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959), 34. Available online at "Encountering Sorrow," Chinese Classics in English, accessed August 27, 2020, <http://bs.dayabook.com/poetry/chu-ci-songs-of-the-south/li-sao-translated-by-david-hawkes>.

¹⁴⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 54.

Chinese in their own territory was the reason for the protests and the flashpoint of the May Fourth Movement. Beijing descended into chaos which prompted Wang's early release for summer vacation in 1919.¹⁴⁵ Some intellectuals thought that the cause of China's inability to control its own territory was due to its traditional Confucian social structure and values. One of the leading intellectuals during the May Fourth Movement, Hu Shi 胡適, wrote in December of 1919 that

It has been justly said that the greatest obstacle to progress in China is the deductive habit of mind; that is, the willingness to accept things on authority, to acquiesce in ideas and ideals without questioning whence they are derived and whether they are true or not. A quotation from the Classics is sufficient argument for a national policy, and a spurious saying of Confucius is good enough to justify the existence of any obsolete custom or institution. This habit is the most formidable enemy to innovation and progress.¹⁴⁶

At the time, some Christian leaders became early advocates of the movement,¹⁴⁷ not aware that the fury of Chinese nationalism that had been directed at foreign governments for the Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of Versailles that finalized Japan's control of Shandong in 1919 would be directed at Christianity only two years later.¹⁴⁸ It was in the midst of this tumultuous summer that Wang transitioned into adulthood and greater independence.

MARTYR'S FIELD PRESBYTERIAN SCHOOL

In his heart, Wang still harbored a dream to continue his studies but with that door closed, he had to think about what he was going to do in the meantime. On August 26, 1919, he went to see his older friend who had earlier been a mentor to him at Tsui Wen Academy. His friend encouraged him to attend the Christian education conference that would be taking place in Tong County. There, Wang met another old friend who told him to consider taking a job opening at an elementary school in Baoding County 保定縣, Hebei Province about 150km southwest of Beijing. Reluctantly, Wang decided to accept the job.¹⁴⁹ On September 11, 1919, after a tearful goodbye with his mother, Wang left home for Baoding. This was his first trip of any significant distance away from Beijing. He rode the train early in the morning and when he arrived at Baoding, he was brought to his new school, the Lie Shi Tian, or, Martyr's Field Elementary School 烈士田小學, which was administered by the Presbyterian Church of Baoding County. The school was most likely named after the 15 Protestant missionaries¹⁵⁰ or the 35 Presbyterian Christians killed¹⁵¹ in Baoding during the Boxer Uprising. It had been established as an elementary school in 1902 by

¹⁴⁵ See Benjamin J. Schwartz, "Themes in Intellectual History: May Fourth and After," 407.

¹⁴⁶ Hu Suh, "Intellectual China in 1919," *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* IV, 4 (December 1919): 354.

¹⁴⁷ Samuel D. Ling, "The Other May Fourth Movement: The Chinese 'Christian Renaissance,' 1919-1937" (PhD diss., Temple University, 1981), 4.

¹⁴⁸ Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 107.

¹⁴⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 55.

¹⁵⁰ See Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, 52. Also see Isaac C. Ketler, *The Tragedy of Paotingfu: An Authentic Story of the Lives, Services and Sacrifices of the Presbyterian, Congregational and China Inland Missionaries Who Suffered Martyrdom at Paotingfu, China, June 30th and July 1, 1900* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902).

Baoding was translated in missionary literature as Pao-ting or Paotingfu.

¹⁵¹ See UnnamedAuthor, "Missionary News: Pao-ting-fu Memorial Services," *The Chinese Recorder* 32, no.5 (May 1901): 264.

the American missionary James Walter Lowrie 路崇德 (1856-1930)¹⁵² under the American Presbyterian Mission. Lowrie had arrived in Beijing in 1883, moved to Baoding in 1894, and after surviving the Boxer Rebellion in Baoding, had gone on to found and oversee the school until 1910.¹⁵³ In 1917, with a student body of approximately 100 students in total, the middle school was added.¹⁵⁴ In Lowrie's absence, when Wang arrived in 1919, there was a head teacher who administered the school, along with Wang and three other teachers at the school. Wang notes that, at the time, there was no principal of the school, but an older American pastor was temporarily filling in.¹⁵⁵ After finding out that Wang had completed one year of university studies, the temporary principal decided to let another teacher instruct the primary level of the elementary school and gave Wang the job of teaching the senior elementary and first year of middle school students which provided an increased salary. He was also to encourage the students in spiritual development. All of these factors led Wang to feel like he had made the right decision to move to Baoding.

Wang decided to model his teaching on the teaching pattern of Xie Honglai that he had learned about through a biography he had read on Xie.¹⁵⁶ After teaching the day's lesson, Wang would preach to the students, but he realized upon later reflection that at the time he had not understood salvation nor the Way of life. Nevertheless, he taught the students to revere God, love people, and to seek moral improvement. Several students were moved by Wang's teaching and after consulting with them, they decided to begin an evening prayer meeting on November 12th. In addition to prayer, he preached on different topics but with what he later described as an unclear understanding of the truth of life. For example, he believed in the resurrection of Jesus, but at the time, he did not know whether or not Jesus's body had actually physically resurrected. Wang was not yet a fundamentalist Christian.¹⁵⁷

Due to the impact he was making on the student's lives, Wang began to see the importance of God's calling on his life to become a Christian preacher 傳道人.¹⁵⁸ He felt that, as a politician, he would never be able to change people's hearts to renounce evil and turn to virtue but, witnessing the changes in his students after just a few months of his guidance, as a preacher he could. An important aspect of his calling became clear to him. During his elementary and middle school days he had been connected to the London Missionary Society, in his university days he had been within the sphere of the Methodists (MEC), and now he was teaching at a school that was overseen by the Presbyterian Church. In light of this wide range of experiences, it became clear to Wang that the same immorality that was in Chinese society was also in the church. He saw darkness and

¹⁵² Not to be confused with his grandfather Walter Lowrie, or his uncle Walter Macon Lowrie 婁理華 (1819-1847) as some have done. See Unnamed Author, "In Remembrance: J. Walter Lowrie," *The Chinese Recorder* 61 no.3 (March 1930): 181-182.

¹⁵³ Originally born in Shanghai in 1856, James Walter Lowrie was the son of Rev. Reuben Lowrie. He left Baoding to work in Shanghai from 1910-1925, later returning to Baoding until his death in 1930. See David Shavit, *The United States in Asia: A Historical Dictionary* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 310. As well as Unnamed Author, "Rev. James W. Lowrie," *New York Times*, January 29, 1930.

<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/151373378/james-walter-lowrie#view-photo=127381955>.

¹⁵⁴ Zhang Jing 張靜, "The Spread and Development of Early Christianity in Baoding During the Late Qing Dynasty" 清末民初基督新教在保定的傳播與發展 (Taipei: Independent Author, 2015), 200.

<https://www.jintian.net/today/?action-viewnews-itemid-69890>.

¹⁵⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 59. Wang does not provide this man's name.

¹⁵⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 56.

¹⁵⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 57.

¹⁵⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 60. However, Wang always resisted the term "pastor" for his role as a church leader. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 171.

corruption in all three of the churches he had been and currently was associated with. In a description of immorality that was as equally Confucian as it was Christian, Wang laid out the wickedness he observed within the church in China: lying and hypocrisy,¹⁵⁹ harming others for personal benefit,¹⁶⁰ using one's strength to bully the weak,¹⁶¹ flattering the rich while disparaging the poor,¹⁶² mutual deception,¹⁶³ and fighting and scheming against one another.¹⁶⁴ Wang became convinced that the church needed a reformation and that the mission to reform it had been given in part to him. This realization enabled him to gradually embrace his future vocation as a preacher. In the late spring of 1920, Wang had fully embraced this calling. By that summer when he had completed his first academic year as a teacher, he decided to change his birth name, Yongsheng 永盛, to Mingdao 明道, because he was now willing to allow God to use his life "in the midst of a dark and evil world, to testify 證明 to the true Way 真道."¹⁶⁵

In order to fulfill this calling, he still hoped to return to his formal academic studies. He planned to study in China for a four-year university degree, followed by a three-year theological degree, and then go to England to complete another three-year theological degree.¹⁶⁶ This plan was formed in Wang's mind through conversations he had had with his former principal at Tsui Wen Academy, Thomas Biggin 金修真.¹⁶⁷ Principal Biggin had told Wang, who was an excellent student while at Tsui Wen, that if the opportunity arose, he would raise money for Wang to be able to go to England to pursue graduate studies. As the principal of Tsui Wen, and a man who had held the role of a representative member of the LMS in the Educational Association of China, Biggin was a man who had the power and connections to make good on this plan.¹⁶⁸ After Wang

¹⁵⁹ The following list is from Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 60.

¹⁶⁰ Wang uses the idiom 利己損人. *The Old Book of Tang* uses the nearly identical idiom 損人益己. See *The Old Book of Tang* 舊唐書, Book 92, 31, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=552975#p32>.

¹⁶¹ Wang uses the idiom 恃強凌弱. Used in the famous Ming Dynasty story collection *Stories to Caution the World*. See *Stories to Caution the World* 警世通言, Book 3, 3, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=433889>.

¹⁶² Wang uses the expression 諂富輕貧. A poor man who does not flatter and a rich man who is not proud meets minimal ethical standards for Confucius. See *Analects* 1.15, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1116>.

¹⁶³ Wang uses the idiom 爾虞我詐. This is an idiom that developed out of *Mr. Zuo's Commentary on Chun Qiu* 左傳, Duke Xuan, Year 15.2, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=18828>. As well as James Legge's translation, "We will not deceive you; do not you doubt us." *The Chinese Classics, Vol V: The Chun Tsew with the Tso Chuen*, trans., James Legge (London: Trubner & Co., 1872), 5:328. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b000970398&view=1up&seq=500>.

¹⁶⁴ Wang uses the idiom 鬥角勾心. One of Wang's favorite Tang poets, Du Mu 杜牧, uses the same idiom but in reversed order, 鉤心鬥角, in his Efang Palace Poem to describe how the halls of the palace rivalled one another in splendor which evolved into the idiom of people rivaling with one another. See Du Mu 杜牧, "Efang Palace" 阿房宮賦, *Chinese Ancient Poetry*, accessed August 29, 2020. https://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/47516.

¹⁶⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 60-61.

¹⁶⁶ The Western theology degree he had in mind was likely the Bachelor of Divinity degree (BD, presently known as the Master of Divinity, or MDiv, degree). Zhao Zichen had completed the BD degree at Vanderbilt University in 1917 and went on to become a famous theologian at Yenching University, beginning in 1926, the school where Wang had originally hoped to complete his university studies. See "Zhao Zichen" 趙紫宸, *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity*, accessed September 1, 2020, <http://bdconline.net/zh-hant/stories/zhao-zichen>.

¹⁶⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 62.

¹⁶⁸ See Unnamed Author, "Members of the Educational Association of China, 1910," *Educational Review* 3, no.4 (April 1910): n.p. There are few biographical details available for Thomas Biggin. He was an Englishman ordained with the LMS who held various leadership roles in the society and Wang does not mention him when he retells his story of studying at Tsui Wen nor this conversation until he recalls his experience at Martyr's Field Presbyterian School but Wang respected Biggin for his honesty and integrity. See Wang Mingdao, "Saints Who Fall Ill Should

abandoned his plan to become a famous politician, this became his alternative plan. By pursuing advanced education, he could follow God's call on his life by becoming a famous pastor or evangelist. This became his new career dream.

From the vantage point of hindsight in 1948, Wang set the scene for what happened next at Martyr's Field School by describing the experience that he had gone through as God tested him with strict discipline in order to encourage others who are experiencing the same kind of testing. He recalled the words of Psalm 66:11-12:

You brought us into the net;
you laid burdens on our backs;
you let people ride over our heads;
we went through fire and through water;

Wang said that what would eventually happen at the Martyr's Field Presbyterian School was a shameful and painful experience, like laying down on the street and someone running over your head. Wang said it was analogous to Han Xin's 韓信 pain and shame when he had been humiliated.¹⁶⁹ Han Xin (231-196 BCE) had been a military general who had served Liu Bang 劉邦, the first emperor of the Han Dynasty, and Han Xin had become known as one of the heroes of the Han Dynasty. However, Liu Bang had feared Han Xin's growing influence and had heard rumors that Liu Bang was planning a rebellion. Liu Bang's wife, Empress Lü 呂后 had Han Xin arrested, tortured and killed, and his entire clan exterminated.¹⁷⁰ While present day readers may consider this an exaggerated comparison, once again, it was both Christian and Chinese sources that came to mind when Wang processed a very significant memory. What was it that had made Wang feel such pain and shame?

MOVING TOWARD INDEPENDENCE

On September 8, 1920, Wang returned to Baoding to begin his second year of teaching at the school. Despite the previous academic years' accomplishments, this year he struggled with the work. There were several factors for this: his eyesight that was deteriorating, concern over his mother and sister's spiritual life, a lack of passion for his work as a teacher, concern about darkness and corruption in the church, and his own feelings of personal spiritual poverty. These all combined to create a pessimistic mood in Wang during the start of the academic year. On November 20th, after founding a YMCA group at the school the previous semester, he chaired the school's first YMCA conference. Although he was following in the footsteps of Xie Honglai's YMCA work among young people, he went home that night utterly exhausted.¹⁷¹

The next evening on November 21st, he had a conversation with a new teacher at the school named Zhang Zian 張子安.¹⁷² This new colleague talked to Wang about sin. Wang became furious

Remember This" 患病的聖徒當留意的一件事, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 76 (Winter 1945): 168.

¹⁶⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 65. Wang does not describe Han Xin's story, confident his readers will understand the reference as soon as Han Xin's name is mentioned.

¹⁷⁰ Han Xin's biography is recorded in Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, Rev. ed., 1993), 163-184. His death by beheading is recorded on page 182.

¹⁷¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 67.

¹⁷² According to Gene Ng, this colleague's name was Zhang Zian 張子安 based on Wang's unpublished diary

at the idea that there was still sin in his life since he had already repented previously and felt he did not need to do so again. His colleague responded that there remains even in Christians hidden sin, especially pride, and that earnest Christians often work hard not to glorify God but themselves. Feeling cut to the heart, Wang saw that his colleague had diagnosed the source and symptoms of his spiritual disease: pride was fueling his desire to work hard in order to glorify himself. At around 10 p.m. that evening, he left his colleague's dormitory residence and went back to his own to pray. He knew that, although his outward behavior was blameless and that he considered himself "God's favored one,"¹⁷³ he confessed to a number of hidden sins that only he was aware of including hypocrisy, jealousy and pride.¹⁷⁴ He felt like Isaiah, utterly naked and with no place to hide, standing before a holy God who knows the interior world of a man.¹⁷⁵ This mystical experience of being in the presence of God convinced him that it was only due to the washing away of his sins through Jesus Christ's blood that he was able to stand before a holy God. This was not a conversion since he had already put his faith in God at 14, but it was a deeper mystical encounter that Wang had never experienced before and it awakened Wang to the spiritual reality that some of the things he had seen as good before were disgusting in the sight of God.¹⁷⁶ Looking back, this mystical encounter was preparing him to be able to endure the upcoming loss of his dream to be able to continue his studies and become a famous preacher.

His mystical experience also helped him to begin to break with the power of missionary Christianity. Wang's relationship with missionary Christianity in China is complex. As detailed above, he was schooled in LMS and MEC missionary schools and worked as a teacher at the Martyr's Field Presbyterian School. He did not blame foreigners and missionaries for the ills of Chinese society as others would do just a few months later. Even when he was in prison in 1966, he would maintain this position and defend missionary activity in China against what he felt was slander.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, he had positive relationships with several foreign missionaries over the years.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, Wang would eventually see the need to sever all formal ties with missionary Christianity and would criticize foreign missionaries when he felt that they did not live up to proper Christian morality. An example from December of 1920 illustrates this. In early December, rumors were circulating in Baoding that some military soldiers had mutinied and were in the area plundering goods and that one of their targets was the Presbyterian mission compound on which his school was located.¹⁷⁹ In a panic, several missionaries found firearms and began training some older male students on how to use a gun in case of attack. Wang, "moved by the Holy Spirit,"

entries. See Gene Ng, "The Shaping Influence of the Chinese YMCA on the Young Wang Mingdao," 188-190. Wang does not mention his name in *Fifty Years* for some unknown reason.

¹⁷³ Wang used the expression 天之驕子. See *Book of Han* 漢書, Biography of Xiongnu, Part I, 70, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=67927>.

¹⁷⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 70.

¹⁷⁵ Isaiah 7. This mystical prayer experience lasted from around 10 p.m. to 1 a.m.

¹⁷⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 71.

¹⁷⁷ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 100. In 1966, Wang wrote over a hundred pages in Datong Labor Camp to refute two articles given to him by a prison official because he felt the articles slandered the missionary schools and hospitals.

¹⁷⁸ For example, the Swedish missionary Eric Pilquist, see Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 95. The Dutch diplomat Arie Kok, see Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 128. As well as James Hudson Taylor III, see Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 138.

¹⁷⁹ Lian Xi notes that a recent battle between two warlord factions had resulted in the central government becoming weakened and unable to pay these soldiers for several months resulting in their plan to attack the Presbyterian mission compound. See Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 114. Xi indicates a nationalist impulse in Wang due to the impact of the May Fourth Movement.

rebuked the missionaries by quoting Jesus' statement that "he who lives by the sword, dies by the sword"¹⁸⁰ stating that Christians should not kill people. The missionaries did not change their course of action but could not refute Wang's biblical argument.¹⁸¹ As noted by Thomas Allen Harvey, Wang's pacifist Christian conviction was not in step with American missionary Christianity at the time.¹⁸² The Chinese cultural background of The May Fourth Movement with its anti-foreignism, provided Wang with the ability to imagine a church separate from missionary Christianity, while Wang's mystical experience of the holiness of God provided the religious context to imagine a separate community set apart from the immorality he observed in the missionary churches.

The breaking point with missionary Christianity occurred when Wang became convinced that he needed to be baptized again, this time by immersion. Wang developed a closer relationship with the colleague who had convicted him of inward sin and pride, Zhang Zian, often stopping by his dormitory room in order to talk. To Wang's surprise, this man had also been baptized by sprinkling in the Presbyterian church and later became convinced that baptism by immersion was the biblical pattern and so he was re-baptized. In Wang's long experience in the LMS, MEC, and Presbyterian churches, he had only ever observed baptisms by sprinkling, never by immersion. He immediately went back to his dormitory room and was amazed to discover that he had never noticed that indeed, baptism by immersion in water was the pattern that Jesus and his disciples followed in the New Testament. This biblical argument, combined with the fact that when he was baptized by sprinkling in the LMS church on Easter Sunday, 1914, he did not understand the questions being asked of him, after several days of prayer and study, Wang became convinced that he needed to be re-baptized, this time by immersion.¹⁸³ Due to his views on baptism, Wang's teaching colleague Zhang Zian was expelled from the Martyr's Field Presbyterian School on December 20, 1920, and left Baoding for Beijing. Wang brought him to the train station and greatly admired his willingness to endure this expulsion in order to keep to his moral principles and biblical convictions; inspired by his colleague's example, Wang asked him to introduce someone who would be willing to baptize him by immersion. On December 29th, he introduced Wang to Zhu Dingchen 朱鼎臣, a former coal dealer who became a preacher in a small Apostolic Faith Mission Church in Beijing.¹⁸⁴ On January 2, 1921, Wang Mingdao told the head teacher, a Mr. Wang who administrated the school, that he along with several of the students intended to be baptized by immersion. Later that evening, Mr. Wang along with the American interim principal came to Wang Mingdao's dormitory room and told him that they would hate to see him leave but if he intended to be baptized by immersion he would be immediately expelled from the school along with any students that joined him and to take a couple of days to think the matter over carefully. Wang concluded that he was like "an ant on a burning hot pan."¹⁸⁵ Both options that lay before him were unappealing. Obeying his conviction to be re-baptized would cause damage to his reputation, the loss of his job and income, and the end of his dream to continue studies. Furthermore, Tsui Wen Academy's principal, Thomas Biggin had promised Wang financial scholarships to allow him to pursue his university education and theological studies in China and possibly a scholarship to do graduate theological studies in England. By choosing to be re-baptized,

¹⁸⁰ From Matthew 26:52.

¹⁸¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 72.

¹⁸² See Thomas Alan Harvey, *Acquainted with Grief*, 18 and 176, footnote 12.

¹⁸³ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 74-75.

¹⁸⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 80.

¹⁸⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 77.

Wang thought that it would be seen as an attack on LMS doctrine by delegitimizing his baptism in the LMS church. Wang would thus be viewed by Biggin as a “traitor” and he would no longer provide scholarship money. Wang calculated that without the scholarship, his family financial situation was so meager that it would not be enough to provide even one year of university tuition much less the ten years required for him to complete his plan to pursue three degrees.¹⁸⁶ However, not to be re-baptized would violate his moral conviction. As he had done at Tsui Wen Middle School when he criticized the directing teacher according to his internal principle, Wang decided that it would better to lose everything than to compromise his righteousness. He thought about the possibility of waiting until he returned from England to be re-baptized. On this issue he concluded that “to obey is better than sacrifice”¹⁸⁷ and if he did not obey what he thought was the commandment of God, he was not worthy to study theology.¹⁸⁸ This became another internal principle for Wang, that a rebel to God’s commandments cannot be a legitimate theologian, nor a genuine servant of God.

RE-BAPTISM & THE BREAK WITH MISSIONARY CHRISTIANITY

On the afternoon of January 4, 1921, the American interim principal came to see Wang for his decision. Wang told him that he planned to get re-baptized and the principal gave him train fare to leave immediately: Wang said he could not leave right away due to last minute preparations but promised to leave the next day. That evening several students came to visit Wang and he preached to the students the words of Jesus: “Whoever would save his life will lose it, and whoever loses his life for my sake will find it.”¹⁸⁹ The next morning the principal announced Wang’s decision and that any students who wanted to follow him in baptism by immersion should leave the school. Five students announced their decision to leave the school and four of them indicated the desire to be baptized by immersion. Wang did not blame the Presbyterian church leaders for expelling him from his teaching role as this was consistent with their church doctrine. Another factor that motivated the principal to expel Wang and these five students was the fact that Zhu Dingchen, the man who was to baptize Wang, was a preacher from the Apostolic Faith Mission 信心會.¹⁹⁰ This was a group of loosely affiliated preachers that emphasized the gifts of the Holy Spirit and had previously caused a significant uproar among Presbyterian churches in Baoding County which resulted in a loss of members due to several Presbyterians leaving their churches after becoming convinced of the correctness of Pentecostal theology. Naturally, the principal of Martyr’s Field School was wary of the influence of the Apostolic Faith Mission in the school.¹⁹¹ Although in the future, Wang would occasionally speak at missionary conferences, he would no longer have any official affiliation with missionary Christianity. When he left Martyr’s Field Presbyterian School the next afternoon, he was embarking on the path to independent Chinese Christian ministry. The May Fourth context provided the possibility of imagining a world in which foreigners were not the decision makers for Chinese, while Wang’s religious vision of a

¹⁸⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 77.

¹⁸⁷ From I Samuel 15:22.

¹⁸⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 78.

¹⁸⁹ From Matthew 16:25.

¹⁹⁰ Lian Xi notes that the Apostolic Faith Mission 使徒信心會 emerged in 1909 as a group of 26 foreign missionaries who were Pentecostal in theology. See Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 46. Zhu Dingchen must have been one of their Chinese converts who went on to become a preacher with the mission.

¹⁹¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 79.

holy God that demanded obedience from his followers provided the religious vision to motivate the break.

On January 5, at 2:20 p.m., Wang and the five students left the school and stayed the night at a nearby inn. Wang began to fear that he had made the wrong decision. The next day at one in the afternoon, Zhu Dingchen meet with Wang and the five students at Baoding's East Gate to find water to baptize them in. Due to the low temperatures, the river was covered in a thick layer of ice and the only spot they could find that had access to the water was under a bridge where the water gate had not frozen due to the movement of the water. Zhu Dingchen baptized Wang and when he came out of the water, his long hair turned into an icicle, and he discovered when he went to take it off that his inner garment had become as hard as a board of wood.¹⁹² The fifth student who left the school but originally did not want to be baptized decided, after seeing the resolution of Wang and the other students, to also be baptized. This student's name was Shi Tianmin 石天民. Shi was one of the students who had developed a close teacher-student relationship with Wang at the school and would go on to become Wang's most trusted co-worker at the Christian Tabernacle.¹⁹³ Shi, after he was expelled from the school, eventually become an English teacher while assisting Wang in ministry at the Christian Tabernacle¹⁹⁴ until he was arrested as part of the "Wang Mingdao Counter-Revolutionary Clique" in 1955.¹⁹⁵

After the baptisms on January 6, 1921, the newly baptized returned to the inn where they were staying and Zhu Dingchen led them to "seek the Holy Spirit." Wang stated that Zhu, as a preacher in the Apostolic Faith Mission, was part of the Pentecostal Movement 五旬節派.¹⁹⁶ In Wang's opinion, the seeking of the Holy Spirit was the most important teaching of the movement and speaking in "spiritual tongues" was the one and only evidence that a person had received the Holy Spirit. He also indicated that in the early part of the twentieth century, the movement had developed several church groups in China that by 1948 had mostly become part of the Assemblies of God 神召會.¹⁹⁷ Wang described Zhu as an honest and devout Christian who was thoroughly familiar with the Bible but not very clear on the truths of the Bible in their entirety and extremely lacking in common sense. For the next three days, Zhu returned to the inn and attempted to lead the group again and again in prayer to seek the Holy Spirit. Wang finally uttered a few sounds on January 9th which Zhu concluded were "spiritual tongues," the evidence that Wang had received the Holy Spirit. At the time, Wang accepted Zhu's conclusion but in Wang's more mature reflection on the event in 1948, it was his earlier mystical experience on November 21, 1920, where a real spiritual change happened. In Wang's thinking, when he had thoroughly confessed his sin, given up every reservation, completely submitted, and willingly complied to God's commandments, it was then that he had been filled with the Holy Spirit. Wang later concluded that Zhu had been

¹⁹² Later, Wang had a baptismal tank 浸池 in the church he led, the Christian Tabernacle. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 168. He was not convinced that others had to follow him in being baptized in natural waters.

¹⁹³ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 79-80.

¹⁹⁴ Wang names Shi as his "old friend" 老友 who would take over responsibility for ministry including preaching at the Christian Tabernacle when Wang was away on preaching trips. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 163. Shi Tianmin translated several English articles into Chinese and contributed several original articles of his own for *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*. See Appendix 3, Contents of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*: Spring 1927-Summer 1955.

¹⁹⁵ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 93.

¹⁹⁶ "Pentecostal Group" would be the direct translation but "Pentecostal Movement" is the older preferred English nomenclature. It refers to a broad movement of Christians who emphasize the gifts of the Holy Spirit and should not to be confused with the Pentecostal Church which is one of the churches within the movement.

¹⁹⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 80.

duped by an incorrect teaching on the Holy Spirit.¹⁹⁸ Why did Wang not embrace the Pentecostal Movement like other independent Chinese Christian leaders of the time did? For example, another Beijing resident who had been associated with the LMS was Paul Wei (Enbo) 魏保羅 (1876-1919) who embraced Pentecostal practices in 1916 and resultantly founded the independent True Jesus Church 真耶穌教會.¹⁹⁹ Also, Jing Dianying 敬奠瀛 (1890-1957), who like Wang, had received a traditional education and was associated with the MEC, would also break with missionary Christianity in 1924, but he embraced Pentecostal practices such as speaking in “spiritual tongues” in the independent Jesus Family 耶穌家庭 he had founded.²⁰⁰ One factor that cooled Wang on Pentecostalism was that after his few days at the inn with the five students and Zhu Dingchen, Wang would return to his home in Beijing and no longer be in the Pentecostal “sectarian furnace” that inspired others to follow the movement’s teachings, as will be described below.²⁰¹ Another significant factor is that he simply had no “taste” for the movement. His personality inclined Wang toward a more contemplative interaction with the Divine, not ecstatic. Even in his mystical encounter with God on November 21, 1920, Wang uttered no sounds, nor cried any tears.²⁰² In China during the early twentieth century, “superstitious” groups, as the adherents to Pentecostalism would surely be considered to be, were despised by the educated, particularly the Confucian literati.²⁰³ Wang Mingdao, with his bent toward learning and his Confucian-Christian sensibilities, found no intellectual nor emotional satisfaction in the Pentecostal Movement. Wang said that during his experience uttering the sounds that Zhu concluded was proof he had received the Holy Spirit, he “felt nothing.”²⁰⁴ He was neither convinced by the movement’s theological arguments, nor satisfied by its spiritual ecstasies. However, Zhu Dingchen did think that Wang and the five students had received the Holy Spirit, and they went back to the inn believing they were “highly successful” in their departure from school for more spiritual endeavors. On January 10th, after five days of intense spiritual pursuits under the direction of Zhu, they finally said goodbye, each taking the train to return to their respective homes on a freezing cold Baoding morning.

FUNDAMENTALIST FORMATION

Completely oblivious to the fact that his mother and sister would be upset with him for

¹⁹⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 81. In 1934, in the midst of a significant Pentecostal activity in Shandong Province, Wang would write a booklet on the Spiritual Gifts Movement in which he would discuss several of these issues in detail. See Wang Mingdao, *The Spiritual Gifts Movement in the Light of Scripture* 聖經光亮中的靈恩運動 (Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1934).

¹⁹⁹ Melissa Wei-Tsing Inouye, *China and the True Jesus: Charisma and Organization in a Chinese Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 82. Also, Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 43.

²⁰⁰ Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 68.

²⁰¹ Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 115.

²⁰² Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 71.

²⁰³ Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 6-11. “Superstitious” groups were contrasted at the official level with “religious” groups. Those organizations considered superstitious were despised by the educated and even at times considered illegal while those considered official religious groups retained a degree of respect and legality. An explanation for this contrast is offered by Goossaert and Palmer: “As religion was considered a strong, moralizing, and unifying force behind the Western nation-states, it was, in this early period, generally received by Chinese intellectuals as something positive. ‘Science’ often came to be the touchstone in dividing between ‘religion’ [compatible with science] and ‘superstition’ [unscientific].” See Vincent Goossaert and David Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 50.

²⁰⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 71.

leaving gainful employment and leaving with his reputation marred in Baoding, Wang expected his family to congratulate him on his spiritual victory. Nothing could have been further from the reality. Upon his return home, his mother berated him for throwing everything away to be baptized and his sister was stunned with despair. Some of the people in his local church thought he had developed a mental disorder while others thought he had been misled by false teaching. It was through this experience that Wang began to develop his idea about who was a genuine Christian and who was not. His conclusion in 1948 was that those who were willing to sacrifice, even to the point of sacrificing everything for their beliefs, were genuine believers, while those who were not were not true believers.²⁰⁵ His mother wanted Wang to go back to his former principal Thomas Biggin and say that he was wrong in order to secure scholarship money for his university education. However, Wang felt he could not do this as it would violate his moral principles. This conflict with his mother was especially difficult because, despite their differences, he felt she was a caring mother and he tried to be a filial son to her.²⁰⁶ In this relationship, another aspect of Wang's Confucian-Christianity can be clearly seen. Wang says that it was only after he was converted at 14 to Christianity that he began to strive to show filial piety toward his mother. According to Wang, it was his spiritual connection to Christ which empowered him to fulfill the moral requirements of Confucius to be filial to his mother. Wang sought to fulfill his role as a filial son to his mother except when he felt that her will conflicted with his devotion to God.²⁰⁷ On January 18th, he dreamt that his mother banished him from their home. This imagined rejection by his mother resulted in Wang being startled awake, and even after he realized it was a dream, he found himself uncontrollably sobbing at the horror of the dream.²⁰⁸ As detailed earlier, Wang's father abandoned him through suicide before he was born and his mother's love, having tenderly cared for him several times when he was ill, was a source of deep emotion for Wang. His significant emotional connection to his mother and his desire to show filial piety toward her is an important part of Wang's Chinese Christian story.

It was during this period of deep emotional pain and humiliation that he became convinced of several Christian doctrines such as the second coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead which finally freed him from his fear of death. From Wang's 1948 perspective, what happened during the suffering he experienced in 1921 was well described by one of his favorite authors, G.H. Knight:

... just as a letter in 'sympathetic' [invisible] ink is illegible till exposed to the heat of the fire, many of God's wonderful messages are never understood till the fire of suffering brings out the message clearly to the eye of faith.²⁰⁹

It was not the fire of the Holy Spirit, but the fire of sufferings in 1921 which made God's invisible

²⁰⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 82.

²⁰⁶ The "filial son" 孝子, that Wang strove to be is an ideal that is encouraged in the Confucian Classics. See *The Book of Rites*, Qu Li I, 19. <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=9494#s10041142>, "A filial son will not do things in the dark, nor attempt hazardous undertakings, fearing lest he disgrace his parents. While his parents are alive, he will not promise a friend to die (with or for him), nor will he have wealth that he calls his own."

²⁰⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 83.

²⁰⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 84.

²⁰⁹ G.H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence: Helps for the Inner Life When Alone with God* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), 203-204,

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=yale.39002088449658&view=1up&seq=219&q1=ink>.

George Halley Knight was a Scottish Free Church minister and one of Wang's favorite authors.

“truths of life” real to Wang. The sufferings of this period and the lessons he learned also convinced Wang that he did not need to study theology in a formal academic setting, but rather, what he needed in order to do the work of God was to spend an extended period of time in individual Bible study. It was this realization, possibly influenced by G.H. Knight’s works,²¹⁰ that finally convinced him to give up his plan to pursue a university and theological education. This was a conviction that not only Chinese fundamentalist Christians like Wang Mingdao concluded, but is part of the global Christian fundamentalist tradition that views formal theological education as unnecessary, and institutions that do not share similar theological convictions, as dangerous.²¹¹ His decision to primarily pursue private study of the Bible allowed him to protect what he saw as fundamental Christian doctrines and ministry decisions from attack, but his individual study was also the source of some of his theological limitations as a thinker who was largely independent in his theological decisions, as will be revealed in the conclusion of this dissertation.

Wang had an older cousin who found out about his decision to leave his teaching job and to no longer pursue future education and thought this was a sign of a mental disorder.²¹² He invited Wang to spend some time with him and his wife in Dayou Village 大有莊 near the Summer Palace northwest of Beijing. Wang accepted his cousin’s invitation and found the beautiful mountains, crystal-clear rivers and evergreen forests of the area to be the ideal spot to actualize his plan to spend a period of time in intense Bible study. On March 16, 1921, he left home and spent his days in Bible study and theological reflection in the idyllic outdoor environment within the shadow of the Summer Palace.²¹³ He returned home on June 21st and described his time in Dayou Village as his short-term Bible-school education.²¹⁴

INDEPENDENT PREACHING

During his time in Dayou Village, Wang Mingdao received a letter from his old friend from Tsui Wen Middle School, Chen Zigao, expressing his concern about what he had heard about Wang. On June 27th, Wang left Beijing to visit Chen in Cang County 滄縣, Hebei Province, and dispel the rumors about his mental state. Upon arriving the next day, Chen confided to Wang that he did not believe that he had a mental disorder, but rather that Wang had received a special blessing from God. He invited Wang to preach on July 3rd at Chen’s church in Cang County which Wang agreed

²¹⁰ G.H. Knight particularly emphasized the importance of *individual* prayer and bible study: “He [the well-nourished Christian] draws strength out of deep heart-intercourse with God, out of the secret study of the Word, out of private prayer; but these things he has to *seek*: he must go in search of the water, for the water will not come to him.” G.H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence: Helps for the Inner Life When Alone with God*, 156.

²¹¹ See Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1970), xv-xvii.

²¹² It is interesting to note that Wang’s friend John Sung was also thought to have had a mental breakdown in 1927 after leaving Union Theological Seminary in New York and his education behind in pursuit of fundamentalist theology. It should be noted that Sung’s mental state did appear to show signs of a genuine mental breakdown. However, the period of rest and study that each man had, Wang at Dayou Village in 1921, and Sung at Bloomingdale Hospital in 1927, was considered by both future Chinese fundamentalist Christian leaders to be their theological training period. See Lim Ka-Tong, *The Life and Ministry of John Sung*, 65-68. Also, Tang Li and Martha Smalley, “A Chinese Christian Leader Revisited: The John Sung Papers at Yale Divinity Library,” *Journal of Religious and Theological Information* 15, no.3-4 (2016): 96-98.

²¹³ Wang’s description of the beauty of Dayou Village makes one wonder what poems or events came to his mind in the shadow of the Summer Palace which had been an imperial garden of the Qing Dynasty. For a landscape being a repository of texts for Chinese Christians, see Chloe Starr, *Chinese Theology*, 92.

²¹⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 88-89. Wang returned home six times during his time in Dayou Village with a total of 62 days being actually spent in his cousin’s home.

to do. The topic of this first sermon that Wang ever preached in a church was “Repent, For the Kingdom of Heaven is Near” and on July 5th he returned home.²¹⁵ His trip to Cang County was significant. Not only did Wang receive comfort and encouragement from his old friend, but his experience preaching for the first time completely convinced him that he was called to this work.²¹⁶

From one perspective, this confirmation of Wang’s calling to a Christian religious profession could not have come at a worse time. As Daniel Bays has chronicled, by 1921, China’s intellectuals began to see Christianity as an enemy. Christians were not only “superstitious,” believing in strange doctrines such as a man raising from the dead and being born of a virgin, but they were also politically dangerous since they were connected to the foreign missionary movement. Bays describes why this was a problem:

It came to be an article of faith that China’s weakness and pitiful condition were not due solely to foreigners’ bad intentions or wicked actions, but to a deeply rooted system of socioeconomic relationships that operated worldwide (capitalism), and involved colonial empires which were exploited and kept servile by those countries with more advanced economic and social class systems (imperialism)...the alleged true nature of the missionary movement... was a case of “cultural imperialism” or “cultural aggression” with foreign missionaries working hand in hand with foreign governments and corporations, to make the Chinese docile and compliant, accepting semi-colonial status.²¹⁷

Seen from this perspective, 1921 was not the ideal time to become a Christian preacher in China. From another perspective, the confirmation of his calling came at the perfect time. Chinese Christians, unwilling to go so far as to abandon religion altogether as some May Fourth proponents would advocate, at least argued that the time had come for the church in China to cast off its foreign cloak and become truly Chinese.²¹⁸ In 1921, Wang Mingdao was in the vanguard of that indigenization. After being rejected by Yenching University and Martyr’s Field Presbyterian School, new pathways opened up for him as he embraced his calling and imagined new possibilities in the context of the May Fourth Movement. Not only was he thoroughly schooled in the Christian tradition, he was also thoroughly schooled in the Chinese Confucian tradition as well. Both were attacked by the May Fourth Movement’s proponents but an opportunity emerged in this environment for independent Chinese Christians with contextualized knowledge of Christian theology, Chinese history, and ways of thinking as Wang was, to begin to work independently of missionary Christianity.

Upon mature reflection in 1982, Wang thought that the attack on Christians and Confucius in the 1920s had been linked as an attack against theism and connected an anti-theist strain in China all the way back to Emperor Qin Shihuang!²¹⁹ However, despite all opposition at the time,

²¹⁵ However, it appears that Wang participated in YMCA evangelism teams earlier as a street preacher in 1917. See Gene Ng, “The Shaping Influence of the Chinese YMCA on the Young Wang Mingdao,” 175.

²¹⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 88-89.

²¹⁷ Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 108. Bays describes this allegation as an ongoing process of realization between 1921-1925.

²¹⁸ The Chinese Christian spirit in response to the May Fourth Movement is reflected in part by Zhao Zichen’s statement in 1924 that “The indigenous church...will be one entirely supported by Chinese money, wholly governed by Chinese Christians, completely reorganized to suit the Chinese genius, and freely enriched by Chinese thought on theological definitions and modifications. See Zhao Zichen, “The Indigenous Church (1924),” in Xiaochao Wang, ed., *The Collected English Writings of Tsu Chen Chao* (Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua, 2009), 177.

²¹⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 104-105. This anti-theist idea in Wang’s thought will be discussed later in this

Wang's Confucian-Christian preaching would find a following in the early 1920s as he embraced his calling and began an *independent* ministry.



dissertation.

Chapter Three

The Independent Years: 1921-1955

With Sun Yatsen's KMT based in Gaungzhou fighting for control over China and with the Beiyang government based in Beijing, different warlords who were either independent or aligned in varying degrees of loyalty on each side continued to battle for control of North China. The social chaos that these battles caused intensified the debate on how China could become a strong nation. An increasing resentment forming in China toward Western nations due to the theory that these nations were guilty of cultural imperialism in the country also contributed to the tension. This idea of cultural imperialism had been steadily gaining adherence among students and intellectuals. In this context, three events took place between 1921 and 1922 that would increase antagonism against Christians in China. The first was the outrage and protest over the English title for the survey of Protestant activity in China, conducted from 1918-1921 and published in 1922, in anticipation for the National Christian Conference in 1922: *The Christian Occupation of China*, the second was the anger of students and intellectuals in early 1922 over the report by the Burton Commission on *Christian Education in China* which sought to expand Christian higher education in China, and the third was the news that Tsinghua University 清華大學 in Beijing was set to host the World Student Christian Federation in April of 1922. Although the protests were small in scale, they were signs of much larger anti-Christian and anti-missionary feelings that were brewing in China and smoldering signs of the explosion that was to come in just a few years.²²⁰ Wang's move toward an independent Chinese Christian ministry was formed within this national context.

CHINESE AND FOREIGN CONTACTS

Shortly after his initial preaching experience, on August 25, 1921, Wang met with Cheng Jingyi 誠靜怡²²¹ (1881-1939) at Cheng's home in Beijing. Cheng was a major figure in Chinese Christianity and a pivotal player in the indigenization of Christianity in China. He was ordained through the LMS around 1908 and was an assistant pastor at the LMS Church on Rice Market Street 米市街,²²² but later went on to establish the Mishi Hutong Church 米市胡同教會, an independent church in the East City of Beijing, making him a model for Chinese Christians who, like Wang Mingdao, were moving toward independence from missionary Christianity.²²³ Cheng famously commented as one of the few Chinese who attended the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh that Chinese Christians desired a united Christian church with no denominational divisions that was not controlled by foreign missionaries but by the Chinese

²²⁰ See Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 109-110.

²²¹ In Wang's diary, he records the characters for Cheng Jingyi's name as 誠靜宜 but the 誠靜怡 characters are the more common way to write Cheng's name in Chinese.

²²² According to Lian Xi, this LMS church on Rice Market Street was connected to the Tsui Wen Academy that Wang attended but Xi provides no evidence to verify this statement. See Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 111. Alternative evidence seems to indicate that the LMS church connected to the Tsui Wen Academy was the Gangwashi Church 缸瓦市教會, or as it was known in English, the Peking West City New Church. See Robert A. Bickers, "New Light on Lao She, London, and the London Missionary Society, 1921-1929," 24-26.

²²³ See "Cheng Ching-yi" in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, ed. Howard L. Boorman, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 284-286. As well as "Cheng Jingyi," *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity*, accessed September 17, 2020, <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/cheng-jingyi>.

themselves.²²⁴ Cheng was also one of the key leaders who was organizing the upcoming National Christian Conference in 1922. Cheng was familiar enough with Wang to later report to the parents of Wang's future wife, Liu Jingwen, when they requested information on Wang, that "everything is good, except he is a little stubborn."²²⁵ On August 25th the two men discussed several topics for over five hours with the younger Wang being more interested in talking about salvation and the commandments of God while the elder Cheng was more interested in discussing the corruption of the world and seeking the public's benefit. However, during this meeting, Cheng encouraged Wang on the path toward independence from missionary Christianity and left Wang with much to think about.²²⁶

On September 19th, Wang received an invitation from Chen Zigao to return to Cang County since so many people had been moved by his preaching during his last visit in July. After a period of prayer and contemplation, Wang accepted the invitation, and on September 30th, he left for Cang County. He ended up extending his preaching trip into the areas of Yanshan County 鹽山縣 and Xian County 獻縣 for over three months. Wang's itinerant preaching ministry had begun. At the end of January, he got into conflict with Western missionaries over theological beliefs. He reveals in his diary entry of January 17, 1922, that the conflict was over him baptizing people during his preaching trip in Hebei Province.²²⁷ The conflict prompted him to leave Cang County on January 26, 1922, to return home. After the exhilaration of preaching and baptizing in Hebei, he hoped to find work which would utilize his talents, but instead he entered into a difficult period of waiting as he was unable to find anything suitable and lived at home with his mother and older sister.

Despite working hard to help with housework, Wang felt like a burden on his mother and sister. His mother wanted him to find a career and felt that his talents were wasted at home. Wang felt deeply distressed until he read in the Book of Exodus that Moses was a lowly shepherd for 40 years. He realized through Moses' story that it was through suffering and humbling that some of life's precious lessons are learned.²²⁸ After reading Moses' story, Wang determined to do housework to the best of his ability. Whether it be sweeping, cleaning, cooking, sewing or washing, he would do it with a Confucian "perfection."²²⁹ His conclusion, informed by both Moses' story and a Confucian work-ethic, was that if he were to do the trivial work of housework poorly, he would also do the important work of preaching poorly.²³⁰ From February 1922 to July 1923, Wang spent the majority of his time at home studying the Bible and doing housework, as hostility continued to grow against Christians in China.

During the spring and summer of 1922,²³¹ he began to occasionally attend Zhu

²²⁴ As recorded in the *World Missionary Conference 1910, Report of Commission II: The Church in the Mission Field* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1910), 352-353, <https://archive.org/stream/reportofcommiss00unknuoft#page/352/mode/2up>.

²²⁵ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-Three Years*, 20.

²²⁶ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 8.

²²⁷ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 15. The missionaries were possibly troubled by Wang, a lay-person, baptizing people, but more likely by the fact that some of these people had already been baptized by sprinkling and Wang was encouraging them to seek re-baptism by immersion. Both reasons may have prompted the missionaries to want Wang to leave Hebei.

²²⁸ See Exodus 3:1.

²²⁹ Wang used the idiom 盡美盡善 "perfect," whose Chinese literary source is found in Confucius statement in *Analects* that, "The Master said of the Shao that it was perfectly beautiful and also perfectly good." See *The Analects* 3.25, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1166#s10020178>.

²³⁰ *Wang Mingdao, Fifty Years*, 91.

²³¹ *Wang Mingdao, Fifty Years*, 98. The dates in the narrative of Wang's autobiography *Fifty Years* begins to become mixed up at this point as Wang focused on emphasizing certain themes in each chapter. This prompted Arthur

Dingcheng's church in Beijing which was named the Church of God 神的教會. The church did not have a building but the twenty or so members met in the home of an older Norwegian who was working in China.²³² This Norwegian man would exhort the group to keep the commandments of God, indicating that it was through keeping the commandments that people could receive salvation, including keeping the Sabbath. He advocated that after believing in Christ one must seek holiness, leaving every form of sin behind, of which he listed out 83 forms in detail from the New Testament, in order to receive salvation. Wang initially agreed with the teaching that one must be holy in order to receive salvation.²³³ From his later perspective, however, he realized that in 1922, he had not yet understood the Christian doctrine of Justification by Faith 因信稱義. The person who explained it to Wang was living in the same housing unit as the older Norwegian, the Swedish missionary Eric Pilquist 畢勝道 (1857-1925).²³⁴ Pilquist was a Seventh Day Adventist missionary in China whom Wang describes as often preaching the doctrine of Salvation by Faith 因信得救,²³⁵ and who was completely opposed to his Norwegian neighbor's teaching on salvation. Pilquist lived a very simple life, wearing old clothes and eating simple local food, with Wang often coming to his home to listen to his teaching. By the spring of 1923, Wang had become convinced that Pilquist's teaching on salvation was biblically sound.²³⁶ Wang felt fortunate that at this time he had not yet engaged in a significant preaching ministry as he would have taught one must be holy in order to receive salvation but now he had embraced this central Protestant doctrine that faith comes before holiness. In June of 1923, he began to translate some English booklets into Chinese for Pilquist which he continued to do until May of 1925, this translation work likely ending due to Pilquist falling ill and later dying in November of 1925.²³⁷ An important aspect to notice about Wang's relationship with Pilquist was that Wang was open to instruction from foreign missionaries whom he thought integrated their beliefs with their lives like Eric Pilquist. The factors that would persuade Wang and that he paid the most attention to were the character of the person and the biblical basis of the teaching. Convinced of Pilquist's good character and that the doctrine of Salvation by Faith was a biblical teaching, he could embrace this foreign missionary's theology, even in the midst of the May Fourth Movement.²³⁸

Reynolds in his English translation *A Stone Made Smooth*, in order to make Wang's story more clear, to rewrite Wang's story linearly according to date. However, he also edited out several important Chinese elements of Wang's story.

²³² Iap Sian-Chin has offered compelling evidence that this older Norwegian man was Bernt Bernsten 賁德新. See Iap Sian-Chin, "Bernt Bernsten: A Prominent Oneness Pentecostal Pioneer to North China," in *Global Renewal Christianity: Asia and Oceania*, eds., Vinson Synan and Amos Yong (Lake Mary, FL: Charisma House, 2016), 98-99. More will be said about Bernsten in the conclusion of this dissertation.

²³³ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 94.

²³⁴ Eric Pilquist's early history until 1904 can be found at Lawrence W. Onsager, "On Fire for China, the Story of Erik Pilquist, Pioneer Adventist Missionary to China" (unpublished manuscript, no date), http://www.sdahistorians.org/uploads/1/2/3/6/12365223/onsager_paper.pdf.

Pilquist's later history is available at "Pilquist E," *Adventism in China*, accessed September 11, 2020, <http://www.adventisminchina.org/individual-name/expatriates/pilquiste>.

²³⁵ Wang uses Justification by Faith 因信稱義, and Salvation by Faith 因信得救, interchangeably.

²³⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 95. One wonders if the discovery of the doctrine of Salvation by Faith was the reason he penned the article and translated the song "The East Will Sing" on April 1, 1923, in an otherwise difficult year. See Wang Mingdao, "The East Will Sing" 東方將明歌, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 2 (Summer 1927): 75-76.

²³⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 96-97. This translation work is likely one of the sources for the many English articles Wang translated and included in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*. See Appendix 3.

²³⁸ On Wang's critical attitude toward and independence from foreign Christian missions, but love for individual

BIBLICIST THEOLOGICAL FORMATION

It was during this period largely at home that Wang spent significant time developing his own theology through independent Bible study. On August 6, 1922, there is the first indication in his published diary that Wang did not agree with the doctrine of the Trinity, describing it as an “error.”²³⁹ On October 8th, we have the first indication that Wang did not agree with the Christian doctrine that Jesus is of the same substance as God, preferring the designation that Jesus is the Son of God.²⁴⁰ He would later say that the teaching that Jesus is God is “absurd and reckless.”²⁴¹ The basic principle he developed to guide his theology was that if a teaching was clearly written in the Bible he would accept it, but if it was not, he would reject it.²⁴² Also based on this principle, he would eventually come to reject the teaching of keeping the Sabbath day as not being for the Gentile churches. Similarly, he would also reject the Pentecostal teaching that tongues were the one true evidence of the infilling of the Holy Spirit. Wang emphasized the importance of personal Bible study, writing that he did not read commentaries on the Bible.²⁴³ He also rejected any church tradition or regulations that he could not find a legitimate basis for in the Bible. However, the final evidence he gives for rejecting the Pentecostal teaching on tongues being the evidence of the infilling of the Holy Spirit was character based. He referred to a young man he knew in 1921-1922 who, whenever he would pray, would do so in an extraordinary tongue but who also treated his mother and wife abusively. This young man was so fierce with them that people who observed him would “boil with anger”; at the same time, Wang knew of several Christians who never prayed in spiritual tongues but who lived devout lives.²⁴⁴ As can be seen, although Wang prioritized the Bible in the formation of his theology, his experience of the moral character of those who held theological positions was also very important in his analysis.

Finally, on July 31, 1923, he left Beijing in order to accept an invitation from a former student to preach for eight days of special meetings at a church in Zanhuang County 贊皇縣, Hebei Province. During this trip, from Wang’s diary entries, he again reveals his disagreement with the doctrine of the Trinity (August 10th)²⁴⁵ and the Divinity of Christ (August 11th).²⁴⁶ Later on, these theological positions would have repercussions that would hamper his ability to work with other Chinese Christians. He left on August 14th to visit his former student Shi Tianmin in Tang County 唐縣, Hebei but ended up getting sick when he arrived on August 19th, returning home when the sickness did not get better on August 25th. He remained at home doing housework and studying the Bible for the remainder of 1923.²⁴⁷

missionaries whom he felt integrated their beliefs with their lives, see Leslie T. Lyall, *Come Wind Come Weather: The Present Experience of the Church in China* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1960), 38. Also, David H. Adeney, *China: The Church’s Long March* (Ventura, CA: OMF Books, 1985), 53. Both Lyall and Adeney knew Wang personally.

²³⁹ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 17. See also Gene Ng, “The Shaping Influence of the Chinese YMCA on the Young Wang Mingdao,” 190, footnote 177 and the conclusion to this dissertation.

²⁴⁰ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 18. There is no capitalization in Chinese characters. These doctrinal issues will be further discussed in the conclusion of this dissertation.

²⁴¹ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 28. August 11, 1923.

²⁴² *Wang Mingdao, Fifty Years*, 98.

²⁴³ More will be said about this point in the conclusion of this dissertation.

²⁴⁴ *Wang Mingdao, Fifty Years*, 98.

²⁴⁵ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 28. He discussed with a Mr. Hua 華 the “mistaken idea of the Trinity” 三一的謬誤.

²⁴⁶ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 28. He preached on six evidences that Jesus is God’s Son and clarified the “absurdity that Jesus is God” 耶穌為神說之謬妄.

²⁴⁷ *Wang Mingdao, Fifty Years*, 91-92.

CONNECTING WITH OTHER CHINESE CHRISTIAN LEADERS

Feeling quite isolated in his enthusiasm to serve God with his whole devotion, Wang was very encouraged that year to read what seemed like religious opinions that were similar to his own in a journal he was introduced to, the *Spiritual Light Magazine* 靈光報.²⁴⁸ The journal was edited by the Nanjing based Jia Yuming 賈玉銘 (1880-1964), a Fundamentalist Presbyterian theologian who had been the vice-principal of the North China Theological Seminary.²⁴⁹ Jia had also been deeply influenced by his Confucian education and sought to reconcile his Confucian background with his Christian religion.²⁵⁰ In 1924, Wang also began to read the *Present Witness and Testimony* 復興報 (*Revival Magazine*)²⁵¹ and wrote letters to its chief writer and editor, Ni Tuosheng 倪柝聲, also known as Watchman Nee (1903-1972), a very significant figure in Chinese Christianity. Nee began to lead small meetings of Christians in 1922 that would eventually develop into the independent Little Flock 小群 which later, when under the leadership of Witness Lee (Li Changshou) 李常受, became known as the Local Church 召會. Impressed with what he read in Nee's magazine, Wang began writing to him on March 2, 1924.²⁵²

A couple of days later on March 4, 1924, Wang was invited to preach along with 30 other Chinese and missionary speakers at a six-day camp meeting that was being put on for Feng Yuxiang's 馮玉祥 (1882-1948) troops that were stationed in Nanyuan 南苑, south of Beijing.²⁵³ Feng was known as the "Christian General,"²⁵⁴ a warlord who was aligned at the time with the Beiyang government in Beijing but who would turn to the KMT side in just a few months during the Beijing Coup on October 23, 1924.²⁵⁵ Feng actively promoted the conversion of his soldiers to Christianity which was the reason Wang and the other speakers were invited to preach.²⁵⁶ However, Wang was deeply grieved by what he saw at the camp meeting.²⁵⁷ Not only did he feel that most of the preachers were not deserving of being called servants of Christ, but he thought that of the more than 3000 soldiers that were signed up to be baptized, a scant few had repented and had

²⁴⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 115.

²⁴⁹ In 1921, Jia Yuming began publishing the *Spiritual Light Magazine*. See "Jia Yuming" 賈玉銘, Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity, accessed September 17, 2020. <http://bdconline.net/zh-hant/stories/jia-yuming>.

²⁵⁰ See Kwok Wai Luen, "The Christ-human and Jia Yuming's Doctrine of Sanctification: A Case Study in the Confucianisation of Chinese Fundamentalist Christianity," *Studies in World Christianity* 20 (August 2014): 145-165.

²⁵¹ Nee began publishing this journal in 1923 and in 1925 began publishing another journal, the *Christian* 基督徒報. See Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 164-165. For Wang's reading of these journals see *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 50. October 9, 1924, and 119, April 22, 1926.

²⁵² Ying Fuk Tsang, "Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao" 巨人愛恨—王明道所認識的倪柝聲, *Ching Feng* 15, no. 1/2, (2016): 137. This article is the main source for the relationship between Wang Mingdao and Watchman Nee. Between 1924-1925, Wang and Nee exchanged 15 letters before the relationship later soured.

²⁵³ In Wang's diary entry for March (no day), he writes that he preached at 南苑馮軍 including the name "Feng" which he omits in *Fifty Years*. See *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 31.

²⁵⁴ The sincerity of Feng Yuxiang's conversion to Christianity is debated. See James E. Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord: The Career of Feng Yu-hsiang* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), 52-54.

²⁵⁵ See James E. Sheridan, "The Warlord Era: Politics and Militarism Under the Peking Government: 1916-1928," in *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 12:314-315.

²⁵⁶ See James E. Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord: The Career of Feng Yu-hsiang*, 122.

²⁵⁷ Wang describes his response to what he saw at the camp by using the idiom, 疾首痛心 "to grieve and lament," originally found in See *Mr. Zuo's Commentary on Chun Qiu* 左傳, Duke Cheng, Year 13.2, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=19113>.

actual faith in Christ.²⁵⁸ On March 11th, the day the large-scale baptism was scheduled for, Wang left early in disgust so he would not have to see the event.²⁵⁹ This camp in Nanyuan further convinced Wang that the church in China was morally and spiritually impoverished.

That summer, Wang left Beijing again to do itinerant preaching in a number of locations. On July 6th, he met for the first time Jia Yuming, the editor of the *Spiritual Light Magazine* that Wang respected, and the two mutually encouraged one another.²⁶⁰ The most significant thing that happened during the trip was in early September in De County 德縣 where he was invited to preach in a united Congregationalist and LMS church. There he heard a preacher whom Wang thought was an “unbeliever” twisting the Bible’s teachings and thus in Wang’s opinion, causing injury to the faith of the people in the congregation. After a period of intense personal prayer, Wang entered the pulpit in the same church and corrected the “unbelieving” preacher’s errors one by one. This caused such an uproar that he was verbally attacked.²⁶¹ Wang had privately disagreed with Modernist teachings at least as early as 1922. On January 22, 1922, his diary entry indicated his reflection on a preacher’s statements that social reform was a stage along the way to the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven and that Jesus was a social revolutionary was nonsense.²⁶² However, it was Wang’s refutation of the preacher in De County that was the first time he confronted what he described as “evil forces” within the church publicly and which thus marked Wang’s public identification as a Fundamentalist Christian. As Xiyi Yao has pointed out, the key distinguishing mark of a fundamentalist Christian in China during the 1920s was not doctrinal beliefs, as important as those were, but rather, willingness to publicly battle Modernist teachings.²⁶³

HOUSE CHURCH BEGINNINGS

When he returned home later in September, a family moved out from his mother’s housing unit, which opened up two rooms. Wang had been meeting with an older man in his small room to study the Bible and later a younger person joined the group, but when the rooms in his mother’s housing unit opened up, he asked his mother if he could begin to use the larger rooms for meetings which she agreed to. Therefore, on October 4, 1924, he moved into the two rooms and on October 18th, he began a house church meeting with three people. His role as a future spiritual leader of the house church movement began in his home more than three decades before his arrest. Later in December of 1924, he started a Wednesday Bible study group.²⁶⁴ On October 9th, Wang received Watchman Nee’s *Present Witness and Testimony* magazine and was very impressed with what he

²⁵⁸ Sheridan indicates that there were 4500 baptisms at the Nanyuan camp with Feng desiring genuine conversions based on the requirement that the soldiers provide evidence of some knowledge of basic Christian tenants and a report from superiors of that they were living moral lives. See James E. Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord: The Career of Feng Yu-hsiang*, 122. Wang obviously had a different opinion of the soldier’s Christian knowledge and moral integrity.

²⁵⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 92. Despite Feng Yuxiang’s Christian profession of faith and admiration for the sages of ancient China, Wang was much more impressed with Feng’s superior in the Zhili Clique of warlords who would become Feng’s adversary after the Beijing Coup in 1924, the Confucian general Wu Peifu 吳佩孚 (1874-1939). See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 89-92. Wu Peifu will be discussed later in this dissertation.

²⁶⁰ Wang Mingdao’s *Diary*, 42.

²⁶¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 92.

²⁶² Wang Mingdao’s *Diary*, 15. It was Wang’s friend Chen Zigao who refuted the preacher on this occasion.

²⁶³ See Xiyi Yao, *The Fundamentalist Movement Among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920-1937*, 282 and 287.

²⁶⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 93.

read but also was ashamed because he felt he was wasting his own time.²⁶⁵ Nee's prolific writing, who was three years younger than Wang, in no doubt motivated Wang to begin his own writing and so in 1924, Wang also began writing works in order to publish them for a reading audience. He published four small booklets, *One Very Important Thing* 一件極重要的事, *The Voice of Evil in the World* 惡世中的呼聲, *Christians and Idols* 基督徒與偶像, and *The Cross of Christ* 基督的十字架 which he gave away as gifts.²⁶⁶ With his itinerant preaching ministry having been underway for three years, and the beginning of his house church and publishing ministry in 1924, the three major aspects of his work for the next three decades were established. Wang's Christian ministry trajectory was set as the popular opinion in China continued to move in an anti-Christian direction. However, being familiar with Chinese Christian leaders such as Cheng Jingyi, Jia Yuming, and Watchman Nee, who were pursuing ministry tracks largely independent of foreign missionaries, Wang had growing confidence that a Chinese Christian could thrive in China at the time.

In January of 1925, Wang was leading two meetings at his house church, a Bible study on Wednesday and a worship service on Saturday with between two and ten participants. On February 10th, a major breakthrough took place in terms of Wang's public ministry. He was invited to preach at a monthly women's meeting in Beijing. An older woman named Zheng Suying 鄭素英, or as Wang addressed her, Mrs. Pan 潘老太太, told Wang that she was moved by his preaching and that she had known his father Wang Zihou but had lost contact with his family after the elder Wang's suicide. At this time, Wang believed that many leaders in the churches in Beijing thought that he was mentally unstable due to what happened at Martyr's Field Presbyterian School. Only Mrs. Pan could see the potential in Wang that others failed to see, and Wang was deeply encouraged by Mrs. Pan's confirmation of his calling. Mrs. Pan was well respected among the Christian churches in Beijing and she proceeded to recommend him as a preacher to her large network of connections. From this point on, the attendance at his house church meetings steadily increased. By the beginning of March, twenty new people were attending the meetings. The space he was using at his mother's housing unit had become too cramped, so beginning on March 6th, Mrs. Pan invited him to use her home to conduct meetings on Fridays. Then, in April, another older woman who was attending the meetings invited Wang to begin to use her large home to conduct meetings every other Sunday afternoon beginning on April 5th with over 70 people attending. Between the various meetings, Wang was preaching every day, and so on April 24th some people gave Wang a bicycle in order to save him time in travelling from place to place. By the time he planned a trip to Nanjing for late May, on May 21-22 there were special meetings arranged at Mrs. Pan's home with over a hundred people attending. On May 27th he left for Nanjing.²⁶⁷ Wang was developing his reputation as a sought after preacher right at the time that the country was about to see the largest anti-Christian protests since the Boxer Uprising.

THEOLOGICAL CONFLICT & THE MAY THIRTIETH MOVEMENT

The KMT and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), who had been working together on a "united front" were using the language of a nationalist revolution in order to unify the country by

²⁶⁵ Wang Mingdao's *Diary*, 50.

²⁶⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 93. These booklets would later become content in Wang's quarterly journal *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* which he began publishing in 1927.

²⁶⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 114-115.

getting rid of the regional warlords. Both parties were also utilizing the idea of cultural imperialism to mobilize the population against the Western presence in China creating a dangerous situation for Christians in the country, especially foreign missionaries. On May 30, 1925, a series of protests against Westerners and warlords took place in several areas of the country and which by early 1927 extended to every major city. Chinese Christians like Cheng Jingyi and Jia Yuming who were at one time connected to Western denominations were accused of being the “running dogs” of Western imperialism.²⁶⁸ As this national crisis was emerging for Christians in China while he was in Nanjing, a personal crisis erupted for Wang Mingdao as well.

On January 2, 1925, he had submitted an article entitled “The Sound of Joy” 大喜之音 for publication in the *Spiritual Light Magazine*.²⁶⁹ After a warm meeting with the editor Jia Yuming previously in July of 1924, Wang wanted to go to Nanjing to spend a longer period of time together and so he planned the trip for May 27, 1925. As the May 30th protests were erupting, Wang spent the time getting familiar with Jia and others connected with the magazine. During these conversations, Jia encouraged Wang to think about getting married.²⁷⁰ Wang was also invited to preach, along with Jia Yuming and the famous evangelist Dora Yu 余慈度, at a conference for conservative Christian leaders²⁷¹ in which Jia was selected to be the chairman, and Wang the secretary.²⁷² This was a significant recognition of Wang’s talents as Jia was the first Chinese with a doctoral degree in theology and Dora Yu was a well-known evangelist with most of the other participants older than Wang.²⁷³ However, according to Wang, at a meeting on June 2nd, while they were discussing the creedal statement of the group, Wang said he was misunderstood and verbally attacked by some of the other participants with Dora Yu designating Wang a Modernist.²⁷⁴ What caused this aggressive response to Wang’s theology? The disputed issue was Wang’s lack of acceptance of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.²⁷⁵ Wang thought that there was an inadequate foundation for the doctrine in the Bible. As mentioned above, Wang’s position was that if the Bible did not clearly reveal a teaching, he did not feel it was a requirement for belief, a hermeneutical position categorized as “Biblicism.”²⁷⁶ The problem for Wang with the doctrine is likely that the phrase, “Trinity” 三一, or “Three persons of one substance” 三位一體, does not appear in the Bible so Wang believed that Jesus is the Son of God, but not God.²⁷⁷ After a long period of theological debate, on June 4th, after Wang tried to talk with Jia Yuming, he was later given a letter from Jia in which he accused Wang of holding a theological position that Jesus was just a “paragon of virtue” or a “perfect person” 完人, essentially categorizing him as a Modernist, and that Wang would not be invited to preach at their meetings again. Wang was shocked, hurt and felt he had been misunderstood. He was also concerned that this would significantly affect his future ministry prospects.²⁷⁸ He had turned away from missionary Christianity, did not agree with the theology of

²⁶⁸ Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 111-113.

²⁶⁹ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 61.

²⁷⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 226-227. Shi Meiling, *Sixty-Three Years*, 21.

²⁷¹ The actual name is “Spiritual” Christians or “Spiritualists” 屬靈派.

²⁷² *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 78. June 2, 1925.

²⁷³ Ying Fuk Tsang, “Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao,” 135-136, footnote 14.

²⁷⁴ See *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 57. The most vocal speaker against Wang appears to have been Dora Yu. See Ying Fuk Tsang, “Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao,” 136.

²⁷⁵ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 78. June 2, 1925.

²⁷⁶ Ying Fuk Tsang, “Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao,” 136.

²⁷⁷ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 28. August 10-11, 1923.

²⁷⁸ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 79. June 4, 1925.

Modernist Chinese Christians,²⁷⁹ and now was being shut out by conservative Chinese Christians whom he deeply respected. However, this situation again reveals Wang's internal principal that it would be better to lose everything than to compromise what he thought was right. His later reflection on what happened with Jia Yuming reveals that he was not willing to expound doctrine that was not clear to him from the Bible no matter what the consequences. Another important factor is that he still considered Jia Yuming and Dora Yu to be Christians despite the fact that he disagreed with them on doctrinal issues.²⁸⁰

A MEETING OF "GIANTS"

Ying Fuk Tsang, thinks that this theological conflict caused Wang to feel uncertainty over his theology which then led him to turn to Watchman Nee for guidance. Despite the fact that Nee was three years younger than Wang, due to Nee's conservative theology and prolific writing, Wang looked to Nee as a mentor.²⁸¹ On June 5th, Wang's diary reveals that he wrote to Nee with hopes to see him in order to discuss what had happened in Nanjing.²⁸² Since his childhood, Wang had heard stories and poems about the beauty of the West Lake in Hangzhou 杭州, Zhejiang Province so he decided to stay there for a few days on his way down to see Nee who was living in Fuzhou 福州, Zhejiang Province. While in Hangzhou, Wang toured the legendary West Lake and through the introduction of another Christian, on June 22nd, he met his future mother-in-law, Zhang Meiyun 張美雲²⁸³ and his future father-in-law, Pastor Liu Delin 劉德林, who at the time was a Presbyterian pastor at the Hangzhou Tianshuiqiao Church 天水橋禮拜堂.²⁸⁴ On June 26th, Pastor Liu invited Wang to preach at his church which Wang accepted and even stayed for several days in the couple's home, but at this time, Wang did not notice their daughter, 劉景文 Liu Jingwen, who would later become his wife of 63 years. He planned to continue his journey to see Nee in Fuzhou but got sick along the way. Wang remembered the warm hospitality of his future in-laws and came back to recoup on July 17th, and again stayed for a period of time preaching at Pastor Liu's church for twelve days and left on August 6th.²⁸⁵

In a fascinating period of Chinese Church history, Wang met Nee on August 18, 1925,²⁸⁶ and the two spent time over the next few days talking over several topics including the Trinity and eternal punishment.²⁸⁷ On August 20th, they went hiking together and in the evening went to a worship service with Nee preaching first and then Wang preaching in Mandarin with Nee translating for Wang into the Min dialect spoken in Fujian Province.²⁸⁸ On August 21st, Wang proofread a manuscript by Nee²⁸⁹ and the two set off for Shanghai on August 22nd with several

²⁷⁹ Despite the fact that Dora Yu and Jia Yuming now considered Wang a Modernist. Many years later, Wang was in Shanghai and he saw Dora Yu walking on the street. Out of respect for his elder, Wang bowed to Yu but she responded with, "Wang Mingdao, you preacher of heresy, are you still preaching?" See Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 123.

²⁸⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 116.

²⁸¹ Ying Fuk Tsang, "Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao," 138-139.

²⁸² *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 80.

²⁸³ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-Three Years*, 6.

²⁸⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 117.

²⁸⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 118.

²⁸⁶ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 92.

²⁸⁷ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 93. August 19th, 1925.

²⁸⁸ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 94.

²⁸⁹ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 95.

visits between the two men over the next few days including August 26th when the two talked in detail about the Trinity and eternal punishment²⁹⁰ before Wang left Shanghai on August 28th. Wang had an extremely favorable impression of Nee at the time and, after having been rejected by Jia Yuming in Nanjing, Wang was encouraged by Nee's warmth and acceptance. As Ying Fuk Tsang has observed, Nee also encouraged Wang in his move toward independence from missionary Christianity.²⁹¹ In 1925, Wang thought that Nee was both biblical in his theology and devout in his behavior. During this time, Nee may have been able to explain to Wang his teaching on the doctrine of God in a way that did not contain the philosophical Trinitarian language that Jia Yuming and Dora Yu seems to have insisted on. Nee used the phrase "three one" 三一, and not "three persons of one substance" 三位一體, when describing God.²⁹² This more clear statement on God, combined with Nee's acceptance of Wang at a vulnerable time and his impression that Nee was a devout Christian, gave Wang great respect for Nee.²⁹³ With both conditions of acceptable theology and devout behavior met, Wang could embrace Nee as a theological mentor despite Nee's younger age. After this first set of meetings with another future "giant" of the Chinese church, Wang travelled back north, preaching at many locations before finally returning to Beijing on September 14th after being away from home for over three months.²⁹⁴

A "HALF-OLD, HALF-NEW" COUPLE

In October, Wang resumed leading his house church services in Beijing in three locations for a brief period before returning south including a trip to Hangzhou for several preaching engagements until the end of 1925. After being originally resistant to the idea of marriage, it was in November that he seriously began to think about finding a spouse.²⁹⁵ Despite his falling out with Jia Yuming, their conversation in May about Wang being more effective as a married preacher resonated with him. He arrived in Hangzhou on October 31st, and after staying with Pastor Liu Delin for the third time, he began to notice the pastor's daughter, Liu Jingwen. On November 5th, when another pianist who was to play at a service Wang was preaching at cancelled, Liu Jingwen filled in. In Wang's previous trips to her home he thought of her as a child since she was almost nine years younger than he was. However, on this evening, he realized that she was a young woman.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁰ Ying Fuk Tsang, "Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao," 141. This detail is from the unpublished diaries of Wang Mingdao since August 26th is not included in the published diary.

²⁹¹ Ying Fuk Tsang, "Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao," 141.

²⁹² Unfortunately, there is no further articulation of their conversation on the Trinity in Wang Mingdao's diaries and Watchman Nee makes no mention of Wang in his written works. It is likely that Nee's closer use of biblical language for describing the "three one God" was more acceptable to Wang than Jia Yuming's Trinitarian language. However, according to Lian Xi, Nee later thought of Wang Mingdao's Christian Tabernacle as a "half-way house." Nee was clearly not impressed by Wang as will be revealed and thus makes no recorded comments on the man himself. See Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 171 and 275 footnote 64.

²⁹³ Before their relationship soured, Wang says that during this time he loved Nee very much. See Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增, "Wang Mingdao Discusses Chinese Church Leaders and Affairs – An Annotated Analysis of a Conversation in the 1980s" 王明道談中國教會的人與事 – 1980 年代的一次談話考釋, *Journal of the History of Christianity in Modern China* 近代中國基督教史研究集刊 8 (December 2009): 82.

²⁹⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 118.

²⁹⁵ He started to open to the idea of getting married at least as early as September 28th, 1924, but Jia Yuming confirmed his thoughts. See *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 48.

²⁹⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 228-229.

Liu Jingwen was born on March 29, 1909, in Jiangyin County 江陰縣, Jiangsu Province, just as Wang was about to begin his elementary education at Tsui Wen Academy. Her father Liu Delin (1862-1934), was a respected Presbyterian pastor in Jiangyin County, whose first wife died, and he later pastored a Presbyterian church in Deqing County 德清縣 in Zhejiang Province. Around 1919, the family moved to Hangzhou for Liu Delin to pastor the church where he invited Wang Mingdao to preach in June of 1925.²⁹⁷ Liu Jingwen's mother Zhang Meiyun (1880-1974), eighteen years younger than her husband, assisted him in church ministry and oversaw the family, rearing two children from her husband's previous marriage, along with their three sons and the baby, Liu Jingwen, in a happy Christian home.²⁹⁸ Liu Jingwen studied with a few other students under a teacher that was sent from Hangzhou's Xiongdao School 杭州雄道學校 for her elementary education while the family was still in Deqing County. In 1919, when she was ten, the family moved to Hangzhou and she attended the Mary Vaughan High School 馮氏女校, a missionary school established by the Anglican Church's Church Missionary Society (CMS).²⁹⁹ While at Mary Vaughan High School, Liu Jingwen studied English and piano and was deeply influenced by a missionary teacher from New Zealand, a Miss Wood whose example of sacrificial care for her students continued to influence Liu into her senior years.³⁰⁰ In 1923, she was converted to Christianity while listening to her father preach at the age of 14.³⁰¹ When Wang Mingdao finally noticed Liu Jingwen on November 5th, 1925, after staying at her family's home three times and seeing her over twenty times,³⁰² she was 16 years old while Wang was 25 years old. Despite their age difference, which Wang originally thought was too great, the two had several important commonalities. Both had been educated at missionary schools, both were familiar with the life of a preacher, and both were committed Christians. When Wang was later asked about what kind of marriage he had, old-style or new style, he replied, "half-old, half-new."³⁰³ Shi Meiling, Liu Jingwen's biographer, expands on Wang Mingdao's statement that the couple's marriage was "half-old, half-new," that not only their marriage but

They were also half-old, half-new *people*. They accepted new ways of thinking including [aspects of] Western culture. However, Chinese Confucian culture was still very firmly their framework of thought. Thus, their behavior was basically according to the Bible's teachings, but the way they treated people and conducted themselves in society in many ways was according to a Confucian consciousness in dealing with issues.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁷ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-Three Years*, 1.

²⁹⁸ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-Three Years*, 6-7. Wang Mingdao said that he had great love and respect for his father-in-law, Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 136-137, and that when his mother-in-law died in 1974, he wept and lost any desire he previously had to leave prison as his main desire in leaving would have been to see her. See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 149.

²⁹⁹ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-Three Years*, 1. The Mary Vaughan High School, named after a Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary who donated two thousand dollars to build a school for girls in Hangzhou, was established in 1909 as one of the first schools to provide females with a high-school education in East China. See Jennifer Bond, "The One for the Many: Zeng Baosun, Louise Barnes and the Yifang School for Girls at Changsha, 1893-1927," *Studies in Church History* 55 (2019): 447, <http://dro.dur.ac.uk/27013/1/27013.pdf>.

³⁰⁰ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-Three Years*, 4.

³⁰¹ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-Three Years*, 5-6.

³⁰² Shi Meiling, *Sixty-Three Years*, 18. By November of 1925, it seems that Liu Jingwen had finished her studies at Mary Vaughn High School and was a teacher. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 229.

³⁰³ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 233.

³⁰⁴ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-Three Years*, 19. Italics added.

This way of dealing with issues is evidenced in the way Wang courted Liu Jingwen and how she responded to his interest in her. On November 29th, he first approached a third party, an older Christian woman named Aunt Li 李阿姨, who was familiar with Liu Delin and Zhang Meiyun, to broach the subject of his interest in marrying their daughter.³⁰⁵ After talking with her parents, Aunt Li came back to Wang telling him that they did not promise agreement to the marriage, nor did they refuse. They felt the best way forward was to carefully consider the possibility of the marriage. When her mother asked Liu Jingwen about marrying Wang Mingdao, the young woman responded: “Whatever God wants, so be it.”³⁰⁶ Wang went back to Beijing, and for the next number of months into April of 1926, whenever he travelled south for preaching invitations, he would stop in Hangzhou in order for the couple to become more familiar with one another, but they were never alone together until after they were married.³⁰⁷ Wang’s greatest concern was how his mother and older sister would react to him marrying a southerner. His mother wanted him to marry a woman from Beijing, and due to her experiences renting to southerners, felt that people from outside of the capital were inferior.³⁰⁸ She also had a mindset that once her son was married, his affection for his mother and sister would be replaced by his affection for his wife.³⁰⁹ On May 12, 1926, Wang talked to his mother and sister about marrying Liu Jingwen. He had decided previously, in order to show filial respect 孝敬 to his mother for all of her sacrifices for him, that if she objected to the marriage then he would end the relationship with Liu Jingwen. To his delight, his mother and sister agreed to the marriage and Wang saw their approval as a sign from God.³¹⁰ In July of 1926, with his mind on marriage, Wang wrote his book entitled *Jesus’ New Bride* 基督的新娘.³¹¹ He again went south on preaching appointments and on November 24th, he and Liu Jingwen were engaged.³¹² Wang Mingdao’s conduct in his courting Liu Jingwen is another evidence of his Confucian-Christian consciousness.

INDEPENDENT PUBLISHING & THE NORTHERN EXPEDITION

Wang continued to visit Liu Jingwen when his preaching tours took him south and they wrote letters to one another, but 1927 was an eventful year in another aspect of Wang’s life as well. With Jia Yuming no longer accepting his articles for the *Spiritual Light Magazine*,³¹³ and motivated by seeing Watchman Nee’s prolific literary production, in the spring of 1927, Wang began publishing his own journal, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 靈食季刊. This journal, which he

³⁰⁵ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 103. November 29th, 1925. She was not a familial aunt but Wang uses the phrase as a term of affection common in Chinese society for an older woman. She was the person who introduced Wang to the family on June 26th. Aunt Li’s full name is L Jingqian 李靜謙.

³⁰⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 231.

³⁰⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 233. One of the places he preached was in the Methodist churches of Nanjing where leading up to Easter Sunday in 1926, Wang preached to congregations of over one thousand people. A missionary observer commented that “Though his sermons ran over the ordinary length in time yet he held his audiences and was able to pass over to them his contagious earnestness.” This is the first mention of Wang Mingdao (Wang Mingtao) that this author has been able to find in English. See Unnamed Author, “On the Field,” *Chinese Recorder* 57, no.5 (May 1926): 373.

³⁰⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 231-232.

³⁰⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 236.

³¹⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 232.

³¹¹ In November, he also wrote a small booklet entitled *The Benefit of Suffering* 受苦有益. Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 119.

³¹² Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 120 and 232.

³¹³ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 203.

published quarterly until the summer issue of 1955 for a total of 114 volumes, would be the major literary production of Wang's life. The fact that Wang did not stop publishing during those nearly three decades provides historians with extraordinary insight into the content of indigenous Chinese Christianity during the ROC and early PROC periods.³¹⁴ On the first page of the first issue was printed the publisher's declaration which included the purpose of the new journal:

Purpose: To declare God's voice to this evil generation, to alarm the rebellious masses and awaken the sleeping church; to testify to the essential points of the Bible, to lead the lost sheep, to strengthen believer's faith, to explain the way to victory and the essentials of becoming holy, to guide believers into completeness, and to prepare a clean new bride for Christ. To obtain spiritual food from the treasure house (the Bible) given to us by God and share it with everyone in God's house (the Church).³¹⁵

Moreover, since the purpose was to communicate the main teachings of the Bible, news on current affairs and advertisements would not be included in the journal. The first issue contained a translation into Chinese of Martin Luther's Prayer at the Diet of Worms, articles on The Cross of Christ, The Resurrected Christ, True and False Piety, Lot's Failure, as well as a translated Bible song, a section on informal thoughts, and news from the editor. The two articles on Christ's death and resurrection were Wang's thoughts on the doctrines from a Fundamentalist perspective, as opposed to a Modernist one, affirming that Jesus physically died and came back to life. As can be surmised from Wang's purpose statement, the journal was meant "to testify to the essential points of the Bible" from a Fundamentalist perspective which included countering Modernist Christian teachings on several theological topics. In the next few years, a stream of articles would be published in the journal to uphold Wang's Fundamentalist perspective on several Christian doctrines.³¹⁶

The inclusion of Martin Luther's prayer at the Diet of Worms is an interesting inclusion. Wang translated it noting that Luther wrote this prayer before his trial in which he was accused of heresy due to his opposition to the Roman Catholic Church and was in extreme danger.³¹⁷ Wang always admired those like Martin Luther who, for conscience's sake, were willing to stand for what they thought was right no matter what the cost. Wang published Luther's prayer in March-April of 1927, in the midst of the first phase of the Northern Expedition 北伐 in China. Wang resonated with Luther's path toward independence in the midst of conflict both inside and outside of the church. Not only was there conflict between Modernists and Fundamentalists like Wang in the Chinese church, there was also conflict in Chinese society as the Northern Expedition was underway. The purpose of the KMT's expedition was to unify China after the fragmentation that took place following the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911. After Sun Yat Sen died on March 12, 1925, Chiang Kai Shek 蔣介石 (蔣中正) eventually took control of the KMT on June 5, 1926, and beginning in July of 1926, led an upward sweep from Guangzhou in order to unify control of China under the KMT. He initially worked in a united front with the CCP in order

³¹⁴ For a detailed list of the contents of the 114 issues of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*, see Appendix 3: Contents of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*, 1927-1955.

³¹⁵ Wang Mingdao, "Publication Announcement" 出版露佈, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1927): 9.

³¹⁶ See Appendix 3.

³¹⁷ Wang Mingdao, "Martin Luther's Prayer" 路德馬丁的一篇禱文, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1927): 17. The main events of the Diet of Worms in relation to Luther took place April 16-18, 1521. Wang does not reveal the document source he used for Luther's prayer.

to wrestle control of various regions of China out of the hands of warlords and the Bieyang government. As the expedition moved north, with the May 30th Movement's ideology of cultural imperialism still being held against Christians, especially foreign ones and those connected to them through missionary agencies, Christian churches were damaged and several Christians were killed. Most foreign missionaries left the interior and fled to Shanghai with over two thousand returning to their home countries.³¹⁸ In many ways, it seemed like an unfortunate time to be a Christian preacher in China,³¹⁹ but for an independent Chinese Christian, the situation provided a unique opportunity. Chinese Christians were looking for a way to be both Chinese *and* Christian. People like Wang Mingdao, who were providing a path that was independent of foreign missionary agencies yet still committed to the Christian faith, were able to find a following. The first phase of the Northern Expedition ended in August of 1927 after Chiang attempted to purge the Communists from within the KMT. As the Northern Expedition was paused, in the summer of 1927, Wang was back in Beijing conducting his house church meetings in his and Mrs. Pan's homes for short periods of time, publishing his journal every three months, and back on the road for itinerant preaching meetings.³²⁰ His ministry was flourishing as people responded to his preaching and writing as he forged the path toward independent Chinese Christianity. In January of 1928, the second stage of the Northern Expedition began. By May of 1928, the KMT had effectively taken control of Beijing with Wang busy in the city focused on ministry work.³²¹ On May 27, 1928, during the final battles in Beijing, he wrote in the *Spiritual Food Quarterly* that recent ministry work in the city was exceptionally good.³²² He had resolved earlier to not be concerned with political battles but rather to focus on the cross of Jesus and to leave the world behind, so he kept busy with his preaching and writing in the midst of the conflict.³²³ This was certainly a theological decision but may also have been influenced by Wang's observation of the lack of effective government in Beijing during his life thus far.³²⁴

FAMILY COMPLEXITIES

By December of 1928, China was reunified under Chiang's KMT government based in Nanjing.³²⁵ This created a more stable social environment in China which allowed Wang to expand his ministry throughout the country over the next decade. The most significant event of 1928 for Wang personally was that he got married. On August 8, 1928, he and Liu Jingwen were married at her father's church in Hangzhou with her father officiating the wedding.³²⁶ Liu Jingwen's older brother Liu Chongen 劉崇恩 got married to his fiancé first, and then her father wittingly said to the surprised guests assembled, "Please wait, there is another couple" to be married which was

³¹⁸ See Daniel Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 112.

³¹⁹ Wang felt the impact of the anti-Christian Movement in China during the late 1920s and made mention of it in his journal. See Wang Mingdao, "The Story of Zhang En and Wang Yi" 王恩與張義的故事, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 12 (Winter 1929): 239.

³²⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 124.

³²¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 125.

³²² Wang Mingdao, "Editor's News" 編者的消息, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 6 (Summer 1928): 116.

³²³ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 46-47. September 20, 1924.

³²⁴ See James E. Sheridan, "The Warlord Era: Politics and Militarism Under the Peking Government: 1916-1928," 317.

³²⁵ See Lloyd E. Eastman, "Nationalist China During the Nanjing Decade," in *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 13:124.

³²⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 125 and 232.

Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen.³²⁷ Wang's former student and now friend Shi Tianmin attended the wedding but his mother and sister did not. His mother-in-law asked Wang before he left with her daughter back to their new home in Beijing, "Don't all people used by God have to go through refinement?" to which Wang replied, "Yes." His mother-in-law responded, "A girl like Jingwen has never had such refinement, what about her?"³²⁸ This statement should have been a warning to Wang Mingdao, but just as with his lack of understanding of his mother's reaction to his leaving his teaching job in Baoding, he did not anticipate her negative reaction to his marrying Liu Jingwen.

When the newly married couple returned to his mother's home in Beijing to live in her housing unit on September 18th, Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen were surprised by his mother and sister's cold welcome. They arrived at 6:30 p.m. around dinner time and were told by Wang's mother "We have already eaten, you prepare yourselves food for the two of you to eat." Since his mother and sister did not oppose the marriage to Liu Jingwen when he previously talked to them about it, Wang expected that there would be a warm welcome including a sumptuous meal to welcome the new couple. Dejected, he went out to the street to buy some food and cooked dinner for himself and his new wife. He described his feelings at the time as having fallen into a thick fog. Early the next morning, his sister made a large commotion in the yard which he felt was an indirect outburst of anger directed at Wang and Liu Jingwen. Not clear about why he was being treated like this, Wang and Liu Jingwen wept in their room.³²⁹ Upon reflection, possibly of several years since Wang wrote this section of his autobiography in 1950, he realized that Liu Jingwen would never be accepted as part of his mother's family which created a problem for his Confucian-Christian ethics which would never be fully resolved until his mother died.

The significant relationship trauma that Wang's mother, Li Wenyi, (1865-1947) had experienced may, in part, explain her coldness toward Wang's wife. At 35 years of age, her husband, as detailed previously, had committed suicide, leaving her to take care of Wang's older sister, Wang Enrong, and the unborn Wang Mingdao. As the landlord of a lower socio-economic class housing unit on Sweet Rain Lane (Ganyu Hutong) in Eastern Beijing, Li Wenyi personally observed the abuse that family members inflicted upon one another including daughter-in-laws mistreating their mother-in-laws. Li Wenyi's mother and younger sister also lived in the housing unit with them and her relationship with her younger sister by three years was particularly painful for her. Li Wenyi's younger sister used her for whatever material profit she could and rejected her older sister when there was no more left to be gained from her. Wang Mingdao saw this relationship as convincing his mother that if her sister would do this to her, there was no one she could trust except for her two children. Wang later recalled that when he was a child, his mother said to him and his older sister that when Wang Mingdao got married, there would be an outsider in their home.³³⁰ He later realized that when he brought Liu Jingwen home from Hangzhou, he had brought an outsider into his mother's home who would never be trusted by his mother and sister; furthermore, due to his union with his wife, even Wang Mingdao became an outsider to his sister and mother.³³¹ The pain from this perceived loss of her son resulted in the cold reception given to the newly married couple and ongoing hostility that Li Wenyi showed to them. Even into her later years after Wang's older sister died, Li Wenyi increasingly distrusted Liu Jingwen for fear that her daughter-in-law, as she

³²⁷ Shi Meiling *Sixty-three Years*, 17.

³²⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 234.

³²⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 235.

³³⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 236-237.

³³¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 239.

had seen in other relationships, intended to do her harm.³³² As well, Li Wenyi believed that “when a son takes a wife, he no longer wants a mother.” All of these feelings combined with the fact that Liu Jingwen, as a southerner from Hangzhou, did not understand northern Beijing social customs and habits, as well as the fact that she did not speak the Beijing dialect in 1928, made both Wang and Liu Jingwen feel that they could not do anything right and that there was nothing they could do to please Wang’s mother and sister.³³³

This inter-family conflict created an enormous problem for Wang and is another evidence of his Confucian-Christian sensibilities. As a 28-year old man, he now had to decide whether his primary loyalty was to his mother or to his wife. Wang’s reading as a child and adolescent would undoubtedly have made him familiar with the message of books like *The Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經, and *The Twenty-four Filial Exemplars* 二十四孝, which taught him to express filial piety toward his mother. This teaching was in harmony with the admonition from the Christian Scriptures to honor one’s mother and father³³⁴ and resulted in Wang originally saying that he would rather sacrifice his wife than his mother.³³⁵ However, upon further reflection influenced by the Christian admonition that a husband should leave his father and mother and be united to his wife,³³⁶ he realized that this way of thinking was not correct. Wang came up with a compromise. He decided he would love his mother *and* his wife. He would not give up his mother for his wife, nor give up his wife for his mother.³³⁷ As noted by Gloria S. Tseng,

In his deep affection for his widowed mother and older sister, despite the many ways they made his marriage and family life difficult, Wang revealed himself to be a Confucian... However, in the way that he learned to treat his wife with respect and understanding, despite the many personality differences between them, Wang also exhibited values and virtues not expected in traditional China.³³⁸

These “values and virtues” were Christian ones that propelled Wang to be united to Liu Jingwen. However, his love for his mother would not allow him to leave her for his wife. Therefore, the compromise for Wang was to love both of them, and leave neither of them, and is another practical expression of Wang Mingdao’s Confucian-Christianity.

In 1929, Wang Mingdao accepted more preaching invitations from locations further away from Beijing as his reputation grew from the distribution of his quarterly journal. He was so busy, in fact, that on July 11, 1929, while he was preaching in Shou County 壽縣, Anhui Province, his only child was born at Douw (Daoji) Hospital 道濟醫院 in Beijing.³³⁹ Apparently alone, Liu Jingwen delivered her son, Wang Tianduo, and left the hospital unable to pay the hospital fees.³⁴⁰ Wang had little to say about his son in his autobiography³⁴¹ except that he was loved by his

³³² Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 264.

³³³ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 238.

³³⁴ See Exodus 20:12.

³³⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 239.

³³⁶ See Genesis 2:24 and Ephesians 5:31.

³³⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 239.

³³⁸ Gloria S. Tseng, “Bathsheba as an Object Lesson: Gender, Modernity and Biblical Examples in Wang Mingdao’s Sermons and Writings,” *Studies in World Christianity* 21.1 (2015): 61.

³³⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 126.

³⁴⁰ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-three Years*, 137. Wang Mingdao undoubtedly went back to pay the bill when he arrived home on July 17th, but Liu Jingwen was upset about this event even into her senior years.

³⁴¹ Nor in the *Spiritual Food Quarterly*. True to his word that the journal would not include news on current affairs

grandmother and aunt,³⁴² he appreciated the fact that Tianduo would not pass on information about his mother and father (Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen) to his grandmother and aunt (Wang's mother and sister),³⁴³ and that, as a lover of books, he was upset with Liu Jingwen for letting Tianduo play with his World Atlas which the young boy ripped.³⁴⁴ His mother Liu Jingwen loved him and had high expectations for her son.³⁴⁵ Although she would rarely criticize him, Tianduo said that she was strict with him when he did something wrong.³⁴⁶ While in university, due to the influence of new ideologies in China after the CCP victory, Tianduo began to have doubts about the Christian faith.³⁴⁷ He was deeply loved by his father and he in turn loved and respected his father. According to Wang's biographer Stephen Wang, nothing hurt Wang Mingdao more than Tianduo's unbelief.³⁴⁸ Wang Tianduo graduated from Beijing Agricultural University 北京農業大學 in 1951.³⁴⁹ Following his paternal grandfather Wang Zihou's path into the natural sciences, after graduation Tianduo worked in quantitative analysis and mathematical simulation of plant population photosynthesis, yield formation process and water use efficiency of plants for decades. Later, he became a researcher at the Shanghai Institutes for Biological Sciences 上海生命科學研究院 which is a part of the Chinese Academy of Sciences 中國科學院.³⁵⁰ This job provided him with the dormitory that housed Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen in their twilight years and where they conducted their Shanghai house church meetings beginning in the spring of 1984.³⁵¹

FRUSTRATED RELATIONSHIPS

In January of 1930, Wang Mingdao took his wife and young Tianduo to Hangzhou to visit Liu Jingwen's family. Wang noted that the previous year had been exhausting and that he felt the need to spend time with his wife's family and rest.³⁵² In late February, while in Shanghai, he met Zhang Yijing 張亦鏡 (1871-1931), who was the editor of the *True Light Magazine* 真光雜誌. As the long serving editor of *True Light*, he used the magazine to defend the Christian faith during the May Fourth Movement among Chinese intellectuals through his articles.³⁵³ In his writings, Zhang attempted to align Confucian and Christian teachings.³⁵⁴ This seemed to have appealed to Wang,

in the initial 1927 issue, Wang Mingdao did not share that his son was born in the editor's news section for July of 1929. See Wang Mingdao, "Editor's News" 編者的消息, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 11 (Fall 1929): 186.

³⁴² Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 263.

³⁴³ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 243.

³⁴⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 247.

³⁴⁵ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-three Years*, 151.

³⁴⁶ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-three Years*, 44.

³⁴⁷ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 364. July 6, 1951.

³⁴⁸ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 39. Also, *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 383. January 1, 1952.

³⁴⁹ Currently known as China Agricultural University 中國農業大學 after a merger in 1995 with Beijing Agricultural Engineering University.

³⁵⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 73, footnote 37. The Chinese Academy of Sciences is consistently ranked as one of the top research organizations in the world. See "Ten Institutions that Dominated Science in 2015," Nature Index, accessed September 29, 2020, <https://www.natureindex.com/news-blog/ten-institutions-that-dominated-science-in-twentyfifteen>. As of April 2020, The Shanghai Institutes for Biological Sciences was reformed and renamed.

³⁵¹ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-three Years*, 131.

³⁵² Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 126.

³⁵³ See "張亦鏡" (Zhang Yijing), Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity, accessed September 30, 2020, <http://bdconline.net/zh-hant/stories/zhang-yijing>. He is also known as Zhang Wenkai 張文開.

³⁵⁴ See Wai Luen Kwok, "Theology of Religions and Intertextuality: A Case Study of Christian-Confucian and

and he noted that Zhang had made a special contribution to Chinese Christian literature; later, Wang was pleased to receive Zhang's letter after Zhang had read a 1929 issue of Wang's *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* which resulted in the two beginning a correspondence. To Wang's regret, this would be the one and only time they would meet. It was especially unfortunate for Wang because, after his rejection by Jia Yuming, he was also now being given the cold shoulder by Watchman Nee. Wang must have been hopeful that he had finally found a reliable mentor in Zhang Yijing, and was disappointed that this was their only meeting as Zhang died on December 9, 1931.³⁵⁵ The date is uncertain, but it seems that Wang went to visit Nee in June of 1929 in Shanghai and after briefly meeting Nee at the door, for some unknown reason Nee walked away and Wang was brushed away by a maid. Wang was confused and deeply hurt by Nee's rejection.³⁵⁶ Shortly after meeting Zhang Yijing, he went to visit Watchman Nee again in Shanghai on March 3, 1930, and the two discussed church unity.³⁵⁷ Since Wang had some misgivings about Nee's ecclesiology with his insistence that all indigenous churches should unite with his Local Church, and after the cold brush off Nee had given Wang previously, it is possible that this is where the divergence between the two men began.³⁵⁸

Due to the busyness of his expanding family, frequent preaching trips, and publishing work on *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*, along with the fact that Mrs. Pan had moved and both her new home and his home were not large enough for the increasing number of people that attended, the Beijing house church Wang led had not met since the fall of 1927. He decided in the summer of 1930 to begin meeting in the yard of his housing unit to accommodate the people that would attend the house church meetings. They met nine times before he again went away on preaching trips. When he arrived home, on October 1st, he met with Arie Kok 葛嘉 (1883-1951), who had heard that Wang's home was too cramped for the number of people that were attending the house church he led, and so Mr. Kok offered his rented home for the church to meet in.³⁵⁹ Kok was a diplomat from the Netherlands³⁶⁰ eventually becoming the chancellor of the Dutch legation.³⁶¹ Since Wang had known him for several months and was confident that the two men's religious beliefs were consistent, he accepted Kok's offer to use his residence.³⁶² Kok was formerly a Pentecostal missionary who arrived in China in 1911 but left the Pentecostal Mission Union in May of 1919, more interested in spreading Christianity among the Chinese than Pentecostalism. Due to his familiarity with China, including Chinese language skills, Kok was quickly employed by the Dutch diplomatic office in Beijing. He was interested in developing a network of Fundamentalist Christians in China, already having developed a meeting in his home for Western Christians, and so Kok and Wang were able to mutually advance one another's goals.³⁶³ The church met twice in

Islamic Confucian Dialogue in the Early 20th-Century China," in *Christian Literature in Chinese Contexts* ed. John T.P. Lai (Basel: MDPI, 2019), 70.

³⁵⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 127.

³⁵⁶ Ying Fuk Tsang, "Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao," 143.

³⁵⁷ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 151.

³⁵⁸ As noted by Ying Fuk Tsang, "Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao," 144.

³⁵⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 128. Wang Mingdao, "Editor's News" 編者的消息, *Spiritual Food Quarterly* 16 (Fall 1930): 234.

³⁶⁰ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-three Years*, 150.

³⁶¹ Vincent K.L. Chang, *Forgotten Diplomacy: The Modern Remaking of Dutch-Chinese Relations, 1927-1950* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 172 footnote 117, and 321.

³⁶² Wang trusted Kok's religious beliefs and personal integrity enough to allow him to occasionally preach at the church in his absence. See Arthur Reynolds comment in Wong Ming-Dao, *A Stone Made Smooth*, Introduction.

³⁶³ See Hans Krabbendam, "Three-Way Chess: Arie Kok and the Failure to Expand American Fundamentalism in Europe," *Church History and Religious Culture* 94 (2014): 230-233. As described below, in 1931 John Sung met

Kok's home on October 12th and October 19th with around 150 attenders before Wang left Beijing again for preaching appointments.³⁶⁴ Even with the anti-foreign atmosphere in China after the May Fourth and May Thirtieth Movements, Wang was still willing to work with foreigners whom he thought had proper theological beliefs and corresponding behavior. In November, Wang added a Wednesday Bible study group in addition to his Sunday worship service at Kok's house. When Wang left Beijing, which he regularly did to preach in various provinces in China, other trusted leaders from the house church led the meetings. He entrusted the work of preaching in Beijing mainly to Shi Tianmin.³⁶⁵

THE VALUE OF THE PHYSICAL WORLD

Wang described what happened in April of 1931 as a serious test of his family which once again shows his conflict between being a dutiful son and a loving husband. Liu Jingwen became very ill with pneumonia which created a complicated misunderstanding with his sister and mother who accused Liu Jingwen of being lazy and wanting a vacation. The conflict in choosing between his wife and his mother and sister caused Wang an enormous amount of stress. With Liu Jingwen's health dangerously deteriorating, on June 6th, upon the invitation from one of the families of the churches where Wang was preaching, he finally brought her to Huang County 黃縣, Shandong Province to recover for several months and then they went to her parent's home in Hangzhou on November 28th where she remained until December of 1932.³⁶⁶ While in Shandong Province on July 14th, Wang took the opportunity to visit Qufu 曲阜, the hometown of Confucius. While in Qufu, he visited the Temple of Confucius 孔廟, the Confucius family mausoleum 孔林, and noted that the stone pillars of the Dacheng Hall 大成殿 were of extremely high artistic value.³⁶⁷ Wang returned to Beijing in January of 1932, and while at home led house church meetings but continued to accept invitations to preach in various locations before returning back home to Beijing. That summer, he did a significant amount of historical tourism between preaching appointments. On May 11th he visited the ruins of Yellow Crane Tower 黃鶴樓 in Wuhan City 武漢, Hubei Province, a favored place of Tang Dynasty poets such as Cui Hao 崔顥 and Li Bai 李白.³⁶⁸ On May 12th, while crossing the Miluo River 汨羅江 on his way to a preaching engagement, Wang again thought of one of his heroes, Qu Yuan.³⁶⁹ The river was thought to be where Qu Yuan committed suicide

Wang at one of these meetings in Arie Kok's home.

³⁶⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 128. Kok's residence was at No. 4 Xiaobaofang Lane 小報房胡同. One of the places Wang preached at when he left Beijing was at the Effie Sears Memorial School in Pingdu 平度, Shandong Province. Wang's preaching at the meeting, which provided "rich spiritual food" to the attendees, was recorded in the Southern Baptist Convention's Annual for 1930 and is the first mention of Wang Mingdao (Wong Ming Tao) this author has been able to find that would have been for a Western audience outside of China. See *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention 1930*, New Orleans, Louisiana, May 14-18, 1930, page 208, http://media2.sbhla.org.s3.amazonaws.com/annuals/SBC_Annual_1930.pdf.

³⁶⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 163. Wang mentions that Shi Tianmin was filling in for him at the church in Beijing as early as the spring of 1927. See Wang Mingdao, "Editor's News" 編者的消息, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1927): 69.

³⁶⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 244-245.

³⁶⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 129-130. An interesting thing to say considering that the stone pillars are covered with dragons. It would be hard to imagine a Western Fundamentalist Christian at the time saying the same thing.

³⁶⁸ Cui Hui wrote the poem "Yellow Crane Tower" 黃鶴樓 and Li Bai wrote the poem "Seeing off Meng Haoran for Guangling at Yellow Crane Tower" 黃鶴樓送孟浩然之廣陵.

³⁶⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 131.

in 278 BCE, shortly after he wrote the poem “Embracing Sands” 懷沙 in which the poet protests the corruption of his time and reiterates his upstanding character.³⁷⁰

After Wang crossed the Miluo River, he arrived in Changsha 長沙, Hunan Province, and from May 12-30, 1932, he stayed with Chen Chonggui (Marcus Cheng) 陳崇桂 (1884-1963) who had invited Wang to preach in several churches in the city.³⁷¹ Chen was a prominent Chinese Christian who had been teaching theology at the Hunan Bible Institute 湖南聖經學校 since 1929 and who edited the magazine *Evangelism* 佈道雜誌. Chen was also a Fundamentalist Christian who took seriously both his publishing work and his faith and who wanted to see the Chinese church led by the Chinese.³⁷² Wang respected Chen and later remarked that he was a true believer and a skilled preacher.³⁷³ However, shortly after he left Changsha, Wang read an article Chen published in *Evangelism* that troubled him. It was a speech by Chiang Kai Shek given to the students at the Hunan Bible Institute entitled “The Principles of Jesus Concerning National Salvation.”³⁷⁴ In the speech, Chiang, who on October 23, 1930, was baptized as a Methodist Christian in Shanghai, presents his thought that the way that Jesus saves people is the same way to save China, namely that through universal love, sacrifice, and regardless of personal danger and difficulty is the way to achieve national salvation. Chiang encouraged Christian students who heard his speech to exhibit the character of Jesus in order to influence the students of China and to use the principles of Jesus to save the country and the people.³⁷⁵ Wang concluded after reading Chiang’s speech that Chiang’s gospel was not the gospel of the Bible but rather the gospel of the Modernists or as Wang referred to them, the “unbelievers” 不信派. He was also disappointed that Chen Chonggui had published what Wang felt was a political article in a religious magazine.³⁷⁶ Wang thought that Chiang did not join the church because he truly believed in Christ but rather because he knew that the United States was the richest and most powerful country in the world and the largest country among Christian nations and because Chiang needed their help in order to establish long-term political control over China.³⁷⁷ Wang’s negative assessment of Chiang Kai Shek’s speech illustrates that Wang was willing to critique anyone who did not meet up to his theological or moral standards, regardless of political affiliation.³⁷⁸

In late June, Wang visited what had been known as one of the four ancient towns of Qing

³⁷⁰ See Sima Qian, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, 7:299-301.

³⁷¹ See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 131. *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 169. May 14 and 18, 1932.

³⁷² See Daniel Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 97 and 138.

³⁷³ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 139-140.

³⁷⁴ Wang said the article was published shortly after his trip to Changsha and the content of this article fits Wang’s description. See Chiang Kai Shek 蔣介石, “The Principles of Jesus Concerning National Salvation” 耶穌為救國的標準, *Evangelism* 佈道雜誌 6 (Jan-Feb 1933): 5-8.

³⁷⁵ Chiang Kai Shek, “The Principles of Jesus Concerning National Salvation,” 7.

³⁷⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 140.

³⁷⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 143. A more sympathetic view of the genuineness of Chiang Kai Shek’s Christian faith is presented in Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-Shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 108-109. However, Taylor does note the contradictory nature of some of Chiang’s actions to the Christian faith he professed on page 590.

³⁷⁸ It should be noted that Wang did not make this critique publically in 1932 but rather in 1982 to Jiang Hua, the president of the People’s Supreme Court who would have had no affection for Chiang Kai Shek. However, Wang was willing to critique the famous Christian evangelist Sherwood Eddy during this period for what he saw as Eddy’s Modernist gospel. See Wang Mingdao, “Does Dr. Sherwood Eddy Preach the Gospel?” 艾迪博士是傳福音的麼? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 32 (Winter 1934): 245-247. Wang did not critique political leaders publically but focused his literary efforts on religious affairs before his arrest.

Dynasty China, Zhuxian 朱仙鎮 in Henan Province. He was disappointed that the town was in such a dilapidated state, but when he saw the still standing Yue Temple 嶽廟, a temple dedicated to the Song Dynasty general Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103-1142 CE), famous for his loyalty³⁷⁹ and one of Wang's heroes,³⁸⁰ he noted that the architecture was magnificent.³⁸¹ Lian Xi has commented that Wang did not think that the indigenization of Christianity required buildings that were built in a Chinese style.³⁸² In fact, Wang thought that the effort to build churches in a Chinese style was a form of secularization since he thought that the real issues in indigenizing Christianity in China were religious. He did see value in having contextualized knowledge of local customs and social mores.³⁸³ Wang saw the effort to make Christian architecture in Chinese style as a superficial issue and a distraction from where Christian leaders should focus, which was on preaching the essential points of the Bible. Wang believed that the true issues in the indigenization of Christianity in China were theological.³⁸⁴ However, overemphasizing this point can misrepresent Wang as seeing no value in the physical world. While Wang certainly valued the spiritual world more than the physical world, as can be seen from his appreciation of Confucius' ancestral home, the Yellow Crane Tower, and the architecture of the Yue Temple, Wang did see value in physical places that inspired people to follow the moral example of men like Confucius, Qu Yuan, and Yue Fei. In this sense, the physical world was subservient to the spiritual world but was important as it drew one closer to have a "Spirit of Righteousness" like these Chinese heroes of his possessed.³⁸⁵

FRIENDSHIPS

In September of 1932, his friend from Tsui Wen Academy, Chen Zigao who had given Wang his first preaching opportunity, died leaving Wang deeply grieved that he had lost his close and loyal friend.³⁸⁶ After a brief two day visit in Hangzhou on September 24th with his wife and son whom he had not seen in nine months, at the end of the month he travelled to Hong Kong and in October went to Macao to preach and teach which were the only places outside of China that Wang ever travelled in his life.³⁸⁷ This lack of foreign experience and financial connections would become a point of pride for him later when he was attacked as being "an errand boy of foreign powers."³⁸⁸ Gloria S. Tseng, after studying a collection of twelve sermons that Wang preached during this period while he was in Guangzhou, concluded that

³⁷⁹ Yue Fei's story is told in *History of the Song Dynasty* 宋史, Biography 124, Yue Fei and Zi Yun., <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=235772#p64>.

³⁸⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 85.

³⁸¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 131.

³⁸² Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 129. Lian uses Wang's 1929 article from the *Spiritual Food Quarterly*, "Watch Out for Thieves," as representing Wang's opinion on these issues.

³⁸³ Thus, he later urged Western missionaries to learn about Chinese social customs and sense of propriety in order to effectively preach the Gospel in China. See Wang Mingdao, "More Important Than Work" 比工作更重要的事, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 85 (Spring 1948): 34.

³⁸⁴ See Wang Mingdao, "Watch Out for Thieves" 謹防竊賊, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*, 11 (Fall 1929): 176-177.

³⁸⁵ Wang also appreciated beautiful natural landscapes. In the midst of preaching appointments, during breaks he would enjoy seeing the scenic spots of the area such as the mountains and stalactite filled caves in Guilin 桂林, Guangxi Province which he described as beautiful beyond imagination. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 138.

³⁸⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 132-133.

³⁸⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 131-132. Wang visited Robert Morrison's grave while in Macao.

³⁸⁸ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 97.

Wang's sermons and writings are marked by their plainness and common sense. His exegesis comes slightly closer to biblical studies than to theology, but study of the Bible as an academic discipline is not what preoccupies him. Instead, he focuses on the integrity of the Christian's personal life and the church's moral witness to a corrupt society.

Wang, in both his writing and his speaking, focused on the combination of correct religious beliefs with corresponding moral behavior in a way that was helpful to his audience. He also appears to have been a very insightful and penetrating writer and preacher who was able to find interesting topics to elaborate on from seemingly uninteresting subjects. While in Hong Kong on November 11th he wrote an article entitled, "The Gospel in Genesis 5," in which he was able to take the dry family lineage of Adam and write an interesting article on the gospel.³⁸⁹

While Wang was in Guangdong Province, John Sung (Song Shangjie) 宋尚節 (1901-1944), came to Beijing on October 11th, and remained in the city for 32 days, leading revival services for the first ten days at a Presbyterian church and for the next three weeks at Asbury Methodist Church 亞斯立堂. Asbury Church had a capacity of 1,200 people and was filled twice a day with those who came to hear Sung preach.³⁹⁰ According to Wang, ministry work in Beijing experienced a new development as many people were converted and many Christians were revived in their faith due to Sung's preaching. Sung had grown up in a Christian family and attended missionary schools in Putian 莆田, Fujian Province until he went to study in the United States eventually earning a PhD in chemistry from Ohio State University before studying at Union Theological Seminary in New York. While at Union, Sung experienced a significant religious experience which resulted in him later repudiating Modernist Christianity. In 1927, he returned to China and worked as an evangelist with a vehemently Fundamentalist theology. Sung's preaching drew huge crowds in China and he was a powerful preacher as evidenced by Daniel Bays statement that "he must be considered probably the single most powerful figure in Chinese revivalism in the mid-1930s."³⁹¹ Wang wrote that Sung encouraged people to attend Wang Mingdao's house church in Beijing.³⁹² Before Sung became well known, the two had briefly met in January of 1931 when Sung came to visit Wang's church.³⁹³ At that time, the church was still meeting in Arie Kok's home and the two only exchanged a few words at the end of the service, but Sung was able to listen to Wang's preaching on the topic of "The Loyal Servant."³⁹⁴ In 1932, while Wang was in Shandong Province, he heard stories about Sung's fanciful interpretations of scripture and dramatic performances on stage. Wang was appalled that Sung was apparently distorting the meaning of the Bible and originally had a negative impression of Sung. However, after hearing about Sung's revivals in China in which multitudes of people were converted and revived in their faith, as well as Sung's denunciations of

³⁸⁹ Wang Mingdao, "The Gospel in Genesis 5" 創世紀第五章的福音, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 24 (Winter 1932): 185-197. Wang, knowing he had a gift in preaching also made efforts to develop his preaching ability and read Robert Thomas Bryan's book *Practical Preaching Skills* 實用講道術 in 1932. See *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 170, July 3, 1932.

³⁹⁰ According to Sung's biographer, during Sung's Beijing revival services, 700 people, many of whom were intellectuals, were converted. See Lim Ka-Tong, *The Life and Ministry of John Sung*, 152-154.

³⁹¹ Daniel Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 138.

³⁹² Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 133.

³⁹³ Lim Ka-Tong, *The Life and Ministry of John Sung*, 116-117.

³⁹⁴ Song Shangjie, *The Diary of John Sung: Extracts from His Journals and Notes*, trans. Thng Pheng Soon (Singapore: Genesis, 2012), 83. John Sung has the date of their meeting somewhere between January 5th and January 13th 1931. Since the meetings at Kok's house were on Sundays, January 11th, 1931, is most likely the date of Wang and Sung's first meeting.

evil in society and the church, Wang's impression of Sung changed. The evidence Wang saw in his own church in Beijing in early 1933 confirmed in his mind that Sung was a servant of God. That Sung recommended Wang's church to people after hearing him preach is evidence that he also mutually respected Wang Mingdao. Although the two did not frequently meet, this was a significant friendship that lasted until Sung died in 1944.³⁹⁵

THE CHRISTIAN TABERNACLE

In the spring of 1933, with the extra people added to their meetings due to Sung's recommendation, Wang's house church needed to move to find a larger location to accommodate the increased number of attendees. On February 19th, the house church moved to a social hall on No.5 Longfu Temple Street 隆福寺街, and since the social hall was no longer a church within a house, the church needed to pay a usage fee and so Wang had an offering box installed in order to cover this fee.³⁹⁶ It was in 1933 when the church began to move out of homes that Wang considered the beginning of the Beijing Christian Tabernacle 北京基督徒會堂.³⁹⁷ On April 23rd, they moved again to No. 23 Chaomian Lane 炒麵胡同 to a location that could accommodate around 200 people inside and 100 outside; they remained there for the next four years. With the meetings filling up with around 300 attendees, Wang decided to add two more meeting times to a total of four meetings per week.³⁹⁸ On June 10th, Wang baptized six people from his church, the first baptisms of the Christian Tabernacle, in a river outside of the Summer Palace.³⁹⁹ With around three hundred people attending the four meetings of the church, only six people being baptized was a relatively small number. However, Wang was extremely selective about whom he would baptize. After his own experience of giving up both his teaching job in Baoding and his dream of pursuing overseas education in England in order to be baptized by immersion, Wang felt that baptism was extremely important and he was only willing to administer baptism to those he felt had both proper religious beliefs and a life that had been morally transformed by those beliefs.⁴⁰⁰ His reticence to baptize people is another evidence of Wang's emphasis on the combination of proper thought and behavior, this time in his Christian ministry to others. From July 30th to August 13th he began what became an annual tradition in Beijing to hold summer services for 10-15 days in duration each summer.⁴⁰¹ His desire to conduct these services illustrates the influence of Christian revivalism on Wang Mingdao.⁴⁰²

During the Chinese New Year holidays of 1934, Wang added another annual tradition to

³⁹⁵ The time period (1931) and the fact that Wang says that he met Sung when the church was still meeting in a brother's home, indicates that the two met in Arie Kok's home while Wang was conducting services there. See Wang Mingdao, "Mr. Song Shangjie [John Sung] Has Died" 宋尚節先生去世了, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 71 (Fall 1944): 149-150. Also, Sung mentions that the meeting he attended was on Xiaobaofang Lane 小報房胡同 which was Kok's home address. See Song Tian-Zhen 宋天真, *The Diary of His [John Sung's] Spiritual Life* 靈歷集光 (Hong Kong: Eng Yu Evangelistic Mission 恩雨宣道, 1995), Chapter Four, Part 1, <http://cclw.net/soul/linglijiguang/index.htm>. Kok endeavored to develop a network of Fundamentalist Christians and so his home was a natural place to connect John Sung and Wang Mingdao.

³⁹⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 162.

³⁹⁷ He dates the beginning of the Christian Tabernacle to 1933 in Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 97.

³⁹⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 133.

³⁹⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 133.

⁴⁰⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 196.

⁴⁰¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 134.

⁴⁰² As observed in Richard C. Cook, "Fundamentalism and Modern Culture in Republican China: The Popular Language of Wang Mingdao, 1900-1991" (PhD diss., The University of Iowa, 2003), 29.

his ministry which was to use the vacation, the most important in Chinese society with most people returning to their family homes, to hold an annual revival meeting for about a week's duration. Since the weather in Beijing during February could be brutally cold, Wang encouraged a policy that those with thicker clothing sit outside, while those with thinner clothing sit inside where there were some heating stoves. In August, the church held the second series of summer revival meeting services but on August 8th, a heavy rain soaked those sitting outside. At this point, due to the weather challenges with both cold weather in the winter and rain in the summer, Wang began to contemplate finding another place to meet. He felt that God had given him the idea to purchase a plot of land in order to build a church.⁴⁰³

Also in August of 1934, Wang faced another challenge with his family. His father-in-law, Liu Delin, was diagnosed with stomach cancer and was receiving treatment in Shanghai, but Wang's mother and sister objected to Wang and Liu Jingwen going to care for him, claiming that they were desiring a vacation which caused such enormous stress on both Liu Jingwen and Wang that Wang even contemplated suicide. When Liu Jingwen's brother informed them that Liu Delin's situation was critical, Wang's mother, fearful that her son might do something drastic like her husband did in 1900, finally permitted the couple to leave. They arrived in Shanghai on August 17th with Wang preaching at a Baptist summer camp in Shanghai from August 20 – 30. On August 25th, with Liu Delin's case appearing terminal, the family escorted him back to Hangzhou. Wang had scheduled another ten-day preaching assignment in the city and so he remained in Shanghai. Liu Delin died on September 4th but Wang, feeling great love for his father-in-law, yet knowing that he would approve, reluctantly remained in Shanghai due to his ministry commitment and did not attend his father-in-law's funeral nor burial. Wang was confident that Liu Delin would have most certainly said to him "Only be concerned with preaching, don't be concerned about my funeral affairs." In Wang's thinking, he felt it was better to be utterly loyal to God than to do one's filial duty to his father-in-law. Here again, the Confucian-Christian tension is evident in Wang's thinking and family relationships. Wang finally arrived in Hangzhou on September 11th, and while visiting his father-in-law's grave, he thought about Liu Delin's love and kindness toward him, and could not help but weep.⁴⁰⁴

On September 16th while in Hangzhou, Wang met with a former attender of his Beijing church Luan Hongbin 樂宏斌, whom Wang had baptized but who had later left Beijing and was now serving as a co-worker in the Hangzhou location of Watchman Nee's Local Church.⁴⁰⁵ Luan invited Wang to co-operate with Nee's Local Church as Watchman Nee had been trying to convince Chinese to leave Christian churches in China that were part of Western denominations 宗派.⁴⁰⁶ Despite his own independence from missionary Christianity, Wang countered that these churches had also made a contribution to Chinese Christianity. When Wang tactfully declined the invitation due to not being convinced by Nee's ecclesiology, it marked the formal separation of Wang and

⁴⁰³ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 163-164.

⁴⁰⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 136 and 245-246. Wang uses the term 慈愛 "love, affection, kindness" to describe Liu Delin's treatment of Wang. This adjective is particularly used to describe an affectionate love a parent has for a beloved child. In the absence of his birth father Wang Zihou, Liu Delin seemed to be a very significant father-figure in Wang's life. See also *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 206. September 11, 1934.

⁴⁰⁵ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 207. Ying Fuk Tsang, "Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao," 146. Ying explains that Nee at this time used the name "Little Flock" 小群, to refer to his church but it later became known as the "Local Church" 基督徒聚會處 when under the leadership of Li Changshou.

⁴⁰⁶ See Witness Lee, *Watchman Nee: A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age* (Anaheim: Living Stream Ministry, 1991): 41-43.

Nee.⁴⁰⁷ The rest of the year Wang spent travelling south to lead preaching meetings into Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces.

CONFUCIUS AND QIN SHIHUANG

1935 was another year full of preaching engagements for Wang being away from Beijing for eight months. In April, he was preaching in Xian 西安, Shaanxi Province, and during a few days of break time, he saw the tomb of Emperor Qin Shihuang. The Terracotta Warriors were not discovered until 1974, and when Wang visited in 1935, the tomb complex was completely covered with not even a sign to indicate the presence of Qin Shihuang, whom he describes as “the one who swallowed up the six states, the unifier of China,⁴⁰⁸ noble enough to be the Son of Heaven, and rich enough to possess the whole world.”⁴⁰⁹ Wang, familiar with the emperor’s story since a child, concluded that people should come to realize that the glory of the rich and powerful would all come to the same end.⁴¹⁰ In his 1982 Rehabilitation Request Manuscript, Wang would recall this trip and contrast it with his 1931 visit to the tomb of Confucius in Qufu. In Wang’s thought, Qin Shihuang and Confucius were contrasting characters in Chinese history.⁴¹¹ From Wang’s perspective, Qin Shihuang, who burned the Confucian books in order to secure his control over the Confucian literati and buried alive those who constructed his tomb,⁴¹² disappeared into such obscurity that not even a wooden sign for his tomb could be seen. Wang, using the categories established by Mencius, said that Qin Shihuang was one who “subdued men by force.”⁴¹³ In contrast, Confucius, when he realized that the King of Lu 魯君 was practicing immorality with female musicians and that no court was being held which thus left undone the king’s responsibilities to the people of Lu, Confucius left his service in order to teach others the way of virtue,⁴¹⁴ and has cultivated millions of disciples over two thousand years. Again using Mencius’ categories, Wang wrote that Confucius was one who “subdues men by virtue.”⁴¹⁵ During this visit to Qin Shihuang’s tomb in 1935, Wang was deeply moved by the contrast of these two legendary figures.

MAKING FRIENDS AND ENEMIES

⁴⁰⁷ Ying Fuk Tsang, “Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao,” 147.

⁴⁰⁸ Wang uses the phrase 併吞六國, 統一天下 which refers to the Qin wars of unification in the 3rd century BCE in which the Qin emerged as the victor of the Warring States Period. The other six states were the Han (Hann) 韓, Zhao 趙, Yan 燕, Wei 魏, Chu 楚, and Qi 齊.

⁴⁰⁹ Wang uses the idiom 貴為天子, 富有四海 which originally comes from the biography of Qin Shihuang in Sima Qian, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, 1:164.

⁴¹⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 139.

⁴¹¹ More will be said about this contrast in the next chapter which covers Wang’s life in the 1970s during the Criticize Confucius Movement. See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 264-265.

⁴¹² See Sima Qian, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, 1:147 and 1:155. Wang also quotes the Tang Poem by Zhang Jie 章碣, “Book Burning Pit” 焚書坑, Chinese Ancient Poetry, accessed October 14, 2020. http://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/35894.

⁴¹³ Mencius, Gong Sun Chou I, 3, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1631#s10029541>.

⁴¹⁴ Wang is referring to Confucius leaving public service in the State of Lü. See *Analecets* 18.4, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1566>. The full story is told in Szuma Chien, *Selections from Records of the Historian*, trans. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang (Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1979), 9.

⁴¹⁵ Mencius, Gong Sun Chou I, 3, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1631#s10029541>.

While Wang was away in April, John Sung preached at his church in Beijing.⁴¹⁶ Since Wang was extremely careful about whom he would allow to preach at his church, only ever inviting someone whom he was confident in both their theology and moral character, it shows the confidence he had in Sung.⁴¹⁷ Liu Jingwen wrote to her husband telling him that Sung preached an excellent sermon at their church.⁴¹⁸ While he was in Xian, Wang wrote an article which he would later publish in the summer issue of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* entitled “The Evils of the Modern YMCA” 現代基督教青年會的罪惡。⁴¹⁹ Wang later reflected that it was this article which named the YMCA that began his conflict with the YMCA leaders who would become the future leaders of the TSPM. Wang used the idiom “to hate me to the bone” to describe the reaction that YMCA leaders had to him after writing this article.⁴²⁰ Wu Yaozong 吳耀宗 (1893-1979), had served as the director-general of the Shanghai YMCA, and Liu Liangmo 劉良模 (1909-1988), was the executive secretary of the Lanzhou 蘭州, Gansu Province YMCA. In “The Sin of the Modern YMCA,” without naming them, Wang accused men like Wu and Liu of “hanging up a sheep’s head but selling dog meat,” or in other words, doing work in the name of Christ that had nothing to do with Christianity. Wang said that the YMCA leaders were focused on arranging social activities like watching movies and ice-skating and participating in educational and hygiene movements while teaching “new theology” and preaching the “social gospel.”⁴²¹ Wang also lamented that the YMCA was no longer producing literature like before when Xie Honglai was with the YMCA that helped young people in both their religious beliefs and their moral conduct. Wang concluded that Xie, were he alive, would no longer be welcome in the YMCA.⁴²² According to Wang, YMCA leaders like Wu and Liu who hated him to the bone after reading this article in 1935, would, after 1951 control the church in China through the TSPM. The division in the contemporary Chinese church between registered and unregistered factions can be traced back to these earlier divisions in the first half of the twentieth century between Fundamentalists and Modernists.⁴²³

In the spring of 1936, Wang read Zhang Ziping’s 張資平 novel, *God’s Daughters* 上帝的兒女們 (1933). Zhang, an important writer of the May Fourth Period, wrote this work describing church life, religious emotions, and the Bible. Wang felt that Zhang had made irresponsible remarks and maligned the gospel in *God’s Daughters*.⁴²⁴ Wang also read Zhao Zichen’s *Life of*

⁴¹⁶ Lim Ka-Tong, *The Life and Ministry of John Sung*, 191.

⁴¹⁷ Wang describes his conditions for a preacher at his church in Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 196. On January 8th, 1936, when he was back in Beijing, Wang went to the bus station to see John Sung off from Beijing and the two did not see one another again for several years. See *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 219.

⁴¹⁸ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 215. April 30, 1935.

⁴¹⁹ Wang Mingdao, “The Evils of the Modern YMCA” 現代基督教青年會的罪惡, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 34 (Summer 1935): 94-106. See also Gene Ng, “The Shaping Influence of the Chinese YMCA on the Young Wang Mingdao,” 192.

⁴²⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 87. The idiom is 恨我入骨.

⁴²¹ Wang Mingdao, “The Sin of the Modern YMCA,” 95-96.

⁴²² Wang Mingdao, “The Sin of the Modern YMCA,” 102.

⁴²³ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 106. Wang’s article and other critiques like it of the leaders of the YMCA would prompt Liang Xiaochu 梁小初, Director of the National Association of the Chinese YMCA from 1935 to 1950, to indirectly respond in an article published in the YMCA’s magazine on July 15, 1936 entitled “The YMCA and the Spiritualists” 青年會與屬靈派. Liang’s article is reproduced in Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 377-382. Since Wang saw several leaders in the YMCA as “unbelievers,” these same people who would later become leaders in the TSPM would set him against the movement from when he first heard about it in the early 1950s.

⁴²⁴ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 219. February 7, 1936.

Jesus 耶穌傳 which was a creative and highly influential biography of Jesus from a Chinese perspective.⁴²⁵ Since Zhao added details that were not present in the gospel narratives of Jesus' life and he was also seeking to remove any elements from Christianity that could be perceived as superstitious in order to make the religion more acceptable to modern Chinese, Wang thought that the *Life of Jesus* was full of fabrications and dangerous.⁴²⁶ These two critiques reveal that Wang, despite his own efforts to promote vernacular and modern literature like Zhang Ziping, and articulate Christianity to people with a Confucian background like Zhao, sought to present the Christian faith from a Fundamentalist Christian theological perspective and rejected attempts at what he thought were compromising the theological integrity of the Christian message by saying things about Jesus that Wang did not find in the Bible.

MINISTERING DURING THE SECOND SINO-JAPANESE WAR

Meanwhile, after adequate funds had been donated for the building,⁴²⁷ during that spring, the name of the church was officially registered with the Beijing city government as the Christian Tabernacle 基督徒會堂. On March 21st, an inscription tablet was hung on Chaomian Lane with the five characters of the church name inscribed on it. In May, the church leaders purchased property at No. 42 Shijia Lane 史家胡同 in order to build a new building.⁴²⁸ With the purchase of the property settled, Wang went south again and while conducting a preaching tour all the way to Guangdong Province, he became ill and returned to Beijing to recoup on August 27th and spent a number of weeks in bed. By October, several people were scheduled to be baptized by Wang, but he was still very weak with severe pain in his legs. Since the new building had not been constructed with the planned baptismal tank, a pragmatic addition due to his own re-baptism experience in icy waters, Wang decided to risk the possibility of his sickness worsening by baptizing the people in the river water which by October had become quite cold. On October 17th, to his delight, not only did he not get sick when he baptized the seven people, but the pain completely stopped which confirmed to him that God still performed miracles.⁴²⁹

In the first half of 1937, Wang was away from home again preaching in various locations throughout the country, but after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident 蘆溝橋事變 on July 7, 1937, his travels temporarily came to a halt. This conflict between the Chinese and the Japanese Imperial Army began the Second Sino-Japanese War. Wang saw intense fighting in the suburbs of Beijing with the Japanese winning the battle for Beijing and the Chinese army retreating.⁴³⁰ Despite this political reality, the Christian Tabernacle opened on August 1st for the first service with around 500

⁴²⁵ Zhao Zichen 趙紫宸, *Life of Jesus* 耶穌傳 (Shanghai: YMCA Publishing 青年協會, 1935). Wang Mingdao later described Zhao's *Life of Jesus* as being a model of Chinese Modernist literature. See Wang Mingdao, "We Are for the Faith!" 我們是為了信仰! *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955): 147.

⁴²⁶ Wang Mingdao's *Diary*, 221. March 12, 1936.

⁴²⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 164.

⁴²⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 140-141 and 164.

⁴²⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 143. In his 1933 reflection on miraculous healings, he stated that "I have with my own eyes observed such healing." His 1936 experience in the river further convinced him but it should be noted that Wang thought that God does not miraculously heal in the same way as recorded in the Bible because "there is not the same need for these things today." Wang Mingdao, "The Spiritual Gifts Movement in the Light of Scripture" 聖經光亮中的靈恩運動, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 28 (Winter 1933): 223. In English, Wang Mingdao, *The Spiritual Gifts Movement*, trans. Arthur Reynolds (Southampton: Mayflower Christian Books, 1990), 15-16.

⁴³⁰ The battle for Beijing is described in Lloyd E. Eastman, "Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945," in *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 13:550.

people attending the meeting; this was the start of 18 days of services at the church.⁴³¹ While these services were taking place on Shijia Lane, the Japanese Army began their occupation of the city on August 8th. With all of the chaos outside in the city, the Christian Tabernacle provided a place of security and comfort inside for those residents of Beijing that met there.⁴³² The original design was a large basic structure with no pictures and no cross since, according to Wang the cross was a symbol of the Roman Catholic Church.⁴³³ Wang and the leaders of the Christian Tabernacle seem to have put a lot of thought into the “simple, clean, and dignified” appearance of the church in keeping with simplicity of Fundamentalist Christian architecture of the time.⁴³⁴

The simplicity of the design of Wang’s church was not matched by simplicity in relationship with other churches, however. Watchman Nee in his 1937 book *Rethinking the Work 工作的再思* had advocated for a policy of one city, one church.⁴³⁵ Wang had already rejected joining with Nee in 1934 as described previously, but in 1938, one of Wang’s ministry assistants, Yang Runmin 楊潤民, considered leaving the Christian Tabernacle after reading Nee’s article “The Assembly Life” 聚會生活 and his book *The Open Door 敞開的門*.⁴³⁶ Fundamentalist churches like Wang’s Christian Tabernacle were beginning to lose members who were transferring into Nee’s Local Churches. In 1939,⁴³⁷ Wang went to visit Nee in Shanghai in order to find out from the man himself to see if Nee had instructed his followers to encourage members of other churches to leave in order to join the Local Church. They talked for nearly three hours with Nee denying that he encouraged his followers to pull members away from other Fundamentalist churches but other than that statement, Nee was largely silent. Wang concluded that Nee was lying to him and was “beyond cure” and that his situation was “hopeless.” The two men never met again.⁴³⁸

With the Japanese army occupying Beijing beginning in the summer of 1937, and fearing that the atrocities that had taken place during the Nanjing Massacre 南京大屠殺 from December 1937 to January 1938 might continue in other locations,⁴³⁹ Wang thought that the Christians who read his journal needed some comforting words to encourage their faith in the midst of their distress. He turned to the works of the man who, besides Wang, constitutes the largest amount of content in

⁴³¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 166. The location at 42 Shijia Lane is about a 30-minute walk east of the Forbidden City.

⁴³² Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 166.

⁴³³ In 1939, Wang would more fully articulate this vision for the ideal church and what he felt were unhelpful traditions in Wang Mingdao, “Is This a Good Phenomenon or Not?” 這是不是好現象呢? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 50 (Summer 1939): 82-87.

⁴³⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 167-168. Two pictures of the *Christian Tabernacle* during the first service on August 1, 1937, are in Shi Meiling *Sixty-three Years*, 6.

⁴³⁵ Ying Fuk Tsang, “Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao,” 147-148. Nee’s *Rethinking the Work* was republished in English as *The Normal Christian Church Life*. Nee’s ecclesiology, which includes the idea of one city, one church, is articulated in Watchman Nee, “Not Wider Than a Locality,” Living Stream Ministry, Accessed April 23, 2021, <https://www.ministrybooks.org/SearchMinBooksDsp.cfm?id=2F2307FA82>.

⁴³⁶ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 237. March 2, 1938.

⁴³⁷ Also in the spring of 1939, Wang moved into the Christian Tabernacle in order to overcome an illness and found that it made life easier for his family to live apart from his mother and sister and so he moved out of his mother’s home permanently. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 263.

⁴³⁸ 1939 is the year that Wang Mingdao gives for this meeting but it is uncertain as recorded in Ying Fuk Tsang, “Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao,” 149-150 and Ying Fuk Tsang, “Wang Mingdao Discusses Chinese Church Leaders and Affairs,” 82.

⁴³⁹ Jonathan Spence estimates that during the massacre in Nanjing, 20,000 Chinese women were raped, 30,000 Chinese soldiers were killed, and 12,000 Chinese civilians were murdered. Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990), 448.

The Spiritual Food Quarterly, George H. Knight (1835-1917).⁴⁴⁰ Knight had been a Scottish Free Church Minister and Wang was so impressed by Knight's works that he translated four of Knight's books from English into Chinese in serial form in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* beginning in the spring of 1928 in nearly every issue until the winter of 1943.⁴⁴¹ In the summer of 1938, Wang began to translate Knight's book, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day: God's Message of Peace to the Weary, the Sorrow-Laden, the Troubled, and the Tired* 在密雲黑暗的日子, an appropriate title to choose to translate in order to encourage his readers in the midst of their suffering.⁴⁴²

However, while Wang utilized this foreign source of theological comfort and guidance during the Second Sino-Japanese War, he also began to make more frequent quotations of classical and ancient Chinese sources in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*. In the early years of the war from 1938-1940, Wang quoted from *The School Sayings of Confucius* 孔子家語,⁴⁴³ *The Analects*,⁴⁴⁴ *The Enlarged Writings of Worthies* 增廣賢文,⁴⁴⁵ the Yuan Dynasty history book *Nancun Chuogenglu* 南村輟耕錄,⁴⁴⁶ and *Mencius*⁴⁴⁷ in order to elucidate his thought in a way that would be familiar to Chinese readers. In addition to the Bible, which is the overwhelming source of his articles, and the many translated works from Western Christians, Wang apparently thought that his readers also needed to hear from the sources that have nourished the minds and morals of Chinese for thousands of years. Wang utilized these Chinese references by supplementing the Christian scriptures with these classical and ancient Chinese sources in order to instruct Chinese Christians on how to live morally upright lives in the midst of difficulty in a way that was appropriate for the Chinese context. As mentioned previously, Wang felt that building churches with classical Chinese architecture or singing hymns with Buddhist tunes was secularism, because he thought that the real issue in contextualizing the Christian message in China was to indigenize the Christian gospel in a way that was appropriate for people who had been shaped by a Chinese Confucian worldview.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁰ *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* taken as a whole was overwhelmingly dominated by Wang's interpretation of the Bible with thousands of biblical references and quotes, yet nearly every issue also contains translated works from Western Christians. However, Wang crafted his interpretation of the Bible and selected articles to translate in a way that appealed to a Chinese Fundamentalist Christian audience and made many references to Classical Chinese sources as well. See Appendix 3 for a detailed list of these translations and sources.

⁴⁴¹ For details on the four books by George H. Knight Wang translated, see Appendix 3.

⁴⁴² See George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day: God's Message of Peace to the Weary, the Sorrow-Laden, the Troubled, and the Tired* (London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1910), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=yale.39002088449765&view=1up&seq=9>.

⁴⁴³ Wang Mingdao, "A Small Elm Tree on the City Wall" 城牆上的一株小榆樹, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1938): 236. *The School Sayings of Confucius* 孔子家語, Guanzhou 3, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=84422>.

⁴⁴⁴ Wang Mingdao, "Their Sorrows Shall Be Multiplied that Hasten After Another god" 以別神代替耶和華的他們的愁苦必加增, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 51 (Fall 1939): 138. *The Analects* 14.43, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1481#s10022984>.

⁴⁴⁵ Wang Mingdao, "A Very Important Role" 一件極重要的本分, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 53 (Spring 1940): 23. *The Enlarged Writings of Worthies* 增廣賢文, 178, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=223724#p179>.

⁴⁴⁶ Wang Mingdao, "Scared to Death" 還是嚇死的多, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 53 (Spring 1940): 53. *Nancun Chuogenglu* 南村輟耕錄, Book 30, 10, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=271848#p11>.

⁴⁴⁷ Wang Mingdao, "My Opinion of Spiritual [Ministry] Work" 靈工芻言, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 56 (Winter 1940): 226. *Mencius*, Teng Wen Gong II, 7.2, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=13304#s10030498>.

⁴⁴⁸ These Chinese sources continue to appear more frequently during the 1940s in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* with Wang making regular references to the *Four Books* and *Five Classics* as well as Chinese poets and histories until

In an important article written in 1941, Wang made public in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* his disagreement with Watchman Nee and his ecclesiology.⁴⁴⁹ With Wang concluding in 1939 that Nee was lying to him and that Christians, including some from the Christian Tabernacle, were being influenced to leave their churches in favor of Nee's Local Churches, Wang went on the offensive to defend the validity of the name "Christian Tabernacle" which had been criticized by Nee.⁴⁵⁰ In this article, as Wang argues his perspective on the meaning of the word "church," it coincidentally provides some insight into Wang's thinking about Chinese thought. In his discussion of the word "saint" Wang states that all Chinese consider the ancient Chinese sage rulers Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹, Tang 湯, King Wen 文, King Wu 武, The Duke of Zhou 周公, Confucius 孔子, and Mencius 孟子 to be saints 聖人, but in a way that is different from how Christians use the term.⁴⁵¹ This passage reveals that Wang sees Confucianism as a philosophical system that is a common foundation to all Chinese society, or perhaps better, that it is a set of stories that provides a shared worldview, regardless of which religion a Chinese chooses to follow.⁴⁵² Based on this quote, it seems reasonable to say that Wang saw Confucianism as a philosophical system and was philosophically Confucian but religiously Christian.

ZHANG XUN AND "THE CHURCH'S SUIYANG WARRIORS"

The period of Japanese occupation was challenging for Wang Mingdao, but 1942 brought a particularly difficult test for him: with the Japanese having taken control of Beijing and having closed most churches, a letter was sent to him from Japanese authorities which he received on December 17, 1941. The letter informed him that his church must become a part of the Beijing chapter of the League for the Promotion of Church Union in North China 北京基督教維持會, a group founded by the Japanese military. Wang wrote that, in asking God to liberate him from the demand to join the League, he felt like Israel asking God for deliverance in Egypt.⁴⁵³ Later, he was informed that the group's name had changed to the North China Christian Union Group 華北基督教聯合促進會 and that he must join.⁴⁵⁴ He saw this group as a tool of Japanese political control over the Chinese church. Wang was told that if he did not join, the Christian Tabernacle would be

1953 when his conflict with the TSPM leaders took over his focus. See Appendix 3 for a complete listing.

⁴⁴⁹ The article is Wang Mingdao, "The Meaning of [the Word] Church" 教會的意義, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 58 (Summer 1941): 87-102. He does not mention Nee by name but it is clear from the content of the article that Nee is the person Wang is referring to.

⁴⁵⁰ Nee published *The Orthodoxy of the Church* 教會的正統 in 1945 which was a collection of messages preached earlier. In the book he stated "How can we say that there is such a thing as a Christian synagogue [tabernacle] and yet not bring in Judaism? The Lord says that they are the synagogue of Satan." See "The Orthodoxy of the Church," Living Stream Ministry, accessed April 23, 2021, <https://www.ministrybooks.org/SearchMinBooksDsp.cfm?id=2E2F00F787>.

⁴⁵¹ Wang Mingdao, "The Meaning of [the Word] Church," 89.

⁴⁵² A debatable conclusion considering the rejection of Confucianism by many Chinese during the May 4th Movement beginning in 1919.

⁴⁵³ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 179. A reference to the biblical story in the Book of Exodus, in particular, Exodus 3:7. This story was originally written by Wang after the Japanese were defeated in World War II and left China in Wang Mingdao, "Their God is Still Our God" 他們的神仍是我們的神, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 76 (Winter 1945): 144-163.

⁴⁵⁴ For the historical context of Wang's resistance to the North China Christian Union, see Ying Fuk Tsang, "Wang Mingdao and the North China Christian Union," 103-116. The broader political context is described in Timothy Brook, *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

permanently closed.⁴⁵⁵ After travelling for a period of time, he returned to Beijing and, on April 30, 1942, he received another letter from the North China Christian Union Group indicating that the purpose of the group was to promote three areas of independence from foreign control in the church in China: self-governance, self-support, and self-propagation.⁴⁵⁶ These goals had long been cherished ideals of and for the Chinese church to become an indigenous church and came to be known as the three-selfs. Wang wrote a letter of response indicating that his church was, and always had been, a three self-church in this sense and thus, continued his opposition to joining the group.⁴⁵⁷ Wang was very concerned about the consequences of not joining the union as it was quite possible that he would be put in prison or even killed because of his resistance. However, Wang had watched in December of 1939 with admiration Wu Peifu's 吳佩孚 (1874-1939 CE) funeral procession.⁴⁵⁸ Wu, a warlord that subscribed to a Confucian ethic, had refused to become a leader in the puppet government of the Japanese in China despite being offered government positions. Wang heard that Wu had previously put a coffin in his home signaling his willingness to die in order to resist Japanese control over China, and Wang saw in the funeral procession how even the Japanese respected Wu's integrity.⁴⁵⁹ In 1942, Wang was grieved that Chinese Christian leaders were accepting leadership positions in the North China Christian Union. For example, the Congregationalist Church pastor, Wang Zizhong 王梓仲 (1895-?), took the role of the Secretary-General 總幹事, and the Methodist bishop Jiang Changchuan 江長川 (1884-1958), took the role of the Chairman 主席 of the Union Group. Wang saw them as collaborators with the Japanese and he personally continued to refuse to participate in the Union.⁴⁶⁰ Following Wu Peifu's model of determination unto death, Wang kept a coffin inside his home as well.⁴⁶¹

As noted by Thomas Harvey, Wang was "a master story-teller who was able to cleverly weave current circumstance into the ancient text,"⁴⁶² but Harvey only focuses on Wang's use of the Bible as an ancient text which had significance for Wang's interpretation of current events; Harvey does not mention Wang's use of ancient Chinese Confucian texts to provide moral

⁴⁵⁵ All churches in Beijing at the time, both churches connected with foreign missions and independent Chinese churches like the Christian Tabernacle, were under the same pressure to join the union or face closure. See Wang Mingdao's *Diary*, 266. December 10, 1942.

⁴⁵⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 181.

⁴⁵⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 183-184.

⁴⁵⁸ *Life* magazine reported that Wu's funeral was so grand that it was "the most impressive funeral ever seen in Republican China." See Unnamed Author, "Peking Gives Wu Pei-Fu, China's Honest War Lord, A Fine Princely Funeral," *Life*, March 4, 1940, 30-32.

⁴⁵⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 89-92.

⁴⁶⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 144-145, & 229. See also his articles around the time describing his disdain for this type of "compromise" in Wang Mingdao, "This, is the Lord Jesus' Disciple" 這才是主耶穌的門徒, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 65 (Spring 1943): 29 and Wang Mingdao, "The Uncompromising Christ" 不妥協的基督, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 66 (Summer 1943): 68-72.

⁴⁶¹ According to Thomas (Yongxin) Wang 王永信 who attended the Christian Tabernacle at the time. See Thomas Wang 王永信, "'Faithful Unto Death' Wang Mingdao and the Rise of China's House Churches 2015 Conference Main Session (1) The Chinese Church's Man of Character by Rev. Thomas Wang" 「至死忠心」王明道與中國家庭教會的興起 2015 研討會主題信息 (一) 華人教會的大丈夫_王永信牧師, July 7, 2015, sermon, 28:40, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qVJw5hkil4I&list=PL4ySDlhAUh_gbxfNPTm91dR41dk_2ex0F&index=1&t=427s.

⁴⁶² Thomas A. Harvey, "Sermon, Story, and Song in the Inculturation of Christianity in China," in *Sinicizing Christianity*, ed., Peggy Brock (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 145. Harvey's emphasis on Wang's biblical interpretation is understandable since the focus of his article is on Wang's sermonizing and not indigenization or contextualization of the Christian message in China.

exemplars for current situations. An example of this Confucian influence is described in Wang's autobiography, *The Last Fifty Years* which was completely edited out of the English translation of his autobiography by Arthur Reynolds. One fascinating part of Wang's story of resistance to the Japanese was how Wang rallied himself and his co-workers to fight in what he perceived to be both a political and spiritual battle. His resistance to joining the Japanese controlled union brought to his mind the Tang Dynasty history of the An Lushan Rebellion 安祿山作亂 which began in 755 CE.⁴⁶³ The rebellion formally began when General An Lushan led a revolt against the Tang Dynasty by declaring himself the emperor of Northern China and, in doing so, establishing the upstart Yan Dynasty. While resisting joining the union controlled by the Japanese, Wang thought of General Zhang Xun 張巡 (709-757 CE) who demonstrated loyalty to the Tang Dynasty by protecting the areas of Yongqiu and Suiyang, which were rich and prosperous areas during that time and had fallen under attack during the rebellion. Zhang Xun knew that if Suiyang was to fall to the enemy, the region south of the Yangtze River would likely fall under the control of the rebels. Even though Zhang Xun died in the end, the Yongqiu and Suiyang battles weakened the enemy to the point that the Tang Dynasty was able to resist the Yan army. Instrumental to the battle was Zhang Xun's unflinching resistance to his enemy in the Battle of Suiyang which became the turning point of the war.⁴⁶⁴ By expounding this story to his co-workers at the Christian Tabernacle, Wang encouraged them to be the church's "Suiyang Warriors" 睢陽勇士 who were loyal unto death. Wang told his church members that Satan was the instrument behind the Japanese controlled North China Christian Union that was so ravaging the churches in North China. He exhorted his people that no matter what the future held, they should be willing to sacrifice themselves to protect this "clean land" of the Christian Tabernacle just like Zhang Xun, Nan Jiyun 南霁雲, and Lei Wanchun 雷萬春 had done during the Tang Dynasty.⁴⁶⁵ By referring to both biblical and Chinese narratives, Wang developed what Carsten T. Vala calls "religious leadership capital" to influence his church members to follow his lead in resisting the Japanese influence.⁴⁶⁶

After finally agreeing to meet with a Japanese official, a Mr. Takeda 武田熙, on November 11, 1942, yet remaining firm in his convictions, incredibly, Wang was excused from having to participate in the North China Christian Union Group. After hiring a spy in the Christian Tabernacle to closely observe Wang, Takeda apparently felt that he would never turn Wang.⁴⁶⁷ Takeda was adequately impressed with Wang's character and personal fortitude but was unwilling to make a martyr out of him. Wang felt that this was a major spiritual victory⁴⁶⁸ and interpreted this political opposition between his church and the Japanese military as a spiritual battle between God and Satan, but what reveals the particularly Chinese nature of the story is how he called upon exemplars from Chinese history to rally the members of his church to not capitulate to the Japanese.⁴⁶⁹ It is through this matrix of biblical and Chinese history and heroes that influenced

⁴⁶³ For the context of the rebellion, see Christopher Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 145.

⁴⁶⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 189.

⁴⁶⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 190.

⁴⁶⁶ See Carsten T. Vala, "Failing to Contain Religion: The Emergence of a Protestant Movement in Contemporary China" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2008), 68-69.

⁴⁶⁷ Ying Fuk Tsang, "Wang Mingdao and the North China Christian Union," 135.

⁴⁶⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 191.

⁴⁶⁹ It should be noted that Wang received a visit from Yanaihara Tadao 矢内原忠雄, a Japanese Christian and first director of the Institute of Social Sciences at the University of Tokyo, who was critical of Japan's invasion of China. He visited with Wang Mingdao in 1942 while he was in Beijing and encouraged Wang in his refusal to co-operate with the Japanese controlled North China Christian Union Group. See Matsutani Yosuke, "Yanaihara Tadao and

Wang's thought that we see that Wang was an indigenous Chinese Christian theologian and not the "American-style fundamentalist" he is sometimes characterized as.⁴⁷⁰

It is very curious as to why Reynold's English translation of Wang Mingdao's autobiography entitled, *A Stone Made Smooth*, does not mention any of Wang's inspiration drawn from Zhang Xun and the Sui Yang Warriors during the An Lushan Rebellion. The translator, Arthur Reynolds, who translated several of Wang's works into English, mentioned that Wang's conflict with the Japanese "throws considerable light on our brother's character."⁴⁷¹ It is strange then that Reynolds, who has done non-Chinese readers a considerable service by translating Wang's autobiography into English, completely edits out this Chinese history-driven inspiration. It may simply have been an editing decision, but it is also possible that Reynolds thought that the story was too enmeshed in Chinese history and characters for readers of English to understand and benefit from. As well, in 1981, when the English version was published, interest in the indigenization of Chinese theology was not as strong as it is currently.

One wonders then, how Wang had become familiar with Zhang Xun's story. Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236-1283 CE), another of Wang Mingdao's heroes, as will be seen in the next chapter, also admired Zhang Xun's character, as recorded in Wen Tianxiang's *Song of Righteousness* 正氣歌. Wang had drawn great inspiration from Wen's song,⁴⁷² but it is more likely that his source for the story of Zhang Xun during the An Lushan Rebellion was *The Old Book of Tang* 舊唐書, as Wang's recollection of the story bears significant similarities with the Tang history book.⁴⁷³ This recounting of the An Lushan Rebellion by Wang provides evidence that during the 1940s, Wang's thought was deeply enmeshed in the heroic characters of Chinese history and he drew inspiration from them to fashion a uniquely Confucian-Christian theology.

THE DEATH OF A FRIEND

With his successful resistance to participating in the North China Christian Union Group, Wang's popularity in China soared, and since his church was the only one to remain independent from the Japanese controlled union in Beijing, he became the "preeminent popular preacher in the country" after the death of John Sung in 1944.⁴⁷⁴ After a number of years where Wang did not see Sung, they reconnected in 1940. These last years of John Sung's life were filled with intense pain due to suffering from tubercular fistula and until nearly the end of his life refusing medical help and advice to rest. Sung reasoned that since he had seen so many people physically healed through his own ministry, to seek medical treatment would be contrary to God's healing power.⁴⁷⁵ It was Liu Jingwen's biblical quotation and Wang Mingdao's admonition on March 20, 1940, telling Sung, "It is not those who are healthy who need a physician, but those who are sick," that finally

China," 97-123. (Japanese)

⁴⁷⁰ See Richard Cook, "Wang Mingdao and the Evolution of Contextualized Chinese Churches" in *Contextualization Of Christianity in China: An Evaluation in Modern Perspective*. ed. Peter Chen-main Wang (Sankt Augustin:Institut Monumenta, 2007), 210.

⁴⁷¹ Wang Mingdao, *A Stone Made Smooth*, trans. Arthur Reynolds. Southampton, UK: Mayflower Christian Books, 1981, 210. Chapter 10 recounts Wang's conflict with the Japanese during the Japanese occupation of China focused on the period of 1939-1943.

⁴⁷² Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 77.

⁴⁷³ See *The Old Book of Tang* 舊唐書, Chapter 194, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=402785#p46>. The story may have come to Wang from a different source but *The Old Book of Tang* appears to be the story's original source.

⁴⁷⁴ Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 193.

⁴⁷⁵ Lim Ka-Tong, *The Life and Ministry of John Sung*, 236-237.

convinced Sung to receive medical treatment for his condition with Wang visiting him several times in the hospital.⁴⁷⁶ However, after surgery, Sung began leading revival meetings again throughout Southeast Asia and his condition gradually worsened. The two men would meet several times in the next four years but only for brief periods of time.⁴⁷⁷ Finally, they met for the last time on June 16, 1944, when Wang visited Sung while he was in the hospital recovering from another surgery in Beijing. Sung went to recover from this surgery in Xiangshan 香山, about 30 km from Beijing, but when Wang rode his bicycle to visit him in Xiangshan on August 18th, he arrived in the afternoon to hear the sad news that Sung had died that morning.⁴⁷⁸ Like Sung, Wang Mingdao was a very distinguished Fundamentalist preacher and he was also a personal friend of Sung's, two reasons why Wang was the natural choice to preach the funeral sermon on August 22nd. This touching memorial, the content of which was recorded in the Fall 1944 issue of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*, reveals the warm friendship that these two men shared.⁴⁷⁹ Wang, never one to gloss over a person's weaknesses, noted that Sung was headstrong and lacked knowledge on how to conduct himself in society which caused people to be offended by his lack of manners. Wang said that in one of his visits to Sung at the Peking Union Medical College Hospital 北京協和醫院, he advised Sung to read his book, *Conduct in Society Common Sense for Believers*.⁴⁸⁰ In response, Sung smiled with a childlike smile indicating that Wang was embarrassing him but Wang also responded with a warm smile and the two looked at each other for a long time. Finally, Sung nodded his head indicating his promise to read the book. Wang never asked him if he read it but noticed in his next visit with Sung a significant improvement in his manners toward other people. Sung looked at Wang and said, "conduct in society common sense," indicating that he had taken his friend's advice and read the book. Wang deeply respected Sung's openness to correction, courage, honesty and integrity. However, what Wang loved most about Sung was that he was not false but "what he felt in his heart, he said with his mouth."⁴⁸¹ In the 1980s, when Wang was interviewed on church leaders in China, he quoted Confucius and said, "At first, my way with men was to hear their words, and give them credit for their conduct. Now my way is to hear their words, and look at their conduct."⁴⁸² Ying Fuk Tsang notes that Wang's respect for John Sung was ultimately due to Wang's admiration for Sung's moral character which drew the men together while

⁴⁷⁶ Song Tian-Zhen, *The Diary of His Spiritual Life [of John Sung]*, Chapter 6, Part 1, (March 20, 1940), <http://cclw.net/soul/linglijiguang/index.htm>. Wang Mingdao, "Mr. Song Shangjie [John Sung] Has Died" 宋尚節先生去世了, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 71 (Fall 1944), 150.

⁴⁷⁷ See Song Tian-Zhen, *The Diary of His Spiritual Life [of John Sung]*, Chapter 6, Part 3, (August 1, 1941), <http://cclw.net/soul/linglijiguang/index.htm>. Also, *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 262, April 15, 1942.

⁴⁷⁸ Wang Mingdao, "Mr. Song Shangjie [John Sung] Has Died" 宋尚節先生去世了, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 71 (Fall 1944), 151.

⁴⁷⁹ Wang Mingdao, "Mr. Song Shangjie [John Sung] Has Died" 宋尚節先生去世了, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 71 (Fall 1944), 149-157. Wang Mingdao's son, Wang Tianduo, described the sermon as "one of the most touching sermons I ever heard." Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 16.

⁴⁸⁰ *Conduct in Society Common Sense for Believers* 信徒處世常識 was originally published serially in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* from Issue 20 in the Winter of 1931 to Issue 37 in the Spring of 1936 in sixteen parts and was later collected and edited into a book form which Wang published first in 1936. Wang further distilled it into 19 "Maxims for Believer's Conduct in Society" 信徒處世格言, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 59 (Fall 1941): 170-171.

⁴⁸¹ Wang Mingdao, "Mr. Song Shangjie [John Sung] Has Died" 宋尚節先生去世了, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 71 (Fall 1944), 153. However, Daryl Ireland's research has revealed that John Sung was a much more complicated person than Wang realized. See Daryl R. Ireland, *John Song: Modern Chinese Christianity and the Making of a New Man*.

⁴⁸² Ying Fuk Tsang, "Wang Mingdao Discusses Chinese Church Leaders and Affairs," 80. The quote of Confucius is from *The Analects*, 5.10, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1204#s10020391>.

Wang's lack of respect for Watchman Nee's moral character drove Wang and Nee apart.⁴⁸³ In this, Ying sees the influence of Confucianism's priority on morality as shaping Wang's relationships with these two men who have been so influential in Chinese Christianity.⁴⁸⁴

THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR

After the defeat of Japan in World War II and the Japanese departure from China in 1945, the country plunged into a period of civil war with Chiang Kai Shek's Nationalists (KMT) seeking to eradicate Mao Zedong's Communists. The CCP eventually gained the upper hand and defeated the Nationalists, establishing the People's Republic of China in 1949. During this civil war period, although Wang's reputation as the premier Fundamentalist Christian preacher in China was firmly established, with 700-800 people attending worship services at the Christian Tabernacle by 1948,⁴⁸⁵ he also experienced some personal suffering.⁴⁸⁶ He became severely ill in 1945,⁴⁸⁷ his sister Wang Enrong died on September 1, 1946 from illness,⁴⁸⁸ and his mother died on October 18, 1947.⁴⁸⁹ He published a memorial for his mother which brings out some neglected nuances of his Confucian-Christian character.⁴⁹⁰ While not glossing over the facts that he felt his mother had a terrible temper and was quite stubborn, he also emphasized her tender, sacrificial care for him many times when he was sick, sometimes spending day and night tending to his needs. Emphasizing his own filial character, Wang lamentingly quotes the Han Dynasty book, *The Han Shi Waizhuan* 韓詩外傳,⁴⁹¹ "the trees long for peace but the wind will never cease." He quoted this metaphor, in a somewhat exaggerative manner, to lament that when a man finally wants to show his mother filial piety, she has died. Showing both his Christian religious outlook and his Confucian sense of propriety, Wang rejected all Chinese rituals in his mother's funeral that he thought were superstitious. Wang used the opportunity not only to illustrate his own filial piety toward his mother but also to admonish other Christians in China who followed what he felt were superstitious religious practices.⁴⁹² For example, he rejected the practice of changing his mother's

⁴⁸³ In a 1948 article on the importance of moral character, Wang may have made a veiled reference to Watchman Nee's famous book *The Spiritual Man* 屬靈人 (Shanghai: Shanghai Gospel Bookroom 上海福音書房, 1928), when he said that reading the book was like being in a fog and that not only did the people who read it not become more spiritual, but the testimony of the author's life brought shame to God's name and harmed many people. See Wang Mingdao, "More Important Than Work" 比工作更重要的事, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 85 (Spring 1948): 38.

⁴⁸⁴ Ying Fuk Tsang, "Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao," 158.

⁴⁸⁵ Wang Mingdao, "Editor's News" 編者的消息, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 85 (Spring 1948): 75.

⁴⁸⁶ The most detailed research on this period of Wang's life can be found in Gene Ng 吳劍麗, "The Situation of the Christian Tabernacle and Wang Mingdao's Preaching During the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949)" 內戰時期基督徒會堂的處境及王明道的傳道事業 (1945-1949), in *Instant in Season, Out of Season: The Chinese Church During the Civil War Period* 務要傳道——內戰時期的中國教會, eds. Huang Wenjiang 黃文江, Zhang Yunkai 張雲開, Chen Zhiheng 陳智衡 (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary 建道神學院, 2019), 233-254.

⁴⁸⁷ Wang Mingdao, "Editor's News" 編者的消息, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 75 (Fall 1945): 115.

⁴⁸⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years* 152 and 264.

⁴⁸⁹ Mrs. Pan, the woman who connected Wang to the Beijing church network in 1925, also died on August 26, 1948. Wang said that due to her support for his ministry, the two developed a deep relationship and he respected her devout piety. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 152-153.

⁴⁹⁰ Originally published in Wang Mingdao, "In Memory of Mother" 追念母親, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 84 (Winter 1947): 258-278, he revised and republished it in Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 256-270.

⁴⁹¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 263-264. Han Shi Waizhuan 韓詩外傳, Book 9, 3, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=39909>.

⁴⁹² Revealing the influence of Chinese folk religion 民間信仰 on Christianity in China during the Republican

clothes shortly before she died and did not move her to a flat board as was customary since he felt this was cruel⁴⁹³ and flaunting common auspicious practices, Wang wore black to the funeral and purposely buried his mother on the fourth day after she died.⁴⁹⁴ What is interesting about Wang's preparations for his mother's funeral is that the rejection of what he viewed as "superstitious" Chinese religious practices were also rejected by Confucian literati for centuries.⁴⁹⁵

With his Confucian-Christian theology, Wang continued to practically guide the growing number of people that were reading his articles or hearing him preach at the Christian Tabernacle. In the fall of 1948, he wrote an article in which he extolled the humble contributions of rickshaw drivers and shoemakers and any job that contributes to society by being beneficial to humankind. Wang pointed to the humility of Jesus to learn carpentry skills,⁴⁹⁶ and Confucius to acquire abilities in many low level matters, describing Confucius as "China's sage" to encourage his readers and listeners to make practical contributions to society in China.⁴⁹⁷ Wang made this interesting pairing between Christ and Confucius, not in an isolated environment apart from people, but rather among them as a church leader in the midst of a civil war. By December of 1948, Wang reported that the fighting between the Communists and the Nationalists had reached the Beijing suburbs with Fundamentalist Christians flocking to the Christian Tabernacle to seek stability and comfort.⁴⁹⁸ Wang's narrative of events in his autobiography *The Last Fifty Years* stops in 1948 since the writing began in 1948 and was completed in 1950. The Nationalists were defeated in 1949 and departed for Taiwan which ended the period of the Republic of China on the mainland. Chairman Mao Zedong 毛澤東 made the proclamation of the establishment of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, from Tianamen Square, about a 40-minute walk from Wang's Christian Tabernacle on No.42 Shijia Lane. As Thomas Harvey has observed, Wang was not committed to any political party as some Western missionaries have purported and did not support the KMT Nationalists nor the Chinese Communist Party.⁴⁹⁹ In fact, since Wang observed that the People's Liberation Army had shown good discipline during the Chinese Civil War, he was initially optimistic about China's future. His main concern was that the CCP would restrict religious freedoms in China after observing what had happened in the Soviet Union following the victory of the Bolsheviks in 1917. However, after being allowed to freely move about and preach in various locations in 1949 and 1950, he thought that Christians in China would be free to go about

period.

⁴⁹³ In Chinese folk religion, it is thought to be unlucky to die in the brick kang bed, and the change of clothes is thought to prepare the deceased for the next life. See Susan Naquin, "Funerals in North China: Uniformity and Variation," in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, eds. James L. Watson & Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988), 39.

⁴⁹⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 266-268. See Susan Naquin, "Funerals in North China," 49. Black is considered unlucky in Chinese society and the number four in Chinese sounds like the same word for death. To wear black and bury someone on the fourth day would be commonly seen as bringing misfortune upon the living relatives.

⁴⁹⁵ Martin K. Whyte, "Death in the People's Republic of China," in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, eds. James L. Watson & Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988), 292.

⁴⁹⁶ See Mark 6:3.

⁴⁹⁷ See Wang Mingdao, "To Glory in Your Shame" 以自己的羞辱為榮耀, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 86 (Summer 1948): 107. The word "sage" 聖人 can also be translated "saint." Wang quoted *The Analects* 9.6, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1315#s10021396>.

⁴⁹⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 153. See also Gene Ng, "The Situation of the Christian Tabernacle and Wang Mingdao's Preaching During the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949)," 252-253. Ng indicates that throughout these years Wang was deeply affected by the civil war and he felt that people needed to hear the Gospel more than ever.

⁴⁹⁹ Thomas A. Harvey, *Acquainted with Grief*, 109.

their religious pursuits without any hindrance.⁵⁰⁰

CONFLICT WITH THE TSPM

The first half of the 1950s is where a significant amount of academic research has already been focused on the study of Wang Mingdao.⁵⁰¹ In order to not replicate the research previously accomplished by other scholars, only a brief outline this period is provided in order to bring out the social context as well as some of the more neglected nuances of the story. Wang notes that “a strange thing” began to happen in the spring of 1950. As the organization’s leader, Wu Yaozong led a group of Chinese Christian leaders on a tour of some of the major cities in China promoting the “Three Self Reform Movement” (TSRM) 三自革新運動, calling on the churches in China to rid themselves of imperialism and connections with foreign organizations.⁵⁰² Many Christians in China were eager to see the Chinese church become independent from foreign control and fully develop into an indigenous church and freely joined with the movement.⁵⁰³ Since the TSRM was connected with the new CCP government, with Wu’s delegation meeting several times with Prime Minister Zhou Enlai 周恩來 in Beijing, other Christians that were not as concerned with imperialism but feared opposing the new government also joined with the TSRM.⁵⁰⁴ A document was created by Wu and other delegate leaders which became known as the “Christian Manifesto” 基督教宣言. This document called on Christians in China to acknowledge the record of imperialism in China and resolve to remove its residual influence in the church.⁵⁰⁵ Wang Mingdao refused to sign it. Although he had resolved to be independent from Western missionary agencies since his re-baptism in 1921 and refused to co-operate with the Japanese controlled North China Christian Union Group in 1942, he did not think that the TSRM was truly interested in the development of an indigenous Chinese church that was self-sustaining, self-propagating, and self-governing, but rather, he saw the TSRM as a tool for Modernists, whom he described as “unbelievers,” to control and eventually destroy the church. Wang was familiar with the writings of Wu Yaozong, having read his 1945 article, “Where is God? 上帝在那裡?”⁵⁰⁶ as well as his 1949 book, *Darkness and Light* 黑暗與光明,⁵⁰⁷ and Wang concluded that Wu was an atheist lurking

⁵⁰⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 54-55.

⁵⁰¹ For example, Thomas Harvey’s PhD dissertation was almost entirely focused on the conflict between Wang and the TSPM between 1954-1955. See Thomas A. Harvey, “Changing Heaven’s Mandate,” 10. Ying Fuk Tsang has also covered the conflict between Wang and the TSPM from 1950-1955, closely describing the war of words in Wang’s *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* and the TSPM’s *Tianfeng*, in Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增, “Counter-Revolution in the Revolutionary Era: A Preliminary Study on the Case of ‘Wang Mingdao’s Counter-Revolutionary Clique’” 革命時代的反革命：基督教「王明道反革命集團」案始末考, *The Journal of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 67 (March 2010): 100-131.

⁵⁰² See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 11-12 and Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 55-56.

⁵⁰³ See Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 161-162

⁵⁰⁴ See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 11. For details on the delegation and the TSRM, see Ying Fuk Tsang, “Anti-Imperial Patriotism and Religious Reform – On Christianity in the Early Period of the Founding of the CCP’s ‘Reform Manifesto’” 反帝愛國與宗教革新—論中共建國初期的基督教〈革新宣言〉 *The Journal of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*. Volume 56 (June 2007): 91-141.

⁵⁰⁵ An English translation of the Christian Manifesto is available in Francis P. Jones, *Documents of the Three-Self Movement*, 19-20 and Thomas A. Harvey, *Acquainted with Grief*, 163-165.

⁵⁰⁶ Wu Yaozong 吳耀宗, “Where is God? 上帝在那裡?” *Tianfeng* 22 (November 1945):7-10. *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 360, May 29, 1951. Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 27.

⁵⁰⁷ Wu Yaozong 吳耀宗, *Darkness and Light* 黑暗與光明 (Shanghai, YMCA Publishing 青年協會, 1949). *Wang*

inside the church who was trying to destroy it from the inside.⁵⁰⁸

On November 20, 1951, Wang read Watchman Nee's article, "How I Turned Around" 我是怎麼轉過來的, which was Nee's explanation for why he led his independent Local Church into participation in the TSRM, attended its meetings and accepted its leadership.⁵⁰⁹ Wang commented that

What the congregation [Local Church] is doing is totally different from what they are saying. Originally, they were against all other churches, saying that, whatever their organization and name, they were all sects and that sects are sinful: therefore everyone must leave their sects. That's why anyone who attended their meetings was required to leave their own church immediately. But today Mr Ni has totally changed his position. Now he can sit in meetings alongside priests and even non-believers.⁵¹⁰

Wang, already dubious about Nee's character, became convinced that the reason that Nee participated in the TSRM was an effort at self-preservation. A former member of the Christian Tabernacle, Yan Jialei 閻迦勒, who had left to join the Local Church after becoming convinced of Nee's ecclesiology revealed personal testimony about Nee's dealings to Wang. On April 10, 1952, Nee had been arrested by the Public Security Bureau. On October 20th and again on October 30th, 1952, Yan confided to Wang that since the Local Church owned large swaths of land in Fujian, Nee, before he was arrested, was concerned that, during the CCP land reform efforts, the Local Church's property would be split up and taken away, so he made a request to the government to retain their land by having tens of thousands of Local Church members from all over China sign a petition to keep their land.⁵¹¹ Nee later realized that to do this was extremely dangerous as significant numbers of landlords began to be murdered during the Chinese Land Reform Movement 土地改革運動.⁵¹² In order to stave off disaster, he took the signature list and sent it to Wu Yaozong, who was the Chairman of the TSRM, fictitiously indicating that it was a list of Local Church believers who supported the TSRM.⁵¹³ After Yan's testimony, Wang concluded that Nee was jailed not for opposing the TSRM, nor for his Christian faith as some have argued,⁵¹⁴ but rather because of his lying and cheating.⁵¹⁵ Because of this, although Wang disagreed with Nee's ecclesiology, it was ultimately Wang's view of Nee's moral character which troubled him the most.

Mingdao's Diary, 507. May 27, 1955. Wang was reading Wu's book in order to do research for his article "We Are for Faith," which indicates that he had read *Darkness and Light* earlier.

⁵⁰⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 132.

⁵⁰⁹ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 377. November 20, 24 and 27, 1951.

⁵¹⁰ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 20. For Nee's article see Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 200, 281 footnote 90, and 314. Xi indicates the original article, which is difficult to find, is available in Ren Zhongxiang 任鐘祥, *A Brief History of the Shanghai Christian Local Church* 上海基督徒聚會處簡史 (Shanghai: Shanghai City Christian TSPM Committee 上海市基督教教務委員會, 1996), 22.

⁵¹¹ The meetings with Yan Jialei are recorded in *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 419 and 422.

⁵¹² Daniel Chirot, *Modern Tyrants: The Power and Prevalence of Evil in Our Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 187.

⁵¹³ Ying Fuk Tsang, "Wang Mingdao Discusses Chinese Church Leaders and Affairs," 83. More context is provided in Ying Fuk Tsang, 邢福增 *Anti-Imperialism, Patriotism, and the Spiritual Man – A Study on Watchman Nee and Local Church* 反帝, 愛國, 屬靈人 – 倪柝聲與基督徒聚會處研究 (Hong Kong: CSCCRC 基督教中國宗教文化研究社, 2005): 102-109.

⁵¹⁴ See Witness Lee, *Watchman Nee*, 190.

⁵¹⁵ Ying Fuk Tsang, "Wang Mingdao Discusses Chinese Church Leaders and Affairs," 84. Nee died in prison on May 30, 1972.

The independent Chinese churches, who would have reason to argue that they were already self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating and therefore were independent of foreign connections and imperialistic influence, were nevertheless targeted to come under the control of the TSRM. With John Sung dead and Watchman Nee imprisoned, Wang was the most significant independent Chinese Christian to remain outside of the TSRM.⁵¹⁶ Just as Mr. Takeda had done during the Second Sino-Japanese War, spies were dispatched to the Christian Tabernacle to try to catch Wang saying or doing something that could provide a basis for future denouncements against him.⁵¹⁷ However, with Wang's reputation for resisting the Japanese and his well-known personal integrity, it was difficult to entrap him. The TSRM changed its name in 1954 to the Three Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) due to concerns that some Christians had over the idea of "reforming" Christianity. Wang would later comment that when the Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705 CE) changed her name to Wu Zhao 武曩 she was still known as Wu Zetian, just as when Wu Yaorong changed the name of the Three Self Reform Movement to the Three Self Patriotic Movement, it did not change the fact that the movement was intended to "reform" Christianity in China just as before.⁵¹⁸

At first, a soft-approach of persuasion was attempted by the TSPM leaders to coax Wang Mingdao into joining the TSPM. While the July 22 – August 6 National Christian Conference was being held in Beijing, he received four visitors at the Christian Tabernacle who were delegates from the Beijing TSPM, including the Chairman of the Beijing TSPM, Wang Zizhong, who had previously co-operated with the Japanese controlled North China Christian Union Group, but Wang Mingdao refused to meet with them.⁵¹⁹ A few days later, he received another five visitors including Jiang Changchuan who had become the Vice-Chairman of the TSPM. Wang would later ask, due to Wang Zizhong and Jiang Changchuan's previous participation in the Japanese controlled union, "Were they patriots?"⁵²⁰ However, another person included in the second group of five was Chen Chonggui whom Wang knew and respected from his visit with Chen in 1932; Wang was disappointed that Chen Chonggui had joined the TSPM and concluded that Chen

⁵¹⁶ The Jesus Family 耶穌家庭 was forced to disband in 1952. Its leader Jing Dianyong 敬奠瀛 (1890–1957) originally joined the TSRM but was later denounced and imprisoned where he died from cancer in 1957. The True Jesus Church 真耶穌教會 joined and accepted the leadership of the TSRM with its leader Isaac Wei (Wei Yisa) 魏以撒 (1900-?) arrested in 1951, pledged support for the TSRM, and subsequently disappeared. See Daniel Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 161-163 and Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 200. The Bread of Life Church 靈糧堂, due to the political situation in China, moved its headquarters to Hong Kong in 1949 and eventually to Taipei, Taiwan in 1954. See R. G. Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 245.

⁵¹⁷ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 43-45.

⁵¹⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 135. The story of Wu Zetian's name change goes back to *The Old Book of Tang* 舊唐書, Book 6, Empress Ze Tian, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=717884#p2>. (verse 12)

⁵¹⁹ Wang Mingdao had read Wang Zizhong's works including "Avoiding Reality" 躲避現實 and "The Resurrection of Christ" 基督的復活 and determined that he was an "unbeliever." See *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 482-483. December 24, 1953. The other members of the four-person delegation were Zhao Fusan 趙復三, Jiang Yizheng 蔣翼振, and Yin Jizeng 殷繼增. It is difficult to determine the precise date of the visit because Wang's 1954 diary was never returned after being confiscated in 1955.

⁵²⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 118. Despite Wang's questioning his patriotism, it does seem that Jiang Changchuan provided co-operative resistance to the Japanese. For a more sympathetic treatment of Jiang during the Second Sino-Japanese war, see Ying Fuk Tsang, "Wang Mingdao and the North China Christian Union Group," 138-140. Ying sees Jiang as taking the role in the Japanese controlled Union Group in order to keep the Chinese church open during the war years. Had he refused the role, Jiang believed that the church in China would be forced to close.

Chonggui was a fallen prophet.⁵²¹ Again, Wang refused to meet with them.⁵²² Instead, they talked with Liu Jingwen who told the five visitors that it would be better not to see Wang because he does not worry about saving face and that “things will become heated, and you will all be embarrassed.” A rumor surfaced that “Even Wang Mingdao’s wife knows his temper. You can tell how hard it is to deal with him.”⁵²³ Wang responded in the winter issue of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* that he had written a book on social etiquette, *Conduct in Society Common Sense for Believers*, but that he was willing to be rude when it came to dealing with “false prophets.”⁵²⁴

After the failure of the soft approach, the leaders of the TSPM attempted a hard approach to silence Wang with an unsuccessful denouncement campaign and a war of words erupting in the TSPM’s *Tianfeng* and Wang’s *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* culminating on Wang’s side with his article, “We Are for the Faith!” 我們是為了信仰!, completed on June 9, 1955.⁵²⁵ These developments in Wang’s life were in line with larger developments in China as intellectuals who were not convinced to support the CCP began to be silenced in order to mobilize the population for a unified effort to achieve the CCP economic program.⁵²⁶ Wang described in this article that the five main points of theological divergence between the Modernist and Fundamentalist Christians in China were their respective views of the Bible,⁵²⁷ the Virgin Birth Incarnation of

⁵²¹ Wang had read Chen Chonggui’s article 聖誕認罪禱文 “Christmas Confession Prayer.” See *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 483, December 24, 1953. On April 4, 1955, apparently upset by Chen’s participation in the TSPM, Wang dreamed that he was rebuking Chen Chonggui so vehemently in his sleep that he woke Liu Jingwen up. See *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 498.

⁵²² The other members of the five-person delegation were Chen Jianzheng 陳見真, Zhu Guishen 竺規身, and Xie Yongqing 謝永欽. Since they were of high social status in the church and were all of senior age, they were called “The Five Old Men of Shanghai” 上海五老.

⁵²³ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 48.

⁵²⁴ Wang Mingdao, “Be Faithful to God and Not Concerned About People’s Feelings” 向神盡忠莫顧人情, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 112 (Winter 1954): 237. However, there were two men who came to visit Wang after the “Five Old Men from Shanghai” whom he thought “were believers” that came to visit Wang and he did meet them but did not shake their hands due to their participation in the TSPM. See Ying Fuk Tsang, “Wang Mingdao’s Counter-Revolutionary Clique,” 113. My guess, due to his personal knowledge of their beliefs and later affiliation with the TSPM, is that one may have been Jia Yuming whom Wang knew from his previous co-operation with him in 1925. The other may have been David Yang (Yang Shaotang) 楊紹唐 whom Wang was personally familiar with and respected. See Gene Ng, “The Situation of the Christian Tabernacle and Wang Mingdao’s Preaching During the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949),” 234, footnote 4. As well as Wang Mingdao, “A Conscientious Girl!” 一個盡職的小女子, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 87 (Fall 1948): 175. Yang wrote a letter to Wang in 1951 encouraging him to participate in the TSRM. See *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 381, December 27, 1951. Wang lamented when he heard that Jia and Yang joined the TSRM, along with Chen Chonggui, as recorded in his diary on November 25, 1952. See *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 426.

⁵²⁵ Wang Mingdao, “We Are for the Faith!” 我們是為了信仰! *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955): 134-174. This article was published in the last issue of the journal before Wang’s arrest on August 7, 1955 and remains a classic of Chinese Fundamentalism during the period. An English translation is available in Francis P. Jones, *Documents of the Three-Self Movement*, 99-114.

⁵²⁶ See Merle Goldman, “The Party and the Intellectuals,” in *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 14:237.

⁵²⁷ Wang Mingdao, “We Are for the Faith!” 我們是為了信仰! *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955): 138-139. See Wang’s article “Can We Trust that the Miracles in the Bible Are True?” 聖經中的奇事是可信的麼? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 11 (Fall 1929): 141-144. The following references to the Summer 1955 article are all from “We Are for the Faith!”

Jesus Christ,⁵²⁸ the Atonement,⁵²⁹ the Resurrection of Jesus Christ,⁵³⁰ and the Second Coming of Christ.⁵³¹ Wang had been writing about these areas of disagreement between the two groups in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* since the late 1920s. He concluded that Modernists did not believe in these teachings in the same way that Fundamentalists did and so he could not unite with these “unbelievers” and would therefore not join the TSPM. One month later, on July 7, 1955, we find Wang Mingdao teaching on Lü Zuqian’s 呂祖謙 (1137-1181 CE) *Mr. Donglai’s Extensive Deliberations* 東萊博議. Lü was a Southern Song Dynasty Confucian author who explored how morality affected the political and natural world.⁵³² As he had when under duress to join the Japanese North China Christian Union in 1942,⁵³³ Wang again found Lü to provide helpful Confucian insight on how to negotiate the extremely stressful conflict with the TSPM concluding based on this ancient work, after a several years long war of words with the leaders of the TSPM movement, that “one should not write anything lightly.”⁵³⁴ One month later, Wang was arrested on August 7, 1955.

From 1921-1955, Wang Mingdao established a ministry that was independent from missionary Christianity, becoming by 1944 the most famous Fundamentalist Christian in China. During these years, his theology was mainly influenced by his study of the Bible,⁵³⁵ but he was also influenced by a host of Chinese Confucian authors who guided his moral thinking and gave shape to his practical Confucian-Christian theology, with Wang going so far as to call Confucius “China’s sage” in 1948. However, after August 7, 1955, Wang was to begin a nearly decade long fall from his Confucian-Christian moral ideals as he entered his prison years.

⁵²⁸ *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955): 139-141. See Wang’s translation of George P. Tasker’s article “Jesus’ Virgin Birth” 基督的童女誕生, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 9 (Spring 1929): 12-16.

⁵²⁹ *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955): 141-142. See Wang’s article “The Cross of Christ” 基督的十字架, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1927): 19-26.

⁵³⁰ *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955): 142-145. See Wang’s article “The Resurrected Christ” 復活的基督, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1927): 27-39.

⁵³¹ *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955): 145-146. See Wang’s article “Christ’s Second Coming” 基督再來, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 5 (Spring 1928): 13-20. Wang in this article and the following two parts reveals his Premillennial theological orientation towards Christ’s Second Coming.

⁵³² See Kai Marchal, “Lü Zuqian’s Political Philosophy,” in *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*, ed. John Makeham (Heidelberg: Springer Netherlands, 2010), 197-199. Donlai was an alternative name for Lü Zuqian. See also Wang’s article, Wang Mingdao, “To Neglect a Warning is to Court Disaster” 輕忽了警告遭遇了禍患, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 95 (Fall 1950): 162 for another reference to Lü Zuqian.

⁵³³ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 260-262, January 16 and February 3, 1942.

⁵³⁴ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 512. July 7, 1955.

⁵³⁵ Wang was also translating a number of Western Christian writers, particularly in the early 1950s, the works of the American Presbyterian James R. Miller (1840-1912). Wang translated many of Miller’s works in nearly every issue of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* from issue 74, Summer 1950 to issue 114, Summer 1955 including a significant portion of Miller’s books, *In Green Pastures* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1904) and *A Life of Character* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1894). See Appendix 3.

Chapter Four

The Prison Years: 1955-1980

The main primary sources for the events of Wang Mingdao's life for the prison period of 1955-1980 are two: the first is the set of interviews of Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen that were conducted by Stephen Wang from 1989-1990 and published as *Another Forty Years* in 1997 which was later translated into English as *The Long Road to Freedom: The Story of Wang Mingdao* in 2002. The other is Wang Mingdao's Rehabilitation Request Manuscript published as *Wang Mingdao's Last Confession* which he wrote between 1982-1983 and was published in 2012 by Ying Fuk Tsang as the editor with currently only the original Chinese version available.¹ In recounting this narrative, the key historical events will be highlighted in order to more fully bring out the nuances of Wang Mingdao's Confucian-Christian thought and to provide a more complete social context than is currently available. Both of these are the contribution of this work.

FIRST ARREST

On August 7, 1955, Wang was reading letters at his desk after the evening prayer meeting, and at around midnight, Liu Jingwen heard some sounds on the roof and went to investigate. Wang was shocked when someone behind him shouted, "Don't move!" When he turned around and saw a police officer pointing a gun at him, he was so terror-stricken that his legs gave way and he rested on the bed. Not only were Wang and Liu Jingwen arrested that night but so was his former student and co-worker Shi Tianmin, as well as Stephen Wang, who would later conduct the interviews that comprised *The Long Road to Freedom*,² along with dozens of others who were arrested as part of the "Wang Mingdao Counter-Revolutionary Clique," a group of Christians from various locations considered loyal to Wang who also resisted participation in the TSPM. Wang reported that the interrogator who questioned him told him that "Opposing Three Self [TSPM] is a crime."³ Previous to this statement, Wang did not realize the political connection between the CCP and the TSPM. The news of his arrest was significant and politically connected enough that on September 19, 1955, the Assistant Mayor of Beijing who also functioned as the Chief of the Public Security Bureau, Feng Jiping 馮基平, mentioned in a report at the Third Session of the National People's Congress in Beijing that the arrest of Wang Mingdao and the uncovering and capture of his "Clique."⁴ The terror of his arrest, the realization that he had set himself up against the CCP government through his opposition to the TSPM, and the beatings he received from the other prisoners,⁵ resulted in Wang abandoning his Confucian-Christian convictions about telling the truth: he began lying in order to survive. The internal principle that Wang had cultivated for decades, that it would be better to lose everything than to compromise his righteousness, was met with something even more basic to his being: the fear of death that Wang had dreaded since

¹ A translated English version of the *Last Confession* would be a great contribution to Chinese Christian knowledge but the book would be difficult to translate since the manuscript is not one document but 15 versions of the request with 20 loose pages. Nearly every page contains Chinese idioms and historical references, some of which are obscure.

² Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 93.

³ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 95.

⁴ Ying Fuk Tsang, "Wang Mingdao's Counter-Revolutionary Clique," 134, footnote 160. The Third Session of the National People's Congress in Beijing in Chinese is 北京市一屆人大三次會議.

⁵ See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 104.

childhood had not yet been eradicated, despite his great admiration for biblical and Confucian martyrs. In January of 1956, after five months in the Weed Haze Lane (Caolanzi Hutong) Detention Centre 草嵐子胡同看守所,⁶ he submitted a report that he had given up his faith,⁷ but even this was a lie, an attempt to say what his interrogators wanted to hear in order to lessen his suffering, while still secretly believing in the existence of God.⁸

When spring arrived in 1956, under duress, Wang had already confessed to over a dozen crimes with the only one that he would later not say was false was that he had opposed the TSPM.⁹ On September 14, after promising to join the TSPM, Wang was allowed to see his wife Liu Jingwen who had herself been held in the same detention center although they had not been able to see one other.¹⁰ She was deeply distressed by Wang's mental state believing that he would never be able to go through with his promise to join the TSPM.¹¹ On September 28, Wang was led by two officers to write a confession, or "self-examination" that was edited and re-edited several times. He would later repudiate the confession as "a pack of lies."¹² He was released from the detention center the next day on September 29, 1956, after having been in prison for 429 days. The Director of the Religious Affairs Bureau told Wang Mingdao to be at Wang Zizhong's home, the Chairman of the Beijing TSPM whom he had refused to meet with in the summer of 1954, at 2 p.m. in order discuss next steps.¹³ Wang Mingdao was also told that Western newspapers had been reporting that he and Liu Jingwen had been arrested and that with his release, these rumors would stop.¹⁴ Wang Zizhong told him to go to the Beijing YMCA the next day in order to read his confession publically. Stephen Wang notes that this was particularly humiliating for Wang Mingdao after having written his article, "The Evils of the Modern YMCA" in 1935.¹⁵ On September 30, Wang Zizhong brought Chen Chonggui, the man Wang formerly respected until he joined the TSPM, to escort Wang Mingdao to the YMCA to read his confession before the over 100 assembled listeners. Chen had earlier

⁶ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 94. This detention center was in the west section of Beijing at No.19 Weed Haze Lane with 24 prison cells in each of the north and south prisons. See "Caolanzi Prison Former Site" 草嵐子監獄舊址, Encyclopedia Knowledge, accessed January 13, 2021, <https://www.easyatm.com.tw/wiki/%E8%8D%89%E5%B5%90%E5%AD%90%E7%9B%A3%E7%8D%84>.

⁷ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 106-107.

⁸ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 108.

⁹ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 121-122.

¹⁰ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-three Years*, 99. Liu Jingwen's story from her arrest on August 8, 1955 to her release on September 30, 1956 is told on pages 95-100.

¹¹ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 126-127.

¹² Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 129. An English translation of Wang Mingdao's confession can be found in Francis P. Jones, *Documents of the Three-Self Movement*, 117-121 and Thomas A. Harvey, *Acquainted with Grief*, 167-173.

¹³ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 130.

¹⁴ The reference was to Canadian newspapers which this author has been unable to find but several American newspapers had reported on Wang Mingdao's arrest. See Willmar Thorkelson, "More Saloons Than Churches Reported," *The Minneapolis Star*, October 8, 1955. Dan L. Thrapp, "Faction Blamed in China Arrest," *The Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 1955. Dan L. Thrapp, "Southland Parish," *Los Angeles Times*, December 10, 1955. R. T. Barrington, "Panel Cites Threat Posed by Marxism," *Oklahoma City Star*, September 14, 1956. Wang's "religious persecution" was also reported in 1956 by the Australian newsman Alfred Francis James who inquired about him during an interview with an official from the Religious Affairs Bureau in China. See Alfred Francis James, *Reports on Deputation of Australian Churchmen to Mainland China* (New York: Far Eastern Office, 1957), 11, <https://archive.org/details/reportsondeputat00jame/page/11/mode/2up>.

¹⁵ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 130. See Wang Mingdao, "The Evils of the Modern YMCA" 現代基督教青年會的罪惡 *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 34 (Summer 1935): 94-106.

written an article published in *Tianfeng* critical of Wang Mingdao after his arrest.¹⁶ Wang's confession was published the next month in the TSPM's journal *Tianfeng*.¹⁷ Liu Jingwen was released the day Wang read his confession.¹⁸ Prior to this, Wang had firmly established his reputation as a respected Confucian-Christian; however, now with his humiliation complete through both forms, oral and written, he would seek to protest his indignation through the only recourse left available to him, suicide, as a way to maintain his dignity.

SUICIDAL PROTEST

To some Western observers, to commit suicide could be seen as evidence of a guilty conscience for having done wrong. However, in Chinese history there is a long tradition of committing suicide as a form of righteous protest for the wrong that has been committed against a person.¹⁹ Qu Yuan, who was one of Wang Mingdao's heroes, exemplified this kind of suicide when he drowned himself in the Milou River after being unjustly banished by his king.²⁰ Wang had memorized and would later quote Qu Yuan's poem describing the injustice committed against him which also aptly described the sorrow in Wang's own heart:²¹

The world is turbulent and impure:
They call a cicada's wing heavy and a ton weight light;
The brazen bell is smashed and discarded; the earthen crock is thunderously sounded.
The slanderer proudly struts; the wise man lurks unknown.²²

Coupled with Qu Yuan's model of suicide through drowning, Wang was filled with despair over his future. He had promised while in prison to attend TSPM meetings and to preach upon release and he feared returning to prison if he failed to keep his promises.²³ He lost his sense of self-respect after what he perceived of as his moral failure for lying while in prison. Just as his father had sunk into a suicidal despair when he looked out at a sea of Boxers on June 22, 1900, Wang Mingdao determined to take his own life as he looked out at his future. Wang crafted a plan to take Liu Jingwen back to her mother's home in Hangzhou after which he planned to slip off to the legendary West Lake and drown himself. It seems that if not for his wife's awareness of her husband's

¹⁶ See Chen Chonggui 陳崇桂, "A New Commandment (The Eleventh Commandment)" 新誠命 (第十一條誠命) *Tianfeng* 485 (October 1955): 15-16. In 1957, during the Hundred Flowers Campaign 百花齊放, some leaders within the Party encouraged citizens to openly express their views on the CCP. Chen Chonggui criticized the government for their harsh treatment of religious believers. However, this was soon followed in mid-1957-1958 by the Anti-Rightist Campaign 反右運動 in which Mao Zedong himself denounced Chen as a rightist. Wu Yazong, the leader of the TSPM, led the attack against Chen who was kicked out of the TSPM and later died in 1963. See Daniel Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 168 and Richard C. Bush Jr., *Religion in Communist China* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), 226.

¹⁷ See Wang Mingdao, "My Confession" 我的檢討, *Tianfeng* 515 (October 1956): 7-9.

¹⁸ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 134. Shi Meiling, *Sixty-three Years*, 99. Wang describes her as a "hostage" being held in order to pressure him to read his confession in Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 230.

¹⁹ See Lo Ping-cheng, "Confucian Ethic of Death with Dignity and Its Contemporary Relevance," *The Annual of the Society of Christian Ethics* 19 (1999): 315.

²⁰ See Sima Qian, *The Grand Scribe's Records*, 7:299. Qu Yuan's suicide is still remembered annually by Chinese during the Dragon Boat Festival on the fifth day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar.

²¹ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 147.

²² David Hawkes, *Chu Tzu: The Songs of the South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 89.

²³ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 140.

character, that he would rather die than be dishonored, Wang's life would have ended in 1956.²⁴ Liu Jingwen stayed close by his side every moment since she feared that he would follow his father's precedent and commit suicide.²⁵ Wang's plan was finally quashed when the Public Security Bureau told them that they could not leave Beijing. However, his mental state was still unstable. When Zhao Zichen, the famous theologian whom Wang had written was an "unbeliever" after reading Zhao's book, *Life of Jesus*, came to visit him, presumably to encourage him to attend the TSPM since he himself was a participant, Zhao determined that Wang was so unwell that he advised him to rest in bed.²⁶ On April 8, 1958, after concluding that he could preach no longer, Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen moved out of the Christian Tabernacle and back into their family home on Sweet Rain Lane.²⁷

SECOND ARREST

When Wang dissolved all connections with the Christian Tabernacle by moving out and resigning from the board of the church, his re-arrest was certain. Since he would not preach and did not attend any TSPM meetings after reading his confession, the conditions of his release had not been fulfilled. On April 29, 1958, just as the country began The Great Leap Forward 大躍進, Wang was re-arrested along with Liu Jingwen. This re-arrest convinced Wang Mingdao that the TSPM was a covert government organization, a conviction he held to the end of his life, since in Wang's mind, he was not a counter-revolutionary due to his lack of political participation and because his only "crime" was not participating in the TSPM.²⁸ In late 1959, Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen were transferred from the Weed Haze Lane Detention Center to the Gongdelin Detention Center 功德林看守所 which was located north of the Beijing city wall near the Virtue Victory Gate 德勝門.²⁹ Shortly thereafter in February of 1960, they were transferred again, this time to the Zixin Road Detention Center 自新路看守所, in the south of Beijing which was connected to the Beijing Prison 北京監獄.³⁰ They remained here for five or six years. Stephen Wang believes the reason for their long stay at the Zixin Road Detention Center, not yet receiving their prison sentence, was due to the fact that the government continued to hope that they would join the TSPM.³¹ Although they saw one another occasionally, Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen were not permitted to speak to one another. On July 18, 1963, Wang was sentenced to life-long imprisonment with all political rights permanently revoked for counter-revolutionary crime. Liu

²⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 61.

²⁵ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 141.

²⁶ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 143. Zhao Zichen would come under attack in 1956, accused of being a collaborator with American Imperialists, and lost his position at Yenching University. He suffered terribly during the Cultural Revolution and died in 1979. See Winfried Gluer, "The Legacy of T.C. Chao," [Zhao Zichen] *International Bulletin of Missionary Review* 6, no. 4, (October 1982): 165.

²⁷ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 141.

²⁸ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 150, Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 109.

²⁹ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 152. The name of the Gongdelin Detention Center is only in the Chinese version. See Wang Changxin, *Another Forty Years*, 84. It was located at No.1 Gongdelin Road.

³⁰ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 152. Again, the name of the Zixin Road Detention Center, which was commonly referred to as the South Detention Center 南所, is only provided in the Chinese version. See Wang Changxin, *Another Forty Years*, 84. It was located in the Xuanwu District 宣武區 on No.11 Zixin Road close to Taoranting Park 陶然亭公園.

³¹ The timeline for their stay in Zixin Road Detention Center is not precise but it seems they remained there until 1964 or 1965.

Jingwen was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment (April 29, 1958 – April 28, 1973), with her political rights revoked for five years after release, also for counter-revolutionary crime. Their family property on No.29 Sweet Rain Lane, the twelve rooms that had been purchased by Wang's mother Li Wenyi in the East City section of Beijing and that was now her son's property, was confiscated by the government. Wang Mingdao appealed his sentence and two months later his appeal was revoked with the final sentence upholding the original sentence.³²

WANG "STOOD BACK UP"

By the fall of 1963, Wang Mingdao's worst case scenario had been realized. He had to face the reality that he would spend the rest of his life in prison. In the midst of intense anger over what he felt was an unjust sentence, and deep shame over his moral failure of lying since being arrested on August 8, 1955, a scripture passage he had memorized when he was 21 after he was released from his teaching position in Baoding came to his mind. It was from the Old Testament prophetic book Micah 7:7-8:

But as for me, I watch in hope for the Lord, I wait for God my Savior; my God will hear me. Do not gloat over me, my enemy! Though I have fallen, I will rise. Though I sit in darkness, the Lord will be my light. Because I have sinned against him, I will bear the Lord's wrath, until he pleads my case and establishes my right. He will bring me out into the light; I will see his righteousness.

He concluded that the government's sentence of life imprisonment and the loss of his home was God's punishment for having lied upon his arrest and throughout the last eight years by saying he would join the TSPM if released.³³ He resolved at this time to tell the truth and no longer lie. Over the next few months while at the Zixin Detention Center, he wrote hundreds of pages refuting his previous confession in which he indicated that it was full of lies that he had written due to fear of being shot.³⁴ After retracting his confession he began compiling a list of "suggestions" for the government that he wrote after being allowed to read the *People's Daily* newspaper.³⁵ These suggestions were the first signs that we see in Wang's adult life of an engagement with politics, and it is also in line with what Confucian literati had felt was their responsibility for centuries in China: to serve China, regardless of the consequences, "in order to correct mistakes and reform the government."³⁶ After he finished writing his suggestions, he was told that he was required to do some light work and he began to polish the edges of plastic shoes after they had been machine-pressed. After a few days of this work, he refused by stating that forced labor was the work that criminals are required to do but "I am not a criminal. I did not commit any crime."³⁷ Due to his refusal to work, he was placed in solitary confinement for four months. During that period of

³² Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 162-163 and 166.

³³ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 169.

³⁴ Stephen Wang indicates that Wang Mingdao recalled writing "dozens of books" refuting his previous confession with each book consisting of a hundred pages. These books, if they still exist, have not been made available to the public. Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 170-171.

³⁵ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 173. The time period for writing the retraction of his confession and his suggestions for the government appears to be the fall of 1963 until the end of 1964. Wang's suggestions for the government, if they still exist, have not been made available to the public.

³⁶ See Merle Goldman, "The Party and the Intellectuals," 218.

³⁷ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 174.

isolation, he recalled the words of Confucius in *The Analects* 15.15: “Judge oneself harshly but others kindly; in that way you will keep yourself far from complaints.” The next day he asked for paper in order to write a letter of apology to the prison official he had spoken to harshly when he refused to work.³⁸ As was evidenced earlier in his life, both the Bible and the Confucian Classics were on his mind during his imprisonment.

At some point in 1965, Wang was transferred to a larger prison, the precise name unrecorded, where the famous playwright Lao She 老舍 (Shu Qingchun 舒慶春) (1899-1966) was also imprisoned. He was familiar with Wang Mingdao after visiting the Christian Tabernacle to hear him preach in the early 1950s.³⁹ Lao She, one year older than Wang Mingdao, grew up very close to Wang’s home in Beijing, and became a significant name in twentieth century Chinese literature; he and Wang shared some history together as well. Beginning in 1921, Lao She had attended the LMS’ Gangwashi Church 缸瓦市教會, the church affiliated with Tsui Wen Academy where Wang had gone to school, with Lao She eventually becoming the head of administration of the Tsui Wen Primary School.⁴⁰ Later during the Cultural Revolution, after being condemned as a counter-revolutionary, publically beaten and humiliated, Lao She would drown himself in Beijing’s Taiping Lake 太平湖 on August 24, 1966, revealing that the pressure Wang was under that forced him to contemplate suicide was not unique during this period.⁴¹ By January of 1965, although Wang felt that he had “fully recovered my life before I was in prison,” by now resolving to tell the truth no matter the consequences after his nearly decade long failure to do so, he was about to face perhaps the most difficult period of his life as the pressures of the Cultural Revolution that destroyed Lao She extended into the Chinese prison system.⁴²

DATONG MINING CAMP & THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

In 1966,⁴³ when the government realized that Wang would never be convinced to join the TSPM, he was transferred to the Datong Mining Camp 大同勞改煤礦 in Datong, Shanxi Province, 264 km west of Beijing, just as the Cultural Revolution 文化大革命 was beginning.⁴⁴ Most prisoners at the Datong Mining Camp were required to work in the coal mines but since

³⁸ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 174. See also *The Analects* 15.15, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1495#s10023761>.

³⁹ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 176.

⁴⁰ Robert A. Bickers, “New Light on Lao She, London, and the London Missionary Society, 1921-1929,” 24-26.

⁴¹ See Merle Goldman and Leo Ou-fan Lee eds., *An Intellectual History of Modern China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 226. Some believe that Lao She was murdered as an intellectual target of the Cultural Revolution. See Jasper Becker, “The Mystery of Lao She,” *South China Morning Post*, September 27, 2001, <https://www.scmp.com/article/358800/mystery-lao-she>.

⁴² Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 100.

⁴³ The date of Wang’s transfer to Datong, Shanxi Province is not precise in any of the sources but seems to have taken place shortly after May of 1966.

⁴⁴ Liu Jingwen was transferred in the beginning of 1965 to the Tongxian County Labor Camp 通縣勞改所 east of Beijing and then back to Beijing Prison’s Sock Factory 襪廠勞改 in 1966. In 1969, she was transferred to Handan’s Farm Labor Reform Farm 邯鄲勞改農場 in Hebei Province. She was supposed to be released upon completion of her sentence in April of 1973 but instead in September of 1973 was transferred to Shijia Village’s Labor Reform Farm 石家莊勞改場 since convicts who had completed their sentences were required to work in a place specified by the government. She stayed in Shijia Village until September of 1976 when she was transferred to Xingtaitang Village Farm 邢台唐莊農場 in Hebei Province. She was finally released in 1977 upon which she moved to Shanghai to live with her son Wang Tianduo and his family. See Shi Meiling, *Sixty-three Years*, 103-105 and 112.

Wang Mingdao was 66 years old and increasingly deaf, the prison authorities did not make him work in the mines.⁴⁵ Datong's enormous coal reserves were mined during the Cultural Revolution in part by convicts like Wang Mingdao's fellow prisoners who were required to reform through labor in the coal mines. Prisoners may have been funneled to Datong (Tatung) in order to increase production levels which had dropped off in 1967.⁴⁶ As early as the 1920s, it was difficult to find laborers for Shaanxi's coal mines with conditions being described as "so bad that no one except criminals or desperadoes would risk working in the mines, a situation which resulted in a shortage of labor."⁴⁷ Wang was not required to participate in a political study group due to his increasing deafness but was allowed to study by reading the newspapers, mainly the *People's Daily*, a government controlled newspaper, which provided him with information on the political changes that were taking place at the time. Although there were many reasons why Mao Zedong had launched the Cultural Revolution in May of 1966, one of them was in order to consolidate his grip on power over the CCP.⁴⁸ The changing political fortunes of Liu Shaoqi 劉少奇, the First Vice Chairman of the CCP from 1959-1966 and Mao's chosen successor, Peng Dehuai 彭德懷, Defense Minister of China from 1954-1959, Lu Dingyi 陸定一, Minister of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, Luo Ruiqing 羅瑞卿, Minister of Public Security of the PRC, and Wu Han 吳晗, a historian, writer and Vice Mayor of Beijing beginning in 1949, all once exalted by the CCP but now vilified in the *People's Daily*,⁴⁹ convinced Wang that the CCP was untrustworthy.⁵⁰ Had he simply pondered these political changes in his heart, he would not have undergone such a bitter struggle. Instead, angered over what he felt was his own experience of injustice, concerned about the fate of the country under dishonest leadership, and now regaining confidence to act on his conviction that it would be better to lose everything than to once again forfeit his righteousness, Wang quoted Confucius' dialogue on politics from *The Analects* 2.22 to the prison officials in order to level a critique against the CCP: "When a man is not trusted there is no way of knowing what he can do. It is like a vehicle with faulty wheels. How can you make a journey with it?"⁵¹ Looking back to this period in his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript written in 1982, Wang saw himself as a Chinese knight fighting injustice with a sword but the weapons he wielded were his mouth and pen through speaking and writing.⁵² This decision to defend ousted political figures during the Cultural

⁴⁵ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 185.

⁴⁶ See Kung Lee Wang, "China's Mineral Industries in 1967: Victims of the Cultural Revolution," *Asian Survey* 9, no.6 (June 1969): 435.

⁴⁷ Tim Wright, *Coal Mining in China's Economy and Society 1895-1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 87.

⁴⁸ For the complex array of motivations for the Cultural Revolution, See Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 603-604.

⁴⁹ See for example Li Siquan 黎斯群, "Wu Han – The Zealot of the Jiang [Chiang Kai Shek] Dynasty, Deputy of American Imperialism" 吳晗-蔣家王朝的策士, 美帝的幫辦, *People's Daily*, April 27, 1966. Sun Yusheng 孫玉升, "Wu Han, What Qualifications Do You Have to Represent the People?" 吳晗, 你有什麼資格代表人民? *People's Daily*, May 6, 1966. Unnamed Author, "Peng Dehuai and His Backstage Crimes Cannot Escape" 彭德懷及其後台罪責難逃, *People's Daily*, August 16, 1967. Zhang Yifei 張益飛, "The Great Traitor Liu Shaoqi Will Be Expelled from the Party Forever!" 把大叛徒劉少奇永遠開除出黨大快人心! *People's Daily*, November 3, 1968.

⁵⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 102.

⁵¹ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 182. See also *The Analects* 2.22, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1139#s10020008>.

⁵² See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 101. Wang's direct quotation 拔刀相助 actually comes from Wu Jingzi, *The Scholars* 儒林外史 (Rulin Waishi), 12:9, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=565716>. *The Scholars*, which due

Revolution would cost him dearly.

At some point in 1968,⁵³ Mr. Xin 辛幹事, a prison administrator at the Datong Mining Camp in charge of Wang Mingdao, had Wang handcuffed for five months at all times and accusation meetings were organized against him at the camp as a consequence of defending Liu and the other fallen politicians. Wang, unable to see the complexity of the motivations for the Cultural Revolution from his vantage point, saw the conflict in purely religious terms.⁵⁴ During one accusation meeting, he referred to the beheading of the China Inland Mission missionaries John and Betty Stam, executed by Communists in 1934 as proof that the CCP was anti-theist and anti-Christianity.⁵⁵ Xin turned up the pressure and organized a group of nine prisoners in Datong to physically and psychologically torture Wang in order to reform him in line with CCP thinking at the time. In the spring of 1968, Wang was subjected to physical torture for the first time.⁵⁶ Wang was no longer willing to lie, but the five months of torment were so terrible that Wang begged Xin to have the government kill him. Wang quotes Xin as saying that the government would not kill Wang but was confident that it would be able to “reform” 改造 him which Wang interpreted as a desire to eradicate his belief in God.⁵⁷ Although Wang did not lie, the trauma of what happened in Datong in the spring of 1968 effectively silenced him for the rest of his imprisonment there. The group organized by Xin to break Wang down consisted mainly of people who were imprisoned for collaborating with the Japanese but also included a Methodist pastor from Beijing named Zhan Rugeng 詹汝耕 who did not physically harm Wang but was the group’s mouthpiece.⁵⁸ While at Datong, he also received a letter from a Christian woman in Hamburg, Germany, who wrote in English inquiring about Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen’s well-being. Although he was not permitted to respond, this does indicate that Wang’s story was continuing to circulate overseas

to many quotations of the work by Wang in the *Last Confession* makes it likely that he read the book, is a classic novel completed in 1750 which praises exemplary Confucian morality while at the same time criticizes overly ambitious scholars. An English translation of Wang’s quote reads “whenever I see injustice done, I must draw my sword to avenge the injured.” See Wu Jingzi, *The Scholars*, trans. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 162.

⁵³ Wang recounts the date of his five months of torture in Datong to be 1968 in Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 85 and 102. Since they are recalled by Wang in 1982, they are best guesses but the timeline does correspond to the denunciations of Wu Han and others beginning in 1966. See Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 604.

⁵⁴ Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 33. Wang came to believe that the catastrophic consequences of the Cultural Revolution were due to the China’s embrace of atheism. He thought that the thoroughgoing materialistic ideology of the CCP resulted in a lack of fear of the consequences for breaking the law and violating what he thought was natural morality.

⁵⁵ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 182-183. For the story of the Stams, see Li Yading, “Elisabeth Alden ‘Betty’ Stam,” Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity, accessed January 22, 2021, <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/stam-bette>.

⁵⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 101-102. Although he had been beaten while in prison in Beijing, a more aggressive form of torture 肉刑 was inflicted upon Wang while at Datong by a former KMT Air Force officer, a Mr. Wu 吳, who did it in order to have his prison sentence reduced. See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 183-185.

⁵⁷ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 85. 改造 can also be translated as “transform,” or “remold.”

⁵⁸ Wang names Zhan in Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 183 and identifies him as a Methodist 衛理公會 pastor, in Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 101. Little is known about Zhan except that Wang Mingdao said that he studied theology in America after the Japanese surrender in China where he spoke out against the CCP, was arrested for having spoken against the CCP when arriving back in China in 1958, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. He took the opportunity to denounce Wang in both Datong and Yinying to successfully reduce his sentence. After leaving China, Zhan disingenuously aligned himself with Wang Mingdao as having suffered in prison for his faith on overseas speaking tours. See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 183-184 and 194.

while he was in prison during the Cultural Revolution.⁵⁹ Wang's suffering in labor camps during the Cultural Revolution was not unique. Millions of Chinese, often labelled as "counter-revolutionaries" like Wang, were imprisoned in labor camps during this time.⁶⁰ What is unique is how he processed what had happened to him with a Confucian-Christian perspective on history. As he remembered his failures and sufferings, it was a "process of interpretation and meaning-creation"⁶¹ within a worldview that had been formed years before. However, in the next few years he would be given the time as well a significant input of Chinese intellectual resources to add new nuances to his historical narrative.

YINYING LABOR CAMP: WANG'S CONFUCIAN RENAISSANCE

At some point between April of 1968 and the spring of 1970,⁶² Wang Mingdao and Zhan Rugeng, along with many other prisoners, were transferred from Datong to the Yinying Labor Camp 蔭營勞改 in Yinying 蔭營鎮, Shanxi Province.⁶³ In 1971, the director of the prison informed the prisoners that corporal punishment would from that point on be strictly forbidden.⁶⁴ After a period of observation to see if this was in fact true, Wang began to return to his writing.⁶⁵ Between 1973 and 1975, his son Wang Tianduo visited him three times in Yinying⁶⁶ and over these years provided his father with a treasure trove of over 500 books and periodicals, many of which were Chinese classics.⁶⁷ Starting in the spring of 1973, Wang spent the majority of the day reading the newspaper and pouring over these books, which included a ten volume *Records of the Grand Historian* 史記, and a three volume *Records of the Three Kingdoms* 三國志.⁶⁸ As a lover of historical books,⁶⁹ he was able through these histories to review an enormous period of Chinese

⁵⁹ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 185. Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 108-109. Most likely, the works of Francis P. Jones, Arthur Reynolds, and other "China Watchers" had kept news of the Wangs alive in Europe and North America. See also the mention of "sketchy reports" in 1968 that Wang was still alive in prison in Richard C. Bush Jr., *Religion in Communist China*, 262.

⁶⁰ See Klaus Mühlhahn, "Remembering a Bitter Past: The Trauma of China's Labor Camps, 1949-1978," *History and Memory* 16, no.2 (Fall/Winter 2004): 110.

⁶¹ Klaus Mühlhahn, "Remembering a Bitter Past," 111.

⁶² Wang dates his transfer to Yinying Labor Camp to be the spring of 1970 but Stephen Wang who investigated Wang's story dates the transfer to April of 1968. This reveals the fluid nature of some of the dates while Wang was imprisoned since they were recalled by Wang in his senior years and it was during a tumultuous period of Chinese history where few records have been released regarding prisoners in Datong or Yinying Labor Camps. See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 102 and Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 194.

⁶³ Wang Mingdao referred to this place as Yinying Prison 蔭營監獄 in Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 56. Datong is located in the north of Shanxi Province while Yinying 蔭營, 293 km south of Datong, is a small town in the north of Yangquan County 陽泉縣, in the east of Shanxi Province. The labor camp was situated on a hill outside of the small town. See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 211.

⁶⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 102.

⁶⁵ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 195.

⁶⁶ Wang Tianduo visited his father alone in the spring of 1973, with his wife and daughter in 1974, and with Liu Jingwen, who was allowed two weeks of holidays from her work program to visit relatives, in 1975. See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 197.

⁶⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 102.

⁶⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 76. It seems that not only was Wang allowed to read because he was now a 73-year old man, but he also did not have to work because some people within the government continued to hold onto the hope that Wang would eventually work with the TSPM, and varied between hard (Datong) and soft (Yinying) tactics in order to convince him to do so.

⁶⁹ He wrote that "the majority of the books I read are historical." Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 53.

history and given unprecedented time to contemplate the lessons that the historians like Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-86 BCE) wanted to impart to their readers. He was also given a collection of the writings of Xunzi 荀子 (310-235 BCE), a Confucian philosopher who lived during the Warring States Period. It seems that Wang had read the histories before but had only read Xunzi upon coming to Yinying.⁷⁰ Wang quoted Xunzi extensively in his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript and said that of all the books he was given at Yinying, he enjoyed Xunzi the most and read through the volume several times.⁷¹ What seems to have intrigued Wang is that he found in Xunzi's writings the reconciliation between a conflict in the two philosophical systems that shaped his thought. In his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript, Wang wrote that

In the past, I only knew that there was a man in ancient times named Xunkuang [Xunzi], and I also knew that his teaching was completely opposite to Mencius. Mencius said "human nature is good," [性善] but Xunzi said "human nature is evil." [性惡] However, I had never read Xunzi's writings...⁷²

Wang's Christian theology included the belief that due to the fall of humankind into sin, human nature is evil.⁷³ Mencius, as the interpreter of Confucius in the Four Books, argued that human nature is good,⁷⁴ creating a conflict between the two systems of thought. However, during his reading of Xunzi while at Yinying, Wang had found an alternative interpretation of Confucius that human nature was indeed evil,⁷⁵ thus reconciling for him the difference on this important point between Christianity and Confucianism.⁷⁶ The reconciliation on the nature of humankind for Wang should not be underestimated. Wang's experience of humanity, from the time he observed human nature as a child in his mother's housing complex in Beijing,⁷⁷ to working with people at the Christian Tabernacle,⁷⁸ to his experiences in prison, all confirmed for him the teaching that human nature is by nature evil. Xunzi, as an alternative interpreter of Confucius to Mencius, had a

⁷⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 166.

⁷¹ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 224.

⁷² Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 166. Unfortunately, this is one of the pages that is incomplete and nowhere else in the manuscript does Wang continue his thought on the difference between Mencius and Xunzi on human nature. Another name for Xunzi is Xunkuang 荀況.

⁷³ See for example, Wang Mingdao, "The Human Heart" 人心, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 90 (Summer 1949): 104-105. In this article, Wang matches Bai Juyi's description of the indefensibility of the human heart with the Bible's description of the treacherousness of the human heart.

⁷⁴ On Mencius' thought that human nature is good, see *Mencius*, Teng Wen Gong I, 1, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1654#s1001145>. As well as *Mencius* Gaozo I, 6, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1760>.

⁷⁵ On Xunzi's belief that human nature is evil, see *Xunzi* 23:1-24 "Human Nature is Evil," <https://ctext.org/xunzi/xing-e>. An English translation is available in *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*, trans., John Knoblock (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 3:139-162.

⁷⁶ During the Song Dynasty, the influential scholar Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) approved of Mencius' statement that human nature was good and solidified the Four Books as the core curriculum for Classical Chinese education with Mencius as Confucius' interpreter. Zhu Xi believed that Xunzi's philosophy was erroneous which resulted in Xunzi's interpretation of Confucius, along with his thought that human nature was evil, being generally rejected by educated Confucians. See Paul R. Goldin, "Xunzi," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Stanford: Stanford University, 2018), 9. "Xunzi's Reception After His Death," <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/xunzi/>.

⁷⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 28-29.

⁷⁸ See for example his description of the sinfulness of modern people in Wang Mingdao, "Look at These Ninevites" 看這些尼尼微人, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 85 (Spring 1948): 14.

perspective on human nature that provided for Wang a way to harmonize his Confucian education with his experiences in life and Christian theology.

WEN TIANXIANG & “THE SPIRIT OF RIGHTEOUSNESS”

Also while in Yinying, Wang contemplated the life of the Southern Song Dynasty poet and politician, Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236-1283 CE). Wang does not refer to Wen in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*, nor does he mention reading his works in his published diary. However, he does indicate that he had memorized several of Wen’s poems long before his prison years.⁷⁹ It seems that Wang’s time at Yinying, having been in prison for many years due to a cause he felt was not just, gave him an even greater appreciation for Wen Tianxiang and an even deeper resonance with his historiographic poetry. When the Mongols led by Khubilai Khan 忽必烈 or 元世祖 (1215-1294 CE), grandson of Genghis Khan, attacked the Song Dynasty, Wen Tianxiang accepted the role of Prime Minister 丞相 from the Emperor Duanzong 宋端宗 and commanded the Song troops of resistance against the Mongol invaders. He was captured in 1278 CE but refused to serve the Yuan Dynasty 元朝 (1279-1368 CE), despite Khubilai Khan’s offer to make him a high official in the new dynasty. Instead, Wen wrote his historiographic poetry such as the, “Song of the Spirit of Righteousness” 正氣歌, and “Eight Words of Praise” 八句贊, while in prison to express his loyalty to the Song Dynasty. He was detained in the Yuan empire’s capital Dadu 大都, which is modern Beijing, for four years and was finally executed.⁸⁰ The “Song” is a recapitulation of some of the glories of Confucian Chinese history and Wang Mingdao memorized every word of “The Song of the Spirit of Righteousness.”⁸¹

In the world there is the spirit of righteousness, taking many forms, bestowed on the ever-changing things.

Below they are the rivers and the mountains; above they are the sun and stars.

With people it is called the spirit of honor and fearlessness, so vast it fills the universe.

When the empire is tranquil one pours forth harmony in the splendid court.

When times are extreme true fidelity is seen, and goes down in history case after case.

During the State of Qi it is the official historian’s bamboo slats; during the State of Jin it is Dong Hu’s pen.

During the Qin Dynasty it is Zhang Liang’s hammer; during the Han Dynasty it is Su Wu’s ambassadorial staff.

It is General Yan’s head; it is Imperial Attendant Ji’s blood.

It is Zhang’s teeth at Sui Yang;⁸² it is Yan’s tongue at Chang Shan.

⁷⁹ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 185, 187, and 190. Wang mentions, after quoting part of Wen Tianxiang’s “Song of the Spirit of Righteousness,” that he admired people like Wen since he was at Tsui Wen Middle School. See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 77. It seems that Wang Tianduo brought his father a book while at Yinying that contained some of Wen Tianxiang’s poetry.

⁸⁰ See Ulrich Theobald, “Wen Tianxiang,” China Knowledge, accessed January 29, 2021, <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Song/personswentianxiang.html>.

⁸¹ See Stephen Wang, *Long Road to Freedom*, 212. Although Wang had apparently memorized the entire poem, his quotations in Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 77 and 190 are abbreviated versions.

⁸² This Zhang refers to Zhang Xun 張巡, who Wang referred to in order rally the leaders of the Christian Tabernacle to resist participation in the Japanese led North China Christian Union in 1942. Zhang Xun had lost most of his teeth due to grinding them while in battle at Sui Yang. See *The Old Book of Tang* 舊唐書, Chapter 194,

Or it is the Eastern Liao hat, the incorruptibly purer than ice and snow.
Or it is the Memorials to Embark on the Campaign – the courage and fierce loyalty make gods and spirits weep.
Or it is the oar during the River crossing – the fervency swallows up the barbarians.
Or it is the court tablet striking the villain, breaking the rebel rogue’s head.
What is permeated by this spirit lives on forever revered.
It links up the cosmos, so how can life and death compare in importance?
The Corners of the Earth depend on it to stand; the Pillars of Heaven depend on it to maintain their honor.
The Three Relationships really do determine one’s life; moral righteousness is the root.⁸³

In Wen Tianxiang’s “Song,” Wang had found a retelling of the history of China with an explanation that it is moral righteousness, described as a “Spirit of Righteousness,” as seen in the lives of Chinese exemplars who are loyal, trustworthy, and sincere, that holds up both society and Heaven itself.

Furthermore, Wang seems to have seen himself as a modern Wen Tianxiang discovering several points of similarity in the two men’s experiences and finding encouragement in Wen’s steadfastness while in prison: Wang wrote that just like Khubilai Khan sent people to persuade him to join the Yuan Dynasty, Wu Yaozong sent people to persuade him to join the TSPM. Just as Wen Tianxiang did not surrender to the Mongolians, so Wang did not surrender to the atheists. Wen Tianxiang served the Song Emperor and Wang served the God of Heaven.⁸⁴

While at Yinying, Wang contemplated another of Wen Tianxiang’s poems, entitled “Eight Words of Praise,” in which Wen expresses that human moral development is achieved through contemplating the sages of the past and putting their teachings into practice:⁸⁵

Confucius teaches benevolence,
Mencius teaches righteousness,
As long as morality and justice are pursued to the utmost,
Then the desired benevolence will naturally be achieved to the utmost.
What do we learn from the works of sages?
Now that I have learned benevolence and
righteousness, From now on,
There is almost nothing to be ashamed of.⁸⁶

Wang, inspired by the ideas in the “Eight Words of Praise,” wrote his own Christianized version of Wen’s Confucian poem while in prison:

The Prophets teach benevolence,

<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=402785#p46>.

⁸³ See Wen Tianxiang 文天祥, “The Song of the Spirit of Righteousness” 正氣歌, trans., Feng Xinming 馮欣明, http://tsoidug.org/Literary/Spirit_Righteousness_Comp.pdf. This translation of the “Song” by Feng Xinming includes historical annotation for the poem with detailed information on the Chinese heroes referred to in the poem.

⁸⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 69 and 262.

⁸⁵ As noted by Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 28.

⁸⁶ Wen Tianxiang’s original Chinese poem is 孔曰成仁，孟曰取義，惟其義盡，所以仁至。讀聖賢書，所學何事，而今而後，庶幾無愧。 See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 69 and 84.

The Apostles teach righteousness,
Appointed to preach,
They gave the most weight to steadfastness.
Read and re-read the Bible,
Thoroughly know the truth,
Be faithful and unyielding,
Of indomitable spirit.⁸⁷

Wang saw himself as a patriot in the line of Zhang Xun, Wen Tianxiang, and other Chinese worthies.⁸⁸ His years in Yinying allowed him the time to rethink Chinese history, with the help of Wen Tianxiang's poetry and Xunzi's philosophy, to see God at work through morally upright Chinese who possessed a "Spirit of Righteousness."

CRITICIZE LIN BIAO, CRITICIZE CONFUCIUS MOVEMENT

The spring of 1974 brought these peaceful days of contemplation in the Yinying Labor Camp to a halt when the impact of the Criticize Lin Biao, Criticize Confucius Movement 批林批孔運動 was felt in the prison.⁸⁹ The movement, which began in the fall of 1973, and lasted until the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, was used by Mao Zedong to explain how Lin Biao 林彪, the leader of the PLA and another of Mao's designated successors, went from being a CCP political hero to a villain. Mao, who was losing credibility after Lin's mysterious death on September 13, 1971,⁹⁰ with the support of the "Gang of Four" 四人幫,⁹¹ organized a mass campaign to explain how Lin Biao had pretended to put on an extreme Left leaning Communist ideology which he used to disguise his "Right essence" which therefore made him a counter-revolutionary reactionary.⁹² At the same time, another mass campaign was focused on criticizing Confucius and the values he represented with the former "Sage of China" now labelled as a reactionary who was against the progressive movement of social development.⁹³ With the attack

⁸⁷ Wang Mingdao's original Chinese poem is 先知成仁，使徒取義，受命傳道，首重剛毅。熟讀《聖經》，洞曉真理，堅貞不屈，頂天立地。See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 69 and 262.

⁸⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 118.

⁸⁹ To add to his grief, he found out through a letter from his son sent to the prison that his mother-in-law, Zhang Meiyun, died in early 1974. This news devastated Wang as he said that his main desire in leaving prison was to see her again. See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 149, and Shi Meiling, *Sixty-Three Years*, 14-15.

⁹⁰ The complex story of how Lin went from CCP hero to villain is told in Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 616-617.

⁹¹ The Gang of Four was made up of Mao's wife Jiang Qing 江青, Zhang Chunqiao 張春橋, Yao Wenyuan 姚文元, Wang Hongwen 王洪文, who would eventually serve as scapegoats for the excesses of the Cultural Revolution.

⁹² See Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 635. For some of the many criticisms leveled against Lin Biao at the time which Wang Mingdao would have read while in Yinying see, Criticism Group of the Military and Political University 軍政大學大批判組, "The Gun Must Always Be in the Hands of the Party and the People – Criticizing Lin Biao's Crimes Against the Party's Absolute Leadership Over the Army" 槍杆子要永遠掌握在黨和人民手裡——批判林彪反對黨對軍隊絕對領導的罪行, *People's Daily*, November 13, 1974. Jia Heng 嘉衡 and Chun Shu 春樹, "The Reactionary Essence of Lin Biao and his Group Advocating for "Determining Power" 林彪一夥鼓"決定動力"的反動實質, *People's Daily*, August 10, 1975.

⁹³ See for example, Unnamed Author, 本報通訊員, "Criticize Confucius' Reactionary Thought and Take the Road of Uniting the Workers and Peasants" 批判孔子反動思想走與工農相結合的道路, *People's Daily*, September 28, 1973. Feng Chunxiang, 馮春祥 "Criticizing Confucius' Fallacy of Studying and Being an Official" 批判孔子的讀

on Confucius, CCP ideology picked up themes of the earlier May Fourth Movement attack on Confucius but pushed them much further and with different nuances. Confucius was attacked, but now Qin Shihuang, long viewed as a violent tyrant, was lifted up for praise as a unifier of the country whose burning of the Confucian books and slaughtering of Confucian scholars was necessary to establish the landlord class.⁹⁴ Wang read many of the articles attacking Confucius in the *People's Daily* and wrote responses while at Yinying that defended Confucius.⁹⁵ When prison officials asked Wang in 1975 about the story of Confucius while he was Prime Minister of the State of Lu 魯國 executing Shao Zhengmao 少正卯, an act that was criticized in the 1970s as further establishing a dictatorship of the slave-owning class,⁹⁶ Wang responded with a thorough knowledge of the classics that apparently surprised the prison officials. Wang argued that it was not due to brutality on Confucius' part that he executed Shao but that it was because of the immorality of Shao Zhengmao and in order to establish social order in Lu.⁹⁷ Wang maintained that Confucius should not be criticized, making the statement that "Jesus is my Savior and Confucius is my teacher" and reiterated that Confucius was "the national saint of China," a statement that he had made in writing twenty-seven years earlier.⁹⁸ His suffering in Datong and Yinying did not efface his Confucian-Christian commitment.

Wang was also aware of some of the developments and changes among Neo-Confucian scholars through his reading in Yinying. Wang had read some of the Neo-Confucian scholars at least as early as those from 1937 and Wang mentioned that he had a good impression of Feng Youlan 馮友蘭 (1895-1990) before the Second Sino-Japanese War. Feng had developed a name for himself as a distinguished Neo-Confucian scholar, and Wang may have read Feng's most famous work, *A History of Chinese Philosophy* 中國哲學史⁹⁹ in which Feng sought to develop a Neo-Confucian philosophy that could provide philosophical resources for a modern Chinese context. However, after the Communist victory in 1949, Feng began to reinterpret Confucian philosophy through the perspective of Marxist thought. In the later years of the Cultural Revolution,

書做官的謬論, *People's Daily*, December 10, 1973.

⁹⁴ Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 636. Some of the articles which criticized Confucius but praised Qin Shihuang include, Peking University & Tsinghua University's Criticism Group 北京大學、清華大學大批判組, "On the Violence of Qin Shihuang" 略論秦始皇的暴力, *People's Daily*, January 21, 1974. Gu Shouhai 穀守海, "Lin Biao Cursed Qin Shihuang as an Attack on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" 林彪咒罵秦始皇就是攻擊無產階級專政, *People's Daily*, February 27, 1974. Wei Jin 衛今, "Looking at the Book Burning of Qin Shihuang from the Yinqueshan Bamboo Slips" 從銀雀山竹簡看秦始皇焚書, *People's Daily*, July 9, 1974.

⁹⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 258. If these documents still exist, they have not been made available to the public.

⁹⁶ See for example, Unnamed Author, "Confucius Kills Shao Zhengmao" 孔子殺少正卯, *People's Daily*, August 7, 1973. Tang Xiaowen 唐曉文, "What Does Confucius' Killing of Shao Zhengmao Tell Us? 孔子殺少正卯說明了什麼?" *People's Daily*, January 4, 1974.

⁹⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 103. The story of Confucius' execution of Shao Zhengmao is told in Szuma Chien, *Selections from Records of the Historian*, trans., Yang Shien-Yi and Gladys Yang (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1979), 9. This is currently the only English translation available for the biography of Confucius. The execution of Shao is also told in Xunzi 28.2, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=12807>. An English translation is available in *Xunzi*, 3:245.

⁹⁸ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 199. Wang Mingdao, "To Glory in Your Shame" 以自己的羞辱為榮耀, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 86 (Summer 1948): 107.

⁹⁹ Feng Youlan 馮友蘭, *A History of Chinese Philosophy* 中國哲學史 (Shanghai: Commercial Press 商務印書館, 1934).

Feng even denounced Confucius.¹⁰⁰ Wang Tianduo had sent Wang Mingdao a copy of Feng's 1973 publication, *On Confucius* 論孔丘 which reflects Feng's change of perspective on the sage.¹⁰¹ After reading the book, Wang concluded that Feng was shameless in his turning on Confucius.¹⁰²

In an article Wang likely read in the January 4, 1974 *People's Daily*, the conflict in both ancient and modern China was laid out as one of class struggle:

The two incidents of Confucius killing Shao Zhengmao and Qin Shihuang's "burning books and burying Confucian scholars" during the struggle between the two lines of Confucianism and Legalism in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States tell us that in a class based society, the struggle in the ideological field is a reflection of class struggle. It is irreconcilable, and one side always overwhelms the other. Of course, Confucius killing Shao Zhengmao and "burning books and burying Confucian scholars" are dictatorships of two different classes. The former is the dictatorship of the reactionary slave-owning class over the emerging landlord class, and the latter is the dictatorship of the landlord class that has just gained power over the slave-owning class that is engaged in counter-revolutionary restoration. According to Marxist views on class and class struggle, we should praise and affirm Qin Shihuang's "burning books and burying Confucian scholars," and we should condemn and criticize Confucius for killing Shao Zhengmao.¹⁰³

Wang viewed the conflict in China through a different lens: he believed that it was not Marxist class struggle that gave rise to conflict in both ancient and modern China but that the battle was between theists and atheists. No longer fearful of being tortured as he was in Datong,¹⁰⁴ Wang later reflected that he felt like Confucius in Yinying, assured in the midst of danger that he had been given a divine mission:

I believed what Confucius believed at the time: 'While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of Kuang do to me?'¹⁰⁵ I was sentenced to life imprisonment, that is, "I will never go out of prison while alive." However, I believed that authority is in the hands of God. My life is completely under God's control. I believe that the authority of God is greater than the authority of anyone in the world. It is this faith that allows me to write materials and testify in a prison set up by those who oppose God, so I

¹⁰⁰ See "Feng Youlan," Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, accessed February 21, 2021, <https://iep.utm.edu/feng/>.

¹⁰¹ Feng Youlan 馮友蘭, *On Confucius* 論孔丘 (Beijing: People's Publishers 人民出版社, 1973).

¹⁰² Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 103. Wang was also familiar with the Neo-Confucian scholars Huang Yanpei 黃炎培 (1878-1965) and Chen Shutong 陳叔通 (1876-1966), commenting that they would have been heartbroken had they lived to see the Criticize Confucius Movement in Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 104. These are the only references this author has found that Wang makes to Neo-Confucian scholars. Wang makes no references to Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 (1893-1988), one of the most famous Neo-Confucian scholars of the twentieth century.

¹⁰³ Tang Xiaowen 唐曉文, "What Does Confucius' Killing of Shao Zhengmao Tell Us? 孔子殺少正卯說明了什麼?" *People's Daily*, January 4, 1974.

¹⁰⁴ Wang said that after 1965, he did not fear being shot, nor being in prison, but he could not stand to be tortured. See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 102.

¹⁰⁵ A reference to *The Analects* 9.5, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1314#s10021386>. This reference to "the people of Kuang" refers to when Confucius was imprisoned in the town of Kuang 匡 because he resembled a criminal but was released after five days without injury owing his release to "Heaven's cause of truth." The story was explained by Sima Qian with an English translation available in Szuma Chien, *Selections from Records of the Historian*, 10.

say if a person wants to oppose God, it is tantamount to striking a stone with an egg [attempting the impossible] and courting disaster.¹⁰⁶

Wang believed that Confucius, due to his references to Heaven 天 and God 上帝, was a theist. Wang had concluded that Daoism was “absurd”¹⁰⁷ and that Buddhism had introduced idolatry into China during the reign of Emperor Ming 漢明帝 (28-75 CE) of the Eastern Han Dynasty but previous to this, China’s scholars were theists.¹⁰⁸ In Wang’s opinion, Confucius, as the national saint of China, showed the Chinese people the way to follow God before the way was made more fully known by Jesus Christ through the preaching of Christian missionaries.¹⁰⁹ Other Chinese Christians, like Zhao Zichen,¹¹⁰ also believed this but what is unique about Wang’s Confucian Christianity is that he did not embrace Modernist theology like Zhao and many other Confucian Christians did, but rather held to a Fundamentalist Christian theology which he blended with a thoroughly Confucian worldview and maintained his religious faith until the end of his life.¹¹¹

RELEASE FROM PRISON

Following a wave of significant events, Mao Zedong’s death on September 9, 1976, Deng Xiaoping’s 鄧小平 (1904-1997) emergence as Paramount Leader 最高領導人 in December of 1978, and the establishment of Sino-American diplomatic relations in January of 1979, “counter-revolutionaries” like Wang Mingdao began to be released. Some have argued that it was due to foreign pressure that political prisoners like Wang Mingdao were released.¹¹² Indeed, Wang Mingdao’s story was featured in the 1978 Amnesty International Report on *Political Imprisonment in the People’s Republic of China*.¹¹³ However, it seems that it was also an internal Chinese desire to correct and heal some of the excesses of the Mao-Era and to refocus the country’s efforts away from ideological campaigns and onto economic development that prompted the release of these

¹⁰⁶ He expressed these thoughts he had in 1975 to Jiang Hua in 1982 in his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript. See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 258-259.

¹⁰⁷ As seen from his comments on Daoism after reading a book on Han Xiangzi 韓湘子, one of the Eight Immortals of the Daoist pantheon. See *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 154. July 5, 1930.

¹⁰⁸ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 81.

¹⁰⁹ Some scholars have argued that Christian missionaries such as the Jesuits found in Confucianism a theism that they were looking for but was in fact not true to Confucianism. See Lee Rainey, “Confucianism and Tradition,” in *Historicizing “Tradition” in the Study of Religion*, eds. Steven Engler & Gregory P. Grieve (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 227-244. Nevertheless, several Chinese Confucian-Christians such as Zhao Zichen and Wang Mingdao held the belief that Confucianism was theistic.

¹¹⁰ Zhao saw divine revelation in the thought of Confucius and Mencius as being continuous with the later revelation of the incarnate Word in Jesus Christ. See Zhao Zichen, “A Chinese Delegate Looks at Tambaram (1939),” *The Collected English Writings of Tsu Chen Chao*, ed., Xiaochao Wang (Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua, 2009), 463-464.

¹¹¹ Zhao Zichen publically rejected his earlier Confucian-Christian religion but it is difficult to know whether this was a declaration made under duress similar to Wang’s experience in 1958. See Winfried M. Gluer, “T.C. Chao Revisited: Questions about His Later Years,” *Ching Feng* 11.2 (2012): 179 and 196.

¹¹² For example, Stephen Wang indicates that it was due to a London based human rights organization’s campaign that political prisoners were released in 1979. See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 205. The organization he is likely referring to is Amnesty International. See *Amnesty International Report 1978* (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1978), 154-158,

<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/POL100011978ENGLISH.PDF>.

¹¹³ See *Political Imprisonment in the People’s Republic of China* (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1978), 153-154, <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/204000/asa170151978en.pdf>.

prisoners.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, it would not be so easy to make Wang go away quietly, the man who felt he had been wrongly imprisoned for 23 years and whose mind had been fed for the past decade on stories of men like Zhang Xun and Wen Tianxiang who held true to their convictions in the face of death.

Wu Yaozong had died on September 17, 1979 and Wang read in the September 25th edition of the *People's Daily* that a memorial service would be held for Wu in Shanghai.¹¹⁵ In response to this, Wang wrote a document he entitled “A Thorough Exposure and a Bold Challenge” 一個徹底的大暴露和一個大膽的挑戰, in which he described his battle with the TSPM and his perspective on what the TSPM really was.¹¹⁶ On November 11, 1979, Wang was given permission to leave Yinying Labor Camp and return home. He initially agreed to leave and asked the prison officials that his document “A Thorough Exposure and a Bold Challenge” be sent to the State Council of Beijing 北京國務院, possibly in preparation for his future request for rehabilitation.¹¹⁷ However, Wang refused to sign a paper from the High Court of Shanxi Province as part of the release procedure since it had written on it that he was a counter-revolutionary. He refused to admit through signing the document that he was a counter-revolutionary or that he was a criminal; he said that he would not leave the prison. Having dealt with Wang for nearly a decade, the prison officials realized that he was serious, and on December 29th, they concocted a plan to have him stay in a “three room” domicile located outside of the prison compound where he was told to write his objection and await a court official from Beijing to discuss his objections. Wang, believing they were sincere, agreed to this arrangement. It was a clever trick by the prison officials since no one would ever come from Beijing.¹¹⁸ During his stay in the “three rooms,” Wang believes that Mr. Xin, the same man who organized the group of nine individuals to torment Wang while in Datong Mining Camp, looked in the domicile and nodded at Wang who later interpreted the nod as a mark of respect from his enemy who admired Wang’s fortitude. It was also a mark of victory for Wang because Mr. Xin had told him while at Datong that the government was confident that it was able to “reform” him which Wang interpreted to mean that the government desired him to abandon his faith in God. Now on his way out of prison, Wang felt he had been victorious in maintaining his faith.¹¹⁹ Despite the respect Wang perceived he had received from Mr. Xin, Wang’s glaucoma was by now so bad that he could not prepare his own food, and he was unable to use the squatter style toilet that was in the “three rooms,” so Wang conceded that he could not remain there: on January 1, 1980, Wang wrote to his son to come pick him up to bring him to his home in Shanghai.¹²⁰ With

¹¹⁴ For the refocus on economic development, see Merle Goldman and John K. Fairbank, “The Post-Mao Reform Era,” in *China: A New History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 407. For correcting and healing some of the excesses of the Mao-Era, including the distinction made between true “counter-revolutionaries” and those who made “wrong statements” and were involved in “sectarian activities” by the Supreme People’s Court of China in 1980, see Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 329.

¹¹⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 133. See Unnamed Author, “Member of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People’s Congress, Chairman of the Committee for the Chinese Christian TSPM, A Memorial Service for Mr. Wu Yaozong was Held in Shanghai” 五屆人大常委、中國基督教三自愛國運動委員會主席吳耀宗先生追悼會在上海舉行, *People’s Daily*, September 27, 1979.

¹¹⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 55-56. This document, if it still exists, has not been made available to the public.

¹¹⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 133.

¹¹⁸ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 206-208.

¹¹⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 76-77. If Wang was correct that indeed this was Mr. Xin, uncertain due to his deteriorated eyesight, it seems that Xin was also transferred with the prisoners to Yinying in 1968. Wang’s perception of the event does reveal his process of interpretation and meaning-creation.

¹²⁰ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 209.

this decision, the prison era ended and a new one began.

Wang's prison years reveal both the impact of previous Confucian-Christian education and formation but also new developments in his thought due to his prison and larger political context. He had memorized significant passages from the Chinese classics as a student at Tsui Wen Academy.¹²¹ From 1921-1955, he memorized large portions of the Bible and settled on a Fundamentalist Christian theology as a preacher and author. Building on this Confucian-Christian background, it was the period in Yinying which allowed him time to review the scope of Chinese classical history, with a new interpretation of Confucius in Xunzi, and inspiration from the life of Wen Tianxiang: these factors combined to help Wang make meaning out of what had happened in China during his lifetime. It was this intellectual formation that would shape Wang's next stage in Shanghai as a spiritual father to the unregistered house church movement.



¹²¹ Wang wrote that he had memorized the huge number of classical Chinese quotes he used as his preface to his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript, with the exception of Xunzi, many years ago in Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 166. Since he was writing in 1982, it is likely he was referring to his days at Tsui Wen Academy but it is also possible that he put to memory, or at least refreshed his memory on, many of these classical quotations while at Yinying since he was there in the 1970s.

Chapter Five

The Spiritual Father Years: 1980-1991

With Deng Xiaoping's policies of Reform and Opening 改革開放 to the outside world, a hopeful new era had begun in China. The beginning of the 1980s was also a hopeful time for Wang Mingdao. After nearly 23 years in prison, he was a freed man. On January 7, 1980, his son Wang Tianduo brought one of Wang Mingdao's dearest friends, Zeng Pingdao to pick him up from Yinying Labor Camp. While Wang and Zeng waited a day for Wang to receive the appropriate release forms, they spent the day catching up, praying, reading the Bible, and reciting poetry. Wang recited Wen Tianxiang's "Song of the Spirit of Righteousness" from memory "without missing a word."¹

A SPIRITUAL FATHER ON PINGJIANG ROAD

On January 10, 1980,² Wang arrived in Shanghai at his son's home at No.13 Pingjiang Road 平江路 and lived in a small room with his wife Liu Jingwen, from whom he had been separated since April 29, 1958. Imprisoned for the past two decades with his only knowledge of the world outside of the Datong and Yinying Labor Camps provided by the government controlled *People's Daily*, Wang was shocked that not only was he not forgotten, but he had become the "spiritual leader" of much of the unregistered house church movement in China.³ Wang's model of suffering for his faith inspired many unregistered Chinese Christians who heard his story to follow his example. Without his knowledge while he was in prison, Wang's writings had been republished in Hong Kong⁴ and Taiwan,⁵ and he was surprised to find out that his story continued to circulate overseas through organizations such as Amnesty International and the publications of former China missionaries such as Leslie Lyall and David Adeney who had become "China Watchers." What Wang found most moving was the fact that many other Christians in China had also suffered like he did in prison and they also did not give up their faith. Many of them were implicated with him in the Wang Mingdao Counter-Revolutionary Clique in the 1950s but of the ones that came to see him, not only did they not hate him, but they

¹ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 212.

² The date provided by Wang in Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 83.

³ A descriptive phrase used by Kao Chenyang in his PhD dissertation investigating Protestantism in Post-Mao China. See Kao Chen-yang, "The Cultural Revolution and the Post-Missionary Transformation of Protestantism in China," 179. As well as in Kao Chen-yang, "The House Church Identity and Preservation of Pentecostal-style Protestantism in China," in *Christianity in Contemporary China: Socio-Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Francis Lim (New York: Routledge, 2012), 211. Wang has also been called "the symbol of the house church movement" in Otto Lui, *Development of Chinese Church Leaders* (Carlisle, UK: Langham Monographs, 2013), 136. He is referred to as the first "patriarch" of the house church movement in David Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing* (Washington: Regency Publishing, 2003), 47.

⁴ Hong Kong's Morning Star Publishing 晨星出版社 published Wang Mingdao's works in the 1970s. See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 66 (67 footnote 31).

⁵ Taiwan's Conservative Baptist Press 浸宣出版社 published a seven volume *Treasury of Wang Mingdao* 王明道文庫 from 1976-1978 edited by Wang Zhengzhong 王正中. This was the standard collection of Wang's works until the republication of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly, Another Fifty Years*, and some of Wang's other writings by Taiwan's CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社 in the 2010s. Wang Mingdao's works are still banned in China.

respected him even more for having maintained his faith while in prison.⁶ This creates an interesting question: since Wang was imprisoned and his writings were banned, how did he become such an influential figure to Christians in Post-Mao China? It seems that his story was passed on by word of mouth among Chinese Protestant Christians,⁷ and his theology was promulgated through unregistered “house church” training sessions that flourished when government control of religion was relaxed after the Cultural Revolution in 1976, such as the ones conducted by Jonathan Chao of China Ministries International.⁸ Wang’s conservative theology and high personal integrity were particularly relevant to the Chinese house church context.⁹ Thus, this made Wang’s “fundamentalist theological perspective the framework for pastoral training in the house churches.”¹⁰ As word of his release spread, Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen received a stream of visitors from all over China and overseas.¹¹ Perhaps recognizing the hagiographic light that these visitors were putting him in,¹² Wang was careful to recount his period of personal moral failure beginning with his arrest on August 8, 1955, until the fall of 1963, the period that Wang considered to be when he abandoned his Confucian-Christian convictions due to fear. He would often quote Proverbs 28:13 to these visitors: “He who conceals his sins does not prosper, but whosoever confesses them and renounces them finds mercy.”¹³

FACING CRITICISM

While he lived on Pingjiang Road in Shanghai, Ng Lee-Ming 吳利明, a professor of religion at Chung Chi College 崇基學院, Chinese University of Hong Kong,¹⁴ wrote *Christianity and Social Changes in China* 基督教與中國社會變遷 in which he included Wang Mingdao as one of the significant theologians who had influenced Chinese Christian theology.¹⁵ Wang was

⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 78.

⁷ Which explains why many younger Chinese went to visit Wang after 1980. See Kao Chenyang, “The Cultural Revolution and the Post-Missionary Transformation of Protestantism in China,” 192-193.

⁸ For Chao’s prolific training sessions in China, see Mary Rourke, “Jonathan Chao, 65; Missionary Who Tracked the Development of Christianity in China,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 2004, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2004-jan-20-me-chao20-story.html>.

Chao greatly admired Wang Mingdao and endorsed his theology. See Jonathan Chao (Zhao Tianen) 趙天恩, “A Brief Description of Mr. Wang Mingdao’s Contribution to Chinese Churches” 略述王明道先生對中國教會的貢獻, In *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991): 3.

⁹ Li Boxiong 李柏雄, “Wang Mingdao’s Contribution to Popular Theology” 王明道對眾神學的貢獻, *China and the Church* 中國與教會 9-10 (May-June 1980): 22.

¹⁰ Hing Hung Otto Lui, “Development of Chinese Church Leaders,” 143. Lam Wing-hun also stated that Wang’s theology was representative of conservative mainstream theology in 1980s China. See Lam Wing-hung 林榮洪, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church* 王明道與中國教會 (Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology 中國神學研究院, 1982), 4 and 227.

¹¹ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 83 and 226.

¹² For example, some described being with Wang in the 1980s as like being in the presence of an angel or a biblical character. See Brother David and Lela Gilbert, *Walking the Hard Road: The Wang Ming Tao Story* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1989), 16 and 19.

¹³ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 214.

¹⁴ See “Chung Chi Campus Newsletter,” The Chinese University of Hong Kong, May 16, 2019. “Obituary,” 11. <https://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ccc/publications/newsletter/pdf/newsletter20190516.pdf>.

¹⁵ Ng Lee-Ming 吳利明, *Christianity and Social Changes in China* 基督教與中國社會變遷 (Hong Kong: Christian Literature Press 基督教文藝出版社, 1981), 133 to 169. The book is a revised version of Ng Lee-Ming, “Christianity and Social Change: The Case in China, 1920-1950” (PhD diss., Princeton Theological Seminary,

aware of his inclusion in the book.¹⁶ Wu conceded that of all the theologians he covers in his book, Wang Mingdao is probably the most respected by the average Chinese Christian believer but that does not mean that he is a good theologian.¹⁷ In Wu's conclusion on Wang's theology, Wu states that

Wang Mingdao's messages undoubtedly have attracted and helped many people in the midst of suffering difficulty. This help can give life in the midst of disappointment hope. However, to those who are not seeking to escape the world, but rather want to positively change the world, Wang Mingdao's message is completely meaningless. In his hope for the next life he hides an unexplained criticism of the world including human culture and social organizations. So even though Wang's message provides help to those in the midst of turmoil, to those who are courageously going out to face reality, his message does not find a sympathetic response. Of course, we cannot because of this conclude that Wang's message has no meaning. However, we cannot help but doubt the value of religious beliefs that only create meaning for people who are disheartened and have lost hope.¹⁸

Wang most likely read Wu's critique of the "meaninglessness" of his theology for those who are positively trying to change the world. Another critique of Wang that he was made aware of during his time on Pingjiang Road was by Zhang Zhiyi 張執一, the Deputy Minister of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee 中共中央統戰部副部長. In 1981, at the Third National Christianity Conference 基督教全國會議, he criticized Wang Mingdao by name and said, "There are also a few people like Wang Mingdao who are pawns of foreign reactionary forces."¹⁹ Wang Mingdao later gave a tongue-in-cheek response, thanking Zhang for his promotion to a "pawn of foreign reactionary forces" from a lowly "running dog of American imperialism."²⁰ With these two critiques in mind, that he was a pawn of foreigners and that his theology was useless for modern Chinese Christians trying to change the world in a positive direction, Wang would begin writing his final major manuscript.

REQUEST FOR REHABILITATION

Wang's greatest desire upon his release from prison was the rehabilitation of his reputation, or political rehabilitation 平反.²¹ This kind of rehabilitation involves the restoration to a positive public image along with the restoration of legal rights of the reputation of a person who has fallen

1971).

¹⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 66.

¹⁷ Ng Lee-Ming, *Christianity and Social Changes in China*, 133.

¹⁸ Ng Lee-Ming, *Christianity and Social Changes in China*, 163-164.

¹⁹ As noted by Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 66-67, footnote 34. See Zhang Zhiyi 張執一, "Speech of the Deputy Minister of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee Zhang Zhi at the National Christian Conference" 中共中央統戰部張執一副部長在基督教全國會議上的講話, *Tianfeng* 2 (1981): 19.

²⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 66-67. Many Chinese Christian leaders were insulted when this term was ascribed to their names during the Accusation Campaign in the 1950s including Jiang Changchuan. See Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增, *Christianity's Failure in China? Essays on the History of Chinese Communist Movement and Christianity* 基督教在中國的失敗: 中國共產運動與基督教史論 (Hong Kong: Logos and Pneuma Press 道風書社, 2008), 88.

²¹ According to Chang Kuan-Ing 章冠英, the helper who lived with Wang from 1982-1991. See Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 98.

into disgrace.²² In order to accomplish this goal, Wang began to write a request to Jiang Hua 江華 (1907-1999), the President of the Supreme People's Court of China 中國最高人民法院院長 in order to have his case re-evaluated. Jiang Hua had presided over a large number of court reversals of counter-revolutionary convictions resulting in rehabilitation during his tenure from 1975-1983.²³ Jiang Hua gave a report entitled, "On the Work of the Supreme People's Court" which chronicles the changes in perspective of the court since February of 1978 and the subsequent work to review and redress unjust, false and wrong cases.²⁴ Noticing this change, Wang wrote his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript from 1982-1983 meaning that he began writing it while living on Pingjiang Road in Shanghai.²⁵ Wang saw that there was an openness in Chinese society following Deng Xiaoping's reform and opening that had not been present since the Hundred Flowers Campaign in 1957. Wang read in the *People's Daily* on June 14, 1980 an article entitled "The Chinese Communist Party Members Must Tell the Truth" 共產黨員要說實話, which besides indicating through the article's title that the CCP members had *not* been telling the truth, Wang wrote that the article went on to argue that the CCP members had not been telling the truth since the late 1950s.²⁶ He also read an article on December 31, 1981, which was a speech from 1945 by Chen Yun 陳雲, second in power only to Deng Xiaoping in the reform and opening era, entitled "Speak the Truth, Don't Talk about Saving Face" 只講真理，不要講面子. Wang saw in these articles a correction in the direction of the CCP towards telling the truth.²⁷

Wang had also seen from the case of Hu Feng 胡風 (1902-1985) that previous judgements were being reviewed by the courts. Hu Feng was a writer and art theorist that was purged in 1955 along with those connected to him, known as Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique, and charged like Wang as a counter-revolutionary. Hu's charges were reviewed by the Supreme People's Court which concluded in July 1980, that Hu Feng's was a misjudged case with an incorrect verdict. Hu Feng was subsequently rehabilitated, along with many who were connected to the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique, following this verdict.²⁸ Ying Fuk Tsang's research shows that in reassessing Hu Feng's case:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China admitted that at the time the judgement 'confused two types of contradictions of different natures and designated some comrades with erroneous remarks and sectarian activities as counter-revolutionaries.' It was decided that 'everyone who was determined to be a Hu Feng counter-revolutionary would be corrected and their reputation restored.'²⁹

²² See Bin Xu, "Memory and Reconciliation in Post-Mao China: 1976-1982," in *Routledge Handbook of Memory and Reconciliation in East Asia*, ed., Kim Mikyong (London: Routledge, 2016), 51-54.

²³ Ying Fuk Tsang calculates that from October 1978 to the end of 1981, courts at all levels in China reversed more than 301,000 unjust cases 冤假錯案 involving more than 326,000 parties. See Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 18-19.

²⁴ Jiang Hua's report, given on June 7, 1983, is translated into English in Jiang Hua "On the Work of the Supreme People's Court, June 7, 1983," in *The People's Republic of China, 1979-1984, A Document Survey* ed., Harold C. Hinton (Wilmington: SR Scholarly Resources, 1986), 1: 295-300.

²⁵ The date Ying Fuk Tsang provides in Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 6. Wang dates one of the documents that makes up the manuscript at 1983. See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 212.

²⁶ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 138. This article is not available in the People's Daily Archive.

²⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 239-240. See Chen Yun 陳雲, "Speak the Truth, Don't Talk about Saving Face" 只講真理，不要講面子, *People's Daily*, December 31, 1981.

²⁸ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 98 (99 footnote 57)

²⁹ Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 329.

The rehabilitation of Hu Feng and those connected with him made Wang Mingdao think about his own legal status and that of those implicated with him in the Wang Mingdao Counter-Revolutionary Clique.³⁰

Wang's motivation in writing his request was to restore both his own personal reputation and legal status in the eyes of all people. He was already esteemed by Christians in China and around the world,³¹ but as can be seen from his refusal to sign his release documents in Yinying, he despised being officially known as a criminal when he held that the only "crime" he committed was opposing the TSPM which he did not believe was in fact a crime. He viewed his opposition to the TSPM as a religious issue and not a political one. If he were to achieve rehabilitation, it would mean that his suffering, like that of Wen Tianxiang, would be viewed by *all* Chinese as righteous suffering. However, the most important reason it seems he pursued rehabilitation is that, if he were successful, those who were implicated with him in the Wang Mingdao Counter-Revolutionary Clique would also be rehabilitated. He felt a responsibility for those people who were imprisoned in connection to him and who had suffered varying degrees of loss due to their personal loyalty to him.³² Several of these people had been young university students at the time of their arrest in 1955.³³ With all of these thoughts in mind, Wang began the arduous task of writing his request for rehabilitation. Since the manuscript is not one document, and by the time of writing Wang was an octogenarian, the following argument is pieced together from different parts of the *Last Confession*.³⁴

WANG MINGDAO'S LAST CONFESSION

With advanced glaucoma so severe that he could no longer read,³⁵ he began his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript by writing a preface from memory that included over one

³⁰ Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 330. However, something not considered by Wang Mingdao nor Ying Fuk Tsang is whether or not Wang qualified for rehabilitation. If Bin Xu is correct, the corrective action only applied to cadres and intellectuals within establishments. See Bin Xu, "Memory and Reconciliation in Post-Mao China, 1976-1982," 53-54.

³¹ He was so esteemed by overseas Chinese Christians after his release that Calvin Chao (Zhao Junying) 趙君影 (1906-1996) wanted to name the seminary he founded after Wang in the early 1980s. Wang refused and the seminary became known as the Chinese for Christ Theological Seminary 中華歸主神學院, currently located in Alhambra, California. In 1988, Calvin Chao tried to confer upon Wang an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from the seminary, but again, Wang refused. See Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 123-124.

³² See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 78. Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 93.

³³ For example, several leaders in the Beijing Christian Student Association were very vocal in protesting Wang's arrest in 1955 and were subsequently arrested as part of the "Clique." See Wing Yui So, "The China Inland Mission and The Chinese Christian Student Movement in 1937-1956" (unpublished manuscript, 2017), 43, <https://sosir.whc.org.hk/sites/sosir.whc.org.hk/files/attachments/The%20China%20Inland%20Mission%20and%20The%20Chinese%20Christian%20Student%20Movement%20in%201937-1956.pdf>. The most comprehensive study on this topic is by Leung Ka-lun 梁家麟, *By Faith They Did It: Beijing Christian Student Association and Chinese Christian Evangelistic Band* 他們是為了信仰—北京基督徒學生會與中華基督徒佈道會 (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary Press 建道神學院, 2001).

³⁴ Although Wang's memory was still sharp in 1983, as can be seen from the massive list of quotations he wrote from memory in his preface, his argument even in the most complete document in the request moves from topic to topic without always being clear to the reader why a transition has taken place. However, although he became repetitive beginning in 1989, his memory for older details remained sharp until 1991 when his memory began to fail. See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 231.

³⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 195.

hundred quotes from ancient Chinese sources. Showing a familiarity with the classics of China that no “pawn of foreign reactionary forces” would have had interest in, he wrote that he wanted to begin his request to Jiang Hua with some of the “precious teachings of the ancients of China,” and thus firmly located his thought in the ancient Chinese Confucian tradition.³⁶ Quoting *The Five Classics, The Analects, Mencius, The Great Learning, The Doctrine of the Mean, Xunzi*, Sima Qian, Yue Fei, Wen Tianxiang, Lü Zuqian, Du Mu, Bai Juyi, *The Book of Han, The Old Book of Tang* and others, Wang laid out his moral and religious vision as displayed through his selections of quotes from a wide variety of sources. In the end, he brought the preface to a Christian turn with the last quotes being of the Qing Dynasty’s Kangxi Emperor, Aisin Gioro Xuanye 清聖祖愛新覺羅 玄燁 (1661-1722 CE). The Kangxi Emperor was “one of the most admired rulers in China’s history.”³⁷ He in turn was an admirer of the Jesuits and in 1692 CE, issued an Edict of Toleration of Roman Catholicism.³⁸ Emperor Kangxi wrote several poems on the Christian religion including Wang’s final quote in the preface which was Emperor Kangxi’s “Poem on the Death of Christ:”

When the work on the Cross was accomplished, blood formed a creek
Grace from the west flowed a thousand yards deep.
He stepped onto the midnight road, to subject Himself to four trials.
Before the rooster crowed twice, betrayed thrice was He.
Five hundred lashes tore every inch of His skin.
Two thieves at six feet high hanged beside him.
The sadness was greater than any had ever known;
Seven utterings, one completed task, ten thousand spirits weep.³⁹

Through the editorial selections of his memory, Wang directed the quotes to show that the moral vision extolled in the Chinese Confucian tradition was brought to a climax in the Christian God, and particularly in the death of Jesus Christ, as displayed in the great Chinese Emperor Kangxi’s poetry. In the conclusion to his preface, he explained his moral and religious vision. Wang believed that honesty and personal moral integrity are the keys to changing the world in a positive direction. By the 1980s, he had lived through countless ideological movements and campaigns and thought that telling the truth was crucial for moral improvement and the development of a just society.

He found these lessons in the Four Books during his days at Tsui Wen Academy, but had not understood them until he became a Christian in 1914:

The quotations of the sages of our country quoted above, except for Xunzi, which I have read in prison in Shanxi Province, have been familiar to me for decades. These good words cover all aspects of life: from thought to speech to behavior, from individual to society, from family to country, from small things to big things, from a trickle of water to a giant current, everything is mentioned. The Four Books was the first text I read after I entered

³⁶ Wang seems to have made four different drafts of his preface included in the *Last Confession*. The first is found on pages 179-195, the second on pages 197-204, the third on pages 205-210, and the fourth on pages 255-257.

³⁷ Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 49.

³⁸ Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 71-72.

³⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 195. See Emperor Kangxi (Aisin Gioro Xuanye), “Poem on the Death of Christ” 詩詠基督受難, trans., Thong Chan Kei, *Faith of our Fathers* (Singapore: Imprint E-book Edition, 2018), 269, <https://aleteia.org/2017/08/10/the-chinese-emperors-catholic-poetry/>.

elementary school. At that time, it was just recitation from memory. Although it was recitation, I didn't understand the meaning. After I was fourteen years old (1914) as a Christian, I began to understand many of these lessons. Since then, I have paid special attention to absorbing all the words about behaving with integrity from the ancient texts and other books from history. Confucius, my first teacher, said, 'It is all over! I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty!'⁴⁰ No matter what book I read, I have paid attention to the words related to "moral conduct," so I can recite words about morality well, and I can remember them. I even noticed this when reading English. I can even now still recite two sentences from an English reading book I read: 'Always speak the truth. To speak the truth is brave, lying is cowardly.' From then on I decided to be a brave person, 'To speak the truth,' to be an honest person.⁴¹

Relatedly, personal immorality and social decay was on the minds of Chinese in the early 1980s. Wang noticed that in February 1981, the CCP proposed a policy of emphasis on the "Five Stresses and Four Beauties" 五講四美 in order to facilitate, among other things, moral development after the destruction of the Cultural Revolution.⁴² The Five Stresses refer to decorum, manners, hygiene, discipline, and morality while the Four Beauties refer to the beauty of the mind, language, behavior, and environment.⁴³

The solution Wang advanced in the Rehabilitation Request Manuscript for the ills of personal immorality and social decay was theism, lived out through upright personal morality, especially among leaders. The foundational tenet of this solution was to tell the truth which would have a resultant positive effect on Chinese society. He quoted *The Great Learning* to Jiang Hua to show the ancient Chinese foundation for this pattern of individual to social moral renewal:

The Great Learning said: 'Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy. From the Son of Heaven [Wang adds:] (including the emperor, president, chairman, and all other heads of state) down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of everything besides."⁴⁴

⁴⁰ *Analecets* 15.3, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1493#s10023755>

⁴¹ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 204. This exact phrase that Wang quotes in English has proven difficult to locate. The closest this author has been able to find comes from Unnamed author, *The Sunday School Helper*, February 25, 1883, 56, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6ax1&view=1up&seq=454&q1=Always%20speak>. "Be the matter what it may, Always speak the truth: Whether work, or whether play, Always speak the truth. He is but a coward slave, Who, a present pain to waive, Snoops to falsehood; then be brave: Always speak the truth."

⁴² Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 82.

⁴³ See Sheela Murthy, "Deng's 'Civilized' China of 'Five Disciplines, Four Graces, and Three Loves,'" *China Report* 19, no.6 (November 1983): 3. Wang does not mention the "Three Loves," which was also part of the policy, which were the love of the motherland, socialism, and the CCP.

⁴⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 107 (also 52). The quote is from *The Book of Rites, The Great Learning*, 2. <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=10383#s10035493>.

After his 23 years in prison, Wang seemed to be more convinced than ever that it was through personal moral cultivation and renewal that the broader society would benefit. Leaders were especially important in Wang's thinking. Turning again to *The Great Learning*, Wang argued that the personal moral choices of leaders have far reaching societal consequences:

On this account, the ruler must himself be possessed of the good qualities, and then he may require them in the people. He must not have the bad qualities in himself, and then he may require that they shall not be in the people.⁴⁵

As well, Wang quoted Mencius' statement that: "When the prince has no principles by which he examines his administration, his ministers have no laws by which they keep themselves in the discharge of their duties."⁴⁶ Wang indicates that the state is in danger when such unprincipled behavior is exhibited by its leaders. Wang's two major problems with the CCP leadership, particularly until the downfall of the Gang of Four,⁴⁷ were the lack of honesty among CCP leaders and their promulgation of atheism. Wang reveals in the Rehabilitation Request Manuscript that what he believes is at the root of immorality in China is atheism or materialism.⁴⁸ After making several quotes from Chinese classics which advance his belief that ancient Chinese Confucians were theists,⁴⁹ Wang argues that atheism removes the ideological constraints on immorality, or as Wang said, "Once people are instilled with atheistic thoughts, they are not afraid of doing anything" since they no longer fear repercussions in an afterlife. To prove his point, he quotes Mao Zedong who said, "A thorough materialist is fearless."⁵⁰ In Wang's opinion, atheism or materialism had been the ideological foundation for the past twenty years of catastrophe which had culminated in the Cultural Revolution.⁵¹

CONFUCIANISM & CHRISTIANITY

In stark contrast to Mao Zedong, Confucius was not an atheist but a theist. Wang believed that the "Sage of China" revealed the Way or, Dao 道, of God in China before it was made more fully known in Jesus Christ:

⁴⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 166. The quote is from *The Book of Rites, The Great Learning*, 11, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=10392#s10098748>.

⁴⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 165. The quote is from *Mencius*, Li Lou I, 1, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=13377#s10030887>

⁴⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 157.

⁴⁸ Wang uses the terms atheism 無神論, and materialism 唯物主義, interchangeably in his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript.

⁴⁹ In a flurry of quotations to prove this point, Wang refers to *Analects* 7.23, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1273#s10020829>, *Analects* 9.5, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1314#s10021387>, *Analects* 3.13, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1154#s10020098>, *Analects* 6.28, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1248#s10020696>, *Mencius* Gaozi II, 35, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1789#s10023668>, *Mencius*, Li Lou II, 53, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1724#s10034142>, *Xunzi* 27.66, (Knoblock III, 224, 27.68), <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=12759>.

⁵⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 81-82. Mao's quote in Chinese reads, 徹底的唯物主義者是無所畏懼的. See Mao Zedong 毛澤東, *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought!* 毛澤東思想萬歲! (Peking: Unnamed Publisher, 1968), "Four Sentences for Li Ne" 送給李訥的四句話, <https://www.marxists.org/chinese/maozedong/1968/5-064.htm>.

⁵¹ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 82-83.

In the East (China) God preached this “Dao” through Confucius... In the West, God preached this “Dao” through Moses and the prophets in the Old Testament era. By the 30s CE, Jesus Christ had fully revealed the “Dao.”⁵²

Wang saw Confucius as being the Chinese representative of God who taught the Way of God to people before Christian missionaries had brought Jesus’ message to China. Jesus’s message to love God and love people were consistent with Confucius’ message to revere Heaven and love people. Therefore, Wang thought that the attacks on Confucius and Christianity in the 1920s and the 1960s came from the same atheistic source.⁵³ Wang believed the CCP reasoned that unless Confucian thought was dislodged from Chinese thought, atheism would never be established as the ideology of the Chinese people.⁵⁴ Picking up on themes he had read about in the *People’s Daily* in 1974 while in the Yinying Labor Camp, Wang believed that the atheistic attack on theism in China went all the way back to Qin Shihuang’s burning of the Confucian books and burying Confucian scholars. He saw this mirrored in attacks in the 1920s and 1960s on Confucian scholars and Chinese Christians, particularly by the CCP. Wang does not directly make the connection between Mao Zedong and Qin Shihuang as was made in the 1970s for Mao’s persecution of intellectuals, but the comparison is right below the surface in the *Last Confession*. Mao himself stated in 1958, referring to Qin Shihuang, that “He buried only 460 scholars alive; we have buried forty-six thousand scholars alive... You [intellectuals] revile us for being Qin Shi Huangs. You are wrong. We have surpassed Qin Shi Huang a hundredfold.”⁵⁵

However, Wang noted that it was not the Confucian literati that brought down the Qin Empire, it was two “illiterates:” Xiang Yu 項羽 (232-202 BCE) and Liu Bang 劉邦 (256-195 BCE) who ended the Qin Empire with Liu Bang establishing the Han Dynasty.⁵⁶ Wang’s point is that just as it was not the theistic Confucians who ended the Qin Empire, Christians in modern China are not attempting to overturn the CCP’s regime in modern China, and therefore should no longer be persecuted since they are law abiding citizens. Wang argued that one significant aspect of this ongoing persecution was the fact that his legal case, and the cases of those who were implicated in his “Clique” had not yet been rectified.⁵⁷

Wang asserted that the attempts to paint him as being unpatriotic are groundless. Rather, he argues that the officers of the TSPM were in fact the ones who were unpatriotic. Wang states that Wu Yaorong was silent while the Gang of Four “ran rampant,” only to come out after they were defeated, criticize them, and lay the blame for the persecution of the church at their feet

⁵² Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 266.

⁵³ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 270. Wang does not make mention, or perhaps was not aware, that some of those attacking Confucius at the beginning of the May Fourth Movement were Christians. See Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 107.

⁵⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 149-150. The complex motivations for the Criticize Confucius Movement are beyond the scope of this thesis but are discussed in Leroy B. Williams, “The Succession to Mao and the End of Maoism,” in *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 14:343-347.

⁵⁵ Mao Zedong, *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought!* 毛澤東思想萬歲! (Peking: Unnamed Publisher, 1968), 195. Translated into English in Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004), 71.

⁵⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 105 and 264. For the story of Xiang Yu and Liu Bang’s rebellion against the Qin Empire and the eventual death of Xiang Yu and Liu Bang’s establishment of the Han Dynasty, see Sima Qian, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, *The Memoirs of Pre-Han China*, 1:189 and 1:207.

⁵⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 105.

while Wang suffered for his defense of people unjustly charged while in prison.⁵⁸ He also argues that Jiang Changchuan and Wang Zizhong both accepted roles in the Japanese controlled North China Union Group, and later became leaders in the TSPM, while he resisted the Japanese at the peril of his life.⁵⁹ He refers to the *North China Christian Union Group Memorial Book* 華北中華基督教團成立周年紀念冊 published in 1943 as providing evidence of their co-operation with the Japanese during the Second Sino-Japanese War.⁶⁰ The reason he does not use the word “patriotic” reveals something about what Wang sees as sources of authority for his thought:

I never mention the word “patriotic” in my sermons and writings, because the term is not mentioned in the Bible, the Four Books, nor in the writings of ancient Chinese sages. They only talk about “love.” *The Analects* say: ‘Fan Chi asked about benevolence. The Master said, ‘It is to love all men.’ He asked about knowledge. The Master said, ‘It is to know all men.’’⁶¹ The Bible makes it clearer. In the Law and Prophets of the Old Testament, in the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament, it is difficult to calculate how many places speak of ‘love.’ What is a ‘nation?’ Isn’t it composed of people? If there are no ‘people’ on a large area of land, can this land be called a ‘nation?’ Can you ‘love’ people and not ‘love’ the nation? What I said and the articles I wrote contributed and benefited others. How can they say that I am not patriotic?⁶²

To Wang, patriotism was the practical love of the people in a nation. His defense of those he felt were falsely maligned such as Liu Shaoqi and Peng Dehuai, defense that cost Wang dearly in Datong,⁶³ and his resistance to oppression as shown by his unwillingness to cooperate with the Japanese were evidence of his practical patriotism. In the end though, the reason why he does not use the word “patriotism” 愛國, literally, “love for the nation” in Chinese, is that in his study of the sources of authority for his thought, the Bible, the Four Books, and the ancient Chinese sages, he did not find the term. More will be said about authority for Wang in the conclusion of this thesis.

Since Wang saw Confucianism and Christianity as being consistent in their religious messages revealed in the Bible and the Four Books, he could sincerely write to Jiang Hua that “I

⁵⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 136. Wang also states that the Gang of Four were not responsible for the persecution of the church in China during the 1950s but came to prominence during the Cultural Revolution and lays the blame for the persecution of the church at the feet of the TSPM leaders, chief of which is Wu Yaozong. A much more sympathetic treatment of Wu Yaozong during this time is provided by Philip L. Wickeri who indicates that Wu was attempting to remove the foreign influence in the Chinese church while at the same time providing a way for the church to exist in Communist China. See Philip L. Wickeri, *Reconstructing Christianity in China: K.H. Ting and the Chinese Church* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2007), 98. Also, a more nuanced perspective on Wu is provided in Ying Fuk Tsang, *Christianity’s Failure in China*, 67-68.

⁵⁹ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 118.

⁶⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 54 (footnote 9). Wang also referred to this memorial book in 1945 in Wang Mingdao, “Their God is Still Our God” 他們的神仍是我們的神, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 76 (Winter 1945): 158. See *North China Christian Union Group Memorial Book* 華北中華基督教團成立周年紀念冊 (Beijing: North China Union Group 華北教團, 1943), 9. Jiang Changchuan has an article at the beginning of the memorial book on “Church Unity.”

⁶¹ *The Analects* 12.22. <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1403#s10022402>

⁶² Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 136.

⁶³ In 1978 at the Third Plenum of the CCP, Peng Dehuai was rehabilitated. In 1980, Liu Shaoqi was rehabilitated at the Fifth Plenum of the CCP where it was agreed that the charges against him were false. See Leroy B. Williams, “The Succession to Mao and the End of Maoism,” 386.

am a disciple of Christ, and I am also a disciple of Confucius.”⁶⁴ By describing himself in this way and laboring to show the consistency between the two traditions, Wang attempted to convey to Jiang Hua that Christianity is not a foreign religion but a Chinese one. Wang’s belief that positive social change would happen through cumulative personal moral action and that social decay could be reversed through theistic belief was not new. He had advanced these ideas throughout his ministry as a Christian preacher before his arrest.⁶⁵ What *was* new was how he articulated that moral action and theism were foundational to positive social change not only in modern China but throughout the Chinese past reaching all the way back to Confucius. He also traced destructive elements at work in Chinese society all the way back to the anti-theistic purges of Qin Shihuang. Wang attempts to convince Jiang Hua that he has been maligned by those he considers to be atheists within the TSPM, chief of them being Wu Yaozong. This slander of Wang’s character is in line with those good Chinese who possessed a “Spirit of Righteousness,” who have been maligned for millennia by those who pretend to be patriotic but are, in fact, opportunists. Therefore, Wang recommends the advice of Confucius to Jiang Hua: “At first, my way with men was to hear their words, and give them credit for their conduct. Now my way is to hear their words, and look at their conduct.”⁶⁶ In this way, he makes his request for Jiang Hua to look at his conduct and to re-evaluate his legal case.

There is no conclusion to the Rehabilitation Request Manuscript since it was never completed, but it is important to note that in 1982-1983, at the time when Wang was writing it, according to the large print headlines in the newspapers that he could still make out, and from the radio broadcasts that he listened to, Wang believed that the CCP government authorities at that time were doing their best to get back on track.⁶⁷ Wang would have been aware of the fact that on July 1, 1981, at the Sixth Plenum of the CCP, the blame for the Cultural Revolution was placed on Mao Zedong.⁶⁸ Change was certainly in the air in the early 1980s in China. However, Wang never sent out the Rehabilitation Request Manuscript for several reasons, foremost because Liu Jingwen strongly opposed the request for rehabilitation, thinking that it would bring negative consequences upon them and result in his greatest failure.⁶⁹ Wang’s deteriorating eyesight also hindered his ability to complete the project, and it seems that the sheer scope of the work, attempting to prove his points through references to an enormous array of classical allusions, was too much for Wang’s octogenarian abilities to complete.⁷⁰ In 2000, the request for rehabilitation

⁶⁴ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 53 and 258. The exact statement in Chinese is 我是基督的門徒，我也是孔子的弟子。 In the Chinese Bible, *mentu* 門徒 is the term for a disciple of Christ. In *The Analects*, *dizi* 弟子 is the term for a disciple of Confucius.

⁶⁵ The most thorough analysis of this is found in Liang Shouhua, “Independent Religious Beliefs’ Effect on Society: A Reinterpretation of Wang Mingdao’s Thoughts on Society” 超然信仰的社會實效性 – 王明道社會觀的再詮釋, *Dao Feng Chinese Theological Journal*, Issue 9 (1998): 169-200.

⁶⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 120. The quote of Confucius is from *The Analects* 5.10, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1204#s10020392>. Wang also mentions this advice from Confucius when interviewed about Watchman Nee in 1982. See Ying Fuk Tsang, “Wang Mingdao Discusses Chinese Church Leaders and Affairs,” 80.

⁶⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 217.

⁶⁸ See Leroy B. Williams, “The Succession to Mao and the End of Maoism,” 391. The Sixth Plenum concluded that although Mao had made terrible mistakes during the Cultural Revolution, his contributions as a whole the PRC greatly outweighed his mistakes, yet the recognition that Mao was not completely correct in his actions would certainly be viewed by Wang as progress in the right direction.

⁶⁹ Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 39. Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 100. Shi Meiling, *Sixty-three Years*, 123. Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 223-224.

⁷⁰ Liu Jingwen encouraged Wang to be concise if he was going to write the request but she said he kept deliberating

was sent by Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen's son Wang Tianduo to the Supreme People's Court of China after his parent's deaths but the request was rejected.⁷¹ Regardless of the outcome, the Rehabilitation Request Manuscript provides the most thorough evidence of the integration of Confucian and Christian ideas in Wang's thought. However, the Confucian-Christian character of Wang's theology is largely neglected in discussions of Wang's role as a spiritual father to the house church movement.

HOUSE CHURCH MEETINGS RESUME ON WUKANG ROAD

In the fall of 1983, the Wangs moved into a third floor apartment provided for by Wang Tianduo's workplace with the Shanghai Institutes for Biological Sciences 上海生命科學研究院 at No.69 Wukang Road 武康路 in Shanghai; he offered it to his parents to live in.⁷² Since their previous dwelling place at No.13 Pingjiang Road had only included one room, the two bedrooms and one sitting room on Wukang Road was a significant upgrade. They also required more help with this new living arrangement and so Chang Kuan-Ing 章冠英, also lived with them, the man who had been assisting Wang Mingdao as a live-in helper since Wang's eye operation to correct his glaucoma performed in September of 1982.⁷³ In addition to comfort, the extra space on Wukang Road also opened up the possibility for Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen to once again conduct house church gatherings from within their Shanghai home. Starting in the spring of 1984, the Wangs began to hold a meeting every Sunday morning where 40-50 people crowded into their apartment.⁷⁴ Liu Jingwen would frequently lead singing from the piano and Wang Mingdao would speak in the early years, and in the later years would read his articles, which he would comment on. These unregistered house church meetings were open to the public and were unhindered by the government or the TSPM.⁷⁵ Some of these sermons and interviews given at Wukang Road were recorded and are still available on *YouTube*.⁷⁶

the wording and including ancient quotes. Due to his deteriorating health along with resistance from his most important relationship, Wang could not finish it. See Ma Feibi 馬非比, "Wang Mingdao Through the Eyes of Mrs. Wang" 王師母眼中的王明道, *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991): 8.

⁷¹ Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, 39-40 and 46 footnote 97.

⁷² There seems to have been some relational conflict between Liu Jingwen and Wang Tianduo's wife, Yin Wiezhi 殷蔚芷, likely exacerbated while they lived together on Pingjiang Road. See Shi Meiling, *Sixty-three Years*, 125-126. The mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationship and broader family harmony was also likely improved with the new living arrangements on Wukang Road.

⁷³ Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 133. This biography of Wang Mingdao presents valuable first-hand information of Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen from 1983-1991 from Chang's perspective during the time he lived with them on Wukang Road. Wang's eye surgery was unsuccessful in correcting his glaucoma.

⁷⁴ Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 158.

⁷⁵ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 226.

⁷⁶ For example, see "A Strong Wall, An Iron Pillar – Wang Mingdao's Testimony" 堅城鐵柱-王明道見證, Sermon, no date, accessed February 23, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NbYbk3vrnr4&list=PLeyV8uWMaMm0TfMS-koWZ3JEaveoadkqC&index=3>. "Wang Mingdao's Critique of Watchman Nee to Warn Preachers and Christians" 王明道講道指責倪柝聲給傳道人與基督徒的警戒, Sermon, no date, accessed February 23, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HiXhBUy4ZZ0&list=PLeyV8uWMaMm0TfMS-koWZ3JEaveoadkqC&index=4>. "Wang Mingdao's Sermon 02 – Guard Against Two Kinds of Leaven; To Serve the Lord One Must Be Holy" 王明道講道 02 - 防備兩種酵；侍奉主要聖潔, Sermon, no date, accessed February 23, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dz_wQ7_by1g&list=PLeyV8uWMaMm0TfMS-

In these later sermons and conversations, the interplay between Confucian and Christian ideas is clearly evident in Wang's thought. He quoted Mencius to encourage himself and others not to yield when under pressure.⁷⁷ He taught from Matthew to show that the ability to forgive others, a lesson he learned while in prison, was rooted in God's forgiveness of him.⁷⁸ He referred to the lives of Jesus and Confucius to show that the most powerful authority in the world was moral authority.⁷⁹ Wang also revealed part of the 1% of disagreement he had with Confucius' teachings, having earlier stated to Jiang Hua that, Confucius' "lessons are as important to me as the Bible. I respect Confucius, and I accept 99% of his lessons."⁸⁰ Wang postulated that Jesus's declaration to "love your enemies" is superior to Confucius' teaching to "return kindness with kindness, and injury with injury." Wang concluded that God wants people to repay injury, of which he has suffered much, with kindness.⁸¹ However, Wang was back to extolling the wisdom of Confucius again just a few days later when he quoted the sage in a sermon saying, "When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is not correct, he may issue orders, but they will not be followed."⁸² Wang saw this as being harmonious with Paul's advice to Timothy to guard his conduct and teaching, the same advice his mother-in-law had given to him when he married Liu Jingwen in 1928.⁸³ In a recollection of his own story, Wang revealed the universal recognition of the need for spiritual renewal by referring to the statement of the Old Testament prophet that "The heart is deceitful above all things and beyond cure. Who can understand it?"⁸⁴ as well as the lines from a poem written by the Tang Dynasty poet, Bai Juyi, that "heaven can be guessed at, earth can be measured, it is only a person's heart that cannot be defended."⁸⁵ These references show that Wang was working with both Biblical and Chinese sources to communicate to his visitors his theology that God was at work in both traditions to reveal the Divine will to humankind.

WEI ZHENG: A MODEL OFFICIAL

In one of the more interesting stories that Wang referred to in at least three of his Wukang Road sermons, he told the story of Emperor Tang Taizong (Li Shimin) 唐太宗李世民 (599-649

koWZ3JEaveoadkqC&index=5. "Wang Mingdao Sermon 02 – Come Out from Babylon" 王明道講道 02 - 從巴比倫出來, Sermon, no date, accessed February 23, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IWenH5ndAAE>.

⁷⁷ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 222-223. Mencius, Teng Wen Gong II, 7, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=13304#s10030492>.

⁷⁸ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 223. See Matthew 6:14-15.

⁷⁹ The following references are from the sermons of Wang Mingdao during his days at Wukang Road in Shanghai that were recorded and later transcribed onto Microsoft Word documents. They are unpublished and were generously shared with me by Ying Fuk Tsang. Several are untitled but most, not all, include the date Wang preached the sermon. Wang Mingdao, Untitled Sermon, February 9, 1986.

⁸⁰ See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 149.

⁸¹ Wang Mingdao, Untitled Sermon, January 28, 1988. Jesus' declaration to love your enemies is found in Matthew 5:43-44. Confucius' statement to "return kindness with kindness and injury with injury" is found in the *Book of Rites*, Biao Ji, 11, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=10306#s10105382>.

⁸² *The Analects* 13.6, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1411#s10022504>.

⁸³ Wang Mingdao, Untitled Sermon, February 14, 1988. Paul's advice to Timothy that Wang referred to is found in I Timothy 4:11-16.

⁸⁴ See Jeremiah 17:9.

⁸⁵ Wang Mingdao, "Autobiography" 自述, No Date. Bai Juyi's poem that Wang refers to has been translated into English in Jordan A. Gwyther, "Bai Juyi and the New Yuefu Movement," (MA thesis, University of Oregon, 2013), 146, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/36687766.pdf>.

CE) whom Wang respected for modeling humility by accepting the advice and correction of his chancellor Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643 CE).⁸⁶ Wang mentions in a sermon on the proper conduct of officials that back in the 1940s he purchased a four volume book in Beijing's Dongan Market 東安市場 on statecraft that had been written during the Tang Dynasty, *Essentials About Politics from the Zhengguan Reign* 貞觀政要 (Zhengguan Zhengyao) which may be the source of the lessons he taught about Tang Taizong and Wei Zheng.⁸⁷ The *Essentials* is a compendium written by the historian Wu Jing 吳兢 during the Tang Dynasty in which Emperor Tang Taizong requests advice from his officials including Wei Zheng. The humility shown by the emperor in requesting advice depicted him as having the virtue and talent to successfully govern the dynasty.⁸⁸ Wang recounts how Wei Zheng told Tang Taizong that he had lost the faith of the people and after the emperor demanded the reasons why his people no longer trusted him, which Wei Zheng recounted, the emperor resolved to regain the faith of the people. Wang was impressed with Wei Zheng's courageous honesty in conveying to the emperor that the time he spent keeping eagles and catching rabbits would be better spent attending to the affairs of the empire. Wang also noted that once when the emperor had plans to go to Nanshan 南山 for a pleasure vacation, he delayed his trip. When Wei Zheng noticed his baggage was all prepared, he asked him why he had not yet left, to which the emperor responded that he feared Wei Zheng's rebuke.⁸⁹ This Confucian official rebuking his emperor apparently impressed other Chinese as well as Wang. In the same sermon, Wang says that Lu Dingyi (1906-1996), the politician ousted by Mao that Wang had defended while in Datong but who had now been rehabilitated by Deng Xiaoping, "had worked day and night to publish his *Biography of Wei Zheng* 魏徵傳 because he hoped that the highest authorities of the CCP would accept the words of loyal officials" who were like Wei Zheng.⁹⁰ Unfortunately for Lu, Mao Zedong was no Tang Taizong.⁹¹ In another sermon, Wang referred to Tang Taizong and Wei Zheng to show the importance of leaders admitting mistakes and accepting correction.⁹² In a third sermon, Wang connected the stories of Naaman and Elisha in the Old Testament with Emperor Tang Taizong and Wei Zheng to articulate that a truly humble person listens to the advice of people of lower status.⁹³ Wang's main point in using these stories

⁸⁶ Wei Zheng's biographies are found in *The Old Book of Tang* 舊唐書, Book 71, Biography 21 of Wei Zheng, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=95117#p2>. As well as in the *New Book of Tang* 新唐書, Biography 22 of Wei Zheng, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=55598>. Wang had been impressed with Wei Zheng as early as 1935 and referred to a quote from Wei Zheng's biography in *The Old Book of Tang* in Wang's book, *Look at These Men (Part One)* 看這些人(上) (1935; repr., New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社, 2013), 3.

⁸⁷ Wang Mingdao, Untitled Sermon on Officials, No Date.

⁸⁸ See Ulrich Theobald, "Zhenguan Zhengyao 貞觀政要" China Knowledge, accessed February 24, 2021, <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Historiography/zhenguanzhengyao.html>.

⁸⁹ Wang Mingdao, Untitled Sermon on Officials, No Date. However, the story of Tang Taizong's trip to Nanshan does not appear in the *Essentials*. The story is referred to in the *Fine Stories from the Sui and Tang Dynasties* 隋唐嘉話, First Volume, 11-22, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=32743#p12>. This volume may have been included in the four volumes Wang purchased at the Dongan Market in the 1940s.

⁹⁰ Wang Mingdao, Untitled Sermon on Officials, No Date. See also Lu Dingyi 陸定一, *Biography of Wei Zheng* 魏徵傳 (Beijing: Chinese Book Company 中華書局, 1962).

⁹¹ See Zhong Xuanzao 鍾宣造, "Lu Dingyi's Counter-Revolutionary Face is Revealed from the *Biography of Wei Zheng* 從《魏徵傳》的出籠看陸定一的反革命嘴臉, *People's Daily*, November 9, 1967.

⁹² Wang Mingdao, Untitled Sermon, February 2, 1986.

⁹³ Wang Mingdao, Sermon on "2 Kings 5 – Call Naaman 'The Man,'" May 31, 1987. The story of Naaman, a commander in the Syrian army, and the prophet Elisha who gave him advice on how to heal his skin disease, is found in 2 Kings 5.

in his sermons was to show the historical precedent that the Emperor Tang Taizong's success was based on his willingness to accept critique and because he had an honest official in Wei Zheng who was willing to tell him the truth.⁹⁴ As noted by Howard J. Wechsler, "a pantheon of worthies famed for admonishing their sovereigns without regard for their personal safety had been created in China that served to inspire later remonstrators like Wei Cheng."⁹⁵ Wang Mingdao saw himself in this line of "worthies," possessing a "Spirit of Righteousness," whose critique was something crucially necessary in China in the 1980s after what had happened in the previous two decades in the country.⁹⁶ It is clear throughout his mature theology that Wang had significantly integrated Confucian and Christian history and thought. As Wang had told Jiang Hua, "For more than two thousand years, the lessons of Confucius have guided countless scholars on the path of how to conduct oneself properly."⁹⁷ In the last years of his life, Wang saw it as his responsibility to build on Confucius' *ancient* foundation of following the Way, by showing his house church attendees and visitors how to live like a Christian and follow the Way in *modern* China.

MEETING BILLY GRAHAM

As well as providing a larger space for Wang to do his writing, the extra space on Wukang Road also furnished a more conducive place to hosting the nearly constant flow of visitors the Wangs received.⁹⁸ During these visits, Wang continued to insist that the only reason he was imprisoned was due to his resistance to the TSPM. Even when the most famous Protestant clergyman in the world, Billy Graham (1918-2018), wanted to visit Wang in 1988, with notes of introduction from former American presidents Richard Nixon and George H.W. Bush, which was opening up incredible opportunities for Graham in China,⁹⁹ Wang rejected Graham's request to visit him because Graham had been invited to come to China by Ding Guangxun 丁光訓 (K. H. Ting) (1915-2012).¹⁰⁰ Ding was one of the people whom Wang had described as an "unbeliever" in his 1955 article "We Are for the Faith!"¹⁰¹ and had become the President of the China Christian Council (CCC) 中國基督教協會 (est. 1980) as well as the

⁹⁴ See Wang's other references to Wei Zheng in Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 51-52, 108 and 188.

⁹⁵ Howard J. Wechsler, *Mirror to the Son of Heaven: Wei Cheng at the Court of T'ang T'ai-tung* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 119.

⁹⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Untitled Sermon on Officials*, No Date.

⁹⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 103.

⁹⁸ Some of the visits to the Wangs on Wukang Road are recorded in Zhao Zhonghui 趙中輝, "Wang Mingdao Recalls Entering Prison for the First Time" 王明道憶述第一次進監情形, *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991): 5-7 (1984 interview). David Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 47 (1985 interview). Kao Chenyang, "The Cultural Revolution and the Post-Missionary Transformation of Protestantism in China," 192-193 (1988 meeting), Zhao Zhonghui 趙中輝, "An Interview with Mr. Wang Mingdao" 王明道先生訪問記, *Faith and Life* 信仰與生活 156 (November/December 1988): 51-56. Timothy Tow, *Wang Ming Tao & Charismatism* (Christian Life Publishers: Singapore, 1989), 83-95 (1988 interview).

⁹⁹ Billy Graham, *Just As I Am: The Autobiography of Billy Graham* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1997), 604. The Grahams' trip to China was from April 12-28, 1988.

¹⁰⁰ Billy Graham, *Just As I Am*, 599.

¹⁰¹ Wang Mingdao, "We Are for the Faith!" 我們是為了信仰! *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955): 151-169. Wang described Ding as an "unbeliever" after reading the Ding's statements in Ding Guangxun 丁光訓, "Summary of Standing Committee Member Ding Guangxun's Speech" 丁光訓常委發言摘要, *Tianfeng*, 457 (March 1955): 7. Ding would respond to Wang's article with Ding Guangxun 丁光訓, "An Earnest Admonishment to Wang Mingdao" 正告王明道, *Tianfeng* 447-8 (August 1955): 16-20. Philip Wickeri provides Ding's perspective on his conflict with Wang Mingdao in Philip L Wickeri, *Reconstructing Christianity in China*, 119-122.

TSPM after it was re-established in 1980. Billy Graham's wife Ruth Bell Graham (1920-2007), who had grown up the daughter of missionaries in China, had visited the Wangs previously in 1980 and was welcomed by the Wangs since she was not connected in any way with the TSPM.¹⁰² A previous interview of Wang in 1983 by Werner Burklin, who grew up in China and later became the director of Billy Graham's Conferences for Itinerant Evangelists, more fully explains Wang's perspective on Graham. Wang told Burklin that

He [Billy Graham] is a great evangelist, but I don't agree with his posture toward our government... I hear that Billy Graham wants to visit me. But I am not ready to receive him. He plays along with those who hold power in our country. Those people are enemies of our Lord... I don't agree with his preaching in churches under the control of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement.¹⁰³

Billy Graham's visit to China under the auspices of the CCC and TSPM made him a *persona non grata* in the Wang residence.

Graham desired to go to China to experience his wife's past and to evangelize the Chinese; he did not want to offend either the TSPM or the unregistered house church leaders nor take sides on the issues that separated them.¹⁰⁴ Although Wang respected Graham as a gifted evangelist, he thought Graham's perspective on the Chinese church was naïve and wanted no contact with anyone connected to the TSPM.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, Graham would not be denied and on the morning of April 23, 1988, he showed up at No.69 Wukang Road. Despite the fact that the Wangs had said no three times previously to the visit, since Graham had not brought anyone from the TSPM with him, he and his wife and Philip (Jinhui) Teng 滕近輝 (1922-2013) who acted as their translator,¹⁰⁶ were allowed in by the Wang's helper Chang Kuan-Ing.¹⁰⁷ Wang Mingdao was asleep in a metal chair with his head laying on the kitchen table when the Grahams arrived. When Wang woke up, Billy Graham asked him if he had a word from the Lord for him. Wang was silent for some time. He finally quoted Revelation 2:10: "Be faithful, even to the point of death, and I will give you the crown of life." Their conversation only lasted a half-hour and was entirely focused on "the Bible and spiritual things" and they did not discuss the conflict

¹⁰² Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 109-110. Wang Mingdao was familiar with, and respected Ruth Bell Graham's father Dr. Nelson Bell although they never met. Wang had been invited by Dr. Bell to preach in Huaiyin 淮陰, Jiangsu Province, when the Bell family was stationed there as Presbyterian missionaries. Wang could not accept the invitation due to a previous commitment and mailed a letter of decline which Ruth Bell Graham received.

¹⁰³ Werner Burklin, *Jesus Never Left China: The Rest of the Story* (Enumclaw, WA: Pleasant Word, 2006), 50.

¹⁰⁴ Billy Graham, *Just As I Am*, 601.

¹⁰⁵ As indicated in an interview of Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen on Billy and Ruth Graham's visit in Timothy Tow, *Wang Ming Tao & Charismatism*, 88-92, "Clarification on Billy Graham's Visit to China," https://www.febc.edu.sg/v15/assets/pdfs/febc_press/Wang%20Ming%20Tao%20&%20Charismatism.pdf.

¹⁰⁶ Teng had great respect for Wang Mingdao and believed that Wang had a huge impact on the Chinese church. See Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 118.

¹⁰⁷ As recounted from Chang's perspective in "Rev. Billy Graham's First Visit to China," East Gates International, accessed February 25, 2021, <https://eastgates.org/rev-billy-grahams-first-visit-to-china/>. It is quite possible that Chang was overwhelmed by the fact that the most famous Protestant clergyman in the world, a living legend within the global Christian community, was standing outside his door and he let the Grahams in. The conversation eventually moved to the sitting room as seen in the picture on the website above where the group exchanged scripture verses.

between the TSPM and the unregistered house churches.¹⁰⁸ In an interview of the Wangs a few months later in December of 1988 by Timothy (Siang Hui) Tow 杜祥輝 (1920-2009), they were asked about how the Grahams' visit to China was being seen by some as a bridge building trip between the TSPM and the unregistered house churches.¹⁰⁹ In the interview, Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen reiterated that they had not wanted Billy Graham to come and that it had resulted in them being "greatly inconvenienced in this matter."¹¹⁰ Wang Mingdao was not feeling well and was nearly deaf, so Liu Jingwen was the main speaker during the interview.¹¹¹ Although Liu Jingwen said that Graham "is working for the Lord," after observing the Grahams' visit to China to both churches that are registered with the government through the TSPM and unregistered house churches, Graham and some Christians in the country believed that there was greater unity in the Chinese church than in fact there was. Liu Jingwen, in the close of the interview recommended that Graham should read "We Are for the Faith!" in order to better understand the issues involved in the division between the registered and unregistered churches.¹¹² Although it should be noted that Tow asked leading questions in his interview, it is clear that Billy Graham had hoped for a unity in the Chinese church beyond what Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen thought possible, unless the issues that Wang had brought up in "We Are for the Faith!" were first reconciled. As noted earlier, Deng Xiaoping's reforms had brought about a greater degree of openness to China, so now with Billy Graham visiting, many thought that perhaps the TSPM and the unregistered house churches could be reconciled by resolving some of the disagreements that had kept the Chinese church divided. This was before the Tiananmen Square protests.

TIANANMEN

On April 15, 1989, Hu Yaobang 胡耀邦 (1915-1989), a pro-reform former General Secretary of the CCP, died. On April 17, revealing a growing desire among students for change, thousands of university students throughout Beijing met at Tiananmen Square 天安門廣場 to mourn Hu and call for government reform, better university conditions, and greater democratic involvement in decision making. The next day, students began to occupy the square. Eventually, thousands of citizens of Beijing joined the Tiananmen Square protests and other protests began throughout the country. By May 17, the protestors exceeded one million people in Tiananmen. On May 20, martial law was declared by the CCP leadership and the PLA was brought in to clear

¹⁰⁸ Billy Graham, *Just As I Am*, 613-614. There was also an unnamed Englishman present. See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 228. The accounts include contradictory details. Stephen Wang indicates that Wang Mingdao was receiving physiotherapy from his doctor when the Grahams arrived. Since Billy Graham's account was an eye-witness account, his description of events is more reliable meaning that Wang Mingdao was asleep when the Grahams arrived. Also, in the East Gates International account as recounted by Chang Kuan-Ing, it was Liu Jingwen who was receiving physiotherapy.

¹⁰⁹ For example, Unnamed Author, "Billy Graham in China: Building Bridges," *Christianity Today*, June 17, 1988, <https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/1988/june-17/billy-graham-in-china-building-bridges.html>. Tu Yichao 涂怡超, stated that Graham's aim was "to promote more open and cordial relationships between the Three-Self Church and house churches." See Tu Yichao, "Panda Huggers and Dragon Slayers: Billy Graham, American Evangelicals, and Sino-American Relations," Billy Graham Center Annual Lecture, September 25, 2013, 5, <https://www.wheaton.edu/media/billy-graham-center-archives/2013-Annual-Lecture-Transcript.pdf>.

¹¹⁰ Timothy Tow, *Wang Ming Tao & Charismatism*, 91, "Clarification on Billy Graham's Visit to China."

¹¹¹ Timothy Tow, *Wang Ming Tao & Charismatism*, 86.

¹¹² Timothy Tow, *Wang Ming Tao & Charismatism*, 92, "Clarification on Billy Graham's Visit to China." Liu Jingwen was understandably not aware that in 1963 Francis P. Jones had translated "We Are for the Faith!" into English in Francis P. Jones, *Documents of the Three-Self Movement*, 99-114.

the square but they could not remove the throngs of protestors acting in concert to avoid dispersion. However, on June 3rd, in the late hours of the evening and going into the early hours of June 4th, the Twenty-seventh Army of the PLA struck with brutal force to crush the protests. Throughout the day on June 4th, throughout Beijing, the PLA killed students and others they thought were protestors. Deng Xiaoping later thanked the PLA for clearing the square.¹¹³ This became known as the Tiananmen Square Massacre 天安門大屠殺 or as it is known in China, the June Fourth Incident 六四事件. Following the event, the CCP began a concerted campaign to blame the demonstrations, which had been headline news around the world, on “counter-revolutionaries and ‘hooligans.’”¹¹⁴ Stephen Wang believes that this political context created the conditions for Wang Weifan 汪維藩 (1927-2015) to write his article in September of 1989 “Wu Yaozong and Wang Mingdao” in *Tianfeng*, after decades of silence on Wang Mingdao.¹¹⁵

Wang Weifan was another person Wang had lumped in as an “unbeliever” in “We Are for the Faith!”¹¹⁶ Wang Weifan had responded critically to Wang Mingdao’s article with “Is it For Faith?” in July of 1955 in *Tianfeng*.¹¹⁷ Wang Weifan had graduated from Nanjing (Jinling) Union Theological Seminary 金陵協和神學院 in 1955 and had suffered criticism during the Cultural Revolution, but after the relaxation of religious control in 1980, he became a professor of New Testament at the Jinling Seminary where Ding Guangxun had been named president.¹¹⁸ After the Tiananmen event, Stephen Wang believes that the political conditions at the seminary, an institution controlled by the TSPM, prompted Wang Weifan to write another article after more than four decades of silence over Wang Mingdao. In this article, Wang Weifan compares Wang Mingdao with Wu Yaozong who had died in 1979.¹¹⁹ The political context of post-Tiananmen, with the CCP attempting to unify the country by blaming the demonstrations and massacre on counter-revolutionaries, brought Wang Mingdao back into focus in the Chinese church. The fact that he was chosen as Wu Yaozong’s counterpart in Wang Weifan’s article shows the importance of Wang Mingdao as a figurehead of the unregistered house church movement. In the article, Wang Weifan makes the case that Wu Yaozong displayed great patience toward Wang Mingdao in trying to bring him into the TSPM. Wang Weifan also states that during the Japanese occupation of Beijing, Wang Mingdao did not resist the Japanese, and later opposed new China

¹¹³ My summary of the events is based on Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 739-743.

¹¹⁴ Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 744.

¹¹⁵ Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 228. However, it should be noted that a previous article was written in 1987 in which Wang Mingdao was again invited to join the TSPM by a professor at Nanjing (Jinling) Union Theological Seminary. See Jiang Peifen, “An Appeal to Mr. Wang Mingdao,” *Chinese Theological Review*, 3 (1987): 49-51,

https://repository.globethics.net/bitstream/handle/20.500.12424/165450/CTR_3_1987.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

¹¹⁶ Wang Mingdao, “We Are for the Faith!” 我們是為了信仰! *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955): 169-171. Wang Mingdao grouped Wang Weifan in with the “unbelievers” after reading his article, Wang Weifan 汪維藩, “Although We Are Many, We Are Still One Body” 我們雖多, 乃是一個身體, *Tianfeng* 465 (May 1955): 5-9.

¹¹⁷ See Wang Weifan 汪維藩, “Is it for Faith?” 是為了信仰麼? *Tianfeng* 473-474 (July 1955): 15-16.

¹¹⁸ See Kevin Xiyi Yao, “Wang Weifan’s Evangelical Theology,” in *Yearbook of Chinese Theology 2016*, ed. Paulos Z. Huang (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 3.

¹¹⁹ A translation is available in the English version of *Tianfeng* in, Wang Weifan, “Wu Yaozong and Wang Mingdao,” trans., Brynmor Price, *Chinese Theological Review* 5 (1989): 37-40,

https://repository.globethics.net/bitstream/handle/20.500.12424/165448/CTR_5_1989.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

and the TSPM, and preferred the KMT government to the CCP.¹²⁰ Wang Weifan also argues that although articles in *Tianfeng* during the 1950s referred to Wang as a “reactionary,” they did not call him a “counter-revolutionary,” and therefore did not allege that he was a counter-revolutionary criminal. Wang Weifan alleges that the idea that Wang Mingdao was arrested due to his opposition to the TSPM “is in total disagreement with the facts.”¹²¹ However, Wang Weifan never indicates, if it was not for opposition to the TSPM, the reason why Wang Mingdao was imprisoned for 23 years. Again, inadvertently revealing the significance of Wang Mingdao to the Chinese church even into the 1980s, Wang Weifan concludes his article by writing that, “For the past ten years, whenever there has been a National Assembly of the Chinese Church, everyone has specifically prayed for Wang Mingdao, longing for a change of heart on his part.”¹²² If Stephen Wang is correct that Wang Weifan wrote his article due to political pressure after the Tiananmen event, the purpose of Wang Weifan’s article was fulfilled. This article’s main purpose was not to bring Wang Mingdao into the TSPM, but was to show that the TSPM continued to stand in solidarity with the CCP under the pressure of conformity in the aftermath of what happened in Tiananmen Square in May and June of 1989. News of Wang Weifan’s article reached the 89-year-old Wang Mingdao while he was living on Wukang Road. Wang responded that, not only did he resist the Japanese at the risk of his life, but he never said anything about preferring the KMT over the CCP as the government of China, and that he was told many times that “it is a crime to oppose the Three-Self Church.”¹²³ Clearly, there are two different divergent perspectives on why Wang Mingdao was arrested.

FINAL YEARS & DEATH OF WANG MINGDAO

In October of 1989, the director of a Western missionary organization visited Wang Mingdao at his home on Wukang Road with the express purpose of recording the second half of his life where his autobiography in *The Last Fifty Years* had left off in the early 1950s.¹²⁴ When this unidentified man asked Wang who could write the second half of his life story, Wang suggested Stephen Wang (Wang Changxin) 王長新, a close friend of Wang Mingdao, who had been arrested as a member of the Wang Mingdao Counter-Revolutionary Clique on August 8, 1955. Like Wang Mingdao, Stephen Wang was imprisoned until 1979 but subsequently emigrated to Canada.¹²⁵ In April of 1990, Stephen Wang and his wife Lu Minru 陸敏如, stayed

¹²⁰ Wang Weifan, “Wu Yaozong and Wang Mingdao,” 37.

¹²¹ Wang Weifan, “Wu Yaozong and Wang Mingdao,” 39.

¹²² Wang Weifan, “Wu Yaozong and Wang Mingdao,” 40.

¹²³ From an interview of Wang Mingdao in 1989 by Yan Liming 嚴立明, “After Reading Wang Weifan’s ‘Wu Yaozong and Wang Mingdao’” 讀汪維藩吳耀宗與王明道後, *Hu Han Journal* 呼喊季刊 58 (February 1990): 120-128. Also, Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 229. In October of 1989, Wu Weizun 吳維尊 has apparently written a response to Wang Weifan’s article as well comparing Wu Yaozong and Wang Mingdao entitled “Jezebel and Elijah,” 耶洗別和以利亞 but this author has been unable to find this article. See Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 106.

¹²⁴ This unnamed missionary was most likely Doug Sutphen, better known as Brother David or, “China’s Smuggler,” of the missionary organization Open Doors. Sutphen had a special interest in China and that year would publish a biography of Wang Mingdao in 1989 after visiting him several times in the 1980s. See Brother David and Lela Gilbert, *Walking the Hard Road: The Wang Ming Tao Story*, 15.

¹²⁵ Wang Changxin’s biography is available in Zhao Qingzhi 趙清治, “The Life Testimony of a Preacher: Remembering Elder Wang Changxin” 傳道人的生命見證：緬懷王長新長老, *Christian Life Quarterly Special Article* 生命季刊微信專稿 (February 2017), <https://www.cclifefl.org/View/Article/5342>.

with the Wangs on Wukang Road for three weeks and conducted the interviews that composed the account of Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen from 1949-1991 that makes up the 1997 book, *Another Forty Years*, later translated in 2002 into English as *The Long Road to Freedom*.¹²⁶

After the interviews with Stephen Wang, Wang Mingdao and Liu Jingwen continued to conduct Sunday morning worship services in their home until July of 1991. On July 2nd, Wang began having difficulty speaking and was brought to the hospital to have CT scans which revealed blood clots on and damage to his brain. On July 25th, his 91st birthday, he could no longer talk. As worshipers began to gather at No.69 Wukang Road on the morning of Sunday, July 28, 1991, Wang Mingdao died.¹²⁷ Liu Jingwen would follow less than a year later, succumbing to breast cancer complications on April 18, 1992.¹²⁸

Wang Mingdao's death resulted in a profound outpouring of grief, as well as a deep display of respect, from Christians around the world. In fact, the deep display of respect had already begun in November of 1990, to commemorate Wang Mingdao's 90th birthday.¹²⁹ Respected Chinese Christian leaders such as Thomas Wang, Stephen Wang, Jonathan Chao, and Wing Hung Lam, as well as former missionaries to China such as Arthur Reynolds, David Adeney, and Leslie Lyall paid tribute to the man whose "name would remain in the annals of Chinese church history." His death also brought a great sense of loss. Ying Fuk Tsang's reaction to the news of Wang's death likely expresses the feelings of many Chinese Christians when they heard the news: "my heart sank and his face came to my mind: 'The last of the giants of China's church has left the stage of history!'"¹³⁰ After Wang died, Jonathan Chao dedicated the following issue of his journal, *China and the Church* 中國與教會 to eulogize and remember Wang. Chao wrote that Wang's contribution to the Chinese church was as a pioneer in the development of indigenous Chinese churches, a travelling evangelist and revivalist, a fighter for theological truth against theological Liberals, a virtuous example for Christians to follow, a soldier of Christ's cross under pressure, a person of genuine repentance, and one for whom God has redressed the injustices of his life.¹³¹ Samuel Lamb (Lin Xiangao) 林猷羔 (1924-2013), an influential unregistered house church leader in Guangzhou who was imprisoned for a similar period as Wang Mingdao for being "Wang Mingdao's Henchman," described Wang as a father-figure who would be given "a crown of faithfulness."¹³² Allen Yuan (Yuan Xiangchen) 袁相忱 (1914-2005), one of the church leaders in Beijing who along with Wang tried to resist joining the TSPM in 1955¹³³ but was later arrested on April 19, 1958, and who had spent twenty-one years in prison,

¹²⁶ The interesting story of these interviews and subsequent writing of *Another Forty Years* is told in Wang Changxin 王長新, "How *Another Forty Years* Was Written" 又四十年是怎樣寫成的, *Christian Life Quarterly Digest* 生命季刊 18 (June 2001), <https://www.cclifefl.org/View/Article/559>.

¹²⁷ See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 236-239. Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 136-141. James Hudson Taylor III 戴紹曾, grandson of the famous missionary and frequent guest at the Wang's home in Shanghai, called that morning to inquire about Wang. See Chiu-Hsiang Lin and Kuan-Ing Chang, *An Injured Brave*, 112 and 138.

¹²⁸ Shi Meiling, *Sixty-three Years*, 151-152.

¹²⁹ See Various Authors, "Mr. Wang Mingdao's 90th Year Special Issue" 王明道先生九秩高壽特輯, *Chinese Churches Today* 今日華人教會 (November 1990): 32-39.

¹³⁰ Ying Fuk Tsang, *Last Confession*, vii. Ying's words are "中國教會最後一位時代巨人離開歷史舞台了!"

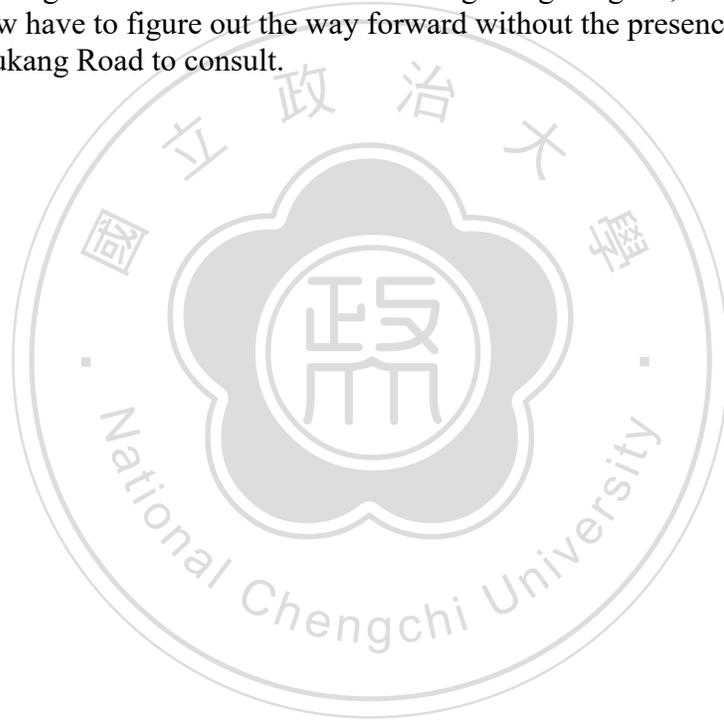
¹³¹ Jonathan Chao, "A Brief Outline of Mr. Wang Mingdao's Contribution to Chinese Churches," 2-3.

¹³² Samuel Lamb 林猷羔, "The Wang Mingdao I Know" 我所認識的王明道先生, *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991): 9-10.

¹³³ See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 54-55. In 1958, Yuan was arrested as a counter-revolutionary and held in the same prison as Wang Mingdao. See "Allen Yuan," Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity,

said that Wang Mingdao was a servant greatly used by God in China. Yuan also mentioned that after knowing Wang for more than sixty years, having met with him before, during, and after his prison days, he could find no flaw in his lifestyle.¹³⁴ Finally, a full description of Wang's death process was described by an observant, Ming Yan 銘言, including the detail that it was during the opening prayer at 9:05 a.m., as the house church meeting began, that Wang Mingdao passed away. Interestingly, the author, who knew Wang personally, also includes an important fact that Wang impressed upon her in 1984. Ming Yan writes that Wang told her that many overseas people misunderstand that his opposition to the TSPM was opposition to the CCP or socialism. Ming Yan was careful to communicate that what Wang opposed was what was done in the name of Jesus that would rebel against Jesus' teaching and not any government system or party.¹³⁵ The inclusion of this detail says much about the Chinese house church movement in 1991.

Unregistered house church Christians in China were careful to communicate that their resistance to the religious oversight of their churches by the TSPM did not mean that they rejected the CCP as the government of China. With Wang Mingdao gone, these Chinese Christians would now have to figure out the way forward without the presence of their "spiritual father" on No.69 Wukang Road to consult.



accessed March 3, 2021, <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/yuan-allen>. Also, David Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing*, 59. Allen Yuan's name in *Another Forty Years* uses the characters 楊襄城 Yang Xiangcheng in order to protect him at the time since he was still alive when the book was published.

¹³⁴ Allen Yuan 袁相忱, "Remembering God's Servant Mr. Wang Mingdao" 憶神僕王明道先生, *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991): 9-10.

¹³⁵ Ming Yan 銘言, "Remembering Uncle Wang - Recalling the Death of Wang Mingdao" 懷念王伯伯—並憶述王明道逝世過程, *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991): 13.

Chapter Six

Conclusions & Suggestions for Further Research

After the preceding analysis of Wang's theology as it developed within its nearly century-long historical context, the following conclusions can be made based on this biographical re-evaluation of his thought.

CONCLUSIONS

1) Wang Mingdao as Theologian

To return to the original research question: "How did these Chinese Classics, sages, and histories shape Wang Mingdao's Christian theology within his twentieth century social context and thus qualify him to be considered a significant *Chinese* theologian?" The previous chapters have detailed how, throughout the four stages of Wang's life, he continually mined the intellectual and moral resources of the two traditions of Christianity and Confucianism to develop his theology. As Archie Lee has observed to be true with other Asian Christians, Wang Mingdao did not sever his connection to Confucianism when he converted to Christianity.¹ In fact, he increasingly saw Christianity as the fulfillment of Confucianism and used the resources of both traditions to create his theology.

Wang never desired to create a comprehensive or systematic theology. He received a thorough bi-cultural education in the Christian and Confucian traditions while he was dependent upon missionary Christianity. After his break with missionary Christianity in 1921, as an independent church leader, his theological works were constructed in order to meet contextual needs he felt required attention at the time. After his arrest, his prison writings were focused on writing to the government in order to clarify his situation and to defend those he felt had been wrongly accused. It is interesting to note that several of the people he defended while in Yinying were later rehabilitated by the CCP after Deng Xiaoping was made Paramount Leader. Another aspect of Deng's reforms was the release of "counter-revolutionaries" like Wang. When he was released, Wang was shocked to discover that he was honored as a spiritual father by unregistered house church Christians in China. His writings in this period were focused on seeking political rehabilitating for himself and those implicated with him.

During this mature stage of his spiritual father years, after the long period of contemplation at Yinying, Wang's theology took on different emphases. He was much more interested in writing about and discussing politics than before. The decision he had made in 1924 to turn his back on the world, including its politics,² became impossible after his arrest in 1955. His personal moral failure, sufferings, and the period of time he had to review a broad scope of Chinese history in Yinying provided him with significant resources to minister to Chinese Christians that were coming out of the Cultural Revolution and were hoping to make a positive impact on the nation. Wang saw recovery from the previous years of "catastrophe" in China as possible through people pursuing a "Spirit of Righteousness," the primary virtue of which was to

¹ Archie C.C. Lee, "Cross-textual Hermeneutics and Identity in Multi-Scriptural Asia," 182. See also Leung Ka-lun 梁家麟, *Wandering Between Christianity and Confucianism 徘徊於耶儒之間* (Taipei: Cosmic Light Publishing House 宇宙光出版社, 1997) 37-42.

² *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 46-47. September 20, 1924.

tell the truth. Both the Christian and Confucian traditions nourished his thought and allowed him to formulate a Chinese theology that was relevant to twentieth century Chinese who were coming to visit him in Shanghai.

Wang's articles in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* cover the major theological emphases he wanted to articulate and he was always more interested in describing the practical working out of Christian theology through a life of upright moral character than he was in creating a systematic exposition of Bible doctrine and so Wang Mingdao's theology can be correctly categorized as a "folk theology." Never convinced by what he saw as the Modernist emphasis on transforming culture while neglecting personal religious and moral transformation,³ Wang always prioritized the individual in his theology.

2) The Social Significance of Wang's Theology

It would be an error to assume that because Wang prioritized the individual, that his thought has no social significance as Ng Lee-Ming has done.⁴ Li Boxiong has noted that it was precisely because Wang's thought focused on the micro-level individual and not the macro-level society that it provided help to Christians living in a socialist society.⁵ As noted by Liang Shouhua, Wang's negative attitude towards people establishing the ideal society created a false impression that Wang had no concern for society.⁶ Lam Wing-hung's critique of Wang that his individual focus was inadequate to resist societal evil is more substantial because, as he noted, macro-level evil often requires macro-level power to correct.⁷ This may be why after seeing the societal-level "catastrophe" of the Cultural Revolution, while not abandoning his focus on the individual, Wang in his mature stage, continually pointed to the Confucian traditions' emphasis on the moral *leader*. Following the logic of *The Great Learning*, if the leader's actions are morally upright, individuals in society will be more accountable to have moral behavior which has a far-reaching societal impact from individual to family to province to nation. Like Wei Zheng had done with Tang Taizong, it was the responsibility of officials to correct leaders when they deviated from correct moral action, even at the risk of their lives. Since Wang did this while in prison from 1963 until 1980, his words held great weight with Chinese Christians. In the final analysis, which Lam Wing-hung concedes, there has not been, nor is there currently, any way for religious Chinese to plan social movements in order to reform society in China in any way that is not approved by the CCP.⁸ Therefore, Wang's emphasis is on the moral individual, particularly moral leaders and officials creating an impact on society in a positive direction which *is* possible in China. This emphasis on the moral individual having a society-level impact has a solid historical basis throughout Confucian history and should be considered the social significance of Wang's mature theology. Several scholars have noted the importance in Confucian thought of the doctrine of the Inner Saint and Outer King 內聖外王. The wisdom and virtue of an individual's inner life, the "Inner Saint,"

³ See Wang Mingdao, "Are People Able to Establish God's Kingdom?" 人能建設天國麼? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 17 (Spring 1931): 36-46. Wang Mingdao, "How Many Gospels Are There?" 一共有幾個福音呢? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 23 (Fall 1932): 137-138. Also, Sun Poking J. "Jesus in the Writings of Wang Mingdao," in *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*. Vol. 3a, ed., Roman Malek (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica and China-Zentrum, 2005), 1146-1147.

⁴ Ng Lee-Ming, *Christianity and Social Change in China*, 163-164.

⁵ Li Boxiong, "Wang Mingdao's Contribution to Popular Theology," 21.

⁶ Liang Shouhua, "A Reinterpretation of Wang Mingdao's Thoughts on Society," 199.

⁷ Lam Wing-hung, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 233.

⁸ Lam Wing-hung, *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church*, 235.

has a corresponding effect on their ability as a leader in society, the “Outer King,” to contribute to a healthy and productive socio-political environment.⁹ Personal morality and public leadership are therefore inextricably connected in the Confucian tradition. Chinese Christians like Wang Mingdao who were deeply shaped by Confucianism therefore maintain this crucial connection between the individual and the social.¹⁰

3) Wang’s *Selective* Use of Confucian Thought

As to the question of *why* he used these Chinese sources in his writings, the reason seems to have evolved over time. As Archie C.C. Lee has noted among other Asian Christians developing inseparable connections to the religious texts that shaped them before, or in Wang’s case, at the same time, that they encountered the Bible, Wang developed a deep connection to the texts of Confucianism in his youth. However, he did not mention Chinese sources very frequently in his writings before his years of conflict with the Japanese. Previous to this, Wang preferred to focus on explaining the Fundamentalist teachings of Christianity during the 1920s and early 1930s in his writings. This may have been influenced by the societal-level rejection of Confucianism during the May Fourth Movement as Chinese sought a new way forward and Wang sought to provide the religious answers for Chinese with Fundamentalist Christian ideas unimpeded by Confucian concepts. However, during the war years beginning in 1938, Wang used familiar Chinese stories more frequently as common rallying points to promulgate his Confucian-Christian vision of how to overcome the Japanese. After his years of contemplation in Yinying, he used Confucian in addition to Christian stories to instruct Chinese coming to see him in Shanghai in order to guide Chinese Christians who hoped to make a positive impact in China with a “Spirit of Righteousness” after the devastation of the Cultural Revolution. In his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript, when writing to Jiang Hua, Wang mentions very few Christian sources but refers to an enormous number of Confucian sources in his arguments requesting rehabilitation. Jiang Hua, as the President of the Supreme People’s Court was a member of the CCP which requires an official commitment to atheism. Bible verses would carry little intellectual weight for Wang’s argument that he deserved political rehabilitation and may even have been interpreted as superstitious. However, since Jiang Hua was reform-minded and the political climate had significantly changed due to Deng Xiaoping’s reforms, Wang seems to have thought that referring to Confucian stories that extolled a moral vision for leaders and society would carry more convincing weight.

Although it is true that Wang creatively used stories and teachings from both the Bible and the Four Books to construct his Confucian-Christian theology, and while he stated that he accepted all of what the Bible taught,¹¹ he was selective in his use of the Four Books, saying that he accepted 99% of Confucius’ teachings.¹² As detailed previously, Wang thought that Confucius’ teaching to “return kindness with kindness, and injury with injury” was morally inferior to Jesus’ command to “love your enemies.” He saw Jesus’ command to repay injury with kindness as being a superior

⁹ Shan Chun, *Major Aspects of Chinese Religion and Philosophy: Dao of Inner Saint and Outer King* (Berlin: Springer, 2012), v and x.

¹⁰ See Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增, “Inner Saint and Outer King: Rethinking the Mission of Chinese Christians from a Historical Perspective” 內聖與外王——從歷史角度再思華人基督徒的信仰使命 (Presentation, Forum on Christian Faith of Chinese Intellectuals: Spirituality, Understanding, Character, Los Alamos, NM, USA, August 4-6, 2016). https://forumcfci.org/forum2016/sites/default/files/Proceeding/Ch3_art4.pdf.

¹¹ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 98 and 157.

¹² Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 149.

teaching.¹³ Wang rejected the Confucian tradition of sacrifice to the dead, mentioned in *The Analects* 3.12, stating that, as Christians, “We do not sacrifice to our ancestors, nor do we want our descendants to sacrifice to us.”¹⁴ In the spring volume of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* for 1948, the issue before Wang described Confucius as “China’s Sage,”¹⁵ Wang wrote that “Confucius cannot compare to Jesus.”¹⁶ For Wang Mingdao, the sage of the nation did not have anywhere near the theological authority that the Son of God did. Similarly, although Wang had great respect for Mencius, he also disagreed with some of his teachings and said that we should not accept Mencius’ lesson that to have no posterity is unfilial.¹⁷ Wang also preferred Xunzi’s interpretation of human nature being evil to Mencius’ interpretation, enshrined in the Four Books, that human nature is good.¹⁸ Wang also approved of the higher position of women in Christianity as opposed to the traditional Confucian moral injunctions for women to obey in turn their fathers, husbands, and sons.¹⁹ In this dissertation, as a corrective to the prevailing literature, particularly in English, an attempt has been made to show the life-long influence of the Confucian tradition on Wang Mingdao. At the same time, it is clear that Wang’s highest level of commitment in his theology was to the Bible.

4) Wang’s Theological Method

This naturally brings up the topic of Wang’s theological method, or how he constructed his theology. Wang said during his independent stage that the basic principle he developed to guide his theology was that if a teaching was clearly written in the Bible he accepted it; if it was not, he rejected it. Wang also said that he rejected any church tradition or regulation that he could not find a legitimate basis for in the Bible.²⁰ Wang would refer to reason 道理 as a guide in theological truth, as he did in articulating his preference for designating Jesus as the Son of God, as opposed to the “unclear reason” of the traditional Christian doctrines which he viewed as being traditions passed on by people and not the “truth of the Bible.”²¹ Experience also played a role in whether or not Wang would give credence to a teaching. Although he prioritized the Bible in his interpretation of the issue of “spiritual tongues,” his final comment on the issue in his autobiography was that he knew many people who did not speak in spiritual tongues but were morally sound Christians, and he knew of one man who spoke in these tongues but was morally reprehensible. His conclusion was based on his experience of the moral character of these people.²² Experience of moral character also played a role in his warming toward John Sung and his cooling toward Watchman

¹³ Wang Mingdao, Untitled Sermon, January 28, 1988.

¹⁴ Wang Mingdao, “Taking a Concubine and Divorce” 納妾與離婚, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 62 (Summer 1942): 110. See *The Analects* 3.12, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1153>.

¹⁵ Wang Mingdao, “To Glory in Your Shame” 以自己的羞辱為榮耀, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 86 (Summer 1948): 107.

¹⁶ Wang Mingdao, “What Does the “Resurrection of Jesus” Actually Mean?” 耶穌復活究竟是甚麼意思呢? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 85 (Summer 1948): 51.

¹⁷ Wang Mingdao, “Taking a Concubine and Divorce” 納妾與離婚, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 62 (Summer 1942): 110. See *Mencius* Li Lou I 26, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1696#s10031192>.

¹⁸ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 166.

¹⁹ Wang Mingdao, “The Fairest Lesson” 最公平的教訓, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 80 (Winter 1946): 184.

²⁰ Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 98.

²¹ Wang Mingdao, “God’s Son Jesus (Part 3)” 神的兒子耶穌(續), *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 97 (Spring 1951): 58.

²² Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 98.

Nee.²³ Wang's statement that he studied "bitter toil theology"²⁴ can also be interpreted as the importance of experience in Wang's theology since what he formulated theologically, he had first experienced through hard work and suffering.

Despite their best efforts to turn their backs on "the world," in the 1950s, Fundamentalist Christians like Wang could no longer avoid political issues. When the CCP government arrested and imprisoned him, after about eight years of shock and grief, the scope of Wang's theological engagement during his prison years expanded to include political considerations as he wrote his suggestions for the government. Also during this time, his theological method expanded while in Yinying after he spent a long period thinking about God's engagement with China: Wang concluded that God had communicated the Way 道 (Dao) through Confucius in China until Jesus fully revealed the Way.²⁵ While Wang never denied the highest priority given to the Bible in his theology, this broader perspective expanded his theological method to include other works that engaged with topics that the Bible did not necessarily touch on. Of particular interest due to his love of history, Wang was interested in the "Spirit of Righteousness" that can be observed in Confucian Chinese history which illustrated how some Chinese worthies responded in righteousness to the challenges that faced them. When articulating why he never used the word "patriotic," Wang said that the reason he did not use the word was because the Bible, the Four Books, and the ancient Chinese sages never used the term, revealing some of the components of the mature spiritual father's theological method.²⁶

A comparison between John Wesley, another "folk theologian," and Wang Mingdao, could be made. When analyzing what sources John Wesley utilized in the construction of his theology, some theologians have noted that Wesley used *Scripture, reason, tradition, and experience*, describing the four components of his theological method as the "Wesleyan Quadrilateral."²⁷ Using a similar idea to analyze Wang's mature theological method, a "Wangian Quadrilateral" emerges in which Wang constructs theology using *Christian Scripture, reason, experience, and the Confucian tradition's Scriptures, Sages and Histories*. The Christian Bible, the sixty-six books of the Old and New Testaments, is the main source and final authority for all theological issues for Wang. Although his statement that he did not use Bible commentaries was not accurate, since he referred to annotated Study Bibles,²⁸ read Charles Spurgeon's *The New Testament Treasury*,²⁹ and translated a large number of English theological articles for *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*,³⁰ what does appear to be true is that what Wang interpreted the Bible to mean was not superseded by any other source in his theology. When in 1933, Wang evaluated the significant spiritual activity that took place in Shandong Province, his first criteria for this spiritual activity being genuinely

²³ As noted by Ying Fuk Tsang, "Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao," 157-158.

²⁴ Li Kaihuan ed., "Wang Mingdao's Theology," 110.

²⁵ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 266.

²⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 136.

²⁷ This way of describing Wesley's theological method was originally theorized by Albert C. Outler. See Albert C. Outler, "The Wesleyan Quadrilateral in Wesley," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 20.1 (1985): 7-18, https://wtsociety.com/files/wts_journal/1985-wtj-20-1.pdf. Also, Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology*, 36-47.

²⁸ See Wang Mingdao, "The Question of Validity of the Last Half of Mark 16" 馬可福音地十六章後半質疑, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 101 (Spring 1952): 54-55. Wang refers to annotated notes in *The Scofield Reference Bible*, *The American Revised Version*, and *The Holy Bible: A New Translation* by James Moffatt in this article.

²⁹ *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 196. April 14, 1934.

³⁰ Mainly articles by George H. Knight and James R. Miller but Wang translated many other authors as well. See Appendix 3.

Christian was that it was consistent with the teaching of the Bible.³¹ His interpretation of the Bible was closely rooted to a literal interpretation of the Christian Scripture.³² This method, described as “Biblicism,”³³ on the one hand provided the theological justification to disagree with Christian Modernists who denied the Virgin Birth, Resurrection, and Second Coming of Christ, and on the other hand, gave him the biblical basis to disagree with other Fundamentalists over the doctrines of Christology and Trinity, since the Bible does not record the philosophical statements required to articulate these teachings. It was what he described as his *reason* that brought him to claim that these two doctrines, enshrined in the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds of Christianity, were simply traditions passed on by people and not the truths of God. *Experience*, particularly the experience of a person’s moral character, also played a role in Wang giving credence to a teaching, but Christian Scripture was always his final authority on theological matters.

Tradition was also important to Wang but not the traditions of Christianity. As early as 1935, Wang wrote about the value of the Confucian Scriptures and histories in providing wisdom, noting that scholars in China paid attention to reading the Confucian Scriptures 經, the Four Books and Five Classics, as well as the histories 史, the 24 dynastic histories of China.³⁴ After his prison experience, Wang added a political dimension to his writings that he had avoided before his arrest. After he was released, he made his implicit conviction that Confucianism was part of God’s revelation to humanity explicit in his writings and sermons. In his Rehabilitation Request Manuscript, the main source of his mature theological thought in addition to his sermons from Wukang Road in Shanghai, Wang reveals that the Four Books and the Chinese sages also provided resources for his theological reflection. Building on a lifetime of memorization and contemplation of these stories, Wang used the wisdom contained in the Confucian Scriptures, sages, and histories to advance his points to Jiang Hua in requesting rehabilitation, and to guide those unregistered house church leaders seeking his counsel who made the pilgrimage to Shanghai to visit the spiritual father. Nevertheless, for Wang, even the Four Books were subservient to the Bible as evidenced by the corrections Wang made to both Confucius on revenge and Mencius on posterity based on the later revelation of the Bible. The Chinese sages such as Qu Yuan, Xunzi, Wei Zheng, Zhang Xun, Wen Tianxiang, and others possessing a “Spirit of Righteousness” described in the dynastic history books also provided evidence of how God has guided the Chinese before Christ had been fully revealed in China to live morally upright lives. Sinologist Wang Gungwu 王賡武 has written on how these dynastic history books, beginning with Sima Qian’s *Records of the Grand Historian* which Wang made many references to in his works, constructed the framework for Chinese institutional memory with many Chinese finding the continuity of China’s history key to their distinctiveness as a civilization.³⁵ Wang’s inclusion of Confucian Scriptures, sages and histories in the construction of his mature theology distinguishes him as an important Chinese Christian theologian un-severed from his Confucian background and shows the continuity of God’s action

³¹ Wang Mingdao, “The Spiritual Gifts Movement in the Light of Scripture” 聖經光亮中的靈恩運動, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 28 (Winter 1933): 229.

³² However, he was not an absolute literalist and entered into several theological debates on the proper translation of various theological terms in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*. See Appendix 3. On the thorny issue in Chinese theology on how to translate “God,” Wang preferred to use “shen” 神, as opposed to 上帝 “shangdi.”

³³ See Ying Fuk Tsang, “Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao,” 136.

³⁴ See Wang Mingdao, *Look at These Men (Part One)*, 3. Jing 經 can be translated as “scripture” or “classic.”

³⁵ Wang Gungwu, *China Reconnects: Joining a Deep-rooted Past to a New World Order* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2019), 61.

in the long history of the Confucian tradition in his thought.³⁶

These four sources, *Christian Scripture* as the highest authority, in addition to *reason*, *experience*, and the *Confucian tradition's Scriptures, Sages, and Histories*, make up the “Wangian Quadrilateral,” the sources of Wang Mingdao’s theological method for his mature thought.

5) Wang’s Doctrines of Christ & Trinity

Although Wang Mingdao is considered a spiritual father by Chinese unregistered house church Christians and is, or should be, considered a significant Chinese theologian due to his integration of Confucian and Christian thought, Wang’s theology is somewhat controversial. He stated in 1922, at the beginning of his independent period, that “Jesus is the Son of God, not God, not Almighty, and not of one essence with God.”³⁷ By stating that Jesus was “not of one essence with God” 非與神一體, Wang was effectively breaking with the Christology of the Nicene Creed, a creedal statement of orthodox Christian theology formulated at the First Ecumenical Council of Nicea in 325 CE. At this council, the theologians gathered finally settled on the teaching that Jesus was of the “same essence” (Greek: homoousion) with God the Father.³⁸ In Wang’s 1953 final revision of his most comprehensive theological treatise on Jesus, entitled *Who is Jesus? 耶穌是誰?*, despite the title, Wang does not provide any further articulation on his thoughts regarding the essence of Jesus preferring to describe what Jesus *does* as the Son of God rather than who Jesus *is* in essence.³⁹

During his early independent period in 1922, Wang also stated that the doctrine of the Trinity was erroneous.⁴⁰ Wang held this opinion and would discuss the “error of the Trinity” as late as 1952.⁴¹ On August 14, and again on September 1, 1952, Wang was teaching on “correcting passed on theological errors” including the doctrine of the Trinity.⁴² By describing the doctrine of the Trinity, the teaching on the Godhead as three persons (Greek: hypostases) of one essence (Greek: ousia) 三位一體, as an error, Wang was also breaking with the teaching of the Constantinopolitan Creed, formulated at the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 381 CE resulting in a Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. At this second ecumenical council, the theologians assembled agreed on the divinity of the Holy Spirit, thus consolidating the Trinitarian formula of three persons of one essence.⁴³ Wang did not as clearly articulate the

³⁶ See also Wang Gungwu’s discussion of the importance of the Four Treasuries 經史子集 (jing 經 classics or scripture, shi 史 histories, zi 子 sages, and ji 集 collections) in modern Chinese thought. Wang Gungwu, *China Reconnects*, 52.

³⁷ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 18, October 10, 1922. See also *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 28, August 11, 1923.

³⁸ See Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 73. The Greek word “ousia,” translated into English as “essence” can also be translated as “being” or “substance,” and is translated into Chinese as “ti” 體.

³⁹ See Wang Mingdao, “Who is Jesus?” 耶穌是誰? in *Our Lord 我們的主* (1953; repr., New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社, 2012), 8-47. The article “Who is Jesus?” was originally published in *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* in 1927 and revised with the final version in 1947 but Wang published his final edition in 1953.

⁴⁰ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 17, August 6, 1922. See also *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 28, August 10, 1923.

⁴¹ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 376, April 25, 1952. *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 407, July 22, 1952.

⁴² *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 413, August 14, 1952. *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 414, September 1, 1952.

⁴³ The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed does not use the phrase “three persons of one essence” translated into Chinese as 三位一體, but the concept is found in the creed. See Henry R. Percival, “The First Council of Constantinople,” in *The Seven Ecumenical Councils: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Peabody MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 14:163. The phrase “three persons of one essence” is found in

nature of the Holy Spirit as he did Christ. Wang again preferred to write about what the Holy Spirit *does* rather than who the Holy Spirit *is*. In the few instances where Wang discussed the nature of the Holy Spirit, he said that “the Holy Spirit is given from God through Jesus Christ,”⁴⁴ and when he explained how the Holy Spirit descended, Wang said that Jesus promised the Spirit would come after his resurrection.⁴⁵ Since he posited that the doctrine of the Trinity was incorrect, Wang would not agree with the Constantinopolitan decision that the Holy Spirit was of one essence with God but rather used the biblical term “Holy Spirit” 聖靈 or occasionally, the “Spirit of God” 神的靈 to refer to the Spirit.

These doctrines would bring him into conflict with Dora Yu and Jia Yuming in 1925 with Wang sticking to his unorthodox theological positions resulting in a painful separation between him and these other Fundamentalist Christians.⁴⁶ In Wang’s 1951 article on “God’s Son Jesus” after several years of contemplation, Wang’s favored theological description for Jesus was as “The Son of God” 神的兒子, or occasionally, “God’s one and only Son” 獨生子, and he found it unfortunate that:

There are some Christians who truly believe the truths recorded in the Bible, but they have accepted some teachings passed down by people in addition to the truths described in the Bible, using some eternally unclear reasoning, confusing many saints.⁴⁷

This “eternally unclear reasoning” almost certainly refers back to the conversations Wang had with Jia Yuming and Dora Yu when they attempted to convince Wang of the orthodox theological positions on Christ, using the language of Jesus being one essence with the Father, and the Godhead as a Trinity of three persons of one essence. With Wang being a Biblicist, since the Bible did not use this philosophical language, he could not accept these teachings but this stance did leave him open to theological attack as being unorthodox in his theology. Ding Guangxun, in a veiled reference to Wang, mentioned that “among the opponents of the TSPM are some who deny the Trinity,” which Wang quoted but did not offer a response to in “We Are for the Faith.”⁴⁸ The question of Wang’s theology of Christ and the Trinity are still of significant interest today.⁴⁹

As Andrew Louth has shown, the theologians who formulated the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds borrowed extra-scriptural philosophical concepts from the philosophy of Plotinus (204-270 CE) in describing the Godhead as a Trinity of three persons of one

the theological writings of the Cappadocian theologians who were instrumental in constructing the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. See Khaled Anatolios, “Discourse on the Trinity,” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Constantine to c.600*, eds. Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 2:447. The Greek word “hypostases,” translated into English as “person,” is translated into Chinese as “wei” 位.

⁴⁴ Wang Mingdao, “The Idols of Christians” 基督徒的偶像, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 6 (Summer 1928): 89.

⁴⁵ Wang Mingdao, “Did Christ Really Rise from the Dead?” 基督果真復活了嗎? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* (Spring 1935): 43.

⁴⁶ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 57. June 2, 1925. *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 79. June 4, 1925.

⁴⁷ Wang Mingdao, “God’s Son Jesus (Part 3)” 神的兒子耶穌(續), *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 97 (Spring 1951): 58.

⁴⁸ See Wang Mingdao, “We Are for the Faith!” 我們是為了信仰! *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955): 153. Translated in Francis P. Jones, *Documents of the Three-Self Movement*, 107.

⁴⁹ In a recent online presentation by this author on Wang’s theology at Princeton Theological Seminary’s World Christianity Conference (March 4, 2021), the most frequently asked question was on Wang’s theology regarding the Trinity.

essence.⁵⁰ At the time that the Nicene Creed was written, some theologians, as Wang Mingdao would centuries later, desired a more scriptural pattern to be followed in describing God and “were unhappy with the intrusion of philosophical and non-scriptural words” as definitions of Christian belief.⁵¹ The desire to construct Christian theology as close as possible to the words of Christian Scripture was not simply a development of twentieth century Chinese Fundamentalists like Wang, but since he was not aware of these factors, where did his positions on Christ and the Trinity come from?

Ni Huiliang has written that Wang rejected Nicene Christology in favor of what Ni describes as a “relation-centric” perspective on the divine Father-Son relationship.⁵² Ni asserts that Wang determined the nature of Jesus, not by his essence, but rather by his relationship with the Father as the Son of God. Ni believes that Wang’s Christology is connected to the influence of the relational nature of Confucianism in which “the nature or role of a person is determined by the relationship that this person is in.”⁵³ Ni writes that as a result, since for Wang, Jesus was God’s Son and therefore, according to Wang’s reasoning, not God, Wang rejected the doctrine of the Trinity as well. As discussed throughout this dissertation, the influence of Confucian thought was strong in Wang’s theology, but there seems to have been a more fundamental factor in Wang’s rejection of these two orthodox doctrines: Wang could not accept a teaching that he did not find in the Bible.

The first indication we find in Wang’s diary of a rejection of these two doctrines appears in the early 1920s. This was when he was attending a fellowship known as the Church of God; Zhu Dingcheng’s church in Beijing which met in the home of an older Norwegian who was working in China. Iap Sian-Chin’s contention that this Norwegian was Bernt Bernsten 賁德新(1863-1933) is credible since Bernsten was a Norwegian in his sixties at the time, based in Beijing, and whose church had changed its name to the Church of God.⁵⁴ Wang also mentions having visited with Bernsten, or “Elder Ben” 賁長老, several times from January of 1921⁵⁵ until eventually breaking with Bernsten in January of 1923 due to Wang being convinced that the doctrine of Justification by Faith was biblical which Bernsten did not agree with.⁵⁶ However, before their break, it may explain why Wang began to have doubts in 1922 about the orthodox formulations of Christology and Trinity since he had listened to this older Norwegian teach on various theological topics and Bernsten rejected the doctrine of the Trinity.⁵⁷ Gene Ng’s research

⁵⁰ Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition*, 36-39. Plotinus described three related *hypostases*: the One, Intelligence (nous), and Soul in his philosophy that later Trinitarian theologians would use to describe three persons (Greek: hypostases) of one essence (Greek: ousia) that would inform the theological background on the Godhead which would be enshrined as orthodox teaching at the Council of Constantinople in 381 CE.

⁵¹ See John A. McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: An Intellectual Biography* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2001), 135-136. Also, Mark Edwards, “The First Council of Nicea,” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Origins to Constantine*, eds. Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1:563.

⁵² Ni Huiliang, “Sinicizing Jesus,” 167.

⁵³ Ni Huiliang, “Sinicizing Jesus,” 171.

⁵⁴ See Iap Sian-Chin, “Bernt Bernsten,” 98-99.

⁵⁵ See *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 2. January 20, 1921. *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 4. March 10, 1921. *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 8. August 25, 1921. Wang broke with Bernsten over Justification by Faith on January 27, 1923 and records more tense meetings with the Bernsten in *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 25. February 17 & 18, 1923. There were likely more meetings between the two men but the published diary is incomplete.

⁵⁶ *Wang Mingdao’s Diary*, 22. January 27, 1923.

⁵⁷ Iap Sian-Chin, “Bernt Bernsten,” 100.

has also shown that while Wang attended this fellowship, he wrote in his diary that he came to “know that God is One and not a Trinity.”⁵⁸ Bernsten may have influenced Wang to reconsider the biblical basis of this teaching as Bernsten seems to have convinced Paul Wei, the founder of the True Jesus Church in China.⁵⁹ Wang eventually rejected Bernsten’s teachings on salvation, finding Eric Pilquist’s teachings on Justification by Faith more biblical, but Bernsten’s teachings on the Trinity seem to have made Wang question the biblical basis of the doctrine. When Wang went back to look at the Bible, with his Biblicist emphasis on the clear teaching of Scripture, he could not accept the philosophical formulations in orthodox Christology and Trinitarian theology, rejecting the teachings as unbiblical. Since many Christian Fundamentalists, such as Dora Yu and Jia Yuming considered the doctrine of the Trinity a fundamental Christian belief, and others such as Paul Wei and Wang Mingdao did not, it reveals that a greater variety of religious beliefs in Fundamentalist Chinese Christianity existed at the time than is sometimes recognized.⁶⁰ Independent Chinese Christians like Paul Wei and Wang Mingdao, empowered to break with tradition after the fall of the Qing Dynasty and later May Fourth Movement, established a new source of legitimacy through a literal interpretation of the Bible as a higher, divine authority apart from denominations and missionary agencies.⁶¹ It seems that their time with Bernt Bernsten was formative in both men’s rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity.

6) Wang Mingdao’s Theological Limitations

Although Wang has been extremely influential in Chinese Christianity and should be considered a significant theologian, his theology, particularly in the areas of Christology and Trinitarian theology, are limited by his Biblicist method of interpretation and a rare reliance upon reason over the Bible in the construction of his theology. Wang’s regular use of idiomatic expressions in his writings, both before and after prison, reveal his desire to be perceived of as an intelligent, educated man despite his unspectacular educational achievements. It was not education per se that Wang objected to but rather, formal theological education. As Gloria S. Tseng has mentioned, Wang’s distaste for formal theological education was a reaction to what he

⁵⁸ Gene Ng, “The Shaping Influence of the Chinese YMCA on the Young Wang Mingdao,” 190, footnote 177. From Wang Mingdao’s unpublished diary on December 30, 1920.

⁵⁹ Iap Sian-Chin, “Bernt Bernsten,” 101. Paul Wei’s currently unpublished documents, kindly shared with this author by Iap Sian-Chin, reveals Wei’s rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity and Bernt Bernsten’s influence. Paul Wei 魏保羅, *True Testimonies of the Holy Spirit 聖靈真見證冊*, 2-3. The True Jesus Church has never accepted the doctrine of the Trinity: “The doctrine of the Trinity, which presents the Godhead as three persons in one God, neither conforms to the teachings of the Bible, nor the language that it uses.” Sun Tao Hsieh, *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (Anaheim: True Jesus Church, 2008), 20.

⁶⁰ This disagreement over the doctrine of the Trinity is a part of Western Fundamentalist Christianity as well. The doctrine was included as a fundamental Christian teaching in the 1878 Niagara Creed, one of the earliest formulations of Fundamentalist teachings in North America. See Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 273. However, the extremely influential Fundamentalist Christians John Nelson Darby and Cyrus I. Scofield rejected the doctrine of the Trinity since it could not be inferred from a plain reading of Scripture. See David Hempton, *Evangelical Disenchantment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 52. One of the Bible’s Wang Mingdao used for research was *The Scofield Reference Bible*. See Scofield’s unsubstantiated comment that the Trinitarian formulation on I John 5:7: “it is generally agreed that v.7 has no real authority, and has been inserted.” This “general agreement” seems to refer to Scofield’s like-minded non-Trinitarian theologians. C.I. Scofield, *The Scofield Reference Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917): 1325. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.l0071259550&view=1up&seq=1333>.

⁶¹ Cole Carnesecca, “Revolution and Religious Reform: The Indigenous Church Movement in Republican China,” *Ching Feng* 12 (2013): 71-72.

perceived of as the domination of theological education in China by theological Modernists. However, as Tseng indicated, this suspicion of theological education was regrettable due to the fact that it did not allow Wang to reach his full potential as a theologian.⁶² After he was painfully deterred from pursuing his university education by his mother's illness and Yenching University's admission requirements, he later became convinced that theology schools in China were hotbeds of theological Modernism and wanted no part in them. At the beginning of his independent period, Wang began to prefer to study the Bible and other theological articles by himself. This allowed him to develop a contextual Confucian-Fundamentalist Christian theology, but his emphasis on studying alone reinforced some blind spots in his thought. Wang's Biblicism obscured the historical reality that previous generations of Christians had discussed the theological topics of Christ and the Godhead and collectively concluded that the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed contained the best representations of what Scripture taught.⁶³ With the theological context in China already intellectually fragile from the Modernist-Fundamentalist divide, any talk of moving away from the words of the Bible was a non-starter for Wang. He persisted in a Biblicist interpretation of Christology with Christ as the Son of God but not God which resulted in a rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity. Wang's theology included a Father God, Son of God, and Spirit of God forming Wang's relational understanding of the Godhead in which only the Father is God in the orthodox sense of God's essence (*ousia*).

Because of this, Wang's theology does not fully capture what the Bible says about Jesus. The first chapter of John's Gospel reveals that "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God (John 1:1). Wang's comments in 1927 on John 1:1 are that "the Word was with God in the beginning" but Wang stops short of identifying Jesus as God. Wang instead continued by writing that Jesus is "the head of all things God created" according to Colossians 1:15.⁶⁴ Later in 1952, when Wang interpreted the meaning of John 1:1 that Jesus is the Word, Wang states that "before Jesus came to earth, people could only hear the truth through God's words, [but] after Jesus came to earth, in addition to God's words, people could see God's truth from the Lord Jesus' life."⁶⁵ For Wang, Jesus revealed God as his one and only Son, but was not God in his essence. Ni Huiliang is correct in attributing to Wang a relation-centric Christology with a preference for seeing Jesus as the Son of God,⁶⁶ but the Bible goes beyond Jesus' identity as merely the Son of God to affirming in John 1:1 that Jesus *is* God in the flesh. It is curious as to why Wang did not agree with the literal interpretation of John 1:1 that Jesus as the Word is God as the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed affirms. This is where the critics of Wang being a non-systematic theologian have a valid point: Wang's Christology and resultant Trinitarian theology, while affirming *some* of what the Bible says about Jesus and God, does not affirm *all* that the Bible says about Jesus and God.

It is unfortunate that Wang did not have access to a premier theological institution of higher learning that would have allowed him to further develop his significant theological abilities.⁶⁷ Perhaps if he had been able to more fully understand that the early generations of

⁶² Gloria S. Tseng, "Revival Preaching," 180.

⁶³ See Khaled Anatolios, "Discourse on the Trinity," 438.

⁶⁴ Wang Mingdao, "A Sharp Warning to the Modern Church" 現代教會的棒喝, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 3 (Fall 1927): 137. Wang writes about Jesus that he is "the head of all things God created" 祂是「在神創造萬物之上為元首的」。

⁶⁵ Wang Mingdao, "What is Truth?" 真理是甚麼呢? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 102 (Summer 1952): 92.

⁶⁶ See Ni Huiliang, "Sinicizing Jesus," 177.

⁶⁷ It is unlikely that Wang would have accepted theological education from Modernist theologians at Yenching

Christians' contemplation of the Bible contained in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed more adequately represented the teachings of Scripture than his did, Wang's theology could have been more fully orthodox. As it was, since the orthodox doctrines of Christology and Trinity utilized philosophical language, Wang viewed them as simply passed-on human traditions. Perhaps if he had been able to engage in a rigorous theology program that investigated the background of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed from teachers he respected, he may have been able to see the biblical integrity of the creed.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Wang's interpretation of John 1:1 is inadequately biblical and is a rare case in which his *reason*, trapped by his Biblicist method of interpretation, and possibly influenced by Confucian thought as Ni indicates, takes the upper hand in the construction of Wang Mingdao's theology over the Bible.

7) What is Unique About Wang's Thought?

The blending of Confucian and Christian thought was not unique to Wang Mingdao. Christianity as the fulfillment of Confucianism was believed by other Chinese Christians, like Zhao Zichen, but what is unique about Wang's Confucian Christianity is that he did not embrace Modernist theology as Zhao and many other Confucian Christians did, but rather held to a Fundamentalist Christian theology which he blended with a Confucian worldview. Wang also differed from Jia Yuming who attempted to reconcile Confucian thought with Fundamentalist Christianity in that Wang rejected the orthodox doctrines of Christology and the Trinity. Wang saw the philosophical arguments for the doctrines as unbiblical traditions which had been passed on; he preferred the clear biblical description of Jesus as the Son of God which caused the break between the Wang and Jia in 1925. Also, Wang and other unregistered Chinese Christians found it problematic that Jia joined the TSPM⁶⁹ and eventually became a Vice-Chairman of the TSPM Standing Committee.⁷⁰ This has limited Jia's influence among unregistered house church Christians in China. Wang saw Christianity as the fulfilment of Confucianism's pursuit of the Way and used theological resources from both traditions to reinforce his arguments for *not* joining the TSPM. At both the beginning in Beijing, and the end of his ministry in Shanghai, Wang provided leadership to churches meeting in his home. These factors combined to create a unique position for Wang as a spiritual father to the unregistered house church movement. Although Watchman Nee has been very influential in the Local Church in China and around the

University had he been accepted in 1919. The North China Theological Seminary 華北神學院 in Tengxian (modern Tengzhou 滕州), Shandong Province may have been acceptable to Wang due to the school's emphasis on Christian education with the Bible, interpreted from a Fundamentalist theological perspective, having a central place in the curriculum. However, it was only established in 1919 and by the time Wang would have been ready to study there, his re-baptism had secured his decision to move in a direction independent from missionary Christianity. For information on the North China Theological Seminary, see Kevin Xiyi Yao, *The Fundamentalist Movement Among Protestant Missionaries in China*, 139-151.

⁶⁸ As opposed to the brief and tense discussion Wang had with Dora Yu and Jia Yuming in 1925. However, it is quite possible that even if he carefully studied the history of the creation of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, as well as a thorough exegesis course on John's Gospel, Wang still may have preferred the Biblicist position of not accepting words not found in the Bible in theological statements but since his education was cut short, we will never know.

⁶⁹ See *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 426. November 25, 1952. See also Baiyu Andrew Song, "Jia Yuming – A Chinese Keswick Theologian: A Theological Analysis of Christ-Human Theology in Jia's Total Salvation," *Journal of Global Christianity* 4.1 (February 2018), <https://trainingleadersinternational.org/jgc/102/jia-yuming-1880-1964-a-chinese-keswick-theologian-a-theological-analysis-of-christ-human-theology-in-jias-total-salvation>.

⁷⁰ See Francis P. Jones, "The Three-Self Standing Committee of 1961," *Documents of the Three-Self Movement*, 200.

world, his complicated legacy,⁷¹ death while in prison in 1972, and lack of significant engagement with Confucian thought combine to make his contributions to the Chinese house church movement different, and in some ways less influential, than those of Wang Mingdao. Due to Wang's high level of personal integrity, his post-prison years where he was able to retell his life story, and his deeply contextualized Confucian-Christianity, Wang Mingdao has become uniquely influential in the Chinese house church movement.

8) Wang's Arrest and Reconciliation Between Registered and Unregistered Christians in China

As a spiritual father to the unregistered house church movement, Wang's arrest for counter-revolutionary crime and ongoing lack of rehabilitation seems to be a major obstacle to reconciliation between the registered TSPM and the unregistered house churches. Some have argued that Wang's lack of participation in the TSPM was due to his individualism and the fact that he was hard to get along with.⁷² In fact, Wang had several close relationships including meaningful friendships with Chen Zigao, Shi Tianmin, John Sung, Zeng Pingdao; Wang also grieved the loss of such relationships such as what happened with Jia Yuming and Watchman Nee. However, it is true that Wang's perspective on the TSPM was binary. He believed that, with regard to joining the TSPM, Chinese Christians were either on the side of God or the side of the devil. As mentioned previously, many sincere Christians in China were eager to see the Chinese church become independent from foreign control and freely joined with the TSPM with a sense that God was guiding the movement.⁷³ Any nuance of perspective on the TSPM was judged by Wang as compromise. His position by the summer of 1955, when the CCP and the TSPM were striving to create a united front, was no longer tolerated. The theological issues Wang laid out in "We Are for the Faith!" and his conclusion that he would not be willing to unite with "unbelievers" in the theology he thought fundamental, made his arrest certain, but why he was arrested is still debated.

Philip Wickeri provides good insight that Wang in "We Are for the Faith!" was critiquing Ding Guangxun's theology, but Ding, who emphasized mutual theological respect for such views as Wang's unorthodox perspective on the Trinity, critiqued Wang's politics. For Ding, mutual respect for diverse positions did not extend into politics.⁷⁴ The statements made by theologians connected with the TSPM that Wang was *not* arrested for opposition to the TSPM⁷⁵ does not match up with the historical data. As Thomas Harvey has observed, since in the 1950s Chinese context political essence and religious essence were connected, Wang's refusal to unite with the TSPM was seen as a betrayal of the nation.⁷⁶ Days after Wang was arrested in 1955, H.H. Tsui (Cui Xianxiang) 崔憲祥, the General Secretary of the Church of Christ in China, undoubtedly upset with Wang for his critique of Tsui's theology in "We Are for the Faith,"⁷⁷ wrote

⁷¹ In addition to Wang's references to Nee previously in this dissertation, see Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire*, 177 and Leung Ka-lun 梁家麟, *Watchman Nee: His Glory and Dishonor* 倪柝聲的榮辱升黜 (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary 建道神學院, 2003).

⁷² As the Five Old Men of Shanghai had done. See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 48.

⁷³ See Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 161-162

⁷⁴ Philip L. Wickeri, *Reconstructing Christianity in China*, 121-122.

⁷⁵ As stated in Jiang Peifen, "An Appeal to Mr. Wang Mingdao," 50, and Wang Weifan, "Wu Yaozong and Wang Mingdao," 39.

⁷⁶ Thomas Harvey, *Acquainted with Grief*, 79.

⁷⁷ Wang Mingdao, "We Are for the Faith!" 我們是為了信仰! *Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955): 150-152. Translated in Francis P. Jones, *Documents of the Three-Self Movement*, 104-105.

Now, why then does Wang Mingdao oppose the Three-Self Movement? Very simply, it is because he opposes and hates the New China... Wang Mingdao's madness is due to his hatred of Communism and the People's Government, it is not a matter of faith; this statement of his will fool no one.⁷⁸

This quote reveals that by July of 1955, opposition to the TSPM was equated with opposition to the CCP. This correlation between the TSPM and the government makes clear that the reason Wang was arrested was almost certainly due to Wang's opposition to the TSPM.⁷⁹ His insistence that he was imprisoned not for any counter-revolutionary crime but only for opposing the TSPM continued until the end of his life.

Despite Wang's arrest, the issues he brought up in "We Are for the Faith!" have not been resolved even today and so the Chinese church continues to be divided between registered and unregistered factions, a reality that again reiterates Wang's significance as a spiritual father to the house church movement. In fact, as Kao Chen-yang has reported, Wang's anti-TSPM ideology has legitimated the ministry of house church leaders outside of the TSPM. As a result, many modern unregistered house church leaders believe, in part due to Wang's writings and example, that the unregistered church is not an alternative to the official one, but is the *only* divinely sanctioned church in China.⁸⁰ Wang's significance as a theologian is further evidenced by the fact that contemporary unregistered Chinese Christian leaders continue to bring up the issues he addressed in the 1950s as justification for not joining the TSPM. In 2010, Sun Yi 孫毅 of Shouwang Church 守望教會 in Beijing referred to Wang Mingdao's arguments in "We Are for the Faith!" as one of Shouwang Church's reasons for not joining the TSPM.⁸¹ Furthermore, in August of 2015, Wang Yi 王怡 of Early Rain Covenant Church 秋雨聖約教會 in Sichuan wrote his "95 Theses: The Reaffirmation of our Stance on the House Church" as a memorial to the 60th anniversary of Wang Mingdao's arrest in 1955 in which Wang Yi articulates his reasons for his church not joining the TSPM.⁸² These examples show that Wang Mingdao's theology and personal example continue to be a wedge obstructing the reconciliation of the two factions. It seems that until the issues Wang brought up with in "We Are for the Faith!" are dealt with in a manner acceptable to both sides, it is unlikely that there will be unity between unregistered house church and registered TSPM Christians in the Chinese church.⁸³

9) Wang Mingdao and Suffering

⁷⁸ Cui Xianxiang 崔憲祥, "A False Faith Cannot Fool People" 信仰的偽裝騙不了人, *Tianfeng* 477-478 (August 15, 1955): 14-15. Translated in Francis P. Jones, *Documents of the Three-Self Movement*, 115-116.

⁷⁹ Wang was also charged with harboring the former KMT member Liang Lizhi 梁立志 for a brief period in the Christian Tabernacle who was later executed as a counter-revolutionary. However, since Wang registered Liang's name in a police registration, and the TSPM sought Wang's support even after knowing this, it makes the charge dubious. See Stephen Wang, *The Long Road to Freedom*, 95-96 and 157.

⁸⁰ Kao Chen-yang, "The House Church Identity," 212-214.

⁸¹ Sun Yi, "Why We Won't Join the Three-Self Patriotic Association," trans., Rachel Ritchie, China Aid, accessed March 30, 2021, <https://www.chinaaid.org/2011/06/why-we-wont-join-three-self-patriotic.html?m=1>.

⁸² Wang Yi, "95 Theses: The Reaffirmation of our Stance on the House Church," China Partnership, accessed March 30, 2021, <https://www.chinapartnership.org/blog/2015/08/95-theses-the-reaffirmation-of-our-stance-on-the-house-church>. See in particular Thesis 95.

⁸³ These issues were also central to the April 22, 2015 conference in Vancouver, Canada entitled "Enduring Faith: Wang Mingdao that the Emergence of the House Church Movement in China," China Aid, accessed April 5, 2021, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B024UfutRtHobjVwY2pYd1NfVG8/view>.

The physical and psychological suffering Wang endured during his prison years was not unique to the Christian experience in China, but as can be seen from the suffering of Lao She and Hu Feng and countless others, it was common to all who offered intellectual resistance to the CCP during this period.⁸⁴ However, due to his resistance to the TSPM and subsequent arrest and imprisonment, many Christians have looked to Wang Mingdao as a model of faithfulness to God while enduring religious persecution, becoming known as a living “martyr for the faith.”⁸⁵ In order to avoid a hagiographic light which is not accurate to Wang’s history, it is important to admit his failures but still acknowledge that Wang was a man of unusual personal fortitude who almost certainly could have left prison had he simply joined the TSPM. By refusing, he endured two terms of imprisonment in which he suffered physical and psychological torture. What is evident when Wang’s story is analyzed is that his response to suffering developed over time. There were different stages to Wang’s response to personal suffering. During his first imprisonment beginning in 1955, Wang’s Confucian-Christian convictions collapsed under the combination of shock and disappointment of imprisonment, psychological terror, and beatings he received while in various prisons in Beijing. During this period, Wang lied to survive, eventually was released, passively refused to attend TSPM meetings, was re-imprisoned in 1958, and continued his morally defeated life while in prison. This changed in 1963 when he was given a sentence of life-imprisonment. Surprisingly, this sentence changed his outlook and he began to write “suggestions” to the government. During this period, he began a more fearless written and spoken defense of what he thought was morally right. His behavior changed when he was transferred to the Datong Mining Camp and his defense of ousted political leaders resulted in a more aggressive form of physical torture. Wang was effectively silenced by this, but he was no longer willing to lie, at this point preferring being killed to lying.⁸⁶ He said that after 1965, he did not fear being shot, nor being in prison, but he could not stand to be tortured.⁸⁷ He did not write or speak out again until later while at Yinying Labor Camp when such corporal punishment was forbidden by prison officials. Wang eventually returned to his written and spoken defense of what he thought was right, after the threat of torture was over, and he continued to do so after his release in Shanghai. His story shows that Wang responded to religious persecution in different ways depending of the severity of the persecution.

10) Wang Mingdao’s Life-Story is both a Chinese Story and an International Story

Wang Mingdao never travelled outside of China any further than Hong Kong and Macau, never wrote any articles in a language other than Chinese, and contextualized the Christian faith in a uniquely Chinese way by adopting elements of the Confucian tradition to create his theology. Spurning what he thought were the surface issues of Chinese contextualization such as architecture and song tunes, he sought what he felt was a deeper level of contextualization of the Christian message in Chinese history and morality by seeing Confucius’ moral vision of following the Way/Dao fulfilled by following Jesus Christ, the Word/Dao of God. He received a

⁸⁴ See Julia C. Strauss, “Paternalist Terror: The Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries and Regime Consolidation in the People’s Republic of China, 1950-1953,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no.1 (January 2002): 87-89.

⁸⁵ See “Wang Mingdao,” *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity*, accessed March 22, 2021, <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/wang-mingdao>.

⁸⁶ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 85.

⁸⁷ Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 102.

thorough Confucian education at Tsui Wen Academy where he developed a life-long love for Chinese history and poetry. His life spanned nearly the entire twentieth century in four distinct stages that corresponded to larger socio-political factors that were taking place in China. He was deeply affected by the Boxer Rebellion, the May Fourth and May Thirtieth Movements, the Chinese Civil War and resultant CCP Liberation and purge of “counter-revolutionaries,” and Deng Xiaoping’s Reform and Opening policies. He was personally acquainted with Cheng Jingyi, Jia Yuming, Dora Yu, Watchman Nee, Zhang Yijing, Chen Chonggui, John Sung, Jiang Changchuan, Allen Yuan, Samuel Lamb, Zhao Zichen, Calvin Chao, Stephen Wang, Thomas Wang, Jonathan Chao, and Philip Teng who were many of the most influential Chinese Christian leaders of the twentieth century. Even today, Wang Mingdao continues to be revered as a spiritual father to the unregistered house church movement. In these ways, Wang’s life-story is a thoroughly Chinese story.

However, just as the Christian faith itself is by nature a global story, so is Wang Mingdao’s story an international one. His father, Wang Zihou, found employment at Peking Methodist Hospital as a Chinese doctor’s apprentice and learned Western medicine from foreign missionaries. His death was an indirect result of being connected to the foreign missionary presence which resulted in Wang Mingdao growing up without a father. His mother, Li Wenyi, was able to purchase a housing unit in Beijing due to Boxer Indemnity funds given to her by the London Missionary Society. The LMS also provided funds for Wang to pursue his education at their Tsui Wen Academy and during his first year of a university prep program at a Methodist university. He taught at Martyr’s Field School which was run by the American Presbyterian mission. This experience convinced Wang to completely sever dependent connections with international missionary organizations, but Wang still interacted with a number of foreign missionaries including Bernt Bernsten, Eric Pilquist, Arie Kok, Arthur Reynolds, David Adeney, and Leslie Lyall among others.⁸⁸ Wang was mentioned several times in missionary journals such as the *Chinese Recorder* which established an international reputation among Christians interested in China. After Wang’s arrest in 1955 and grieving what they saw at the “loss of China” to the CCP, several former missionaries turned “China Watchers” kept Wang’s imprisonment after 1955, which itself was widely reported in Western newspapers, in the international news for years to come. They may have had a special affection for Wang in part because he did not write denouncements of missionaries or Western nations as other Chinese Christians had done.⁸⁹ They also admired his fortitude in going to prison to suffer for what they saw as religious reasons.⁹⁰ His autobiography *The Last Fifty Years* was loosely translated into English and subsequently into German and French. Overseas Chinese such as Stephen Wang, Thomas Wang, Calvin Chao, Jonathan Chao, Theodore Choy and Timothy Tow also kept Wang Mingdao’s story alive around the world in international Chinese-Christian communities and his books continued to be published in Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan. Wang received letters even while in prison from people overseas who were familiar with his story. The widespread nature of Wang’s story is revealed by his inclusion in the 1978 Amnesty International Report on *Political Imprisonment in the People’s Republic of China*. After his release from prison in 1980,

⁸⁸ The fact that Chinese Christians such as Wang Mingdao and Paul Wei, who were independent from missionary control and financial dependency, were still connected through close-knit personal networks with Western missionaries, is attested to in Melissa Wei-Tsing Inouye, *China and the True Jesus*, 84.

⁸⁹ For example, see Zhao Zichen’s speech, “T.C. Chao on America,” in Francis P. Jones, *Documents of the Three-Self Movement*, 150-151.

⁹⁰ See Francis P. Jones, *The Church in Communist China*, 110-111. Richard C. Bush, *Religion in Communist China*, 217-218. Leslie Lyall, *God Reigns in China* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985), 134-135.

a large number of Chinese as well as international visitors came to visit Wang and Liu Jingwen in Shanghai. He refused to meet with anyone connected, no matter how slightly, with the TSPM during his Shanghai years. As a result, the mood of Wang's surprise meeting with Billy Graham in 1988 seems to have in fact been much more tense than many of the reports reveal. However, the fact that Graham knew about Wang and persisted in the visit, despite being told three times by the Wangs not to visit, reveals how important Wang's story had become in not only Chinese Christianity but in *World* Christianity. The ongoing inclusion of Wang Mingdao in international publications on Christianity, including this dissertation by a Canadian scholar, is proof of this fact as well.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The study of Wang Mingdao's theology took a great leap forward due to two events in the previous decade. The first was the 2013 publication of Ying Fuk Tsang's *Wang Mingdao's Last Confession* by Logos Publishers in Hong Kong with extensive bibliography, footnotes, and appendixes. This book is currently available in a searchable digital format via Google Play. The second was the 2012 to 2014 republication of many of Wang Mingdao's works in their original formats by CCLM Publishing Group in Taiwan. These works are also currently available in a searchable digital format via Google Play. In light of the ongoing digitization of the humanities, it seems that the day is drawing near when a more comprehensive collection of Wang Mingdao's writings could be possible.

The first and most important next step in the field would be the publication of Wang Mingdao's full diary from 1915 to 1955. The current published diary is scant, leaving inaccessible many details that historians and theologians desire to know. In order to make the diaries as accessible as possible, a digital version in addition to the traditional paper version, would advance the study of Wang Mingdao's theology and Chinese Christianity in the twentieth century by a great degree. It is sincerely hoped that the team working on the diaries at Alliance Bible Seminary in Hong Kong will publish some of these diaries in the near future.⁹¹

A much larger area of further research would be the publication of a full collection of *The Works of Wang Mingdao*. Ideally, this would be a bilingual Chinese-English collection to make Wang's theology accessible to a global audience, and it would include introductory background information on each article or sermon with full footnoting for people and works Wang references in his writing.⁹² Again, a digital format in addition to a traditional paper version would advance the study and accessibility of Wang Mingdao's theology significantly. These *Works* would also increase knowledge of Chinese Christianity in the twentieth century in general since Wang was so interconnected with many significant Chinese Christians. Although this is an ambitious area of research, the increasing digitization of the humanities makes the possibility of such a project a greater reality than ever before.

⁹¹ See "Future Research Plans" 未來研究計劃, Alliance Bible Seminary 建道神學院, accessed March 31, 2021, <https://www.abs.edu/teaching-and-research/%E5%9F%BA%E7%9D%A3%E6%95%99%E8%88%87%E4%B8%AD%E5%9C%8B%E6%96%87%E5%8C%96%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6%E4%B8%AD%E5%BF%83/%E5%AD%B8%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6/%E6%9C%AA%E4%BE%86%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6%E8%A8%88%E5%8A%83/>.

⁹² The publication of the 35 volume *Bicentennial Edition of the Works of John Wesley* was begun in 1975 and continues unfinished to this day. This edition of *The Works of John Wesley*, currently published by Abingdon Press, provides a good standard to consult for a future edition of *The Works of Wang Mingdao* but of course would need to be modified to accommodate a Chinese theologian.

Bibliography

The following bibliography is a complete list of works referenced in this dissertation. For entries published in Chinese, the author (in the first entry), title, publisher, and if applicable, editor will be included in English and Chinese characters. For entries in Japanese, German and French, the English titles will be provided. The Chinese dynastic period sources used in this dissertation, many of which are ancient, will be included in a following section with the appropriate web addresses on the Chinese Text Project website for greater accessibility. For “Unnamed author” entries, the references are arranged chronologically. References to Wang Mingdao’s works are arranged chronologically according to original publication date. Where two publication dates are identical, these works are arranged alphabetically.

Adeney, David H. *China: The Church’s Long March*. Ventura, CA: OMF Books, 1985.

Adventism in China. “Pilquist E.” Accessed April 22, 2021.
<http://www.adventisminchina.org/individual-name/expatriates/pilquiste>.

Aikman, David. *Jesus in Beijing*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing Inc., 2003.

Amnesty International Report 1978. London: Amnesty International Publications, 1978.
<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/POL100011978ENGLISH.PDF>.

Anatolios, Khaled. “Discourse on the Trinity.” In *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Constantine to c.600*, edited by Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris, 431-459. Vol.2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention 1930. New Orleans, Louisiana. May 14-18, 1930.
http://media2.sbhla.org.s3.amazonaws.com/annuals/SBC_Annual_1930.pdf.

Bashford, James W. *China and Methodism*. Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1906.
<https://archive.org/details/chinamethodism01bash/page/n4/mode/2up>.

Barrington, R.T. “Panel Cites Threat Posed by Marxism.” *Oklahoma City Star*, September 14, 1956.

Bays, Daniel H. *A New History of Christianity in China*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

Becker, Jasper. “The Mystery of Lao She.” *South China Morning Post*, September 27, 2001.
<https://www.scmp.com/article/358800/mystery-lao-she>.

Beckwith, Christopher. *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Beebe, Robert C. “Our Medical Students.” *The China Medical Missionary Journal* III, no.1 (March 1889): 1-4.

<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11176074#page/2/mode/1up>.

Bickers, Robert A. "New Light on Lao She, London, and the London Missionary Society, 1921-1929." *Modern Chinese Literature* 8, no. 1/2 (Spring/Fall 1994): 21-39.

Bickers, Robert. "Introduction." In *The Boxers, China, and the World*, edited by Robert Bickers and R.G. Tiedemann, i-xxi. Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007.

Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity. "Allen Yuan." Accessed March 3, 2021. <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/yuan-allen>.

Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity. "Cheng Jingyi." Accessed September 17, 2020. <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/cheng-jingyi>.

Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity. "Elisabeth Alden 'Betty' Stam." Accessed January 22, 2021. <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/stam-bette>.

Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity. "Francis Price Jones." Accessed May 28, 2020. <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/jones-francis-price>.

Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity. (Jia Yuming) "賈玉銘." Accessed September 17, 2020. <http://bdconline.net/zh-hant/stories/jia-yuming>.

Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity. "Leslie Theodore Lyall." Accessed May 28, 2020. <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/lyall-leslie-theodore>.

Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity. "Wang Mingdao." Accessed March 22, 2021. <http://bdconline.net/en/stories/wang-mingdao>.

Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity. (Zhang Yijing) "張亦鏡." Accessed September 30, 2020. <http://bdconline.net/zh-hant/stories/zhang-yijing>.

Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity. (Zhao Zichen) "趙紫宸." Accessed September 1, 2020. <http://bdconline.net/zh-hant/stories/zhao-zichen>.

Bond, Jennifer. "The One for the Many: Zeng Baosun, Louise Barnes and the Yifang School for Girls at Changsha, 1893-1927." *Studies in Church History* 55 (2019): 441-462. <http://dro.dur.ac.uk/27013/1/27013.pdf>.

Boorman, Howard L. "Cheng Ching-yi" in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*. Vol. 1. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.

Brook, Timothy. *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Brother David and Lela Gilbert. *Walking the Hard Road – Wang Mingdao*. New York: Harper

- Collins Publishers, 1989.
- Bush, Richard C. *Religion in Communist China*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970.
- Burklin, Werner. *Jesus Never Left China: The Rest of the Story*. Enumclaw, WA: Pleasant Word, 2006.
- Carnesecca, Cole. "Revolution and Religious Reform: The Indigenous Church Movement in Republican China." *Ching Feng* 12 (2013): 57-74.
- Chang, Vincent K.L. *Forgotten Diplomacy: The Modern Remaking of Dutch-Chinese Relations, 1927-1950*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Chao, Jonathan. "The Chinese Indigenous Church Movement, 1919-1927: A Protestant Response to the Anti-Christian Movements in Modern China." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1986.
- Chao, Jonathan 趙天恩. "A Brief Description of Mr. Wang Mingdao's Contribution to the Chinese Church" 略述王明道先生對中國教會的貢獻 *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991): 2-4.
- Chen Yun 陳雲. "Speak the Truth, Don't Talk about Saving Face" 只講真理，不要講面子. *People's Daily*, December 31, 1981.
- China Aid. "Enduring Faith: Wang Mingdao and the Emergence of the House Church Movement in China." Accessed April 5, 2021, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B024UfutRtHobjVwY2pYd1NfVG8/view>.
- China Aid. Sun Yi. "Why We Won't Join the Three-Self Patriotic Association." Translated by Rachel Ritchie, China Aid, accessed March 30, 2021, <https://www.chinaaid.org/2011/06/why-we-wont-join-three-self-patriotic.html?m=1>.
- China Knowledge. "Wen Tianxiang 文天祥." Accessed January 29, 2021. <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Song/personswentianxiang.html>.
- China Knowledge. "Zhenguan Zhengyao 貞觀政要." Accessed January 29, 2021. <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Song/personswentianxiang.html>.
- China Partnership. Wang Yi. "95 Theses: The Reaffirmation of our Stance on the House Church." Unnamed Translator. Accessed March 30, 2021. <https://www.chinapartnership.org/blog/2015/08/95-theses-the-reaffirmation-of-our-stance-on-the-house-church>.
- Chen Chonggui 陳崇桂. "A New Commandment (The Eleventh Commandment)" 新誠命 (第十一條誠命) *Tianfeng* 485 (October 1955): 15-16.

- Chiang Kai Shek 蔣介石. "The Principles of Jesus Concerning National Salvation" 耶穌為救國的標準. *Evangelism* 佈道雜誌 6 (Jan-Feb 1933): 5-8.
- China's Young Men*. National Committee of the YMCA of China: Shanghai, 1906-1916. Gale Primary Sources, Nineteenth Century Collections Online: Asia and the West.
- Chinese Ancient Poetry. Chen Ziang 陳子昂. "On a Gate Tower at Yuzhou" 登幽州臺歌. Accessed July 6, 2020. https://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/4035.
- Chinese Ancient Poetry. Du Mu 杜牧. "EFang Palace" 阿房宮賦. Accessed August 29, 2020. https://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/47516.
- Chinese Ancient Poetry. Zhang Jie 章碣. "Book Burning Pit" 焚書坑. Accessed October 14, 2020. http://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/35894.
- Chirot, Daniel. *Modern Tyrants: The Power and Prevalence of Evil in Our Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Chu, Samuel C. "Early 20th Century Chinese Christian Writers and the Church Indigenization Movement." *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History: Academia Sinica* 12 (1983): 195-217.
http://www.mh.sinica.edu.tw/MHDocument/PublicationDetail/PublicationDetail_1019.pdf.
- Cohen, Paul A. "Christian Missions and their Impact to 1900." In *The Cambridge History of China*, edited by John K. Fairbank, 543-590. Vol.10. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Cohen, Paul A. *History in Three Keys : The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Cohen, Paul. "Humanizing the Boxers." In *The Boxers, China, and the World*, edited by Robert Bickers and R.G. Tiedemann, 179-198. Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007.
- Cook, Richard R. "Fundamentalism and Modern Culture in Republican China: The Popular Language of Wang Mingdao, 1900-1991." PhD diss., The University of Iowa, 2003.
- Cook, Richard R. "Wang Mingdao and the Evolution of Contextualized Chinese Churches." In *Contextualization of Christianity in China: An Evaluation in Modern Perspective*, edited by Wang, Peter Chen-Main, 209-223. Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta, 2007.
- Criticism Group of the Military and Political University 軍政大學大批判組. "The Gun Must Always Be in the Hands of the Party and the People – Criticizing Lin Biao's Crimes Against the Party's Absolute Leadership Over the Army" 槍杆子要永遠掌握在黨和人

- 民手裡——批判林彪反對黨對軍隊絕對領導的罪行. *People's Daily*, November 13, 1974.
- Cui Xianxiang 崔憲祥. "A False Faith Cannot Fool People" 信仰的偽裝騙不了人. *Tianfeng* 477-478 (August 1955): 14-15.
- Ding Guangxun 丁光訓. "Summary of Standing Committee Member Ding Guangxun's Speech" 丁光訓常委發言摘要. *Tianfeng*, 457 (March 1955): 7.
- Ding Guangxun. "An Earnest Admonishment to Wang Mingdao" 正告王明道. *Tianfeng* 447-8 (August 1955): 16-20.
- Dong, Madeleine Yue. *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Dunch, Ryan. "Science, Religion, and the Classics in Christian Higher Education to 1920." In *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950*, edited by Daniel H. Bays and Ellen Widmer, 57-82. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- East Gates International. "Rev. Billy Graham's First Visit to China." Accessed February 25, 2021. <https://eastgates.org/rev-billy-grahams-first-visit-to-china/>.
- Eastman, Lloyd E. "Nationalist China During the Nanjing Decade." In *The Cambridge History of China*, edited by John K. Fairbank, 116-167. Vol.13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Eastman, Lloyd E. Eastman. "Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945." In *The Cambridge History of China*, edited by John K. Fairbank, 547-608. Vol.13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Edwards, Mark. "The First Council of Nicea." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Origins to Constantine*, edited by Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young, 552-567. Vol.1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Encyclopedia Knowledge. "Caolanzi Prison Former Site" 草嵐子監獄舊址. Encyclopedia Accessed April 23, 2021. <https://www.easyatm.com.tw/wiki/%E8%8D%89%E5%B5%90%E5%AD%90%E7%9B%A3%E7%8D%84>.
- Ewing, Charles and Bessie. *Death Throes of a Dynasty*, edited by E.G. Ruoff. Kent, Kent State University Press, 1990.
- Feng Chunxiang 馮春祥. "Criticizing Confucius' Fallacy of Studying and Being an Official" 批判孔子的讀書做官的謬論. *People's Daily*, December 10, 1973.

- Feng Youlan 馮友蘭. *A History of Chinese Philosophy* 中國哲學史. Shanghai: Commercial Press 商務印書館, 1934.
- Feng Youlan 馮友蘭. *On Confucius* 論孔丘. Beijing: People's Publishers 人民出版社, 1973.
- Furth, Charlotte. "Intellectual Change: From the Reform Movement to the May Fourth Movement, 1895-1920." In *The Cambridge History of China*, edited by John K. Fairbank, 322-405. Vol.12. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Glüer, Winfried. "The Legacy of T.C. Chao." *International Bulletin of Missionary Review* 6, no. 4, (October 1982): 165-169.
<http://www.internationalbulletin.org/issues/1982-04/1982-04-165-gluer.pdf>.
- Glüer, Winfried M. "T.C. Chao Revisited: Questions about His Later Years." *Ching Feng* 11.2 (2012): 171-196.
- Goldin, Paul R. "Xunzi." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta. Stanford: Stanford University, 2018. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/xunzi/>.
- Goldman, Merle. "The Party and the Intellectuals." In *The Cambridge History of China*, edited by John K. Fairbank, 218-258. Vol.14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Goldman, Merle and Leo Ou-fan Lee eds. *An Intellectual History of Modern China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Goldman, Merle and John K. Fairbank. "The Post-Mao Reform Era." In *China: A New History*, 406-456. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Goossaert, Vincent and David Palmer. *The Religious Question in Modern China*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Graham, Angus C. *Poems of the West Lake: Translations from the Chinese*. London: Wellsweep, 1990.
- Graham, Billy. *Just As I Am: The Autobiography of Billy Graham*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1997.
- Gu Shouhai 穀守海. "Lin Biao Cursed Qin Shihuang as an Attack on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" 林彪咒罵秦始皇就是攻擊無產階級專政. *People's Daily*, February 27, 1974.
- Guo Jingwei 郭經緯. "Protestant Christian Elementary Education in China – A Discussion on the Establishment of Universal Elementary and Middle School Education" 基督教新教在華基礎教育—興辦普及,特殊中小學教育商榷. In *Setting the Roots Right – Christian Education in China and Taiwan* 將根紮好—基督宗教在華教育的檢討, edited by Wang

- Chen-Main 王成勉, 617-640. Taipei: Liming Publishers 黎明文化, 2007).
- Gwyther, Jordan A. "Bai Juyi and the New Yuefu Movement." MA thesis, University of Oregon, 2013. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/36687766.pdf>.
- Harvey, Thomas Alan. "Challenging Heaven's Mandate: An Analysis of the Conflict Between Wang Mingdao and the Chinese Nation-state." PhD diss., Duke University, 1998.
- Harvey, Thomas Alan. *Acquainted with Grief: Wang Mingdao's Stand for the Persecuted Church in China*. Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2002.
- Harvey, Thomas Alan. "Sermon, Story, and Song in the Inculturation of Christianity in China." In *Sinicizing Christianity*, edited by Peggy Brock, 138-166. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- Hawkes David, *Chu Tzu: The Songs of the South*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959.
- Hempton, David. *Evangelical Disenchantment*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Hopkins, N.S. and Lowry, G.D. "Hospital Reports: Peking Medical Work." *The China Missionary Medical Journal* XX, no.3 (May 1906): 148-149.
<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11354884#page/51/mode/1up>.
- Hopkins, N.S., North China. Missionary Files: Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Correspondence, 1846-1912 (China), 1887-1904. General Commission on Archives & History, United Methodist Church. Gale Primary Sources, Nineteenth Century Collections Online: Asia and the West.
- Hopkins, Nehemiah S., M.D., Passes. Missionary Bio, Madison, NJ, 1954, Drew University Methodist Episcopal Church Archives. Gale Primary Sources, Nineteenth Century Collections Online: Asia and the West.
- Hu Suh. "Intellectual China in 1919." *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* IV, no.4 (December 1919): 345-355.
- Iap Sian-Chin. "Bernt Bernsten: A Prominent Oneness Pentecostal Pioneer to North China." In *Global Renewal Christianity: Asia and Oceania*, edited by Vinson Synan and Amos Yong, 91-106. Lake Mary, FL: Charisma House, 2016.
- Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy. "Feng Youlan." Accessed February 21, 2021.
<https://iep.utm.edu/feng/>.
- Inouye, Melissa Wei-Tsing. *China and the True Jesus: Charisma and Organization in a Chinese Christian Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Ireland, Daryl R. *John Song: Modern Chinese Christianity and the Making of a New Man*.

- Waco: Baylor University Press, 2020.
- James, Alfred Francis. *Reports on Deputation of Australian Churchmen to Mainland China*. New York: Far Eastern Office, 1957.
<https://archive.org/details/reportsondeputat00jame/mode/2up>.
- Jia Heng 嘉衡 and Chun Shu 春樹. "The Reactionary Essence of Lin Biao and his Group Advocating for "Determining Power" 林彪一夥鼓"決定動力"的反動實質. *People's Daily*, August 10, 1975.
- Jiang Hua. "On the Work of the Supreme People's Court, June 7, 1983," In *The People's Republic of China, 1979-1984, A Document Survey*, edited by Harold C. Hinton, 295-300. Vol.1. Wilmington, DE: SR Scholarly Resources, 1986.
- Jiang Peifen, "An Appeal to Mr. Wang Mingdao." *Chinese Theological Review* 3 (1987):57-59.
- Jones, Francis P. *The Church in Communist China: A Protestant Appraisal*. New York: Friendship Press, 1962.
- Jones, Francis P., ed., *Documents of the Three Self-Movement: Source Materials for the Study of the Protestant Church*. New York: National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1963.
- Kao Chen-yang. "The Cultural Revolution and the Post-Missionary Transformation of Protestantism in China." PhD diss., University of Lancaster, 2009.
- Kao Chen-yang. "The House Church Identity and Preservation of Pentecostal-style Protestantism in China." In *Christianity in Contemporary China: Socio-Cultural Perspectives*, edited by Francis Lim, 207-219. Oxford, UK and New York, USA: Routledge, 2012.
- Ketler, Isaac C. *The Tragedy of Paotingfu: An Authentic Story of the Lives, Services and Sacrifices of the Presbyterian, Congregational and China Inland Missionaries Who Suffered Martyrdom at Paotingfu, China, June 30th and July 1, 1900*. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902.
- Knechtges, David R. and Taiping Chang. *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide, Part One*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Knight, George H. *In the Secret of His Presence: Helps for the Inner Life When Alone with God* London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1906.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=yale.39002088449658&view=1up&seq=5&q1=in>.
- Knight, George H. *In the Cloudy and Dark Day: God's Message of Peace to the Weary, the Sorrow-Laden, the Troubled, and the Tired*. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1910.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=yale.39002088449765&view=1up&seq=9>.

- Krabbendam, Hans. "Three-Way Chess: Arie Kok and the Failure to Expand American Fundamentalism in Europe." *Church History and Religious Culture* 94 (2014): 227-258.
- Kwok Wai Luen. "The Christ-human and Jia Yuming's Doctrine of Sanctification: A Case Study in the Confucianisation of Chinese Fundamentalist Christianity." *Studies in World Christianity* 20 (August 2014): 145-165.
- Kwok Wai Luen "Theology of Religions and Intertextuality: A Case Study of Christian-Confucian and Islamic Confucian Dialogue in the Early 20th-Century China." In *Christian Literature in Chinese Contexts*, edited by John T.P. Lai, 62-74. Basel: MDPI, 2019.
- Kwok Wai Luen. "Sola Scriptura's and the Chinese Union Version Bible's Impact Upon Conservative Christian Leaders: The Case of Watchman Nee and Wang Mingdao." *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30, no.1 (2020): 93-103.
- Lacy, Walter N. *A Hundred Years of Chinese Methodism*. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948.
- Lam Wing-hung. "The Emergence of a Protestant Christian Apologetics in the Chinese Church during the Anti-Christian Movement in the 1920s." PhD diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1978.
- Lam Wing-hung 林榮洪. *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church* 王明道與中國教會. Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology 中國神學研究院, 1982.
- Lam Wing-hung. *Chinese Theology in Construction*. Pasadena, CA: William Carrey Library Publishing, 1983.
- Lam Wing-hung. *A Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900-1949* 中華神學五十年. Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology 中國神學研究院, 1998.
- Lamb, Samuel 林獻羔. "The Wang Mingdao I Know" 我所認識的王明道先生. *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991): 9-10.
- Lee, Archie C.C. "Cross-textual Hermeneutics and Identity in Multi-Scriptural Asia." In *Christian Theology in Asia*, edited by Sebastian C.H. Kim, 179-204. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Lee, Moses Kung Yu. "Aspects of the Emergence of the Chinese Church from the Missionary Movement, 1900-1949." ThD diss., University of South Africa, 2000. Ch.5.
- Lee Samuel Mau Cheng. "A Comparative Study of Leadership Selection Processes Among Four Chinese Leaders." DMiss diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1985. Ch.7.
- Leung Ka-lun 梁家麟. *Wandering Between Christianity and Confucianism* 徘徊於耶儒之間.

- Taipei: Cosmic Light Publishing House 宇宙光出版社, 1997.
- Leung Ka-lun 梁家麟. *By Faith They Did It: Beijing Christian Student Association and Chinese Christian Evangelistic Band* 他們是為了信仰－北京基督徒學生會與中華基督徒佈道會. Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary Press 建道神學院, 2001.
- Leung Ka-lun 梁家麟. *Watchman Nee: His Glory and Dishonor* 倪柝聲的榮辱升黜. Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary 建道神學院, 2003.
- Li Boxiong 李柏雄. “Wang Mingdao’s Contribution to Popular Theology” 王明道對大眾神學的貢獻. *China and the Church* 中國與教會 9-10 (May-June 1980): 19-22.
- Li Kaihuan 李開煥 ed. “Wang Mingdao’s Theology” 王明道的神學. *Jiang He* 江河 28 (August 1948): 110.
- Li Siquan 黎斯群. “Wu Han – The Zealot of the Jiang [Chiang Kai Shek] Dynasty, Deputy of American Imperialism” 吳晗-蔣家王朝的策士, 美帝的幫辦. *People’s Daily*, April 27, 1966.
- Li Tang and Martha Smalley. “A Chinese Christian Leader Revisited: The John Sung Papers at Yale Divinity Library.” *Journal of Religious and Theological Information* 15, no.3-4 (2016): 90-106.
- Li Zipeng 黎子鵬. “Late Qing Chinese Christian Literature: The Narrative Features of The Peep of Day, 1864” 晚清基督教文學：《正道啟蒙》(1864) 的中國小說敘事特徵. *Dao Feng Chinese Theological Journal* 道風 35 (July 2011): 279-297.
<https://repository.lib.cuhk.edu.hk/en/item/cuhk-531011>.
- Liang Shouhua 梁壽華. “Independent Religious Beliefs’ Effect on Society: A Reinterpretation of Wang Mingdao’s Thoughts on Society” 超然信仰的社會實效性－王明道社會觀的再詮釋. *Dao Feng Chinese Theological Journal* 道風漢語神學學刊, Issue 9 (1998): 169-200.
<https://repository.lib.cuhk.edu.hk/en/item/cuhk-530524>.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004.
- Lim, C.E., Yuan, I.C., Chu, H.P., King, P.Z., Lee, C.U., *National Medical Association of China Medical Guide, 1928*. Peking: Chinese Medical Association, 1928.
<http://ulib.iupuidigital.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/WMIC/id/561/rec/4>.
- Lim Ka-Tong. *The Life and Ministry of John Sung*. Singapore: Genesis Books, 2012.
- Lin Chiu-Hsiang 林秋香 and Chang Kuan-Ing 章冠英. *An Injured Brave* 受傷的勇士－王明道

- 的一世紀. Taipei: CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社, 2006.
- Ling, Samuel D. "The Other May Fourth Movement: The Chinese 'Christian Renaissance,' 1919-1937." PhD diss., Temple University, 1981.
- Living Stream Ministry. Watchman Nee. "The Orthodoxy of the Church," Accessed April 23, 2021. <https://www.ministrybooks.org/SearchMinBooksDsp.cfm?id=2E2F00F787>.
- Living Stream Ministry. Watchman Nee. "Not Wider Than a Locality." Accessed December 3, 2020, <https://www.ministrybooks.org/SearchMinBooksDsp.cfm?id=2F2307FA82>.
- Lo Ping-cheng. "Confucian Ethic of Death with Dignity and Its Contemporary Relevance." *The Annual of the Society of Christian Ethics* 19 (1999): 313-315.
- Louth, Andrew. *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Lowry, George D., North China. Missionary Files: Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Correspondence, 1846-1912 (China), 1894-1901. General Commission on Archives & History, United Methodist Church. Gale Primary Sources, Nineteenth Century Collections Online: Asia and the West.
- Lu Dingyi 陸定一. *Biography of Wei Zheng 魏徵傳*. Beijing: Chinese Book Company 中華書局, 1962.
- Lu Wantian 鹿完天. "Record of the 1900 Beijing Incident" 庚子北京事變紀略. In *The Boxers 義和拳*. Shenzhou Guoguang Publishing 神州國光社, 1951. <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&res=87389>.
- Lui, Hing Hung Otto. "Development of Chinese Church Leaders – A Study of Relational Leadership in Contemporary Chinese Churches." PhD diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 2011. Ch.5.
- Lui, Otto. *Development of Chinese Church Leaders*. Carlisle, UK: Langham Monographs, 2013.
- Lutz, Jessie G. "Middle Schools – The Roots of Christian Education in China and Taiwan." In *Setting the Roots Right – Christian Education in China and Taiwan*, edited by Wang Chen-Main, 1-18. Taipei: Liming Publishers, 2007.
- Lyall, Leslie T. *Come Wind Come Weather: The Present Experience of the Church in China*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1960.
- Lyall, Leslie T. *Three of China's Mighty Men*. London: Overseas Missionary Fellowship Books, 1973.
- Lyall, Leslie. *Watchman Nee, David Yang, Wang Ming-tao: Steadfast in Faith*. Translated by Jürg

- Klemenz and Irma von Puskas. Giessen: Brunnen, 1974. (German Translation of *Three of China's Mighty Men*).
https://info2.sermon-online.com/german/LeslieTheodoreLyall/Zeugen_Des_Gegenwaertigen_Gottes_Band_20_2_Watchmann_Nee_David_Yang_Und_Wang_Ming_Tao_1974.pdf
- Lyall, Leslie. *God Reigns in China*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985.
- Lyall, Leslie T. *Three of China's Mighty Men* 中國教會三巨人. Translated by Zhang Linmanmei 張林滿鏐. New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社, 2012. (Chinese Translation of the 1973 English Version)
- Ma Feibi 馬非比. "Wang Mingdao Through the Eyes of Mrs. Wang" 王師母眼中的王明道. *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991): 8.
- Maddox, Randy L. "The Recovery of Theology as a Practical Discipline." *Theological Studies* 51 (1990): 650-672.
- Maddox, Randy L. *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology*. Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1994.
- Madsen, Richard. *China and the American Dream*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Main, Duncan. "Hospital Reports." *The China Medical Missionary Journal* II, no.4 (December 1888): 183-188. Section on "Students."
<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11153634#page/38/mode/1up>.
- Mao Zedong 毛澤東. *Long Live Mao Zedong Thought!* 毛澤東思想萬歲! Peking: Unnamed Publisher, 1968. "Four Sentences for Li Ne" 送給李訥的四句話.
<https://www.marxists.org/chinese/maozedong/1968/5-064.htm>.
- Marchal, Kai. "Lü Zuqian's Political Philosophy." In *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*, edited by John Makeham, 197-222. Heidelberg: Springer Netherlands, 2010.
- Matsutani, Yosuke. "Yanaihara Tadao and China: His Article, 'The Ideal of the Nation' and His Visit to Wang Mingdao." *Sociological Studies* 25 (2012): 97-123.
<http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/acd/re/ssrc/result/memoirs/kiyou25/25-05.pdf> (Japanese)
- Matsutani, Yosuke. "Wang Mingdao, Counter-Revolutionary Chinese Evangelist, Has Yet to Restore His Honor." *China* 21 48 (2018):119-146. (Japanese)
- McGuckin, John A. *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: An Intellectual Biography*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001.

- Miller, James R. *A Life of Character*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1894.
https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/a_life_of_character.htm.
- Miller, James R. *In Green Pastures*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1904.
<https://web.archive.org/web/20060207200904/http://in-green-pastures.jr-miller.com/>.
- Ming Yan 銘言. “Remembering Uncle Wang - Recalling the Death of Wang Mingdao” 懷念王伯伯一 並憶述王明道逝世過程. *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991): 13.
- Moser, Michael J. and Yeone Wei-Chih. *Foreigners Within the Gates: The Legations at Peking*. Chicago: Serindia Press, 2006.
- Mühlhahn, Klaus. “Remembering a Bitter Past: The Trauma of China's Labor Camps, 1949-1978.” *History and Memory* 16, no.2 (Fall/Winter 2004): 108-139.
- Mullowney, J.J. “Report of the Peking Hospital, October, 1910.” *The China Missionary Medical Journal* XXV, no.3 (May 1911): 206-209.
<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11194955#page/71/mode/1up>.
- Murthy, Sheela. “Deng’s ‘Civilized’ China of ‘Five Disciplines, Four Graces, and Three Loves.’” *China Report* 19, no.6 (November 1983): 3-11.
- Nature Index. “Ten Institutions that Dominated Science in 2015.” Accessed September 29, 2020.
<https://www.natureindex.com/news-blog/ten-institutions-that-dominated-science-in-twentyfifteen>.
- Naquin, Susan. “Funerals in North China: Uniformity and Variation.” In *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, edited by James L. Watson & Evelyn S. Rawski, 37-70. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988.
- Neal, James B. “Medical Teaching in China.” *China Medical Missionary Journal* XI, no.2 (June 1897): 89-91.
<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11240513#page/3/mode/1up>.
- Nedostup, Rebecca. *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Ng Gene 吳劍麗. “The Shaping Influence of the Chinese YMCA on the Young Wang Mingdao” 中國基督教青年會對少年王明道的信仰形塑. In *I Believed; Therefore, I Spoke: Essays in Honor of Leung Ka-lun at the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* 我信，所以說話：梁家麟院長六秩壽辰紀念祝賀文集, edited by Zhang Yunkai 張雲開 and Chen Zhiheng 陳智衡, 159-194. Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary 建道神學院, 2018.

- Ng Gene. "The Situation of the Christian Tabernacle and Wang Mingdao's Preaching During the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949)" 內戰時期基督徒會堂的處境及王明道的傳道事業 (1945-1949). In *Instant in Season, Out of Season: The Chinese Church During the Civil War Period* 務要傳道——內戰時期的中國教會, edited by Huang Wenjiang 黃文江, Zhang Yunkai 張雲開, and Chen Zhiheng 陳智衡, 233-254. Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary 建道神學院, 2019.
- Ng Lee-Ming, "Christianity and Social Change: The Case in China, 1920-1950." PhD diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1971. Ch.2.
- Ng Lee-Ming. "Wang Ming-Tao: An Evaluation of His Thought and Action." *Ching Feng* 16:2 (1973): 51-80.
- Ng Lee-Ming 吳利明. *Christianity and Social Change in China* 基督教與中國社會變遷. Hong Kong: Chinese Christian Literature Council, Ltd. 基督教文藝出版社, 1981.
- Ni Huiliang, "Sinicizing Jesus in the First Half of the Twentieth Century – How Chinese Christians Understood Jesus." PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2008. Ch.4.
- Norden, Bryan Van. "Mencius." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta (Fall 2019). <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/mencius/>.
- North China Christian Union Group Memorial Book* 華北中華基督教團成立周年紀念冊. Beijing: North China Union Group 華北教團, 1943.
- Onsager, Lawrence W. "On Fire for China, the Story of Erik Pilquist, Pioneer Adventist Missionary to China." Unpublished Manuscript. No Date. http://www.sdahistorians.org/uploads/1/2/3/6/12365223/onsager_paper.pdf.
- Outler, Albert C. "The Wesleyan Quadrilateral in Wesley." *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 20.1 (1985): 7-18. https://wtsociety.com/files/wts_journal/1985-wtj-20-1.pdf.
- Payk, Christopher. *Grace First: Christian Mission and Prevenient Grace in John Wesley* Toronto: Clements Publishing Group, 2015.
- Peking University & Tsinghua University's Criticism Group 北京大學; 清華大學大批判組. "On the Violence of Qin Shihuang" 略論秦始皇的暴力. *People's Daily*, January 21, 1974.
- Percival, Henry R. "The First Council of Constantinople." In *The Seven Ecumenical Councils: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, 161-190. Vol. 14. Peabody MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.
- Political Imprisonment in the People's Republic of China*. London: Amnesty International Publications, 1978.

<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/204000/asa170151978en.pdf>.

- Porter, Henry D. "The Boxers and the Hospitals." *The China Missionary Medical Journal* XIV, no.4 (October 1900): 292-296.
<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11243818#page/72/mode/1up>.
- Rainey, Lee. "Confucianism and Tradition." In *Historicizing "Tradition" in the Study of Religion*, edited by Steven Engler & Gregory P. Grieve, 227-244. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005.
- Rawski, Evelyn S. "Elementary Education in the Mission Enterprise." In *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, edited by Suzanne W. Barnett & John K. Fairbank, 135-152. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Ren Zhongxiang 任鐘祥. *A Brief History of the Shanghai Christian Local Church 上海基督徒聚會處簡史*. Shanghai: Shanghai City Christian TSPM Committee 上海市基督教教務委員會, 1996.
- Renshaw, Michelle. "Accommodating the Chinese: The American Hospital in China, 1880-1920." PhD diss., University of Adelaide, 2003.
- Reynolds, Arthur. *Pathway to Glory: The Voice of China's Christians*. London: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1968.
- Reynolds, Arthur. *Strength for the Storm*. Singapore: OMF Books, 1988.
- Rourke, Mary. "Jonathan Chao, 65; Missionary Who Tracked the Development of Christianity in China." *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 2004.
<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2004-jan-20-me-chao20-story.html>.
- Sandeen, Ernest R. *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1970).
- Schwartz, Benjamin J. "Themes in Intellectual History: May Fourth and After." In *The Cambridge History of China*, 406-450. Vol.12. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Scofield, C.I. *The Scofield Reference Bible*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1917.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.l0071259550&view=1up&seq=5>.
- Shan Chun. *Major Aspects of Chinese Religion and Philosophy: Dao of Inner Saint and Outer King*. Berlin: Springer, 2012.
- Shavit, David. *The United States in Asia: A Historical Dictionary*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

- Shaw, Yu Ming. *An American Missionary in China: John Leighton Stuart and Chinese-American Relations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Sheridan, James E. *Chinese Warlord: The Career of Feng Yu-hsiang*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.
- Sheridan, James E. "The Warlord Era: Politics and Militarism Under the Peking Government: 1916-1928." In *The Cambridge History of China*, 284-321. Vol.12. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Shi Meiling 施美玲. *Sixty-Three Years – Walking the Narrow Road with Mr. Wang Mingdao* 六十三年—與王明道先生窄路通行. Hong Kong: Spiritual Rock Publishers 靈石出版社, 2006.
- Szuma Chien (Sima Qian). *Selections from Records of the Historian*. Translated by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang. Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1979.
- Sima Qian. *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Sima Qian, *The Grand Scribe's Records*. Translated by Tsai-Fa Cheng (et al.), edited by William H. Nienhauser, Jr. Vol. I. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Sima Qian, *The Grand Scribe's Records*. Translated by Tsai-Fa Cheng (et al.), edited by William H. Nienhauser, Jr. Vol. VII. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- So Yuen Tai 蘇遠泰. "An Analysis of Wang Mingdao's Perspective on the Bible and Hermeneutics 析王明道的聖經觀與釋經學." *Jian Dao Journal* 建道學刊, Issue 12 (July 1999): 297-323.
- Song Baiyu Andrew. "Christ Against Culture? A Re-evaluation of Wang Mingdao's Popular Theology." *Journal of Global Christianity* Volume 3.1 (February 2017): 48-64. <https://trainingleadersinternational.org/jgc/75/christ-against-culture-a-re-evaluation-of-wang-mingdaos-popular-theology>
- Song Baiyu Andrew. "Jia Yuming – A Chinese Keswick Theologian: A Theological Analysis of Christ-Human Theology in Jia's Total Salvation." *Journal of Global Christianity* 4.1 (February 2018). <https://trainingleadersinternational.org/jgc/102/jia-yuming-1880-1964-a-chinese-keswick-theologian-a-theological-analysis-of-christ-human-theology-in-jias-total-salvation>.
- Song Shangjie. *The Diary of John Sung: Extracts from His Journals and Notes*. Translated by Thng Pheng Soon. Singapore: Genesis, 2012.
- Song Tian-Zhen 宋天真. *The Diary of His [John Sung's] Spiritual Life* 靈歷集光. Hong Kong:

- Eng Yu Evangelistic Mission 恩雨宣道, 1995.
<http://cclw.net/soul/linglijiguang/index.htm>.
- Spence, Jonathan. *The Search for Modern China*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990.
- Starr, Chloë. *Chinese Theology*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Strauss, Julia C. "Paternalist Terror: The Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries and Regime Consolidation in the People's Republic of China, 1950-1953." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no.1 (January 2002): 80-105.
- Stuart, Leighton. "Yenching University," *Educational Review* 25, no.1 (April 1918): 90.
- Sun, Poking J. "Jesus in the Writings of Wang Mingdao." In *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*. Vol. 3a, edited by Malek, Roman, 1137-1148. Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica and China-Zentrum, 2005.
- Sun Tao Hsieh. *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*. Anaheim: True Jesus Church, 2008.
- Sun Yusheng 孫玉升. "Wu Han, What Qualifications Do You Have to Represent the People?" 吳晗，你有什麼資格代表人民？ *People's Daily*, May 6, 1966.
- Tang Xiaowen 唐曉文. "What Does Confucius' Killing of Shao Zhengmao Tell Us? 孔子殺少正卯說明了什麼？ *People's Daily*, January 4, 1974.
- Taylor, Jay. *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-Shek and the Struggle for Modern China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Thompson, Larry C. *William Scott Ament and the Boxer Rebellion*. Jefferson, NC, McFarland & Company, Inc., 2009.
- Thong Chan Kei. *Faith of our Fathers*. Singapore: Imprint E-book Edition, 2018.
- Thorkelson, Willmar. "More Saloons Than Churches Reported." *The Minneapolis Star*, October 8, 1955.
- Thrapp, Dan L. "Faction Blamed in China Arrest." *The Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 1955.
- Thrapp, Dan L. "Southland Parish." *Los Angeles Times*, December 10, 1955.
- Tiedemann, Rolf G. *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Tiedemann, Rolf G. *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume Two: 1800 – Present*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

- Tseng, Gloria S. "Revival Preaching and the Indigenization of Christianity in Republican China." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 38, no.4 (October 2014): 177-182.
<http://www.internationalbulletin.org/issues/2014-04/2014-04-177-tseng.html>
- Tseng, Gloria S. "Bathsheba as an Object Lesson: Gender, Modernity and Biblical Examples in Wang Mingdao's Sermons and Writings." *Studies in World Christianity* 21.1 (2015): 52-65.
- The Chinese Classics*, Vol.5. Translated by James Legge. London: Trubner & Co., 1872.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b000970398&view=1up&seq=9>.
- The Chinese University of Hong Kong. "Chung Chi Campus Newsletter." May 16, 2019.
<https://www.cuhk.edu.hk/cc/publications/newsletter/pdf/newsletter20190516.pdf>.
- The History of Western Medicine in China. Indiana University Library. "Hopkins Memorial Hospital." Accessed June 30, 2020. <http://www.ulib.iupui.edu/wmicproject/node/511>.
- Tsai Yen-zen. "Scriptures and Their Popularization: The Case of the *Lun-yu* and *Hsiao-ching* in the Han Dynasty." *Journal of Humanities East/West* 18 (December 1998): 137-165.
<http://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/6604/1/relig15.pdf>.
- Tu Yichao. "Panda Huggers and Dragon Slayers: Billy Graham, American Evangelicals, and Sino-American Relations." Billy Graham Center Annual Lecture. September 25, 2013.
<https://www.wheaton.edu/media/billy-graham-center-archives/2013-Annual-Lecture-Transcript.pdf>.
- Unnamed Author. *The Sunday School Helper*. February 25, 1883.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6ax1&view=1up&seq=454&q1=Always%20speak>.
- Unnamed Author. "Medical Education in China." *The China Medical Missionary Journal* I, no.3 (September 1887): 127-129.
<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11107971#page/39/mode/1up>.
- Unnamed Author. "Personal Notes." *The China Missionary Medical Journal* XIV, no.4 (October 1900): 308-312.
<https://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11243818#page/86/mode/1up>.
- Unnamed Author. "The Situation in the North." *The China Missionary Medical Journal* XIV, no.4 (October 1900): 275-278.
<http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11243818#page/54/mode/1up>.
- Unnamed Author. "Missionary News: Pao-ting-fu Memorial Services." *The Chinese Recorder*

- 32, no.5 (May 1901): 264-266.
- Unnamed Author. "Members of the Educational Association of China, 1910" *Educational Review* 3, no.4 (April 1910): n.p.
- Unnamed Author. "Day Schools in Chihli," *Educational Review* 3, no.11 (November 1910): 14.
- Unnamed Author. *Peking Lassies: A Sketch of Life and Work in an LMS Girls' Boarding School*. Peking: London Missionary Society, 1910.
- Unnamed Author. "On the Field." *Chinese Recorder* 57, no. 5 (May 1926): 373-379.
- Unnamed Author. "Rev. James W. Lowrie." *New York Times*, January 29, 1930.
<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/151373378/james-walter-lowrie#view-photo=127381955>.
- Unnamed Author. "Peking Gives Wu Pei-Fu, China's Honest War Lord, A Fine Princely Funeral." *Life*, March 4, 1940, 30-32.
- Unnamed Author. "In Remembrance: J. Walter Lowrie." *The Chinese Recorder* 61 no.3 (March 1930): 181-182.
- Unnamed Author. "Peng Dehuai and His Backstage Crimes Cannot Escape" 彭德懷及其後台罪責難逃. *People's Daily*, August 16, 1967.
- Unnamed Author. "Confucius Kills Shao Zhengmao" 孔子殺少正卯. *People's Daily*, August 7, 1973.
- Unnamed Author 本報通訊員. "Criticize Confucius' Reactionary Thought and Take the Road of Uniting the Workers and Peasants" 批判孔子反動思想走與工農相結合的道路. *People's Daily*, September 28, 1973.
- Unnamed Author. "Member of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress, Chairman of the Committee for the Chinese Christian TSPM, A Memorial Service for Mr. Wu Yaozong was Held in Shanghai" 五屆人大常委、中國基督教三自愛國運動委員會主席吳耀宗先生追悼會在上海舉行. *People's Daily*, September 27, 1979.
- Unnamed Author. "Billy Graham in China: Building Bridges." *Christianity Today*. June 17, 1988.
<https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/1988/june-17/billy-graham-in-china-building-bridges.html>.
- Vala, Carsten T. "Failing to Contain Religion: The Emergence of a Protestant Movement in Contemporary China." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2008, Ch.3.
- Various Authors. "Mr. Wang Mingdao's 90th Year Special Edition" 王明道先生九秩高壽特

- 輯. *Chinese Churches Today* 今日華人教會 (November 1990): 32-39.
- Wang, Stephen 王長新. *Another Forty Years* 又四十年. Scarborough, ON: Gospel Publishing House 福音出版社, 1997.
- Wang, Stephen. "How *Another Forty Years* Was Written" 又四十年是怎樣寫成的. *Christian Life Quarterly Digest* 生命季刊 18 (June 2001).
<https://www.cclife.org/View/Article/559>
- Wang, Stephen. *The Long Road to Freedom: The Story of Wang Mingdao*. Translated by Ma Min. Kent, UK: Sovereign World Ltd., 2002. (Translation of *Another Forty Years*).
- Wang Gungwu. *China Reconnects: Joining a Deep-rooted Past to a New World Order*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2019.
- Wang Kung Lee. "China's Mineral Industries in 1967: Victims of the Cultural Revolution." *Asian Survey* 9, no.6 (June 1969): 425-437.
- Wang Mingdao 王明道. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 靈食季刊 (1927-1955) Reprint, New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社, 2012-2014.
- Wang Mingdao. "Editor's News" 編者的消息. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1927): 69-70.
- Wang Mingdao. "Martin Luther's Prayer" 路德馬丁的一篇禱文. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1927): 17.
- Wang Mingdao. "Publication Announcement" 出版露佈. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1927): 9.
- Wang Mingdao. "The Cross of Christ" 基督的十字架. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1927): 19-26.
- Wang Mingdao. "The Resurrected Christ" 復活的基督. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1927): 27-39.
- Wang Mingdao. "The East Will Sing" 東方將明歌. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 2 (Summer 1927): 75-76.
- Wang Mingdao. "A Sharp Warning to the Modern Church" 現代教會的棒喝. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 3 (Fall 1927): 133-151.
- Wang Mingdao. "Christ's Second Coming" 基督再來. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 5 (Spring 1928): 13-20.

- Wang Mingdao. "Editor's News" 編者的消息. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 6 (Summer 1928): 116.
- Wang Mingdao. "The Idols of Christians" 基督徒的偶像. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 6 (Summer 1928): 80-90.
- Wang Mingdao. "Jesus' Virgin Birth" 基督的童女誕生. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 9 (Spring 1929): 12-16.
- Wang Mingdao. "Can We Trust that the Miracles in the Bible Are True?" 聖經中的奇事是可信的麼? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 11 (Fall 1929): 141-144.
- Wang Mingdao. "Editor's News" 編者的消息. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 11 (Fall 1929): 186.
- Wang Mingdao. "Watch Out for Thieves" 謹防竊賊. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 11 (Fall 1929): 172-178.
- Wang Mingdao. "The Story of Zhang En and Wang Yi" 王恩與張義的故事. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 12 (Winter 1929): 235-240.
- Wang Mingdao. "Are People Able to Establish God's Kingdom?" 人能建設天國麼? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 17 (Spring 1931): 36-46.
- Wang Mingdao. "How Many Gospels Are There?" 一共有幾個福音呢? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 23 (Fall 1932): 131-138.
- Wang Mingdao. "The Gospel in Genesis 5" 創世紀第五章的福音. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 24 (Winter 1932): 185-197.
- Wang Mingdao. "The Spiritual Gifts Movement in the Light of Scripture" 聖經光亮中的靈恩運動. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 28 (Winter 1933): 213-232
- Wang Mingdao. "Does Dr. Sherwood Eddy Preach the Gospel?" 艾迪博士是傳福音的麼? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 32 (Winter 1934): 245-247.
- Wang Mingdao. *The Spiritual Gifts Movement in the Light of Scripture* 聖經光亮中的靈恩運動 Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1934.
- Wang Mingdao. "Did Christ Really Rise from the Dead?" 基督果真復活了嗎? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* (Spring 1935): 32-45.
- Wang Mingdao, *Look at These Men (Part One)* 看這些人(上) (1935) Reprint, New Taipei City:

CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社, 2013.

Wang Mingdao. "The Evils of the Modern YMCA" 現代基督教青年會的罪惡. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 34 (Summer 1935): 94-106.

Wang Mingdao. "A Small Elm Tree on the City Wall" 城牆上的一株小榆樹. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1938): 232-236.

Wang Mingdao. "Is This a Good Phenomenon or Not?" 這是不是好現象呢? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 50 (Summer 1939): 82-87.

Wang Mingdao. "Their Sorrows Shall Be Multiplied that Hasten After Another god" 以別神代替耶和華的他們的愁苦必加增. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 51 (Fall 1939): 134-140.

Wang Mingdao. "A Very Important Role" 一件極重要的本分. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 53 (Spring 1940): 19-23.

Wang Mingdao. "Scared to Death" 還是嚇死的多. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 53 (Spring 1940): 51-57.

Wang Mingdao. "My Opinion of Spiritual [Ministry] Work" 靈工芻言. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 56 (Winter 1940): 224-226.

Wang Mingdao. "The Meaning of [the Word] Church" 教會的意義. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 58 (Summer 1941): 87-102.

Wang Mingdao. "Maxims for Believer's Conduct in Society" 信徒處世格言. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 59 (Fall 1941): 170-171.

Wang Mingdao. "Taking a Concubine and Divorce" 納妾與離婚. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 62 (Summer 1942): 103-113.

Wang Mingdao. "This, is the Lord Jesus' Disciple" 這才是主耶穌的門徒. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 65 (Spring 1943): 29.

Wang Mingdao. "The Uncompromising Christ" 不妥協的基督. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 66 (Summer 1943): 68-72.

Wang Mingdao. "Mr. Song Shangjie [John Sung] Has Died" 宋尚節先生去世了, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 71 (Fall 1944): 149-157.

Wang Mingdao. "Editor's News" 編者的消息. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 75 (Fall 1945): 115-120.

- Wang Mingdao. "Saints Who Fall Ill Should Remember This" 患病的聖徒當留意的一件事, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 76 (Winter 1945): 166-171.
- Wang Mingdao. "Their God is Still Our God" 他們的神仍是我們的神. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 76 (Winter 1945): 144-163.
- Wang Mingdao. "The Fairest Lesson" 最公平的教訓. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 80 (Winter 1946): 183-189.
- Wang Mingdao. "In Memory of Mother" 追念母親. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 84 (Winter 1947): 258-278.
- Wang Mingdao. "Editor's News" 編者的消息. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 85 (Spring 1948): 75.
- Wang Mingdao. "Look at These Ninevites" 看這些尼尼微人. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 85 (Spring 1948): 13-16.
- Wang Mingdao. "More Important Than Work" 比工作更重要的事, *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 85 (Spring 1948): 24-39
- Wang Mingdao. "To Glory in Your Shame" 以自己的羞辱為榮耀. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 86 (Summer 1948): 104-112.
- Wang Mingdao. "What Does the "Resurrection of Jesus" Actually Mean?" 耶穌復活究竟是甚麼意思呢? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 85 (Summer 1948): 42-71.
- Wang Mingdao. "A Conscientious Girl" 一個盡職的小女子. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 87 (Fall 1948): 175-180.
- Wang Mingdao. "The Human Heart" 人心. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 90 (Summer 1949): 104-105.
- Wang Mingdao. "To Neglect a Warning is to Court Disaster" 輕忽了警告遭遇了禍患. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 95 (Fall 1950): 158-164.
- Wang Mingdao. "God's Son Jesus (Part 3)" 神的兒子耶穌(續). *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 97 (Spring 1951): 53-58.
- Wang Mingdao. "The Question of Validity of the Last Half of Mark 16" 馬可福音地十六章後半質疑. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 101 (Spring 1952): 54-55.
- Wang Mingdao. "What is Truth?" 真理是甚麼呢? *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 102 (Summer 1952): 88-93.

- Wang Mingdao, "Who is Jesus?" 耶穌是誰? In *Our Lord* 我們的主, 8-47. (1953) Reprint, New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社, 2012.
- Wang Mingdao. "Be Faithful to God and Not Concerned About People's Feelings" 向神盡忠莫顧人情. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 112 (Winter 1954): 231-238.
- Wang Mingdao. "We Are for the Faith!" 我們是為了信仰! *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1955): 134-174.
- Wang Mingdao. "My Confession" 我的檢討. *Tianfeng* 515 (October 1956): 7-9.
- Wong (Wang) Ming-Dao. *A Stone Made Smooth*. Translated by Arthur Reynolds. Southhampton, UK: Mayflower Christian Books, 1981. (Translation of *The Last Fifty Years*)
- Wang Mingdao. "New Year's Letter from Wang Mingdao" 王明道新年來信. *Evangelical Communications* 音文宣社通訊 31 (1981): 1-2.
- Wang Ming Tao. *Wang Ming Tao & Charismatism*. Translated by Timothy Tow. Singapore: Christian Life Publishers, 1989.
https://www.truelifebpc.org.sg/he_being_dead_yet_speaketh/Contents/4%20-%20Books%20&%20Publications/Wang%20Ming%20Tao%20and%20Charismatism.pdf
- Wong (Wang) Ming-Dao. *The Spiritual Gifts Movement*. Translated by Arthur Reynolds. Southhampton, UK: Mayflower Christian Books, 1990. (Translation of Wang's *The Spiritual Gifts Movement in the Light of Scripture*)
- Wang Ming-tao. *A Stone Made Smooth*. Unnamed Translator. Bielefeld: Christian Literature Distribution: 1991. (German Translation of *A Stone Made Smooth*).
<https://clv.de/W.-Ming-tao-Ein-Stein-wird-geschliffen/255323>. (PDF download)
- Wang Ming-tao. *Shaped by the Hand of the Master*. Translated by Thomas Roder. Thoune: Christian Library CLC, 1998. (French Translation of *A Stone Made Smooth*).
- Wang Mingdao. *Selections from Wang Mingdao's Diary* 王明道日記選輯. Hong Kong: Spiritual Rock Publishers 靈石出版社, 1997.
- Wang Mingdao. *Wang Mingdao's Last Confession* 王明道的最後自白. Edited by Fuk Tsang Ying 邢福增. Hong Kong: Logos Publishers 基道出版社, 2013.
- Wang Mingdao. "A Strong Wall, An Iron Pillar – Wang Mingdao's Testimony" 堅城鐵柱-王明道見證. Sermon. No Date. Accessed February 23, 2021.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NbYbk3vrnr4&list=PLeyV8uWMaMm0TfMS-koWZ3JEaveoadkqC&index=3>.

- Wang Mingdao. “Wang Mingdao’s Critique of Watchman Nee to Warn Preachers and Christians” 王明道講道指責倪柝聲給傳道人與基督徒的警戒. Sermon. No Date. Accessed February 23, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HiXhBUy4ZZ0&list=PLeyV8uWMaMm0TfMS-koWZ3JEaveoadkqC&index=4>.
- Wang Mingdao. “Wang Mingdao Sermon 02 – Come Out from Babylon” 王明道講道 02 - 從巴比倫出來. Sermon. No Date. Accessed February 23, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lWenH5ndAAE>.
- Wang Mingdao. “Wang Mingdao’s Sermon 02 – Guard Against Two Kinds of Leaven; To Serve the Lord One Must Be Holy” 王明道講道 02 - 防備兩種酵；侍奉主要聖潔. Sermon. No Date. Accessed February 23, 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dz_wQ7_by1g&list=PLeyV8uWMaMm0TfMS-koWZ3JEaveoadkqC&index=5.
- Wang, Thomas (Yongxin) 王永信. “‘Faithful Unto Death’ Wang Mingdao and the Rise of China’s House Churches 2015 Conference Main Session (1) The Chinese Church’s Man of Character by Rev. Thomas Wang” 「至死忠心」王明道與中國家庭教會的興起 2015 研討會主題信息（一）華人教會的大丈夫_王永信牧師. July 7, 2015. Sermon, 28:40. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qVJw5hkil4I&list=PL4ySDlhAUh_gbxfNPTm91dR41dk_2ex0F&index=1&t=427s.
- Wang Weifan 汪維藩. “Although We Are Many, We Are Still One Body” 我們雖多，乃是一個身體. *Tianfeng* 465 (May 1955): 5-9.
- Wang Weifan. “Is it for Faith?” 是為了信仰麼? *Tianfeng* 473-474 (July 1955): 15-16.
- Wang Weifan. “Wu Yaozong and Wang Mingdao.” *Chinese Theological Review* 5 (1989): 44-48.
- Watchman Nee 倪柝聲. *The Spiritual Man* 屬靈人. Shanghai: Shanghai Gospel Bookroom 上海福音書房, 1928.
- Wechsler, Howard J. *Mirror to the Son of Heaven: Wei Cheng at the Court of T’ang T’ai-tsung*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974.
- Wei Jin 衛今. “Looking at the Book Burning of Qin Shihuang from the Yinqueshan Bamboo Slips” 從銀雀山竹簡看秦始皇焚書. *People’s Daily*, July 9, 1974.
- Wen Tianxiang 文天祥. “The Song of the Spirit of Righteousness” 正氣歌. Translated by Feng Xinming 馮欣明. http://tsoidug.org/Literary/Spirit_Righteousness_Comp.pdf.
- West, Philip. *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.

- Wesley, John. *John Wesley*, edited by Albert C. Outler. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Whyte, Martin K. "Death in the People's Republic of China" In *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, edited by James L. Watson & Evelyn S. Rawski, 289-316. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988.
- Wickeri, Philip L. *Reconstructing Christianity in China: K.H. Ting and the Chinese Church*. New York: Orbis Books, 2007.
- Wikipedia. "Arthur T.F. Reynolds." Accessed May 28, 2020.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arthur_T._F._Reynolds.
- Wilcox, Holy C. "Psychiatric Morbidity, Violent Crime, and Suicide Among Children and Adolescents Exposed to Parental Death." *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry* 49, no.5 (May 2010): 514-523.
- Williams, Leroy B. "The Succession to Mao and the End of Maoism." In *The Cambridge History of China*, edited by John K. Fairbank, 303-401. Vol.14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Wing Yui So. "The China Inland Mission and The Chinese Christian Student Movement in 1937-1956." Unpublished manuscript, 2017.
<https://sosir.whc.org.hk/sites/sosir.whc.org.hk/files/attachments/The%20China%20Inland%20Mission%20and%20The%20Chinese%20Christian%20Student%20Movement%20in%201937-1956.pdf>.
- Witness Lee. *Watchman Nee: A Seer of the Divine Revelation in the Present Age*. Anaheim: Living Stream Ministry, 1991.
- Wong, Hin. "The Formal Opening of Yenching University." *Educational Review* 21, no.4 (October 1929): 348-352.
- World Missionary Conference 1910, Report of Commission II: The Church in the Mission Field*. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1910.
<https://archive.org/details/reportofcommiss00unknuoft/page/n5/mode/2up?view=theater>.
- Wright, Tim. *Coal Mining in China's Economy and Society 1895-1937*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Wu Chang Shing 吳昶興, "Searching Modern Christian Identities During an Anti-Christian Movement: A Case Study of Timothy Tingfang Lew" 非基督教育運下現代基督徒身分的索：以劉廷芳為例, *Sino-Christian Studies 漢語基督教學術論評* 17 (2014): 36-37.
- Wu Jingzi, *The Scholars*. Translated by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang. New York: Columbia

- University Press, 1992.
- Wu Yaozong 吳耀宗. "Where is God? 上帝在那裡?" *Tianfeng* 22 (November 1945):7-10.
- Wu Yaozong. *Darkness and Light* 黑暗與光明. Shanghai: YMCA Publishing 青年協會, 1949.
- Xi, Lian. *Redeemed by Fire, The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Xie Honglai 謝洪賚. *World Leaders* 後進楷模. Shanghai: The National Committee of the YMCA of China 中華基督教青年會組合, 1912.
- Xie Honglai (H.L. Zia) ed. *Friendly Talks with Students* 修學一助. Shanghai: The National Committee of the YMCA of China 中華基督教青年會組合, 1914.
- Xie Honglai. *The Protestant Missions in China: Selected Works of Xie Honglai (H.L. Zia)* 中國耶穌教會小史：謝洪賚文選, edited by Zhao Xiaoyang 趙曉陽. New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社, 2020.
- Xie Jiapeng and Su Yuxiao. "Chinese Translations of John Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress." *Bunyan Studies* 22 (2018):114-141.
- Xu Bin. "Memory and Reconciliation in Post-Mao China: 1976-1982." In *Routledge Handbook of Memory and Reconciliation in East Asia*, edited by Kim Mikyoung, 47-60. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Xunzi, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*. Translated by John Knoblock. Vol.3. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- Yamane, David. "Narrative and Religious Experience." *Sociology of Religion*, 61.2 (Summer 2000): 171-189.
- Yan Liming 嚴立明. "After Reading Wang Weifan's Article On Wu Yaozong & Wang Mingdao" 讀汪維藩吳耀宗與王明道後. *Hu Han Journal* 呼喊季刊, Issue 58 (February 1990): 120-128.
- Yao Xiyi. *The Fundamentalist Movement Among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920-1937*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2003.
- Yao Xiyi Kevin. "Wang Weifan's Evangelical Theology." In *Yearbook of Chinese Theology 2016*, edited by Paulos Z. Huang, 3-16. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Ying Fuk Tsang 邢福增. "Wang Mingdao and the North China Christian Union Group – Enemy Occupied Area Church Leader's Resistance and Cooperation Case Studies" 王明道與華北中華基督教團－淪陷區教會人士抵抗與合作的個案研究. *Jian Dao Journal* 建道學

- 刊. Issue 17 (January 2002): 1-56. Revised and expanded in *Conflict and Assimilation: Modern Chinese Christian History Research* 衝突與融合——近代中基督教史研究論集. Taipei: Universal Light Publishers 宇宙光出版社, 2006.
- Ying Fuk Tsang. *Anti-Imperialism, Patriotism, and the Spiritual Man – A Study on Watchman Nee and Local Church* 反帝, 愛國, 屬靈人 – 倪柝聲與基督徒聚會處研究. Hong Kong: CSCCRC 基督教中國宗教文化研究社, 2005.
- Ying Fuk Tsang. *Christianity's Failure in China? Essays on the History of Chinese Communist Movement and Christianity* 基督教在中國的失敗? 中國共產運動與基督教史論. Hong Kong: Logos and Pneuma Press 道風書社, 2008.
- Ying Fuk Tsang. "Wang Mingdao Discusses Chinese Church Leaders and Affairs – An Annotated Analysis of a Conversation in the 1980s" 王明道談中國教會的人與事 – 1980 年代的一次談話考釋. *Journal of the History of Christianity in Modern China* 近代中國基督教史研究集刊. Volume 8 (December 2009): 80-91.
- Ying Fuk Tsang. "A Counterrevolutionaries' Final Words – Wang Mingdao's Plea to Redress a Mishandled Case Posthumous Manuscript Analysis" 反革命分子的最後聲音 – 王明道平反文稿論析. In *Pondering Before the Cross: Textual Analysis and Scriptural Interpretation* 十字架前的思索：文本解讀與經典詮釋, edited by Wang Chen-Main 王成勉, 319-354. Taipei: Dawn Culture Publishers 黎明文化事業出版, 2010.
- Ying Fuk Tsang. "Counter-Revolution in the Revolutionary Era: A Preliminary Study on the Case of 'Wang Mingdao's Counter-Revolutionary Clique'" 革命時代的反革命：基督教「王明道反革命集團」案始末考. *The Journal of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊. Volume 67 (March 2010): 97-147.
- Ying Fuk Tsang. "Inner Saint and Outer King: Rethinking the Mission of Chinese Christians from a Historical Perspective" 內聖與外王——從歷史角度再思華人基督徒的信仰使. Presentation at the Forum on Christian Faith of Chinese Intellectuals, Los Alamos, NM, USA, August 4-6, 2016.
https://forumcfci.org/forum2016/sites/default/files/Proceeding/Ch3_art4.pdf.
- Ying Fuk Tsang. "Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao" 巨人愛恨—王明道所認識的倪柝聲. *Ching Feng* 景風. Volume 15, Issue 1/2 (2016): 131-158.
- Young, Ernest P. "Politics in the Aftermath of Revolution: The Era of Yuan Shih-kai, 1912-1916." In *The Cambridge History of China*, edited by John K. Fairbank, 208-255. Vol.12. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Yu, Anthony, trans. *The Journey to the West*, Vol.3. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980.

- Yu, Anthony, trans. *The Monkey and the Monk: An Abridgement of The Journey to the West*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Yuan Xiangchen (Allen) 袁相忱. “Remembering God’s Servant, Mr. Wang Mingdao” 憶神僕王明道先生. *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991): 11-12.
- Zhang Jing 張靜. “The Spread and Development of Early Christianity in Baoding During the Late Qing Dynasty” 清末民初基督新教在保定的傳播與發展. Taipei: Independent Author, 2015. <https://www.jintian.net/today/?action-viewnews-itemid-69890>.
- Zhang Yifei 張益飛. “The Great Traitor Liu Shaoqi Will Be Expelled from the Party Forever!” 把大叛徒劉少奇永遠開除出黨大快人心! *People’s Daily*, November 3, 1968.
- Zhang Zhiyi 張執一. “Speech of the Deputy Minister of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee Zhang Zhiyi at the National Christian Conference” 中共中央統戰部張執一副部長在基督教全國會議上的講話. *Tianfeng* 2 (1981): 19.
- Zhao Qingzhi 趙清治. “The Life Testimony of a Preacher: Remembering Elder Wang Changxin” 傳道人的生命見證：緬懷王長新長老. *Christian Life Quarterly Special Article* 生命季刊微信專稿 (February 2017). <https://www.cclifefl.org/View/Article/5342>.
- Zhao Zhonghui 趙中輝. “A Visit with Mr. Wang Mingdao” 王明道先生訪問記. *Faith and Life* 信仰與生活 156 (October – November 1988): 53.
- Zhao Zhonghui. “Wang Mingdao Recalls Entering Prison for the First Time” 王明道憶述第一次進監情形. *China and the Church* 中國與教會 86 (November 1991): 5-7.
- Zhao Zichen. “The Indigenous Church (1924).” In *The Collected English Writings of Tsu Chen Chao*, edited by Xiaochao Wang, 177-186. Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua, 2009.
- Zhao Zichen 趙紫宸. *Life of Jesus* 耶穌傳. Shanghai: YMCA Publishing 青年協會, 1935.
- Zhao Zichen. “A Chinese Delegate Looks at Tambaram (1939).” In *The Collected English Writings of Tsu Chen Chao*, edited by Xiaochao Wang, 463-464. Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua, 2009.
- Zhao Zichen. “The Articulate Word – The Problem of Communication (1947).” In *The Collected English Writings of Tsu Chen Chao*, edited by Xiaochao Wang, 485-486. Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhua, 2009.
- Zhong Xuanzao 鍾宣造. “Lu Dingyi’s Counter-Revolutionary Face is Revealed from the Biography of Wei Zheng 從《魏徵傳》的出籠看陸定一的反革命嘴臉. *People’s Daily*, November 9, 1967.

DYNASTIC PERIOD WORKS AT THE CHINESE TEXT PROJECT
(Without the definite article)

Analects 論語. <https://ctext.org/analects>.

Biographies of Outstanding Women 列女傳. <https://ctext.org/lie-nv-zhuan>.

Book of Han 漢書. <https://ctext.org/han-shu>.

Book of Rites 禮記. <https://ctext.org/liji>.

Book of the Later Han 後漢書. <https://ctext.org/hou-han-shu>.

Enlarged Writings of Worthies 增廣賢文. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=223724>.

Fine Stories from the Sui and Tang Dynasties 隋唐嘉話.
<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=263619>.

History of the Song Dynasty 宋史. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=975976>.

Journey to the West 西遊記. <https://ctext.org/xiyouji>.

Later History of the Five Dynasties 新五代史. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=626823>.

Lost Book of Zhou 逸周書. <https://ctext.org/lost-book-of-zhou>.

Mencius 孟子. <https://ctext.org/mengzi>.

Mr. Zuo's Commentary on Chun Qiu 左傳. <https://ctext.org/chun-qiu-zuo-zhuan>.

Nancun Chuogenglu 南村輟耕錄. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=389039>.

New Book of Tang 新唐書. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=182378>.

Old Book of Tang 舊唐書. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=456206>.

Records of the Grand Historian 史記. <https://ctext.org/shiji>.

Romance of the Three Kingdoms 三國演義. <https://ctext.org/sanguo-yanyi>.

Scholars 儒林外史. <https://ctext.org/rulin-waishi>.

School Sayings of Confucius 孔子家語. <https://ctext.org/kongzi-jiayu>.

Stories to Caution the World 警世通言. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=149517>.

Xunzi 荀子. <https://ctext.org/xunzi>.

Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Interlinear Analysis of and Collected Commentaries on the Four Books* 四書章句集注. Commentary on Analects 論語集注. <https://ctext.org/si-shu-zhang-ju-ji-zhu/lun-yu-ji-zhu>.



Appendix 1: Wang Mingdao Bibliography

This bibliography contains two sections. Part one provides full bibliographic references with annotation for Wang Mingdao's writings (primary sources) in both his original Chinese and works by Wang Mingdao that have been translated into English. Part two provides bibliographic references related to Wang Mingdao and his context (secondary sources). For entries published in Chinese, the original title will be included in Chinese characters.

PART ONE: WANG MINGDAO'S WRITINGS (PRIMARY SOURCES)

Wang Mingdao published *The Spiritual Food Quarterly (TSFQ)* from 1927-1955, usually in March, June, September, and December, for a total of 114 volumes. He was the primary writer but also included material he edited from other sources which he indicates at the beginning of each article. This is the main source of his writings.

Wang Mingdao, ed. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly 靈食季刊* Peiping (Beijing): Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1927-1955.

Wang also published several books and booklets on selected topics under the Spiritual Food Quarterly Press banner. Some of these were collections of articles he published in *TSFQ* but were revised and expanded. The following is a comprehensive list of his book and booklet publications.

Wang Mingdao. *The Bride of Christ 基督的新娘*. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1926.

Wang Mingdao. *The Benefit of Suffering 受苦有益*. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1926.

Wang Mingdao. *Who is Jesus Christ? 基督是誰?* Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1928.

Wang Mingdao. *The Resurrected Christ 復活的基督*. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1928.

Wang Mingdao. *The Second Coming of Christ 基督再來*. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1929.

Wang Mingdao. *How Long Will You Have a Divided Heart? 你們心持兩意要到幾時呢?* Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1929.

Wang Mingdao. *The Trumpet Call 角聲*. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1930.

Knight, George Halley. *In the Secret of His Presence 隱密處的靈交*. Translated by Wang Mingdao. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1930. Reprinted four times (4th edition)

in 1955).

Wang Mingdao. *Why I Believe the Bible is God's Revelation* 我為甚麼信聖經是神所默示的. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1933. Reprinted three times (3rd edition in 1955).

Wang Mingdao. *The Peril of the Modern Church* 現代教會的危險. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1933.

Wang Mingdao. *Can People Establish God's Kingdom?* 人能建設天國麼? Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1933. Reprinted in 1951.

Wang Mingdao. *The Language of Christians* 王明道基督徒的言語. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1933. Reprinted three times (3rd edition in 1950).

Wang Mingdao. *The Spiritual Gifts Movement in the Light of Scripture* 聖經光亮中的靈恩運動. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1934.

Wang Mingdao. *An Admonition to Believers* 信徒針砭. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1935. Reprinted in 1951.

Wang Mingdao. *The True Meaning of the New Birth* 重生真意. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1935. Reprinted four times (4th edition in 1954).

Wang Mingdao. *To the Suffering Saints* 寫給受苦的聖徒. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1935.

Wang Mingdao. *Beware of the Devil's Tricks* 謹防魔鬼的詭計. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1935. Reprinted three times (3rd edition in 1954).

Wang Mingdao. *Distinguishing Between the True and the False Gospel* 真偽福音辨. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1936.

Wang Mingdao. *Are All Men Sons of God?* 普世人類都是神的兒子嗎? Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1936.

Wang Mingdao. *The Gospel in Genesis 5* 創世紀第五章中的福音. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1936.

Wang Mingdao. *The Tallest Ladder on Earth* 世上最高的梯子. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1936. Reprinted in 1955.

Wang Mingdao. *Spiritual Gifts, Rewards, and Awards* 恩賜賞賜與獎賞. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1936. Reprinted in 1951.

- Wang Mingdao. *Was Jesus Christ Really Raised from the Dead?* 基督果真復活了麼? Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1936.
- Wang Mingdao. *Basics for Christian Conduct in Society* 信徒處世常識 Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1936. Reprinted four times (4th edition in 1950).
- Wang Mingdao. *Spiritual Food Fables Collection* 靈食寓言集. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1940. Reprinted in 1950.
- Knight, George Halley. *The Days in Dense Cloud Darkness* 在密雲黑暗的日子. Translated by Wang Mingdao. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1941.
- Wang Mingdao. *Christians and Marriage* 基督徒與婚姻. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1943.
- Wang Mingdao. *Thankful People* 感恩的人. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1944. Reprinted in 1950.
- Wang Mingdao. *What Money Can't Buy* 金錢不能買的幾樣東西. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1946.
- Wang Mingdao. *In the Fiery Furnace and the Lion's Den* 在火窯與獅穴中. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1947. Reprinted in 1953.
- Wang Mingdao. *The Christian Hymnal*. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1947.
- Wang Mingdao. *Must Christians Keep the Sabbath?* 基督徒必須守安息日麼? Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1948.
- Wang Mingdao. *To Young Christians* 寫給青年的基督徒. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1948.
- Wang Mingdao. *The Last Fifty Years* 五十年來. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1950.
- Wang Mingdao. *To the Suffering Saints* 寫給受苦的聖徒. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1950. Revised and expanded version.
- Wang Mingdao. *To Young Christians* 寫給青年的基督徒. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1950. Revised and expanded version.
- Wang Mingdao. *Our Lord* 我們的主. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1953.
- Wang Mingdao. *On Being the Lord's Elite Troops* 作主精兵. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1953. Reprinted in 1955.

Wang Mingdao. *Look at These Men* 看這些人 (Vol. 1-2). Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1953.

Wang Mingdao. *Remedies for Believers* 聖徒的藥石 (Vol. 1-2). Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1954.

Wang Mingdao. *God's Seven Testimonies* 神的七個見證. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1954.

Wang Mingdao. *The Gracious Call* 施恩的宣召. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1954.

Wang Mingdao. *What Do We Gain Believing in Jesus Christ?* 我們因信基督耶穌得了甚麼? Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1954.

Wang Mingdao. *Discerning the True Gospel* 真偽福音辨. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1954. Revised and expanded version.

Wang Mingdao. *A Few Important Questions* 幾個重要的問題. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1955.

Wang Mingdao. *Messages for Our Time* 時代的信息. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1955.

Wang Mingdao. *We Are for the Faith!* 我們是為了信!. Beijing: Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1955.

In 1963, Francis P. Jones translated and published a significant number of documents centered around the Three-Self Movement including Wang Mingdao's article "*We Are for the Faith!*" from 1955, a response to this article by Cui Xianxiang (H. H. Tsui) 崔憲祥, "A False Faith Cannot Fool People," in *Tianfeng* from 1955, and Wang Mingdao's "Self-Examination" or "Confession," from 1956.

Jones, Francis P., ed., *Documents of the Three Self-Movement: Source Materials for the Study of the Protestant Church*. New York: National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1963.

From 1976 to 1978, Wang Zhengzhong edited a 7 volume collection of Wang Mingdao's writings in Taiwan entitled, *Treasuries of Wang Mingdao*. This collection was published during Wang Mingdao's imprisonment and did not receive his authorization. The names of the volumes are as follows: Volume 1 *The Narrow Gate* 窄門, Volume 2 *The Small Trail* 小徑, Volume 3 *Spiritual Food* 靈食, Volume 4 *Surplus of Grain* 餘糧, Volume 5 *Heavenly Calling* 天召, Volume 6 *The Reflecting Mirror* 借鏡, and Volume 7 *Defending the Way* 衛道.

Wang Mingdao. *Treasuries of Wang Ming Tao* (Vol. 1-7) 王明道文庫. Edited by Wang

Zhengzhong. Douliu, Taiwan: Conservative Baptist Press, 1976-1978.

In 1981 the Christian Literature Centre published a selection of Wang Mingdao's sermons.

Wang Mingdao. *A Collection of Mr. Wang Mingdao's Sermons* 王明道先生講道集. Hong Kong: Christian Literature Centre, 1981.

Some of the letters Wang Mingdao sent out after he was released from prison were recorded and shared journals and magazines.

Wang Mingdao. "New Year's Letter from Wang Mingdao" 王明道新年來信. *Evangelical Communications* 31 (1981): 1-2.

Several of Wang Mingdao's works were translated into English during the 1980s and 1990s. Arthur T. F. Reynolds, a China Inland Mission (CIM) missionary to China from 1933-1951 was personally acquainted with Wang Mingdao during his time in China and during Reynold's retirement in England from 1981-1990 he translated, and published several of Wang's works into English. Wang's works that have been translated into English are listed below:

Wong Ming-Dao. *A Stone Made Smooth*. Translated by Arthur Reynolds. Southhampton, UK: Mayflower Christian Books, 1981. (Translation of *The Last Fifty Years*)

Wong Ming-Dao. *Spiritual Food*. Translated by Arthur Reynolds. Southhampton, UK: Mayflower Christian Books, 1983. (Translation of 20 messages from *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*)

Wang, Ming-Dao. *A Call to the Church*. Translated by Theodore Choy. Fort Washington, PA: Christian Literature Crusade, 1983. (Translation of 20 messages from various books and booklets written by Wang Mingdao)

Wang Mingdao, *Building Virtue*. Translated by Wang Changxin. Hong Kong: Morning Star Publishing House, 1987.

Reynolds, Arthur, trans. *Strength for the Storm* (sermons by Wang Mingdao and others) Singapore: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1988.

Wang Ming-Dao. *Chinese Church Iron Man Wang Ming-Dao Looks at These People*. Unnamed Translator. Wheaton: Conservative Baptist Press, 1988. (Translation of *Look at These Men*)

Wong Ming-Dao. *Day by Day*. Translated by Arthur Reynolds. Crowborough, UK: Highland Books, 1989. (Translation of devotional material from 19 different books and booklets written by Wang Mingdao)

Wang Ming Tao. *Wang Ming Tao & Charismatism*. Translated by Timothy Tow. Singapore: Christian Life Publishers, 1989.

Wong Ming-Dao. *The Spiritual Gifts Movement*. Translated by Arthur Reynolds. Southhampton, UK: Mayflower Christian Books, 1990. (Translation of Wang's *The Spiritual Gifts Movement in the Light of Scripture*)

Wang Ming Tao. *God's Grace in Suffering*. Translated by Ding. Hong Kong: Living Books for All, 1993.

Wang Ming Tao. *On Temptation*. Translated by Timothy Tow. Singapore: Far Eastern Bible College Press, 1997. (Translation of six essays from *Spiritual Food Quarterly* and *Proverbs for Christian Living*)
https://www.truelifebpc.org.sg/he_being_dead_yet_speaketh/Contents/4%20-%20Books%20&%20Publications/Wang%20Ming%20Tao%20on%20Temptation.pdf

Wang Mingdao kept a diary from 1915 to 1955, each year one volume, for a total of 41 volumes. His diary was confiscated when he was taken into custody in 1955 and was returned to him when he was released with the exception of the 1954 volume. Hong Kong's Spiritual Rock Publishers published a selected volume of the diaries in 1997 more focused on the later period until 1955. The full collection of diaries (with the exception of the 1954 volume) was entrusted by Wang Mingdao's son Wang Tianduo to the Hong Kong Jiandao (Alliance Bible) Theological Seminary's Christianity and Chinese Culture Research Center in order to copy and eventually publish at some point in the future.

Wang Mingdao. *Selections from Wang Mingdao's Diary* 王明道日記選輯. Hong Kong: Spiritual Rock Publishers, 1997.

In 2013, Ying Fuk Tsang collected and edited *Wang Mingdao's Last Confession*. This book is a set of 15 editions of an appeal and 20 unfinished pages written by Wang Mingdao in 1982-1983 to the director of China's Supreme People's Court in Wang's to attempt to have his conviction of being a counter-revolutionary reassessed. It represents a significant resource in Wang Mingdao's later thought.

Wang Mingdao. *Wang Mingdao's Last Confession* 王明道的最後自白. Edited by Fuk Tsang Ying (Xing Fuzeng). Hong Kong: Logos Publishers, 2013.

CCLM Publishing Group 華宣出版社 in Taiwan has republished the full collection of the *Spiritual Food Quarterly* from 2012-2014. In addition to *The Spiritual Food Quarterly*, CCLM Publishing Group, has also reprinted several other works by Wang Mingdao between 2012-2013. This edition by CCLM are reprints of the original, most updated version of Wang's writings, and represents the new standard in the study of Wang Mingdao's theology. These works are also available in searchable digital format through Google Play. See <https://play.google.com/store/books?hl=en>.

Wang Mingdao. *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 靈食季刊 (1927-1955) Reprint, New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group, 2012-2014.

Wang Mingdao, *Look at These Men (Part One)* 看這些人(上) (1935) Reprint, New Taipei City:

CCLM Publishing Group, 2013. (A Compilation Work)

Wang Mingdao, *The Last Fifty Years* 五十年來 (1950) Reprint, New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group, 2012.

Wang Mingdao, *But Do God's Will and Don't Ask About the Future* 但遵神旨，莫問前程 (1952) Reprint, New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group, 2012. (A Compilation Work)

Wang Mingdao, *Look at These Men (Part Two)* 看這些人 (下) (1953) Reprint, New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group, 2013. (A Compilation Work)

Wang Mingdao, *Our Lord* 我們的主 . (1953) Reprint, New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group, 2012. (A Compilation Work)

PART TWO: RESEARCH RELATED TO WANG MINGDAO AND HIS CONTEXT (SECONDARY SOURCES)

The following secondary sources provide scholarly research on Wang Mingdao and his context of twentieth century Chinese Christianity from various perspectives as well as additional research related to the topic. In some cases, the primary subject is not Wang Mingdao, but the work contains significant information about Wang and his context.

Aikman, David. *Jesus in Beijing*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing Inc., 2003.

Baiyu Andrew Song. "Christ Against Culture? A Re-evaluation of Wang Mingdao's Popular Theology." *Journal of Global Christianity* Volume 3.1 (February 2017): 48-64.
<https://trainingleadersinternational.org/jgc/75/christ-against-culture-a-re-evaluation-of-wang-mingdaos-popular-theology>

Bays, Daniel H. "Christian Revival in China, 1900-1937." In *Modern Christian Revivals*, edited by E. L. Blumhofer & R. Balmer. 161-179. Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1993.

Bays, Daniel H. "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900-1937." In *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, edited by D. H. Bays, 307-316. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1996.

Bays, Daniel H. and Widmer, Ellen eds. *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2009.

Bays, Daniel H. *A New History of Christianity in China*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

Bian Yunbo, "Reminiscing About Wang Mingdao and His Wife" 追憶王明道先生及夫人, *Life Quarterly* 54 (June 2010). <https://www.cclifefl.org/View/Article/1159>.

- Brother David. *Walking the Hard Road – Wang Mingdao*. New York: Harper Collings Publishers, 1989.
- Cao Kaitai. “What is Christian - According to Wang Mingdao’s Theological Thought” 王明道的基督徒信仰與靈命塑造. Master’s thesis, Chung Yuan Christian University, Taiwan, 2010. O.T.D.S Electronic Theses and Dissertation Services.
http://ethesis.lib.cycu.edu.tw/etdservice/view_metadata?etdun=U0017-1511201111474670&query_field1=keyword&&query_word1=MOD&
- Chao, Jonathan. “A Brief Description of Mr. Wang Mingdao’s Contribution to the Chinese Church” 略述王明道先生對中國教會的貢獻 *China and the Church* 86 (November 1991): 2-4.
- Chao, Jonathan and Zhuang Wanfang, *A History of Christianity in Socialist China* 當代中國基督教發展史. Taipei: CMI Publishing, 1997.
- Cohen, Paul A. *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963.
- Cohen, Paul A. *Discovering History in China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.
- Cohen, Paul A. *History and Popular Memory : The Power of Story in Moments of Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.
- Cohen, Paul A. *History in Three Keys : The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* . New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Cohen, Paul A. “The Contested Past: The Boxers as History and Myth.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 51, no.1 (February 1992): 82-113.
- Cook, Richard R. “Fundamentalism and Modern Culture in Republican China: The Popular Language of Wang Mingdao, 1900-1991.” PhD diss., The University of Iowa, 2003.
- Cook, Richard R. “Wang Mingdao and the Evolution of Contextualized Chinese Churches.” In *Contextualization of Christianity in China: An Evaluation in Modern Perspective*, edited by Wang, Peter Chen-main, 209-223. Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta, 2007.
- Dunch, Ryan. *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China 1857-1927*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Fairbank, John K. ed. *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*. Taipei: Rainbow-Bridge, 1976.
- Ying Fuk Tsang. “A Counterrevolutionaries’ Final Words – Wang Mingdao’s Plea to Redress a Mishandled Case Posthumous Manuscript Analysis” 反革命分子的最後聲音－王明道平反文稿論析. In *Pondering Before the Cross: Textual Analysis and Scriptural*

Interpretation, edited by Wang Chen-Main, 319-354. Taipei: Dawn Culture Publishers, 2010.

Ying Fuk Tsang “Counter-Revolution in the Revolutionary Era: A Preliminary Study on the Case of ‘Wang Mingdao’s Counter-Revolutionary Clique’” 革命時代的反革命：基督教「王明道反革命集團」案始末考. *The Journal of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*. Volume 67 (March 2010): 97-147.

Ying Fuk Tsang. “Wang Mingdao and the North China Christian Union Group – Enemy Occupied Area Church Leader’s Resistance and Cooperation Case Studies” 王明道與華北中華基督教團－淪陷區教會人士抵抗與合作的個案研究. *Jian Dao Journal*. Issue 17 (January 2002): 1-56. Revised and expanded in *Conflict and Assimilation: Modern Chinese Christian History Research*. Taipei: Universal Light Publishers, 2006.

Ying Fuk Tsang. “Wang Mingdao Discusses Chinese Church Leaders and Affairs – An Annotated Analysis of a Conversation in the 1980s” 王明道談中國教會的人與事－1980年代的一次談話考釋. *Journal of the History of Christianity in Modern China*. Volume 8 (December 2009): 80-91.

Ying Fuk Tsang “Watchman Nee in the Eyes of Wang Mingdao” 巨人愛恨－王明道所認識的倪柝聲. *Ching Feng*. Volume 15, Issue 1/2 (2016): 131-158.

Gill, John. “Wang Ming Dao.” In *12 Faithful Men*, edited by Colin Hansen and Jeff Robinson, 165-178. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2018.

Gu Jinge. “Wang Mingdao’s Moral Concepts” 王明道的道德觀. Master’s thesis, Alliance Bible Seminary, Hong Kong, 2000.

Harvey, Thomas Alan. “Challenging Heaven’s Mandate: An Analysis of the Conflict Between Wang Mingdao and the Chinese Nation-state.” PhD diss., Duke University, 1998.

Harvey, Thomas Alan. *Acquainted with Grief: Wang Mingdao’s Stand for the Persecuted Church in China*. Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2002.

Harvey, Thomas Alan. “Sermon, Story, and Song in the Inculturation of Christianity in China.” In *Sinicizing Christianity*, edited by Peggy Brock, 138-166. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Huang Jianchang, “Wang Mingdao and the Three Self Patriotic Movement” 王明道與三自愛國運動. Master’s thesis, Alliance Bible Seminary, Hong Kong, 2001.

Hunter, Alan and Kin-kwong Chan. *Protestantism in Contemporary China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Jiang Peifen, “An Appeal to Mr. Wang Mingdao.” *Chinese Theological Review* 3 (1987):57-59.

- Jones, Francis P. *The Church in Communist China: A Protestant Appraisal*. New York: Friendship Press, 1962.
- Kao Chen-yang. "The Cultural Revolution and the Post-Missionary Transformation of Protestantism in China." PhD diss., University of Lancaster, 2009.
- Kao Chen-yang. "The House Church Identity and Preservation of Pentecostal-style Protestantism in China." In *Christianity in Contemporary China: Socio-Cultural Perspectives*, edited by Francis Lim, 207-219. Oxford, UK and New York, USA: Routledge, 2012.
- Keating, John C. W. *A Protestant Church in Communist China: Moore Memorial Church Shanghai, 1949-1989*. Lanham, MD: Lehigh University Press, 2012.
- Lam Wing-hung. *Wang Ming-Tao and the Chinese Church* 王明道與中國教會. Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 1982.
- Lam Wing-hung. *Chinese Theology in Construction*. Pasadena, CA: William Carrey Library Publishing, 1983.
- Lam Wing-hung. *A Half Century of Chinese Theology 1900-1949* 中華神學五十年. Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 1998.
- Lamb, Samuel. "The Wang Mingdao I Know" 我所認識的王明道先生. *China and the Church* 86, (November 1991): 9-10.
- Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei. *The Bible and the Gun: Christianity in South China, 1860-1900*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Lee, Moses Kung Yu. "Aspects of the Emergence of the Chinese Church from the Missionary Movement, 1900-1949." ThD diss., University of South Africa, 2000. Ch.5.
- Lee Samuel Mau Cheng. "A Comparative Study of Leadership Selection Processes Among Four Chinese Leaders." DMiss diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1985. Ch.7.
- Leung Ka-lun. *Wandering Between Christianity and Confucianism* 徘徊於耶儒之間. Taipei: Cosmic Light Publishing House, 1997.
- Leung Ka-lun. *By Faith They Did It: Beijing Christian Student Association and Chinese Christian Evangelistic Band* 他們是為了信仰—北京基督徒學生會與中華基督徒佈道會. Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary Press, 2001.
- Li Boxiong. "Wang Mingdao's Contribution to Popular Theology" 王明道對大眾神學的貢獻. *China and the Church* 9-10, May-June 1980: 19-22.
- Li Jingyi. "Wang Mingdao's Views About Society" 王明道的社會觀. Master's thesis, Alliance

- Bible Seminary, Hong Kong, 1992.
- Liang Shouhua. "Independent Religious Beliefs' Effect on Society: A Reinterpretation of Wang Mingdao's Thoughts on Society" 超然信仰的社會實效性 – 王明道社會觀的再詮釋. *Dao Feng Chinese Theological Journal*, Issue 9 (1998): 169-200.
- Lim Ka-Tong. *The Life and Ministry of John Sung*. Singapore: Genesis Books, 2012.
- Lin Chiu-Hsiang and Chang Kuan-Ing. *An Injured Brave* 受傷的勇士 – 王明道的一世紀. Taipei: CCLM Publishing Group, 2006.
- Lin Liling. "Wang Mingdao's Views on Societal Conduct" 王明道的處世觀. Master's thesis, Alliance Bible Seminary, Hong Kong, 1980.
- Lui, Hing Hung Otto. "Development of Chinese Church Leaders – A Study of Relational Leadership in Contemporary Chinese Churches." PhD diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 2011. Ch.5.
- Lui, Otto. *Development of Chinese Church Leaders* (Carlisle, UK: Langham Monographs, 2013).
- Lyall, Leslie T. *Three of China's Mighty Men*. London: Overseas Missionary Fellowship Books, 1973. (Translated into Chinese as 中國教會三巨人. Translated by Zhang Linmanqian. New Taipei City: CCLM Publishing Group Ltd., 2012.)
- Ma Feibi. "Wang Mingdao Through the Eyes of Mrs. Wang" 王師母眼中的王明道. *China and the Church* 86, November 1991: 8.
- Matsutani, Yosuke. "Yanaihara Tadao and China: His Article, 'The Ideal of the Nation' and His Visit to Wang Mingdao." *Sociological Studies* 25 (2012): 97-123.
<http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/acd/re/ssrc/result/memoirs/kiyou25/25-05.pdf> (Japanese)
- Matsutani, Yosuke. "Wang Mingdao, Counter-Revolutionary Chinese Evangelist, Has Yet to Restore His Honor." *China* 21 48 (2018):119-146. (Japanese)
- Ming Yan, "Remembering Uncle Wang - Recalling the Death of Wang Mingdao" 懷念王伯伯 – 並憶述王明道逝世過程. *China and the Church* 86 (November 1991): 13.
- Nedostup, Rebecca. *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Ng Gene. "The Shaping Influence of the Chinese YMCA on the Young Wang Mingdao" 中國基督教青年會對少年王明道的信仰形塑. In *I Believed; Therefore, I Spoke: Essays in Honor of Leung Ka-lun at the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, edited by Zhang Yunkai and Chen Zhiheng, 159-194. Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 2018.

- Ng Gene. "The Situation of the Christian Tabernacle and Wang Mingdao's Preaching During the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949)" 內戰時期基督徒會堂的處境及王明道的傳道事業 (1945-1949). In *Instant in Season, Out of Season: The Chinese Church During the Civil War Period*, edited by Huang Wenjiang, Zhang Yunkai, and Chen Zhiheng, 233-254. Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 2019.
- Ng Lee-Ming, "Christianity and Social Change: The Case in China, 1920-1950." PhD diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1971. Ch.2.
- Ng Lee-Ming. "Wang Ming-Tao: An Evaluation of His Thought and Action." *Ching Feng* 16:2 (1973): 51-80.
- Ng Lee-Ming. *Christianity and Social Change in China 基督教與中國社會變遷*. Hong Kong: Chinese Christian Literature Council, Ltd., 1981.
- Ni Huiliang, "Sinicizing Jesus in the First Half of the Twentieth Century – How Chinese Christians Understood Jesus." PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2008. Ch.4.
- Old, Hughes O. *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*. Vol.7. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2010. Pages 602-610.
- Reynolds, Arthur. *Pathway to Glory: The Voice of China's Christians*. London: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1968.
- Reynolds, Arthur. *Strength for the Storm*. Singapore: OMF Books, 1988.
- Shi Meiling. *Sixty-Three Years – Walking the Narrow Road with Mr. Wang Mingdao* 六十三年—與王明道先生窄路通行. Hong Kong: Spiritual Rock Publishers, 2006.
- So Yuen Tai. "An Analysis of Wang Mingdao's Perspective on the Bible and Hermeneutics 析王明道的聖經觀與釋經學." *Jian Dao Journal*, Issue 12 (July 1999): 297-323.
- Starr, Chloë. *Chinese Theology*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Sun, Peking J. "Jesus in the Writings of Wang Mingdao." In *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*. Vol. 3a, edited by Malek, Roman, 1137-1148. Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica and China-Zentrum, 2005.
- Tang Wei-quan. "On the Characteristics of Wang Mingdao's Christian Thought and the Consciousness of the Times" 王明道基督教思想特色及時代先知意識初探. Master's thesis, China Graduate School of Theology, Hong Kong, 2010.
- Tseng, Gloria S. "Revival Preaching and the Indigenization of Christianity in Republican China." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 38, no.4 (October 2014): 177-182. <http://www.internationalbulletin.org/issues/2014-04/2014-04-177-tseng.html>

- Tseng, Gloria S. "Bathsheba as an Object Lesson: Gender, Modernity and Biblical Examples in Wang Mingdao's Sermons and Writings." *Studies in World Christianity* 21.1 (2015): 52-65.
- Unknown Author. "The Ideological Background Established by the Christian Tabernacle" 基督徒會堂建立的意識形態背景. *China and the Church* 86 (November 1991): 14-16.
- Vala, Carsten T. "Failing to Contain Religion: The Emergence of a Protestant Movement in Contemporary China." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2008, Ch.3.
- Various Authors. "Mr. Wang Mingdao's 90th Year Special Edition" 王明道先生九秩高壽特輯. *Chinese Churches Today*, November, 1990: 32-39.
- Wai Luen Kwok. "Sola Scriptura's and the Chinese Union Version Bible's Impact Upon Conservative Christian Leaders: The Case of Watchman Nee and Wang Mingdao." *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30, no.1 (2020): 93-103.
- Wang Changxin. *Another Forty Years* 又四十年. Scarborough, ON: Gospel Publishing House, 1997.
- Wang Changxin. "How *Another Forty Years* Was Written" 又四十年是怎樣寫成的. *Christian Life Quarterly Digest* 18 (June 2001). <https://www.cclifefl.org/View/Article/559>
- Wang, Stephen. *The Long Road to Freedom: The Story of Wang Mingdao*. Translated by Ma Min. Kent, UK: Sovereign World Ltd., 2002. (English translation of *Another Forty Years*).
- Wang Weifan, "Wu Yaozong and Wang Mingdao." *Chinese Theological Review* 5 (1989): 44-48.
- Wen Weiyao. "A Biographical Sketch of Wang Mingdao" 王明道傳略. *China and the Church* 9-10 (May-June 1980): 15-18.
- Wickeri, Philip L. *Reconstructing Christianity in China: K.H. Ting and the Chinese Church*. New York: Orbis Books, 2007.
- Lian Xi. *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China: 1907-1932*. University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 1997.
- Lian Xi. "The Search for Chinese Christianity in the Republican Period (1912-1949)." *Modern Asian Studies*, 38.4 (2004): 851-898.
- Lian Xi. *Redeemed by Fire, The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Xu Huishan. "Wang Mingdao's Concept of Redemption as Seen from His Redemption

Theology” 從王明道的獲救神學看他的救贖觀. Master’s thesis, China Evangelical Seminary, Taipei, 1992.

Yan Liming. “After Reading Wang Weifan’s Article On Wu Yaozong & Wang Mingdao” 讀汪維藩吳耀宗與王明道後. *Hu Han Journal*, Issue 58 (February 1990): 120-128.

Yao Xiyi. *The Fundamentalist Movement Among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920-1937*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2003.

Ye Jingde. “Wang Mingdao’s Thoughts on Marriage” 王明道的婚姻理論. In *Christianity and Modern Chinese-Western Culture*, edited by Luo Bingxiang, 118-150. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000.

Yieh, John Y.H. “Cultural Reading of the Bible: Some Chinese Christian Cases.” In *Text & Experience: Towards a Cultural Exegesis of the Bible*, edited by Daniel Smith Christopher, 122-153. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.

Yieh, John Y.H. “Reading the Sermon on the Mount in China.” In *Reading Christian Scriptures in China*, edited by Chloe Starr, 150-154. London: T&T Clark, 2008.

Yu Ligong. “Knight of Truth – Wang Mingdao” 真理的勇士—王明道. In *The Western Missionary Movement and the Rise of the Chinese Church*, 108-119. Taipei: Olive Publishing, 2006.

Yuan Hao, “Chinese Christianity and Their Tradition of Disobedience: Wang Mingdao, Tanghe Church and Shouwang Church as Examples” 中國基督教與不服從的傳統：以王明道、唐河教會與守望教會為例. *Dao Feng Chinese Theological Journal*, Issue 44 (2016):87-122.

Yuan Xiangchen. “Remembering God’s Servant, Mr. Wang Mingdao” 憶神僕王明道先生. *China and the Church* 86 (November 1991): 11-12.

Zhao Zhonghui. “A Visit with Mr. Wang Mingdao” 王明道先生訪問記. *Faith and Life* 156, October – November 1988: 53.

Zhao Zhonghui. “Wang Mingdao Recalls Entering Prison for the First Time” 王明道憶述第一次進監情形. *China and the Church* 86 (November 1991): 5-7.

There is also a significant number of Chinese journal articles from the 1950s in such journals as *Tian Feng* (天風), *Tian Jia* (田家), and others that provide critiques Wang Mingdao. For a comprehensive list, see Ying Fuk Tsang, *Wang Mingdao’s Last Confession*, 394-403.

Appendix 2: Statistics on Tsui Wen Academy
(Elementary and Middle School) 萃文學校
in Peking from YMCA Reports

Year	Name of Principal	Number of Students	Number of Christian Students	Number of Baptisms	Student Members of YMCA	Number of Bible Classes	Students in Bible Classes	Ref. Page
1913	Rev. T. Biggin	60	31	5	29	12	60	77 ¹
1914	Rev. T. Biggin	70	27	10	68	14	70	327 ²
1915	J. Biggin ³	88	3	0	94	6	60	460 ⁴



¹ *China's Young Men*, vol. 10 (National Committee of the YMCA of China: Shanghai, 1906-1916), 77. Gale Primary Sources: Nineteenth Century Collections Online.

² *China's Young Men*, vol. 10, 327.

³ It is assumed that "J. Biggin" is supposed to be "T. Biggin" but the report indicates J. Biggin as the principal in what seems to be a recording error.

⁴ *China's Young Men*, vol. 11 (National Committee of the YMCA of China: Shanghai, 1906-1916), 460. Gale Primary Sources: Nineteenth Century Collections Online.

Appendix 3: Contents of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* Spring 1927 – Summer 1955

The following content list is intended to illustrate what Wang Mingdao was thinking and writing about during each season from the spring of 1927 to the summer of 1955. Almost all of the hymns included are hymns translated by Wang from the English originals. Several of these original English hymn titles are only discernable by comparing with *The Christian Hymnal* that Wang published in 1947.¹ For all articles, only when the date of writing or translating is different from the year when the article was published will the date be included. The heading “Bible Lesson,” “God’s Promises,” and “Bible Truth,” refers to where Wang selects verses from the Bible and prints them without any commentary. The heading “Topical Bible References” refers to where Wang chooses a topic and lists several scriptures that relate to that topic without comment. In articles where Wang provides a Bible reference at the beginning in order to focus the meditation of the article the Bible reference will be included. Where he references several scriptures at the beginning of the article, only the first will be included with three dots indicating other Bible references to follow. For example, John 3:16...

Wang quotes hundreds of other works in the 114 issues of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* from both modern and ancient sources. I have attempted to provide references, in English when possible, in order to more fully understand the sources that influenced Wang’s thought. Many of his translations, especially the unnamed ones, are yet to be referenced.

Page numbers refer to the CCLM Publishing Group digital edition of *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* that were published between 2012-2014 in New Taipei City, Taiwan, now available in a digital format via Google Play. All four seasonal editions of the quarterly journal are included in one annual volume in this edition. The editors operated under the principle of preserving the original content of Wang’s writings.² In the rare occasion I find an irregularity, such as the Editor’s Notes for the Winter 1938 issue, I refer to an original print version published by Wang Mingdao’s Spiritual Food Quarterly Press. I have chosen to use the digital version for this appendix for ease of access around the world in order to further develop the field of Wang Mingdao studies.

Spring 1927 Issue 1

Publication Announcement	9
Inaugural Introduction to the Periodical	11
Martin Luther’s Prayer ³	17
The Bible (Hymn, Translated February 10, 1926)	18
The Cross of Christ (I Corinthians 2:1-2...)	19
The Resurrection of Christ	27
True and False Piety (Isaiah 58:1-12)	40
Lot’s Failure (Genesis 13:1-13)	52

¹ See Wang Mingdao, ed., *The Christian Hymnal* (Peiping: The Spiritual Food Quarterly Press, 1947).

² See the comments on this by the editors in the 2012 introduction to *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1927): 4.

³ An English version of the prayer is available in Martin Luther, *What Luther Says*, ed. Ewald M. Plass (St. Louis: Concordia, 1959), 1107-1108.

Thoughts (Avoid Temptation)	64
Editor's News	69
Summer 1927 Issue 2	
The East Will Sing (Isaiah 60:2)	75
The East Will Sing (Song & Article Written by Wang Mingdao on April 1, 1923)	77
The Cross of Christ (Part 2)	79
The Resurrection of Christ (Part 2)	90
The Sluggard's Failure (Proverbs 24:30-34)	101
Gideon Who Was Called (Judges 6:1-6)	106
I Find No Sin in Him (John 18:36)	116
The Eleven Character Letter	119
Thoughts (Psalm 62:1, Waiting on God)	121
Editor's News	125
Fall 1927 Issue 3	
Carry Your Cross (Hymn)	131
Victory Over Temptation (Hymn)	132
A Sharp Warning to the Modern Church (Revelation 3:14-22)	133
Who is Jesus? (Matthew 16:16-17...)	153
Advice to the Watchmen (Ezekiel 33:1-9, November 20, 1925)	166
Gideon Who Was Called (Part 2, Judges 7:1...)	172
Editor's News	180
Winter 1927 Issue 4	
Look, and Thou Shalt Live (Hymn)	185
The King is Coming! (Hymn)	186
Who is Jesus (Part 2)	187
Joyful News (Luke 2:10-11)	203
Four People (2 Kings 5:1-27)	211
Topical Bible References (Warnings)	228
Topical Bible References (Proverbs)	229
Editor's News	230
Spring 1928 Issue 5	
Trust and Obey (Hymn)	11
Christ Arose (Hymn)	12
Christ's Second Coming (Matthew 16:27...)	13
The Voice of Evil in the World (Isaiah 52:11-12...)	21
<i>In the Secret of His Presence</i> (Translation of George H. Knight's Book) ⁴	39

⁴ George H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence: Helps for the Inner Life When Alone with God* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1905), 3-22, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=yale.39002088449658&view=1up&seq=7>.

A Weak and Defeated Person (Mark 6:14-29)	46
What's in the Bible?	53
The Fool Has Said in His Heart, "There is No God" (Psalm 14:1)	59
Editor's News	62
Summer 1928 Issue 6	
The Solid Rock (Hymn)	69
Follow On! (Hymn)	70
Christ's Second Coming (Part 2, John 14:1-3...)	71
Our Hope (Translated Poem)	79
The Idols of Christians (Exodus 20:1-3, October 29, 1924)	80
<i>In the Secret of His Presence</i> (Translation of George H. Knight's Book, Part 2) ⁵	91
The Cry for Help (Translation of S.O. Sheldon's Work)	100
The Family of the Christian (Translated Poem)	105
The Meaning of Names in the Bible (Old Testament) ⁶	106
The Pest of Fig Trees	107
How Should One Read the Bible?	110
Editor's News	116
Fall 1928 Issue 7	
Anywhere, My Savior (Hymn)	121
No, Not One! (Hymn)	122
Christ's Second Coming (Part 3, Psalm 2:1-3...)	124
Five Loaves and Two Fish (Matthew 14:13-21)	133
I Am Willing to Be Broken by the Lord (Translated Poem, April 25, 1926)	144
<i>In the Secret of His Presence</i> (Translation of George H. Knight's Book, Part 3) ⁷	145
Be Not Weary (Translation of Frances R. Havergal's Poem) ⁸	154
The Meaning of Names in the Bible (Old Testament, Part 2)	156
An Essay on Reading the Bible (Translated from Various Sources)	157

Wang translates the title as 隱密處的靈交.

⁵ George H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence*, 23-44.

⁶ The source is Robert Young, *Analytical Concordance to the Holy Bible* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1879), <https://archive.org/stream/analyticalconcor00younuoft#page/n5/mode/2up>.

Wang does not specify which version of Young's Concordance he was using. Young's concordance is important in the study of Wang Mingdao's theology as Young's book is Wang's final authority for questions regarding the meaning of the Biblical text in its original languages.

⁷ George H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence*, 45-66.

⁸ This poem is available online at Frances R. Havergal, "Be Not Weary," *Women of Christianity*, accessed December 17, 2020, <https://womenofchristianity.com/be-not-weary-by-frances-ridley-havergal/>.

A Fisherman's Story	162
Editor's News	165
Topical Bible References (In the Twinkling of an Eye)	166

Winter 1928 Issue 8

Bible Lesson (Romans 12:1...)	171
I Gave My Life for Thee (Hymn)	172
Thy Life Was Given for Me (Hymn)	173
Christ's Second Coming (Part 4, 1 John 3:2-3)	174
Why Could He Not Live in Bethlehem? (Matthew 2:1-23)	182
The Meaning of Names in the Bible (Old Testament, Part 3)	193
<i>In the Secret of His Presence</i> (Translation of George H. Knight's Book, Part 4) ⁹	194
Obedience and Prayer (1 John 3:22, Translated by Shi Tianmin)	203
An Essay on Reading the Bible (Translated by Wen 文) ¹⁰	206
Some Important Proverbs	209
Are Christians Allowed to Smoke Cigarettes?	214
Editor's News	222

Spring 1929 Issue 9

Bible Lesson (Romans 12:1...)	11
Jesus' Virgin Birth (Translated from George P. Tasker's <i>Evangelical Christian</i>)	12
A Person Saved by Faith (Joshua 2:1-21, 6:22-25)	17
People's Questions and God's Answers (Translated from Unnamed Source)	31
<i>In the Secret of His Presence</i> (Translation of George H. Knight's Book, Part 5) ¹¹	33
The Words of God to His Soldiers (Translated from Unnamed Source)	42
The Chariots of God (Translation of Hannah W. Smith's Work) ¹²	44
A Spider's Web (Translated by Wen)	53
<i>How to Obtain Fullness of Power</i> (Translation of Reuben A. Torrey's Book, by Shi Tianmin) ¹³	55

⁹ George H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence*, 67-88.

¹⁰ Most likely the translator is Wang's wife, Liu Jingwen 劉經文.

¹¹ George H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence*, 89-112.

¹² Hannah W. Smith, *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* (Chicago: Christian Witness Co., 1875), Ch.20, available online on page 113 at <http://ntslibrary.com/PDF%20Books/The%20Christian%20Secret%20of%20a%20Happy%20Life.pdf>.

¹³ Reuben A. Torrey, *How to Obtain Fullness of Power* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1897), https://books.google.com.na/books?id=gS03AAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_vpt_reviews#v=onepage&q&f=false.

The Meaning of Names in the Bible (Old Testament, Part 4)	58
Can We Trust the Written Accounts in First Chapters of Genesis?	60
Editor's News	66
Calvary (Hymn)	68
Summer 1929 Issue 10	
Bible Lesson (Romans 12:1...)	73
How Long Will You Waver Between Two Opinions? (1 Kings 18:21, Includes Chart of the "Bible's Truth" and the "Unbeliever's Errors")	74
Jesus' Virgin Birth (Translated from George P. Tasker's <i>Evangelical Christian</i> , Part 2)	86
A Chief Tax Collector is Saved (Luke 19:1-10)	91
<i>In the Secret of His Presence</i> (Translation of George H. Knight's Book, Part 6) ¹⁴	102
A Few Words to Believer's Seeking Worldly Glory (Luke 6:26)	107
<i>How to Obtain Fullness of Power</i> (Translation of Reuben A. Torrey's Book, by Shi Tianmin, Part 2)	111
Thoughts (Be Careful to Know and Do God's Will)	115
The Meaning of Names in the Bible (Old Testament, Part 5)	118
Why Did Jesus Curse the Fig Tree? (Mark 11:12-14, 20-24)	120
Is Christ Your Personal Savior: The Story of the Artist Stenberg (Translated by Wen) ¹⁵	123
Editor's News	127
Near the Cross (Hymn)	128
Fall 1929 Issue 11	
Bible Lesson (Romans 12:1...)	133
Three Types of Servants (Luke 12:35-48)	134
Can We Trust that the Miracles in the Bible Are True?	141
<i>In the Secret of His Presence</i> (Translation of George H. Knight's Book, Part 7) ¹⁶	145
Eagles and Christians (Isaiah 40:28-31)	150
<i>How to Obtain Fullness of Power</i> (Translation of Reuben A. Torrey's Book, by Shi Tianmin, Part 3)	158
God's Words and the Devil's Words	163
How to Know God's Will (Translation of Unnamed Work)	170

¹⁴ George H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence*, 113-125.

¹⁵ This story is available online at "Story of an Artist," Christian Truth Ministry, accessed December 17, 2020, http://www.christian-truth-ministry.com/story_of_an_artist.htm.

¹⁶ George H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence*, 126-136.

Beware of Thieves	172
The Meaning of Names in the Bible (Old & New Testaments, Part 6)	179
Thoughts (God’s Will Be Done)	181
A Pharmacist’s Story (Translated by Wen)	184
Editor’s News	186
All the Way (Hymn)	187

Winter 1929 Issue 12

Bible Lesson (Romans 12:1...)	193
Three Types of Servants (Part 2, Luke 12:35-48)	194
<i>In the Secret of His Presence</i> (Translation of George H. Knight’s Book, Part 8) ¹⁷	210
God’s Instruments (Acts 9:15-16...)	219
Whose I Am (Translation of Frances R. Havergal’s Poem) ¹⁸	228
A Scripture on Prayer (1 John 5:14)	230
The Story of Wang En and Zhang Yi	235
The Meaning of Names in the Bible (New Testament, Part 7) ¹⁹	241
Straighten Up Your Spines	243
Are Worshipers of Jesus Like This?	246
Editor’s News (Information on “Unbelievers”)	248
Close to Thee (Hymn)	251

Spring 1930 Issue 13

Good Friday and Easter are Approaching	11
Bible Lesson (Luke 21:34-36...)	13
A Very Important Conversation (John 3:1-15)	14
<i>In the Secret of His Presence</i> (Translation of George H. Knight’s Book, Part 9) ²⁰	27
What About Union? What About Separation?	37
<i>How to Obtain Fullness of Power</i> (Translation of Reuben A. Torrey’s Book, by Shi Tianmin, Part 4)	43
Light in the Midst of Darkness (Matthew 11:28...)	48
How Does One Become a Good Preacher? (Jeremiah 15:19...)	50
Why Seek the Living Among the Dead? (Luke 24:5)	55
Who to Invite to Eat? (Luke 14:12-24)	57
Introducing a Life Insurance Company	61

¹⁷ George H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence*, 137-160.

¹⁸ The poem is available online at Frances R. Havergal, “Whose I Am,” Wholesome Words, accessed December 17, 2020, <https://www.wholesomewords.org/poetry/havergal.html>.

¹⁹ Wang reveals that Robert Young’s *Analytical Concordance to the Holy Bible* is the source for all the articles on “Bible Names” on page 242.

²⁰ George H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence*, 161-186.

Editor's News	62
More and More (Hymn)	63
Summer 1930 Issue 14	
Bible Lesson (Luke 21:34-36...)	69
Christ's Queen (Psalm 45)	70
<i>In the Secret of His Presence</i> (Translation of George H. Knight's Book, Part 10) ²¹	78
How Does One Become a Good Preacher? (Part 2, Romans 10:14-15...)	87
<i>How to Obtain Fullness of Power</i> (Translation of Reuben A. Torrey's Book, by Shi Tianmin, Part 5)	95
A Few Very Important Promises (2 Corinthians 1:20...)	99
Is the Devil Real?	107
Some Lessons Written for Young People (Ecclesiastes 11:9...)	112
A Strange Dream (Wang's Dream from 1918)	113
Editor's News	115
My Father Knows (Hymn)	117
Fall 1930 Issue 15	
Bible Lesson (Luke 21:34-36...)	123
How Does One Become a Good Preacher? (Part 3)	124
<i>In the Secret of His Presence</i> (Translation of George H. Knight's Book, Part 11) ²²	133
Is the Devil Real? (Part 2)	143
A Timely Young Warrior (1 Samuel 17)	151
The Most Blessed Person in the Psalms (Psalm 1:11...)	159
Why Not Be a Smart Person? (Luke 16:1-13)	161
<i>How to Obtain Fullness of Power</i> (Translation of Reuben A. Torrey's Book, by Shi Tianmin, Part 6)	166
An Encouragement to Believers to be Alert	171
Editor's News	173
Christian, Walk Carefully! (Hymn)	175
Winter 1930 Issue 16	
Bible Lesson (Luke 21:34-36...)	181
A Timely Young Warrior (Part 2, 1 Samuel 17:34-35)	182
Accomplishing God's Will	190
<i>How to Obtain Fullness of Power</i> (Translation of Reuben A. Torrey's Book, by Shi Tianmin, Part 7)	193
A Confession of Sin Prayer from Ten Years Ago (Matthew 23:12, Refers to Wang's Mystical Experience on Nov. 21, 1920)	200

²¹ George H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence*, 187-208.

²² George H. Knight, *In the Secret of His Presence*, 209-230.

Christian's Speech	203
The Failure of Relying on Organizations (Translated from Unnamed Source)	215
Does God Distinguish Between Rich and Poor? (James 2:1-13)	218
God's Work in My Life (Psalm 66:16, Biographical, June 6, 1929)	223
A Strange Thing! (Christmas)	232
Editor's News	234
Bear the Cross for Jesus (Hymn, Translated July 28, 1927)	236

Spring 1931 Issue 17

Bible Lesson (Proverbs 3:1-12)	11
Why I Believe the Bible is Inspired by God (Wang's Early Reading Information)	12
Christian's Speech (Part 2, Numbers 14:26-28...)	27
Are People Able to Establish God's Kingdom? (February 28, 1930)	36
<i>How to Obtain Fullness of Power</i> (Translation of Reuben A. Torrey's Book, by Shi Tianmin, Part 7)	47
A Pathetic Thing! (Romans 12:2, The Church Imitating the World)	54
Topical Bible References (Acceptable Sacrifice to God)	57
Listen, You Who Are Wealthy but Not Benevolent (Amos 6:1-7)	58
Jesus' Prayer Life (Translated from Unnamed Source)	59
Editor's News	62
One Day! (Hymn)	64

Summer 1931 Issue 18

Bible Lesson (John 15:1-8)	71
A Comparison of True and False Preachers	72
Christian's Speech (Part 3, James 3:9-12...)	78
A Prayer	87
<i>How to Obtain Fullness of Power</i> (Translation of Reuben A. Torrey's Book, by Shi Tianmin, Part 8)	88
Christians, Be Careful (1 Timothy 6:10)	93
Why I Believe the Bible is Inspired by God (Part 2)	95
Some Sins That Are Ignored by People (Buying Lottery Tickets, Horse Racing Tickets, etc.)	108
A Bad Habit You Should Do Your Utmost to Correct (Failure to Keep the Time)	114
The Car in Front Has Overturned, The Next Car Be More Cautious! (Bible References)	120
Editor's News	121
Anywhere, My Savior (Song, Translated June 11, 1928)	122

Fall 1931 Issue 19

Bible Lesson (I Corinthians 13:1-13)	127
Two Articles of Clothing in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 3:1-21)	128
What is More Important Than This? (Isaiah 1:10-17)	133
The Joy of Christians (Translated from <i>The Sunday School Times</i>)	137
Be Careful with Your Eyes! (Proverbs 4:25)	142
<i>How to Obtain Fullness of Power</i> (Translation of Reuben A. Torrey's Book, by Shi Tianmin, Part 9)	146
Topical Bible References (Treatment of the Poor)	156
Why I Believe the Bible is Inspired by God (Part 3)	158
Some Sins That Are Ignored by People (Part 2)	169
Editor's News	177
Behold Me Standing at the Door! (Hymn)	179

Winter 1931 Issue 20

Bible Lesson (Isaiah 1:2-9, 16, 19-20)	185
Where Have the Watchmen Gone? (Ezekiel 33:7-9)	186
The Reason Christians Fail (Joshua 7:1-16)	190
<i>How to Obtain Fullness of Power</i> (Translation of Reuben A. Torrey's Book, by Shi Tianmin, Part 10)	197
Cautious Ears	204
After Reading <i>Pentecost Era Church</i> ²³	206
Worry and Trust (Luke 8:50, Translation of George Mueller's 莫勒喬治 Work)	214
When Will the World Have Peace? (Translation of Edward Drew's Work)	215
Some Sins That Are Ignored by People (Part 3)	218
Why I Believe the Bible is Inspired by God (Part 4)	225
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians	232
Topical Bible References (Things to Pursue)	235
Editor's News	236
The Ninety-Nine (Hymn)	237

Spring 1932 Issue 21

Bible Lesson (Matthew 5:3-12)	10
The Dangers of the Modern Church	11
A Few Things to be Careful to Prevent (Hebrews 3:12-14...)	20
The Modern Pentecostal Movement (Translated from Robert C. McQuilkin's Work) ²⁴	23

²³ Cheng Jingyi 誠靜怡, "Pentecost Era Church" 五旬節時代的教會, *China for Christ* 中華歸主 116 (May 1931): 2-7. Wang describes Cheng Jingyi as an "unbeliever" on page 207.

²⁴ From R[obert] C. McQuilkin, "What is Pentecost's Message Today?" *Sunday School Times* 71:2 (January 12,

Something Even More Beautiful Than Faith (Translated from an Unnamed Source)	43
Give to the Lord to Do (Ephesians 6:5-8...)	44
You Don't Need to Argue for Yourself (Psalm 37:5-6)	54
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 2)	58
Why Do So Many Believer's Lack Clothes and Food? (Matthew 6:25-26)	62
Topical Bible References (What are Christians?)	65
Editor's News	66
The Church's Rallying Song (Hymn)	68
Summer 1932 Issue 22	
Bible Lesson (1 John 4:7-13)	72
The Dangers of the Modern Church (Part 2)	73
Journeying Together with God (Translated from Unnamed Source, Isaiah 28:6)	88
Beware of the Devil's Tricks (Ephesians 6:10-12...)	92
The Pitiful Fool	100
Peter's Repentance (Translation of Andrew Murray's Work) ²⁵	102
Some People You Should Not Befriend	109
Why I Believe the Bible is Inspired by God (Part 5)	111
Scriptures to Read for Christians Enduring Suffering (Psalm 119:71...)	117
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 3)	121
Editor's News	125
Coming Today! (Hymn) ²⁶	
Fall 1932 Issue 23	
Bible Lesson (2 Peter 1:3-8)	130
How Many Gospels Are There? (Galatians 1:6-9)	131
Spiritual Life Test List	139
Beware of the Devil's Tricks (Part 2) (Part 2, Matthew 4:1-3)	140
A Few Words Regarding Marriage (Psalm 37:5...)	147
A Scripture Misunderstood by People (I Samuel 19:18-24, Saul's Prophecy)	150
Who Are Your True Friends?	155
Disaster, Shepherds Who Are Not Devoted! (Ezekiel 34:1-10)	156

1929): 19-22 and R.C. McQuilkin, "What is Pentecost's Message Today?" *Sunday School Times* 71:4 (January 26, 1929) 52-53.

See Wang Mingdao, *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 162, July 31, 1931 and 167, February 11, 1932.

²⁵ Andrew Murray, *Absolute Surrender* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1895), <https://ccel.org/ccel/murray/surrender/surrender.v.html>.

²⁶ The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include this song but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version includes it for Summer 1932 on page 69.

Don't Lose Heart (Isaiah 42:4...)	162
Why I Believe the Bible is Inspired by God (Part 6)	167
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 4)	172
Your Work (Translated from Unnamed Source)	178
Editor's News	179
Do the Work! (Hymn)	180

Winter 1932 Issue 24

Bible Lesson (Philippians 2:1-11)	184
The Gospel in Genesis 5 (Genesis 5:1-31)	185
Not Worry, But Trust (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ²⁷	199
Beware of the Devil's Tricks (Part 3, 1 Chronicles 21:1-8)	205
Blessed Are the Poor in Spirit (Matthew 5:3)	212
Why I Believe the Bible is Inspired by God (Part 7) ²⁸	217
To Receive Blessing and to Bless (Genesis 12:3)	221
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 4)	225
Mr. Ma Lujia, Please Be More Careful (Discusses Pentecostal Movement) ²⁹	229
Editor's News	236
Joy Cometh in the Morning (Hymn)	237

Spring 1933 Issue 25

Bible Lesson (Romans 12:1-21)	10
Born Again	11
Beliefs and Life	19
Beware of the Devil's Tricks (Part 4, Mark 5:1-5)	23
A Few Words on Making Friends (Proverbs 13:20...)	31
Confidence in Prayer (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ³⁰	34
Do Not Worry (Matthew 10:29-31)	40
The Precious Sword of the Holy Spirit	43
The Sound of the Knock on the Door: A Talk for Children (Revelation 3:20, Translated from Unnamed Source by Shi Tianmin)	48
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 5) (Including Western Eating Customs)	52
Editor's News	57
Sunshine in the Soul (Hymn, Translated October 30, 1932)	60

²⁷ See George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples: Thoughts, Devotional and Practical, for the Silent Hour* (London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1910), 2-7, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=yale.39002088449641>.

²⁸ Wang refers to Antiochus Epiphanees's destruction of the Old Testament on page 217.

²⁹ Wang refers here to this article by Ma Lujia 馬路加, "Reply to Mr. McQuilkin's Discussion of the 'Pentecostal Movement' Question" 答辯麥根萊先生討論「五旬節運動」問題 *God's Call Monthly* 神召月刊 7, no. 2 (Fall 1932): 2 on pages 230-231.

³⁰ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 8-15.

Summer 1933, Issue 26

Bible Lesson (Luke 6:27-28)	66
Some Lessons Learned from Demas (2 Timothy 4:10)	67
Submission in Prayer (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ³¹	71
Born Again (Part 2, John 3:7)	76
Contradictory Facts I Have Seen in the Church	83
Conspicuous Discipleship (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ³²	85
Beware of the Devil's Tricks (Part 4, Ephesians 4:26-27)	91
Foot Washing, [Holy] Kiss, and Head Coverings	95
Be Slow to Speak (James 1:19)	101
The Precious Sword of the Holy Spirit (Part 2, Proverbs 13:20...)	105
No Leeway for Neutrality	110
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 6)	111
Editor's News	115
Some Time We'll Understand (Hymn)	117

Fall 1933 Issue 27

Bible Lesson (1 Corinthians 10:1-13)	122
Lessons to Learn from Israel's Construction of the Tabernacle (Exodus 40:34-35)	123
Just Estimates (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ³³	126
A Serious Warning (Matthew 23:13)	131
Born Again (Part 3, John 3:8)	134
Should We Emphasize the Truth of the Future Life? (1 Corinthians 15:19)	142
An Infallible Test (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ³⁴	148
A Precious Gift: A Talk for Children (Romans 6:23, Translated from Unnamed Source by Shi Tianmin)	153
Beware of the Devil's Tricks (Part 5, Ecclesiastes 4:12)	158
Danger in the Midst of Safety	163
The Precious Sword of the Holy Spirit (Part 3, Matthew 6: 14-15...)	166
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 7)	170
Editor's News	174
The Lord Will Not Cast Me Aside (Original Song Written by Wang Mingdao)	175

³¹ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 16-22.

³² George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 23-30.

³³ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 31-39.

³⁴ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 40-44.

Winter 1933 Issue 28

Bible Lesson (Romans 8:31-39)	
Why Do Resurrection People Carry the Smell of the Grave? (John 20:3-7...)	181
Lessons to Learn from Joseph's Imprisonment (Genesis 40:14&23)	185
Savorless Salt (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ³⁵	192
Born Again (Part 4, John 3:14-15)	197
What Do You Want Them to Do?	204
Not Fear, But Trust II (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ³⁶	208
The Spiritual Gifts Movement in the Light of Scripture	213
Editor's News	233
A Shelter in the Time of Storm! (Hymn)	235

Spring 1934 Issue 29

Bible Lesson (Hebrews 12:1-13)	11
Lord, The One You Love is Sick! (John 11:3)	12
The Importance of Redemption	15
The Nicknamed Christ (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ³⁷	20
Beware of Danger!	25
Don't Deceive Yourself (Luke 6:7)	32
Dull Minds and Memories (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ³⁸	35
A Few Proverbs on Wealth (Jeremiah 17:11)	40
Can Those Who Receive the New Birth Sin? (Romans 6:1-2)	43
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 8)	53
How to Protect Our Trustworthiness	60
Editor's News	61
Break Thou the Bread of Life (Hymn)	62

Summer 1934 Issue 30

Bible Lesson (1 Corinthians 15:50-58)	69
Why Does the Lord Delay? (John 11:5-7)	70
The Hiding of His Power (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ³⁹	73

³⁵ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 45-51.

³⁶ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 52-58.

³⁷ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 59-65.

³⁸ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 66-72.

³⁹ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 73-79.

Managing Our Temper (Translation of Unnamed Source)	78
Can Those Who Receive the New Birth Sin? (Part 2, 1 John 3:9...)	85
What Think Ye of Christ? (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁴⁰	91
Something I Saw on Tai Mountain (What Wang Saw at a Temple on Mt. Tai, April 23, 1934)	96
The Circumspection of the Free (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁴¹	103
Fear of Offending People (Equates "Unbelievers" With "New Theology Group")	108
Beware of Danger! (Part 2, Luke 12:15)	112
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 9)	115
Editor's News	120
I Will Sing the Wondrous Story (Hymn)	122
 Fall 1934 Issue 31	
Bible Lesson (1 Thessalonians 5:12-22)	129
Who Can I Send? (Isaiah 6:8)	130
One of the Best Prayer Requests (1 Kings 3:5-10)	133
Divine Shepherdhood (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁴²	136
Spiritual Gifts, Rewards, and Awards	141
Small Beginnings and Great Endings (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁴³	156
A Few Words on Conduct in Society for Treating People	161
Can A Person Who Has a Concubine Be Accepted After He Repents and Converts? (Genesis 2:24)	166
Harvest Hope (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁴⁴	178
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 10)	183
Editor's News	187
More About Jesus (Hymn)	189
 Winter 1934 Issue 32	
Bible Lesson (Luke 5:13-26)	195
Is it Peace? Is it Disaster? (1 Thessalonians 5:3)	196
The Harm in Making Bad Friends (2 Samuel 13:3)	199
Wise Stewardship (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁴⁵	203

⁴⁰ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 80-86.

⁴¹ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 87-93.

⁴² George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 94-100.

⁴³ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 101-107.

⁴⁴ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 108-114.

⁴⁵ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 115-121.

What is the Sin of Blaspheming the Holy Spirit? (Matthew 12:31-32)	208
Unprofitable Servants (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁴⁶	215
Are All People God's Children? ⁴⁷	221
Heroic Christianity (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁴⁸	235
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 11)	240
Does Dr. [Sherwood] Eddy Preach the Gospel?	245
Editor's News	248
Jesus Bids Us Shine (Hymn)	250

Spring 1935 Issue 33

Bible Lesson (1 Peter 5:1-12)	10
Jesus Weeps Over Jerusalem (Luke 19:41-44)	11
Lessons We Can Learn from Gehazi (2 Kings 5:21-27)	15
Profession Without Practice (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁴⁹	19
You Do Not Realize Now What I Am Doing But Later You Will Understand (John 13:7)	24
No Cross, No Crown (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁵⁰	27
Did Jesus Really Rise from the Dead?	32
A Few Words on the Occupations of Christians	46
Sword and Fire (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁵¹	50
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 12)	55
Editor's News	58
Will Jesus Find Us Watching? (Hymn)	60

Summer 1935 Issue 34

Bible Lesson (Ephesians 4:17-32)	66
Stay Away from Temptation (Genesis 39:10)	67
Delay Is Not Denial (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁵²	72
Blessed Are Those Who Are Persecuted for Righteousness (Matthew 5:10-12)	77
Be Careful of Your Heart (Proverbs 4:23)	86
Blindness (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁵³	90

⁴⁶ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 122-128.

⁴⁷ Wang mentions the Greek word "revos" on page 229.

⁴⁸ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 129-135.

⁴⁹ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 136-142.

⁵⁰ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 143-149.

⁵¹ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 150-156.

⁵² George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 157-163.

⁵³ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 164-171.

The Sin of the Modern YMCA	94
Thought-Reading (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁵⁴	107
Sixteen Things Parents Should Not Do	112
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 13)	114
Editor's News	118
The Cross that He Gave (Hymn)	120
Fall 1935 Issue 35	
Bible Lesson (Matthew 6:24-34)	126
Beware of the Yeast of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Matthew 16:6 & 12)	127
Lessons We Can Learn from Bathsheba (2 Samuel 11:2-5)	132
Unthankfulness (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁵⁵	137
What Is the Baptism of Fire? (Matthew 3:11...)	142
The All Sufficing Christ (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁵⁶	152
The Tallest Ladder in the World (Jacob's Ladder)	157
Profit and Loss (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁵⁷	168
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 14)	173
Editor's News	175
Resting in the Everlasting Arms! (Hymn)	177
Winter 1935 Issue 36	
Bible Lesson (James 4:1-10)	182
Wrong Judgement (1 Samuel 1:12-16)	183
Beware of False Teaching (2 Peter 2:1-3)	188
A Serpent in Paradise (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁵⁸	199
Do We Obtain Eternal Life by Keeping the Commandments? (Romans 3:9-20...)	202
Courageous Calm (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁵⁹	208
Can Christians Contest a Lawsuit? (1 Corinthians 6:1-8)	213
A Specializing Faith (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁶⁰	221
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 15)	226
A Few Scriptures God's Servants Should Know Well	

⁵⁴ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 172-177.

⁵⁵ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 178-184.

⁵⁶ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 185-191.

⁵⁷ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 192-198.

⁵⁸ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 199-205.

⁵⁹ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 206-212.

⁶⁰ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 213-219.

(Isaiah 58:1...)	230
Editor's News	235
Ring the Bells of Heaven (Hymn)	236

Spring 1936 Issue 37

Bible Lesson (2 Timothy 2:1-13)	10
A Prophet's Mission and Challenge (Jeremiah 1:17-19)	11
Some Lessons Learned from Judas Iscariot (John 12:1-6, Written October 8, 1935)	15
Tenderness (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁶¹	20
Is World Peace Possible? (Isaiah 2:2-4..., Wang Quotes Modernists on Peace)	25
Through Faith to Sight (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁶²	35
Our Prayers and God's Will (Matthew 7:7-8...)	40
One Hundred Scriptures Every Christian Should Know	46
A Note Written to Friends Recently Converted (Translation of Fredrik Franson's Work) ⁶³	51
Conduct in Society Common Sense for Christians (Part 16)	57
Editor's News	61
I Hear Thy Welcome Voice (Hymn)	63

Summer 1936 Issue 38

Bible Lesson (Colossians 3:12-17)	68
Some Lessons Learned from Jeroboam (1 Kings 12:25-30)	69
The Badge of a Christian	74
Sublime Devotion Vindicated (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁶⁴	79
Why Did Jesus Instruct the Disciples to Buy Swords? (Luke 22:35-38)	84
The Servant Master (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁶⁵	89
Receiving the Holy Spirit by Faith (Acts 16:31...)	94
Can Christians Watch Movies?	105
The Great Example (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁶⁶	111
Why Do Fast Trains Remain at the Station for So Long?	116
Editor's News	120

⁶¹ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 220-226.

⁶² George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 227-233.

⁶³ I have been unable to locate this writing. Since Fredrik Franson's works were written in Swedish, it is possible that Eric Pilquist had translated Franson's Swedish article into English and gave it to Wang to translate into Chinese. See Wang Mingdao, *Fifty Years*, 95-97.

⁶⁴ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 234-240.

⁶⁵ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 241-247.

⁶⁶ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 248-254.

Sound the Battle Cry (Hymn)	122
Fall 1936 Issue 39	
Bible Lesson (Psalm 91)	126
A Serious Warning to Today's Church (Against the Errors of "Unbelievers")	127
Being Misunderstood by Other People	131
Some Lessons Learned from Moses (Exodus 2:11-12)	133
Enthusiasm Without Depth (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁶⁷	140
Faith, Hope and Love (1 Corinthians 13:13)	145
Near, And Yet Unknown (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁶⁸	151
A Great Sin Against God in the Today's Church (Ancestral Worship)	156
Do You Want the Lord to See What You Are Doing When He Comes Again?	162
A Discussion on Singing Groups	169
Editor's News (Discusses Illness)	174
All in Jesus I Surrender (Hymn)	178
Winter 1936 Issue 40	
Bible Lesson (Ephesians 5:1-21)	182
Some Lessons Learned from Elisha (2 Kings 4:8-10)	183
An Admonishment to Church Leaders (Against Preachers Who Are Self-Seeking)	187
The Morning of Joy (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁶⁹	192
How Many Loaves Did Jesus Use to Feed the Five Thousand (Matthew 14:3-21...)	197
A Noble Testimony (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁷⁰	203
The Robber Also Speaks Based on Conscience	208
The One that Believes Has Everlasting Life (John 6:47)	212
Ichabod (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁷¹	225
The Story of the Colorful Cat	230
Is it Glory? Is it Shame? (Unbelievers Speaking at Christian Events)	235
An Evil the Lord Hates (Proverbs 30:17, Unfilial Children, Wang Comments on Ancestral Worship)	239

⁶⁷ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 255-261.

⁶⁸ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 262-268.

⁶⁹ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 269-275.

⁷⁰ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 276-282.

⁷¹ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 283-289.

Some Strange Things! (Christmas, etc.)	243
Some Passages that Need Correction in the Chinese New Testament	246
Ten Years in a Flash (10 th Anniversary of the Quarterly)	250
Editor's News	252
The Banner of the Cross (Hymn)	253

Spring 1937 Issue 41

Bible Lesson (Psalm 27:14...)	11
A Prophet Who Speaks Evil Words (1 Kings 22:7-8)	12
Do You Not Pray Like This?	17
Another Admonishment to Church Leaders (Not to Allow Unbelievers to do Ministry in the Church)	21
Gethsemane Sleep (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁷²	28
Can the Horns of the Alter Save People? (1 Kings 2:28-34)	34
A Traitor's Kiss (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁷³	43
Some Passages that Need Correction in the Chinese New Testament (Part 2)	48
Where the Corpse Is, There the Vultures Will Gather (Luke 17:26-37) ⁷⁴	51
A Nurse's Story	61
The Wise Bereans (Acts 17:10-12)	66
Editor's News	69
Standing on the Promises (Hymn)	70

Summer 1937 Issue 42

Bible Lesson (Psalm 4:5...)	
See Our Lord (Matthew 21:12-13)	76
How Do You Compare with Solomon? (1 Kings 11:1-8)	81
Himself He Would Not Save (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁷⁵	85
A Person Who Knows Gratefulness (2 Samuel 4:4...)	91
The Victory of Faith (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁷⁶	106
People Who Submit to God and People Who Submit To People (Romans 13:1-2...)	111
Tears Wiped Away (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁷⁷	124

⁷² George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 290-296.

⁷³ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 297-303.

⁷⁴ Wang mentions the Hebrew word "nesher" as well as the Greek word "aetos" on page 56, and the Greek word "soma" on page 57.

⁷⁵ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 304-310.

⁷⁶ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 311-317.

⁷⁷ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 318-324.

God's Promised Crowns (1 Corinthians 9:24-25...)	129
Meili [Girl] Was Bitten by a Dog	131
Editor's News (Christian Tabernacle Completed)	136
Calvary (Hymn)	139
Fall & Winter 1937 Issues 43 & 44⁷⁸	
Bible Lesson (Psalm 25:12...)	145
Why Are the Waves Unable to Be Still? (Jonah 1:11-15)	147
God Still Loves His People in the World to the End (John 13:1)	150
An Evening Walk (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁷⁹	155
Do Not Fear (Matthew 14:27...)	160
Opened Eyes (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁸⁰	166
Do Not Conclude Judgement	171
Christ Ever the Same (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁸¹	174
Some Passages that Need Correction in the Chinese New Testament (Part 3)	180
The Thoughtfulness of Christ (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁸²	187
Proud and Arrogant Uzziah (2 Chronicles 26:3-21)	192
The Deepest Question of All (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁸³	198
Are You Still Waiting for the Police and Fire Department?	203
A Single Eye (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁸⁴	209
Editor's News (Publication Delay News)	214
My Jesus I Love Thee (Hymn)	216
Spring 1938 Issue 45	
Bible Lesson (Psalm 50:14...)	10
What Kind of Project Are You Constructing? (1 Corinthians 3:10-15)	11
Read Books, Read Affairs, Read People	15
Why Does the Bible Record this Repulsive Deed? (Genesis 19:30-38)	16
Be a Wise Person? Be a Foolish Person?	21

⁷⁸ Due to the impact of the Second Sino-Japanese War which began on July 7, 1937, Wang Mingdao published issues 43 and 44 together in December of 1937.

⁷⁹ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 325-331.

⁸⁰ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 332-337.

⁸¹ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 339-345.

⁸² George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 346-352.

⁸³ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 353-359.

⁸⁴ George H. Knight, *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*, 360-367.

Many Believers Neglect These Duties (Luke 6:6...)	24
Some Passages that Need Correction in the Chinese New Testament (Part 4)	36
A Few Important Questions and Answers	42
Not Only You Are Suffering	49
Do Not Seek Vain Glory (Luke 5:25-26...)	53
How Do You Find Jesus' Death Date	58
Editor's News (Church Schedule)	61
Follow On! (Hymn)	62
Summer 1938 Issue 46	
Bible Lesson (Psalm 22:23...)	66
The Poorest Person on Earth (John 19:23-24)	67
David's Greatest Trial (1 Samuel 30:1-6)	71
He [Jesus] Stayed in Sinner's Homes (Luke 19:1-10)	76
The Universal Baptism (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁸⁵	85
Is It All a Mystery? (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁸⁶	89
Two Deceitful Men and One Ignorant Woman (2 Samuel 13:1-19)	94
A Heavy Burden, A Thorn, A Cross (Psalm 68:19, 2 Corinthians 12:7-9, Luke 9:23, Article Written by Shi Tianmin)	108
Some Passages that Need Correction in the Chinese New Testament (Part 5)	112
Editor's News	118
We are Marching On (Hymn)	119
Fall 1938 Issue 47	
Bible Lesson (Deuteronomy 10:12-13...)	124
We Already Made a Mistake, We Don't Want to Make Another Mistake (John 5:39-40)	125
A Most Handsome Person (2 Samuel 14:25-26)	129
Work Hard and Endure Criticism	136
Some Things Believers Who Do Personal Ministry Work Should Know	143
Loss and Gain (Proverbs 11:24-25, Article Written by Shi Tianmin)	150
Soul-Healing First (Translation of George H.	

⁸⁵ See George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day: God's Message of Peace to the Weary, the Sorrow-Laden, the Troubled, and the Tired* (London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1910), 3-10, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=yale.39002088449765&view=1up&seq=9>. Wang translates this title as 在密雲黑暗的日子.

⁸⁶ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 11-20.

Knight's Work) ⁸⁷	154
Sad Heart and Weary Feet (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁸⁸	159
Wheat and Weeds (Matthew 13:24-30 & 36-43)	164
Editor's News	178
All the Way to Calvary (Hymn)	179
Winter 1938 Issue 48	
Bible Lesson (2 Chronicles 15:2...)	184
The Judgement of Fools (Acts 28:1-6)	185
It is for This Reason (1 Kings 2:1-6)	188
Refiner's Fire (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁸⁹	193
Found Donkeys, Drove Oxen, Saved People, Was a King (1 Samuel 5:1-5..., Life of Saul)	198
Sunshine on the Cloud (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁹⁰	206
This is the God in Whom We Believe (Psalm 103:8...)	212
Written for Young Preachers (Unnamed Article Translated by Shi Tianmin)	227
For When You Are Seeing Off a Friend or Relative (On a Voyage)	229
A Small Elm Tree on the City Wall ⁹¹	232
Editor's News ⁹²	237
All for Jesus (Hymn)	237
Spring 1939 Issue 49	
Bible Lesson (Psalm 29:11...) ⁹³	
A Model Servant of God (Joshua 8:35...)	11
A Good Way to Court Humiliation (Luke 14:7-11)	14
Cherish Your Time (Ephesians 5:16...)	19
Even So, Father (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁹⁴	22
To Pardon but Judge (Psalm 99:8)	26
The Man of Sorrows (Translation of George H.	

⁸⁷ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 21-30.

⁸⁸ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 31-40.

⁸⁹ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 41-50.

⁹⁰ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 51-62.

⁹¹ In this article on page 236 Wang references *The School Sayings of Confucius* 孔子家語, Guanzhou, 3, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=84422>.

⁹² The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include the section "Editor's News," but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version has the "Editor's News" for Winter 1938 on page 68.

⁹³ The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include the section "Bible Lesson," but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version has the "Bible Lesson" for Spring 1939 on page 1.

⁹⁴ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 63-70.

Knight's Work) ⁹⁵	33
Jonah's Miracle (Matthew 12:39..., Article Written by Shi Tianmin, an Attack on "New Theology")	38
Respect the Elderly (Leviticus 19:32)	44
Some Passages that Need Correction in the Chinese New Testament (Part 6)	46
Why God Does Not Allow His People to Marry Unbelievers (Exodus 34:11-16...)	50
Editor's News	63
Will You Meet Me at the Mountain? (Hymn)	64
 Summer 1939 Issue 50	
Bible Lesson (Psalm 5:11...)	69
Acting Faithfully Without Fault (Daniel 6:4-5)	70
Believers and Wisdom (Proverbs 3:5-8...)	75
Is This a Good Phenomenon or Not? (Church Pictures, Crosses, Clothing, etc.)	82
The Drudgery of Common Life (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁹⁶	88
Thy Hidden Ones (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ⁹⁷	92
The Fruit of the Tree of Life and the Bread of Life (Genesis 2:8-9...)	96
Do Not Be Yoked Together (Article Written by Shi Tianmin)	106
A Wrong Standard (Mentions Western/Chinese Differences)	109
Editor's News	117
Glory to Jesus, He Saves (Hymn)	118
 Fall 1939 Issue 51	
Bible Lesson (Psalm 51:6...)	123
Hear Your Words but They Will Not Do Them (Ezekiel 33:30-33)	124
You Are the Man (2 Samuel 12:1-7)	129
Their Sorrows Shall Be Multiplied that Hasten After Another god (Psalm 16:4) ⁹⁸	134
God Did Not Deliver David into His Hand (1 Samuel 23:14)	141
Perils in the Dark (Translation of George H.	

⁹⁵ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 71-80.

⁹⁶ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 81-88.

⁹⁷ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 89-96.

⁹⁸ In this article on page 138 Wang quotes *The Analects* 14.43, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1481#s10022984>. He quotes Confucius to describe those who do not show care for their elders.

Knight's Work) ⁹⁹	144
Transfigured Faces (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁰⁰	148
The Prophet's Mission (Isaiah 58:1...)	153
The Conduct God's Servants Should Have	165
Why Does God Not Allow Us to Eat Blood? (Acts 15:22-31)	166
Editor's News	171
The Blood of the Lamb (Hymn)	173
Winter 1939 Issue 52	
Bible Lesson (Psalm 62:11...)	179
Jesus Knew Their Thoughts (Matthew 9:1-4)	180
The Gourd is Poisonous (2 Kings 4:38-41)	184
There is No Bridge in the Bible	189
Shattered Hopes (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁰¹	194
A Song in the Night (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁰²	198
How to Be a Good Leader	203
Other People Can, But You Cannot (Unnamed Article Translated by Shi Tianmin)	206
He Does Not Prepare Bread for Them Again (John 6:11-14 & 22-27)	208
Why Does God Not Let Us Know the Date of Jesus' Birth? (Matthew 1:18-25...)	218
Lessons Learned from David's Sin (2 Samuel 11:2-5, 14-17 & 27, Article Written by Shi Tianmin)	227
Editor's News	231
Jesus Christ Our Savior (Hymn) ¹⁰³	
Spring 1940 Issue 53	
Bible Lesson (Psalm 5:3-6...)	11
A Good Place to Sin (Psalm 36:1-4...)	13
A Very Important Role (Proverbs 27:5, To Correct One Another) ¹⁰⁴	19
The Lie of Piety (Genesis 27:18-23)	24
The Long Last Mile (Translation of George H.	

⁹⁹ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 97-104.

¹⁰⁰ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 105-114.

¹⁰¹ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 115-122.

¹⁰² George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 123-132.

¹⁰³ The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include this song but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version includes it for Winter 1939 on page 71.

¹⁰⁴ In this article on page 23 Wang refers to the *Enlarged Writings of Worthies* 增廣賢文, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=223724#p179> (verse 178)

Knight's Work) ¹⁰⁵	34
On the River's Brink (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁰⁶	38
Key Information for Preaching (Charles G. Finney's Article "How to be a Defeated Preacher," Translated by Shi Tianmin)	42
Christ's Death (1 Corinthians 15:3..., Article Written by Shi Tianmin)	46
Scared to Death ¹⁰⁷	51
Do Not Let People Look Down Upon You Because You Are Young	58
Two Kinds of Beneficial Games	60
Editor's News	63
To God Be the Glory (Hymn)	64
Summer 1940 Issue 54	
Bible Lesson (Matthew 5:27-28...)	71
Do Whatever He Tells You to Do (John 2:1-11)	73
Two Paths to Disaster (Genesis 4:1-31)	78
To Work and to Eat (Ephesians 4:28..., Article on Calling to Christian Ministry)	83
A Young Girl's Regret	87
Beside the Grave (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁰⁸	98
To Be Conquered by God (Unnamed Article Translated by Shi Tianmin)	102
Do Christians Have to Keep the Sabbath? (Exodus 20:8-11..., Discusses Chinese Considerations)	104
Editor's News	124
Glory to God, Hallelujah! (Hymn)	125
Fall 1940 Issue 55	
Bible Lesson (Psalm 18:27...)	131
Randomly Pulling the Bow (2 Chronicles 18:28-34)	132
A Great Sin Ignored by People (Jeremiah 9:1-9, Lying and Cheating)	137
A Blessed Woman (Luke 1:39-49)	142
The Redemption of the Body (Romans 8:18-23)	146
The Sorrow of the Hopeless (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁰⁹	152

¹⁰⁵ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 133-140.

¹⁰⁶ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 141-148.

¹⁰⁷ In this article on page 53 Wang refers to an ancient proverb from the Yuan Dynasty history book *Nancun Chuogenglu* 南村輟耕錄, Book 30, verse 10, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=271848#p11>.

¹⁰⁸ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 149-158.

¹⁰⁹ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 159-166.

We Are Also Men with Passions Like You (Acts 14:8-18)	156
How to Conduct a Worship Gathering	165
The Autobiography of a Pebble	169
Editor's News	175
Anywhere with Jesus (Hymn)	177

Winter 1940 Issue 56

Bible Lesson (Matthew 22:37-39...)	183
How Long Will These People Despise Me? (Numbers 13:30-33...)	184
Do You Have Something to Eat or Not? (John 21:1-14)	190
A Brave Prophet (2 Samuel 12:1-15)	195
Within the Veil (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹¹⁰	202
How You Can Have a Happy Life	207
How Should Followers of Jesus Treat Their Family? (Luke 14:25-33, Wang Makes Translation Correction)	210
A Biographical Sketch of Mr. Chang Ganen (Thankful)	214
My Opinion of Spiritual [Ministry] Work ¹¹¹	224
How to Refer to Your Wife	227
Editor's News	232
We'll Work till Jesus Comes (Hymn)	233

Spring 1941 Issue 57

God's Promises (2 Corinthians 1:20...) ¹¹²	11
Today's Temple (1 Corinthians 3:16-17)	12
Three Times David Wept (2 Samuel 13:30-36, 15:30, & 18:31-33)	17
A Prophet's High Moral Integrity (2 Kings 5:1-8)	24
The Eternal Home (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹¹³	30
How Long Was Jesus in the Grave? (Matthew 12:38-40...) ¹¹⁴	35
Being a Guarantor for Other People (Proverbs 6:1...)	50
Editor's News (Mentions George H. Knight)	56
Thou Art My Rock (Hymn)	57

Summer 1941 Issue 58

¹¹⁰ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 167-174.

¹¹¹ In this article on page 226 Wang quotes *Mencius*, Teng Wen Gong II 7.2, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=13304#s10030498>. He quotes Mencius in order to describe the character required to be "God's good servant."

¹¹² "Bible Lesson" changed here to "God's Promises" in this issue but the content continued to be a list of Bible verses without commentary.

¹¹³ George H. Knight, *In the Cloudy and Dark Day*, 175-181.

¹¹⁴ Mentions Dr. Robert Young's Concordance on page 41-42, the English Bible on page 45, Good Friday on page 46 and time charts regarding Jesus' death and resurrection on pages 48-49.

God's Promises (Acts 10:42-43...)	63
A Hardened Heart (Isaiah 22:12-14)	64
A Man Reaps What He Sows (Genesis 37:31-35)	67
Should We Look at the Lord? Should We Look at the Waves? (Matthew 14:22-33) ¹¹⁵	72
The High Calling of God (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹¹⁶	77
The Weary Cry for Rest (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹¹⁷	82
The Meaning of the Word "Church" (1 Corinthians 1:1-3...) ^{118 119}	87
Disseminate the Seeds of Happiness	103
How to Stay with People (Same Place)	106
Editor's News	112
All the Way (Hymn)	114

Fall 1941 Issue 59

Bible Lesson (John 3:14-16)	121
Crying Is Useless (Genesis 25:29-34...)	122
Saul's Great Capacity (I Samuel 10:25-27...)	125
In Peace of Conscience (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹²⁰	131
The Head of the Church (Ephesians 1:15-23...)	136
Four Principles of Victorious Christians (Joshua 6-10, Article Written by Shi Tianmin)	149
Christians and Marriage (Genesis 2:15 & 18-24)	157
Maxims for Believer's Conduct in Society	170
Editor's News	172
Count Your Blessings (Hymn)	173

Winter 1941 Issue 60

God's Promises (Romans 3:21-24...)	178
A Headstrong Woman's Disaster (Genesis 21:8-21)	179
Can They Be Considered Independent Preachers? (Spiritual Opportunists)	185

¹¹⁵ Wang Mentions Zhao Zichen 趙紫宸, *Life of Jesus* 耶穌傳 (Shanghai: Shanghai Association Press, 1935) on page 75. He first read the book in 1936. See Wang Mingdao, *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 221. February 26, 1936.

¹¹⁶ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings: The Blessed Life of Peace and Victory* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1906), 3-14. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=yale.39002088449591&view=1up&seq=7>.

¹¹⁷ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 15-24.

¹¹⁸ Wang mentions the Greek word "ecclesia" on page 87 and refers to Watchman Nee's church without naming Nee on page 88. This article is intended to counter Nee's ecclesiology and establish the Christian Tabernacle as a legitimate independent Chinese Church.

¹¹⁹ Wang says that all Chinese consider the sage rulers Emperor Yao 堯 (Fourth of the legendary Five Emperors), Emperor Shun 舜 (Fifth of the legendary Five Emperors), Yu the Great 禹, Tang of Shang 湯, King Wen 文, King Wu 武, The Duke of Zhou 周公, Confucius 孔子, and Mencius 孟子 to be "saints/sages" 聖人 on page 89.

¹²⁰ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 25-36.

Christ's Mercy (Unnamed Translated Article by Shi Tianmin)	191
In Fullness of Joy (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹²¹	193
Unity with Christ (Unnamed Translated Article by Shi Tianmin)	199
The Right Path to be Joined in Wedlock (Genesis 24:1-14) ¹²²	201
Positions in the Church (1 Timothy 3:1-13) ¹²³	220
How to Be a Successful Person	233
Editor's News	234
The Savior with Me (Hymn)	235

Spring 1942 Issue 61

God's Promises (John 1:11-12)	11
A Wise Woman (1 Samuel 1:1-11...)	12
A Most Important Knowledge (Understand People) ¹²⁴	16
The Smallest Big Questions (Matthew 6:25-34, What to Eat?) ¹²⁵	25
Do You Tell Your True Age? (Proverbs 12:22...) ¹²⁶	36
Can a Widow Get Remarried? (Romans 7:1-3) ¹²⁷	44
Something Parents Should Pay Attention To (Genesis 25:27-28, Regard Children Equally) ¹²⁸	51
Love One Another	56
Editor's News	58
Glory for Me! (Hymn)	59

Summer 1942 Issue 62

God's Promises (Matthew 7:7-8)	65
Amazing Salvation (Genesis 37:18-28...)	66

¹²¹ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 37-50.

¹²² In this article on page 202 Wang quotes *Mencius*, Teng Wen Gong II 8.8, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=13311#s10030534>. He quotes Mencius to describe the Chinese tradition of arranged marriages but Wang argues to follow the Bible in choosing a marriage partner while taking into account the wisdom of elders. He also quotes the proverb, "Ignore your elders at your peril" on page 205.

¹²³ Wang mentions Bible translation issues on page 228-229.

¹²⁴ Wang quotes two idioms on page 22. "Great intelligence may appear to be stupid" and "The really brave person remains level headed."

¹²⁵ In this article on page 35 Wang quotes the Southern Song Dynasty poet Lu You's poem, "Touring Shanxi Village," <https://fanti.dugushici.com/mingju/13141>.

¹²⁶ In his conclusion on page 43, Wang quotes a number of ancient sources including *The Later Book of Han*, <https://idiom.wlps.kl.edu.tw/9305>, the Jin Dynasty Poet Tau Yuanming, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=666921#p48> (verse 47), and *The Analects* 18.5, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1567#s10028194>. He makes these quotes in order to show the admonition in the Chinese tradition to tell the truth.

¹²⁷ In this article on page 46 Wang quotes *Stories to Caution the World* 警世通言, Book 35, Verse 30, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=602146#p31>.

¹²⁸ In this article on page 54 Wang quotes *The Book of Changes*, Xi Ci I 8.8, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=47006#s10017096>.

Those Who Are Not Greedy Are Not Afraid (1 Kings 13:1-10...) ¹²⁹	74
The Locked Lion (Translated from John Bunyan's <i>Pilgrim's Progress</i>)	82
In Inward Calm (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹³⁰	83
A Letter Written to a Believer ¹³¹	88
Who Was Cain's Wife? (Genesis 4:17)	96
Do Not Forget Your Torn Robe	100
Taking a Concubine and Divorce (Genesis 2:18-24...) ¹³²	103
Editor's News	114
Jesus is Our Shepherd (Hymn)	115
Fall 1942 Issue 63	
God's Promises (John 14:16-17...)	121
We Who Love Jehovah Should Hate Sin (Psalm 97:10)	122
Smooth Stones (1 Samuel 17:38-40...)	127
Should We Listen to Older People? Should We Listen to Younger People? (1 Kings 12:1-20) ¹³³	132
Fellowship with Christ: Its Mystical Side (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹³⁴	140
To Have Real Interaction with Jesus (John 17:18-19)	146
Taking a Concubine and Divorce (Part 2, Matthew 19:3-9) ¹³⁵	151
Fear of Man Will Prove to Be a Trap (Proverbs 29:25)	161
What Young People Should Know When with Their Elders ¹³⁶	165
The Biggest Fool Among the Fools	167
Editor's News	168
Precious Savior (Hymn)	169
Winter 1942 Issue 64	

¹²⁹ In this article on page 80 Wang quotes *The Book of Documents*, Xia Shu, Songs of the Five Sons, 3, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=21146#s10090974>.

As well as Yue Fei on page 81, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=599373>.

¹³⁰ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 51-62.

¹³¹ Several classical references in this article.

¹³² In this article on page 106 Wang quotes *The Book of Documents*, Tai Jia II 6, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=21180#s10091132>.

On page 110 Wang writes that we should not accept Mencius' teaching that to have no posterity is unfilial. See *Mencius* Li Lou I 26, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1696#s10031192>.

¹³³ In this article on page 136 Wang quotes *The Book of Documents*, Xia Shu, Songs of the Five Sons, 2, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=21145#s10090958>.

¹³⁴ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 63-74.

¹³⁵ In this article on page 154 Wang quotes *The Book of Poetry*, Greater Odes of the Kingdom, Decade of Dang, Sang Rou, 3.1, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=16555#s10005860>.

¹³⁶ In this article on page 165 Wang quotes *The Book of Rites*, Qu Li I 17 <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=9492#s10041126>.

God's Promises (Psalm 23:1...)	175
Christians Who Glorify God (Matthew 5:13-16) ¹³⁷	176
Two Heroes Full of Faith (Numbers 13:1-3...)	182
Sinners and Assuming Blame (1 Samuel 15:13-30...) ¹³⁸	188
The Secret of Not Sinning: Abide in Christ (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹³⁹	196
The Secret of Not Sinning: Live Out Your Sonship (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁴⁰	201
Good Advice for Husbands and Wives	205
Do You Really Love Your Children?	210
Living in Difficult Times (Mentions Price Increases, etc.) ¹⁴¹	213
Editor's News (Preaching Opportunities Are Good)	220
Trust On! (Hymn)	221
Spring 1943 Issue 65	
God's Promises (Psalm 18:2...)	11
A Little Greed Leads to Disaster (1 Kings 21:1-19...)	13
No Fear of Death Lord and No Fear of Death Disciples (Mark 10:32-34...)	18
But Me You Will Not Always Have with You (Matthew 26:11)	25
This, is the Lord Jesus' Disciple (Matthew 5:37..., Wang Mentions His Disdain for the Words "Ambiguous, Tactful, Compromise")	29
The Liberating Spirit (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁴²	30
The Secret to Obtaining Peace (Unnamed Translated Article)	35
A Pure Conscience (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁴³	36
Wait Upon God (Psalm 27:14...)	41
Lessons Learned from Samson (Article Written by Shi Tianmin)	50
You Should Be Honest About These Things	57
Editor's News	59
I Love Him (Hymn)	60

¹³⁷ Wang quotes "the ancients" on page 180, "Virtuous people are the treasure of the nation."

¹³⁸ In this article on page 193-195 Wang quotes *Zuo Zhuan*, Zhuang Gong, Year 11, <https://ctext.org/chun-qi-u-zuo-zhuan/zhuang-gong-shi-yi-nian>.

¹³⁹ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 85-96. Wang does not translate chapter seven, "Fellowship with Christ: Its Practical Side," pages 75-84, for some reason.

¹⁴⁰ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 97-108.

¹⁴¹ Wang quotes "the ancients" on page 215, "To starve is a small matter, to loose moral integrity is a big one."

¹⁴² George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 109-120.

¹⁴³ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 121-132.

Summer 1943 Issue 66

God's Promises (Isaiah 43:2...)	67
The Uncompromising Christ (Matthew 5:37...)	68
Vengeance is Mine, I Will Repay (Romans 12:19...)	73
Cleansing the Temple (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁴⁴	80
Consecrated Priests and Holy Service (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁴⁵	86
A Terrible Wound (Jeremiah 14:17...)	91
A Good Way to Cope with Difficulty (Proverbs 3:5-6...)	96
Let No Debt Remain Outstanding (Romans 13:8)	102
That is How Fang [Girl's Name] Understood	107
No Gold and Broken Jade (Unnamed Translated Article)	112
Editor's News	114
Sing the Praises of Jesus (Hymn)	115

Fall 1943 Issue 67

God's Promises (Psalm 29:11...)	121
Blessing Due to Misfortune (Genesis 50:15-21)	122
People Who Stop Up the Hole (Psalm 106:19-23...)	125
No Gold and Broken Jade (Part 2, Unnamed Translated Article)	131
The Aroma of Christ (2 Corinthians 2:14-16)	132
A Rock that Tempts People [Gold/Money]	139
A Matter that Shepherds of the Church Should Pay Attention To (That New Members Have "New Life")	141
Visible Ownership (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁴⁶	145
A Slowly Trickling River (A Young Woman's Downward Moral Spiral)	151
The Use of Suffering	164
To Show Consideration for "Face"	165
Editor's News	167
Be Thou Supreme (Hymn)	168

Winter 1943 Issue 68

God's Promises (Psalm 16:11...)	173
A Pity He Depended on the Wrong Person (Luke 15:11-24, Parable of the Lost Son)	174
Serve It to the People to Eat (2 Kings 4:38-44)	178
If We Do Not Kill Paul, We Will Not Eat nor Drink (Acts 23:12-32)	184

¹⁴⁴ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 133-144.

¹⁴⁵ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 145-154. Wang does not mention this is George H. Knight's work as did with previous articles but simply this is a translated article on page 90.

¹⁴⁶ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 155-168.

The Canna and Pumpkin Plants Next to the Manure Pit	188
The Great Keeper (Translation of George H. Knight's Work) ¹⁴⁷	189
A Fortified City, An Iron Pillar, and a Bronze Wall (Jeremiah 1:18-19)	195
Faithful Young Women (Advice to Modern Girls/Women) To Deliver a False Order (False Prophets, Wang Mentions Shandong Revival)	196
Cheating Others is Ultimately Cheating Yourself	205
An Internal Wellspring (Unnamed Translated Article)	212
Editor's News (Note on Printing Delay Due to Printing Bureau)	216
Please Take My Hand (Hymn)	217
	218

Spring 1944 Issue 69

God's Promises (Psalm 25:9...)	11
A Silent Testifier (John 11:43-44...)	13
When We Are Weak (Unnamed Translated Article)	18
The Secret to Great Blessing (Genesis 22:1-18)	20
Working for Jesus (Unnamed Translated Article)	28
The People of Jabesh Gilead and Saul (1 Samuel 11:1-11...)	29
Some Lessons Learned from Insects	36
Christian Health Questions (1 Corinthians 6:19-20...)	37
A Blind Person with Knowledge ¹⁴⁸	43
How Not to Be a Person Others Detest ^{149 150}	51
A Confused Smart Person (Job 5:13)	57
Interior Beauty (Unnamed Translated Article)	61
A Happy Life (Unnamed Translated Article)	62
Editor's News (Mentions Health Problems)	63
The Love of Jesus (Hymn)	64

Summer 1944 Issue 70

God's Promises (Psalm 33:20...)	69
You Have Been Weighed on the Scales and Found Wanting (Daniel 5:27)	70
Complete Our Work (Unnamed Translated Article)	74
What Kind of Person Needs a Doctor? (Matthew 9:9-13...)	75

¹⁴⁷ George H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 169-181.

¹⁴⁸ In this article on page 46 Wang quotes Northern Song Dynasty poet Su Shi's *Fan Zeng Lun* 范增論, https://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/71713.

¹⁴⁹ In this article on page 56 Wang quotes an idiom derived from *The Book of Rites*, Qu Li I 73, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=9538#s10044677>. He uses this idiom to indicate that local laws and customs should be observed, especially when in an unfamiliar area.

¹⁵⁰ In this article on page 56 Wang quotes *The Great Learning* 14, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=47493#s10099166>.

Lucky Words that Harm People (1 Kings 22:5-8) ^{151 152}	81
Look at Christ (Unnamed Translated Article)	89
To Praise the Virtue of Someone While Concealing Their Faults ¹⁵³	90
Love the Brothers (Unnamed Translated Article)	100
How Not to Be a Person Others Detest (Part 2)	101
He Forgot to Guard Himself	108
Something That Pains People in the Church (Fundraising)	109
Benefit in the Shadow (Unnamed Translated Article)	115
Days of Losing Hope (Unnamed Translated Article)	116
Editor's News	117
Let Us Praise and Adore (Hymn)	118
Fall 1944 Issue 71	
God's Promises (Psalm 10:17-18...)	125
Even the Wind and the Waves Obey Him (Mark 4:35-41)	126
Treacherous Jehu (2 Kings 10:1-10 & 18-29)	131
God's School Has No Accelerated Course	139
Not a Slave but a Son (Romans 8:15...)	140
A Life that Wins People for Christ (Unnamed Translated Article)	147
The No Character Bible (Unnamed Translated Article)	148
Mr. [John] Song Shangjie Has Died	149
Light on the Street (Unnamed Translated Article)	158
Destroy a Cup to Preserve a Life	159
Our Position in the Temple (Unnamed Translated Article)	164
Thankfully He is Onboard (Acts 27:9-26)	165
What Believers Should Know About Money ^{154 155}	170
Training Our Temper (Unnamed Translated Article)	174
Precious Silence (Unnamed Translated Article)	175
Editor's News	176
Kept by the Power of God (Hymn)	177
Winter 1944 Issue 72	
God's Promises (Deuteronomy 31:8...)	183

¹⁵¹ Wang quotes many “lucky” expressions common during Chinese New Year on pages 81-82 and some Chinese divination practices on page 86.

¹⁵² In this article on page 83 Wang quotes *The Book of Documents*, Instructions of Yi 1.4, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=42969#s10125031>. This quote “The ways of God are not invariable: on the good-doer he sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer he sends down all miseries” is important for the integration of his Confucian and Christian thought.

¹⁵³ Wang's title is an idiom derived from *The Book of Rites*, Zhong Yong 6, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=47447#s10099206>. “He concealed what was bad in them and displayed what was good.”

¹⁵⁴ In this article on page 172 Wang quotes *The Book of Changes*, Xi Ci I 8.8, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=47006#s10017096>.

¹⁵⁵ Wang quotes “the ancients” on page 173, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=932975#p445>. (Maxim 444)

A Man as White as Snow (Revelation 1:12-16)	185
Worldly Motivations in Christian Life (Unnamed Translated Article)	191
Shall I Not Drink the Cup the Father Has Given Me? (John 18:10-11)	192
Standards in Christian Life (Unnamed Translated Article)	197
Ignorant Adoniram Invites Disaster (1 Kings 12:16-19) ¹⁵⁶	199
Love the Unlovable (Unnamed Translated Article)	206
The Uselessness of Worry (Unnamed Translated Article)	207
The Heart of Brotherly Love (Unnamed Translated Article)	208
Look at Those Who Are Not Filial to Their Parents (2 Samuel 18:9-15)	209
Look at Those Who Serve Us (Hebrews 1:14..., Article on Angels)	214
Chocolate Phoenix Rolls	222
What Believers Who Get Money Should Know	228
Editor's News (Mentions Paper Price Increase)	232
A Soldier of the Cross (Hymn)	233
Spring 1945 Issue 73	
God's Promises (John 14:1-3...)	11
Scribe and Pharisee Style Christians (Matthew 23:23-28)	12
In Jesus is Not in Vain (Unnamed Translated Article)	19
Why Did He Not Evade Suffering, Humiliation and Death? (Matthew 16:21-25...)	20
Do Not Lose Heart in the Midst of Trial (Unnamed Translated Article)	27
Hidden Happiness (Unnamed Translated Article)	28
She Saved Them from a Great Disaster (2 Samuel 19:40 – 20:22) ¹⁵⁷	29
Do Not Allow People to Suffer Loss Because of This [Commodities Price Increase]	38
Eliminate Baal but Worship the Golden Calf (2 Kings 10:25-29)	39
A Pitiful Thing (Leviticus 19:32..., Not Respecting the Elderly) ¹⁵⁸	42
Written for Parents (Proverbs 13:24...) ¹⁵⁹	47
A God Who Never Breaks His Promise nor Goes Back on His Word (Isaiah 46:11...)	55

¹⁵⁶ Wang quotes the idiom “fortune is as unpredictable as the weather,” <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=872329#p144>. (Verse 143)

¹⁵⁷ Wang mentions Emperor Tang Taizong on page 34.

¹⁵⁸ In this article on page 45 Wang quotes *The Book of Rites*, Qu Li I 17, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=9492#s10041126>.

¹⁵⁹ In this article on page 50 Wang quotes *The Great Learning* 10, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=10391#s10098723>.

Editor's News	58
Let Us Sing Again (Hymn)	59
Summer & Fall 1945 Issues 74 & 75¹⁶⁰	
God's Promises (Matthew 5:10-12...)	65
Temptation After Success (Matthew 14:19-23...)	67
Even He Believed One Side (2 Samuel 16:1-4..., David Believed Ziba Over Mephibosheth) ¹⁶¹	72
A Father's Heart (2 Samuel 15:13-14...)	77
The Greatest Characteristic (Unnamed Translated Article)	86
Some Important Advice (1 Timothy 5:1-2)	87
A Lovely Thing (Unnamed Translated Article)	95
For Christ's Sake (Unnamed Translated Article)	96
Our Duty (Unnamed Translated Article)	97
God's Will (Romans 12:1-2...)	98
Only Relying on People is Not Enough (Unnamed Translated Article)	107
The Power of Speech (Unnamed Translated Article)	108
The Origin of a Famous Song (Sometime We'll Understand) ¹⁶²	109
A Little Common Sense (Postage Etiquette)	111
The Duty of Parents (Unnamed Abridged & Translated Article by Shi Tianmin)	112
Listen to this Warning (Proverbs 24:17-18)	114
Editor's News (Wang Describes His Illness)	115
The Gospel Bells (Hymn)	121
Winter 1945 Issue 76	
God's Promises (1 Corinthians 9:24-25...)	127
How Can There Be Peace? (2 Kings 9:21-24)	128
Those Who Honor Me I Will Honor (1 Samuel 2:27-30) ¹⁶³	132
The Benefit of Suffering (Unnamed Translated Article)	137
What is a Small Sin? (Unnamed Translated Article)	138
He Actually Tolerated This Obstinate Disciple	

¹⁶⁰ Wang published issues 74 and 75 together due to a serious illness he suffered which he explains in the Editor's Notes on pages 115-120.

¹⁶¹ In this article on page 75 Wang quotes the "sage" Lü Kun's *Shenyinyu* 呻吟語, Ying Wu 209, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=765399#p210>.

¹⁶² The song, "Sometime We'll Understand," was written by Maxwell N. Cornelius the song's origin story is available online at "Sometime We'll Understand," Breadsite – Hymn Stories, accessed December 17, 2020, <http://breadsite.org/hymnstories/sometimewellunderstand.htm>.

¹⁶³ On page 136, Wang quotes a number of ancient sources including *The Book of Han*, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=67536>, *Zuo Zhuan*, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=19413>, *Zuo Zhuan*, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=16965>, and the *Dao De Jing*, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=11664#s10101974>.

(Luke 22: 14-24)	139
Their God is Still Our God (Daniel 3:24-27...Details His Conflict with the Japanese) ¹⁶⁴	144
Success in God's Eyes and Success in People's Eyes	164
Words That Are Not in the Bible (Compromise, Yield, etc.)	165
Saints Who Fall Ill Should Remember This (James 5:13-16, To Confess Sin, Recalls Middle School Story with Principal) ¹⁶⁵	166
Editor's News	172
Let Us Walk in the Light (Hymn)	173
Spring & Summer 1946 Issues 77 & 78 ¹⁶⁶	
God's Promises (Romans 8:16-18...)	11
How to Obtain True Freedom (John 8:31-36...) ^{167 168}	12
Two Treasures You Should Wear (Proverbs 3:3-4, Love and Honesty)	20
People Who the Older They Get, The More Beautiful They Are	25
Young Man, I Say to You, Get Up (Luke 7:11-17) ¹⁶⁹	27
Work of Value (Unnamed Translated Article)	33
A Preacher's Life (1 Corinthians 10:31-11:1)	34
Say What You Think (Unnamed Translated Article)	40
A Great Prophet and a Humble Official (2 Kings 5:8-17)	41
The Secret to Obtaining Peace (Unnamed Translated Article) ¹⁷⁰	51
Truly Difficult Problems in Life (Unnamed Translated Article)	52
An Experience During a Spiritual Battle (Mentions Bible Translations)	53
This is the Attitude God's Servants Should Have (Luke 2:11-14) ^{171 172}	55

¹⁶⁴ Wang refers to the story of Zhang Xun and the Suiyang Warriors on page 158-159. The stories' original source appears to be *The Old Book of Tang* 舊唐書, Chapter 194, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=402785#p46>.

¹⁶⁵ In this article on page 168 Wang quotes *The Analects* 19.21, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1594#s10028365>. This quote, "The faults of the superior man are like the eclipses of the sun and moon. He has his faults, and all men see them; he changes again, and all men look up to him" is important for Wang's idea of Christian holiness.

¹⁶⁶ Wang published issues 77 and 78 together.

¹⁶⁷ Wang quotes Madame Roland on page 13.

¹⁶⁸ In this article on page 17 Wang quotes *The Analects* 2.4, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1121#s10019913>. This quote, "I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right" is important for Wang's idea of Christianity supplying the power to fulfill the moral requirements of Confucianism.

¹⁶⁹ In this article on page 29 Wang quotes *The Analects* 15.17, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1497#s10023767>.

¹⁷⁰ A slightly modified translation of the same article from Spring 1943 Issue 65, page 35.

¹⁷¹ Wang quotes several sources which characterized the national situation on page 58.

¹⁷² In this article on page 60 Wang quotes a saying that goes back to *The Book of Rites*, Tan Gong I 18,

The Smartest People Will Do It Like This (On Handling Criticism)	63
The Use of Worrying (Unnamed Translated Article)	66
A Small Suggestion Regarding Prayer	67
What Plan Did You Give Me? (1 Kings 12:1-11)	69
Editor's News	74
A Most Noble Life (Unnamed Translated Article)	81
I Could Not Do Without Thee (Hymn)	82
Fall & Winter 1946 Issues 79 & 80 ¹⁷³	
God's Promises (Matthew 19:28...)	89
A Man Who Weeps Over Sin (Ezekiel 8:17 - 9:6) ¹⁷⁴	91
A Beautiful Life (Unnamed Translated Article)	98
In the Shadow of God's Wings (Unnamed Translated Article)	99
Step by Step Moving Forward (Unnamed Translated Article)	100
Three Spiritual Warriors (Daniel 3:16-18)	101
Heavenly Color (Revelation 1:12-15...)	108
Dedication and Preaching (Romans 12:1-2)	114
Money Cannot Buy These Things ¹⁷⁵	119
Do Not Look to Your Own Interests (Philippians 2:4)	131
For He Must Reign (Hymn)	136
Spiritual Symptoms [of Disease]	137
A Legend (John 21:22-23, Wang Mentions Legends of His Own Death)	142
We Believe in the Whole Jesus (Counters Modernists)	148
Baptismal Hymn (Hymn)	154
Saints, Christians, and Church Members (Romans 1:7...) ¹⁷⁶	155
The Usefulness of Suffering (Unnamed Translated Article)	164
The Law of Service (Unnamed Translated Article)	165
How Should One Read the Bible ¹⁷⁷	166
Some Words Christians Cannot Use (Chinese Religious	

<https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=9616>. This quote, "A superior man loves another on grounds of virtue; a little man's love of another is seen in his indulgence of him" is important for Wang's integration of Confucian principles with Christian theology.

¹⁷³ Wang published issues 79 and 80 together due to a heavier schedule including the extra responsibilities in taking care of his mother after the death of his sister. See page 201.

¹⁷⁴ In this article on page 93 Wang quotes *Zhuangzi*, Outer Chapters, Cutting Open Satchels 2, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=42020#s10027529>.

¹⁷⁵ In this article on page 121 Wang quotes Chen Ziang's poem, "On a Gate Tower at Yuzhou," https://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/4035. The poem, "Where, before me, are the ages that have gone? And where, before me, are the coming generations? I think of heaven and earth, without limit, without end, And I am all alone and my tears fall down" was quoted by Wang several times in his writings in order to express deep feelings of grief over lamentable situations.

¹⁷⁶ Wang mentions the Greek word "chrematizo" on pages 159-160.

¹⁷⁷ Wang reprinted this article from Summer 1928 Issue 6, pages 110-115 due to requests for advice on this topic from readers.

Words)	173
Are Those Who Are Saved Really That Many? (Calculating Conversions in Preaching)	175
The Fairest Lesson (Ephesians 5:22 – 6:9) ¹⁷⁸	183
God Be with You (Hymn)	190
Another Ten Years (20 th Anniversary of TSFQ, Talks About Conflict with Japanese)	192
New Year’s Prayer (Hymn)	199
Editor’s News (Mentions Death of His Sister)	201
Farewell Hymn (Hymn)	202

Spring 1947 Issue 81

Bible Truth ¹⁷⁹ (Romans 1:19-20...)	11
An Unshaken Mountain and a Sea That is Not Tossed (Psalm 125:1-2...)	13
Overcome Suffering (Unnamed Translated Article)	20
Where are the Other Nine? (Luke 17:11-19) ^{180 181 182}	21
Steal No Longer (Ephesians 4:28)	28
Misunderstanding (Joshua 22:10-34) ¹⁸³	35
I Have Already Prepared (Unnamed Translated Article)	45
Life’s Opportunity (Unnamed Translated Article)	46
The Light of the World (John 8:12...)	47
The Work of Compassion (Unnamed Translated Article)	52
Help Others Pay the Price (Unnamed Translated Article)	53
The Bible’s Wreath (Acts 14:8-13, Mentions Christmas Trees, Easter Eggs, Customs)	54
A Letter Written to Young Christians	59
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill’s Work Translated by Shi Tianmin) ¹⁸⁴	68
Editor’s News (Mentions the Book <i>Overcoming</i>)	74
Jesus is Mine! (Hymn)	75

Summer 1947 Issue 82

Bible Truth (Leviticus 12:2...)	81
How Shameful! (1 Corinthians 6:1-4, Lawsuits)	

¹⁷⁸ Wang mentions the Confucian moral injunctions for women on page 184. Namely, to obey in turn three men; father, husband and son. He contrasts this with the Bible’s injunction for men to love women.

¹⁷⁹ Wang changes the name of this section again to “Bible truth” but as before it is simply Bible verses he lists without comment.

¹⁸⁰ In this article on page 23 Wang quotes Meng Jiao’s poem, “A Traveler’s Song,”
<https://fanti.dugushici.com/mingju/13021>.

¹⁸¹ In this article on page 24 Wang quotes *The Book of the Later Han*,
<https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=74540>.

¹⁸² In this article on page 26 Wang quotes an idiom from *Officialdom Unmasked*, Chapter 34, Verse 27,
<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=75110#p28>.

¹⁸³ In this article on page 39 Wang loosely quotes *Shengyinyu* 呻吟語, Ying Wu, 209
<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=765399#p210>.

¹⁸⁴ Elizabeth K. Churchill, *Overcoming* (Boston: D. Lothrop & Co, 1885).

Among Christians, Mentions Officials)	83
In This Matter He Displeased the Lord (2 Chronicles 17:3-9...)	88
Empty Handed (Unnamed Translated Article)	94
A Man Who Freely Falls in Love (Judges 14:1-3... Samson) ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷	95
Certain Gain (Unnamed Translated Article)	108
Lord! I Am Ready! (Unnamed Translated Article)	109
Unchanging Love (Unnamed Translated Article)	110
Two Aspects of Work (Acts 10:1-8 & 17-20)	111
The Safest Place (Unnamed Translated Article)	117
First Have Peace and Then Work (Unnamed Translated Article)	118
Successful Christians (John 17:4)	119
A Letter Written to Young Christians (Part 2) ¹⁸⁸	127
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill's Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 2)	135
Wise Language (Unnamed Translated Article)	143
Editor's News	145
Praise and Magnify Our King! (Hymn)	146
Fall 1947 Issue 83	
Bible Truth (Psalm 14:2-3...)	151
A Man of Disaster (Isaiah 5:20)	153
People Bought at a Price (1 Corinthians 6:19-20...)	157
Moses the Promise Keeper (Genesis 50:24-26...)	162
Content but Not Satisfied (Unnamed Translated Article)	168
People that Should Be Cursed (Galatians 1:6-10, Wang Connects "Another Gospel" with the "Social Gospel")	169
Are the "Kingdom of Heaven" and "Kingdom of God" the Same Thing? (Wang's Answer is Yes)	180
Spiritual Life Test List ¹⁸⁹	186
A Letter Written to Young Christians (Part 3) ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹²	187

¹⁸⁵ In this article on page 95 Wang quotes *The Classic of Poetry*, Lessons from the States, Odes of Zheng, Qian Chang 1-2, <https://ctext.org/book-of-poetry/qian-chang#n14712>.

¹⁸⁶ In this article on page 96 Wang quotes *The Classic of Poetry*, Lessons from the States, Odes of Zheng, Ye You Man Cao 1-2, <https://ctext.org/book-of-poetry/ye-you-man-cao#n14762>.

¹⁸⁷ In this article on page 96 Wang quotes *The Classic of Poetry*, Lessons from the States, Odes of Zheng, Zhen Wei 1-2, <https://ctext.org/book-of-poetry/zhen-wei#n14768>. Wang uses these three quotes from *The Classic of Poetry* to teach about love and sexual morality.

¹⁸⁸ Wang quotes a "Western saying" that "You can test gold with metal and you can test people with gold" on page 134.

¹⁸⁹ A slightly modified reprint from Fall 1932 Issue 23, page 139.

¹⁹⁰ In this article on page 188 Wang refers to *Zuo Zhuan*, Xiang Gong, Year 24, 2.1, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=19661>.

¹⁹¹ In this article on page 189 Wang quotes *The Records of the Grand Historian*, Biography of Bo Yi 7, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=7371>.

¹⁹² In this article on page 195 Wang quotes *The Analects* 8.7,

<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill's Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 3)	197
The Harm of Being Talkative (Unnamed Translated Article)	205
The Secret to Obtaining Peace (Unnamed Translated Article) ¹⁹³	206
The Blessing Due to Suffering (Unnamed Translated Article)	208
Resist Temptation (Unnamed Translated Article)	209
Editor's News (Mentions Mother's Deteriorating Health)	211
Blessed Assurance (Hymn)	212

Winter 1947 Issue 84

Bible Truth (John 1:1-5...)	219
Ten Righteous Men Cannot Be Found! (Genesis 18:22-23...)	221
Put Up with Other People's Shortcomings (Unnamed Translated Article)	228
A Life of Self-Sacrifice (Matthew 16:21-24) ¹⁹⁴	230
Some Common Knowledge for Letter Writing	237
The Hope of Glory (John 14:1-3...) ¹⁹⁵	238
Keeping Our Promises (Unnamed Translated Article)	247
The Reward of Work (Unnamed Translated Article)	248
Obedying People in Authority (Romans 13:1-7...) ^{196 197 198 199}	249
Do Not Take the Shortcut (Unnamed Translated Article)	257
In Memory of Mother (Memorial Article for Wang Mingdao's Mother with Many Stories)	258
If We Knew (Unnamed Translated Article)	279
Live Out God's Intention (Unnamed Translated Article)	280
Carefully Guard Your Lips (Unnamed Translated Article)	281
Correction that Stems from Love (Unnamed Translated Article)	282
Editor's News (Mentions Mother's Death)	283
That Will Be Heaven for Me (Hymn)	284

Spring 1948 Issue 85

Bible Truth (Luke 1:30-35...)	11
Look at These Ninevites (Jonah 1:1-2..., Mentions the Sins Of Modern Chinese)	13

<https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1295#s10021230>.

¹⁹³ A different article from the 1943 or 1946 translation.

¹⁹⁴ Wang mentions the Greek word "aparneomai" on page 230.

¹⁹⁵ Wang mentions a list of famous historical figures on pages 242-243.

¹⁹⁶ In this article on page 252 Wang quotes *The Analects*, 13.6,

<https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1411#s10022503>. This quote of Confucius, "When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is correct, he may issue orders, but they will not be followed," is central to his idea of the importance of moral integrity in effective leadership.

¹⁹⁷ Wang quotes an unidentified source on page 252.

¹⁹⁸ In this article on page 252 Wang quotes *The Records of the Grand Historian*, Biography of Lord Shang Yang 6, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=7619>.

¹⁹⁹ In this article on page 252 Wang quotes *Mencius* Li Lou I 1.3, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=13377#s10030887>.

May Your Will Be Done (Unnamed Translated Article)	17
Faithful in Small Things (Unnamed Translated Article)	18
What is There to Fear? (Isaiah 51:12-15)	19
Those That Love the Lord Are So Few! (Unnamed Translated Article)	23
More Important Than Work (Matthew 5:14-16..., Moral Character) ^{200 201 202 203}	24
Serving Jesus in the Midst of People (Unnamed Translated Article)	40
Resisted Blessings (Unnamed Translated Article)	41
What Does the “Resurrection of Jesus” Actually Mean? (Counters Modernist Theology) ^{204 205 206 207 208}	42
In Everything You Do (Unnamed Translated Article)	72
Love Them to the End (Unnamed Translated Article)	73
Later (Unnamed Translated Article)	74
Editor’s News (Mentions 700-800 Attending Christian Tabernacle)	75
Rejoice in the Lord (Hymn) ²⁰⁹	

Summer 1948 Issue 86

Bible Truth (Isaiah 53:4-6...) ²¹⁰	
Why Are We Repeatedly Encountering So Many Calamities? (Isaiah 59:1-15 Discusses War with Japan and Chinese Civil War)	81
Faith in the Lord and Repentance (Mark 1:14-15...) ²¹¹	87
The Good of Temptation (Unnamed Translated Article)	92
Seeing Other’s Faults (Unnamed Translated Article)	93

²⁰⁰ Wang mentions the difference between American and Chinese morality on page 33.

²⁰¹ In this article on page 34 Wang refers to a saying on laws and customs from *The Book of Rites*, Qu Li I 73, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=9538#s10044678>. Wang uses this quote, “When one is crossing the boundaries (of a state), he should ask what are its prohibitory laws; when he has fairly entered it, he should ask about its customs,” to advise American missionaries to learn the customs of the Chinese in order to not offend Chinese people which would create difficulty to preach their message.

²⁰² Wang quotes Bai Juyi’s poem, “Song of the Pipa Player,” on page 34, https://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/21474.

²⁰³ Wang may be making a veiled reference to Watchman Nee’s *Spiritual Man* on page 38.

²⁰⁴ Wang refers to Cheng Jingyi’s article, “Pentecost Era Church,” (1931) concerning Jesus’ Resurrection on pages 54-55.

²⁰⁵ Wang refers to Wu Yongyu’s 吳永悞, “Resurrection Testimony” 復活的見證, *Journal of the National Christian Council of China* 中華全國基督教協進會月刊, Vol. 5, Issue 12 (1936) on pages 55-56.

²⁰⁶ Wang refers to Zhang Xueyan’s 張雪岩 article, “Jesus’ Resurrection and China’s Revival” 耶穌復活與中國復興, *Tianjia* 田家半月報, Vol.13, Issue 18 (1936) on pages 58-59.

²⁰⁷ Wang refers to Marie Adams 黨美瑞, *Jesus the Interpreter of God* 耶穌的一生, trans. Hu Lueh Shah (Shanghai: Shanghai Association Press, 1948), 85-86 on pages 59-61.

²⁰⁸ Refers to Zhao Zichen’s books *Life of Jesus* (Ch.18, part 1) and *An Interpretation of Christian Faith* 基督教進解 (Shanghai: Shanghai Association Press, 1947), 77 on pages 63-69.

²⁰⁹ The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include the song but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version has the song for Spring 1948 on page 41.

²¹⁰ The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include the “Bible Truth” section but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version has the section for Summer 1948 on page 1.

²¹¹ In this article on page 90 Wang refers to a modified quote of *The Analects* 7.26, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1276#s10020851>.

Seeking Your Mission (Unnamed Translated Article)	94
A Wise Leader (2 Samuel 12:7-15...David, Mentions Critiques Of Western Missionaries by Chinese) ²¹²	95
A Student Who Wants to Study Shakespeare	102
To Glory in Your Shame (Philippians 3:17-19) ^{213 214 215}	104
The Benefit of Gloom (Unnamed Translated Article)	113
A Burning Stick Snatched from the Fire (Zechariah 3:1-5, Contains Important Biographical Information About Wang's Life, First Edition of His Autobiography Later Used in <i>Fifty Years</i> as Chapter 1) ^{216 217}	114
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill's Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 4)	133
Editor's News	141
Search Me, O Lord! (Hymn)	142
Christian, Walk Carefully (Hymn)	143
Fall 1948 Issue 87	
Bible Truth (Matthew 16:21...)	149
People Who Dare to Say "No" (Daniel 3:16-18)	151
Why Did He First Appear to This Kind of Apostle? (Matthew 26:69-75...)	156
Sin of Unfaithfulness (Unnamed Translated Article)	161
Is it Police Catch Thieves or Thieves Catch Police? (Mentions Conflict with "Unbelievers" in Church Leadership)	162
When Making a Telephone Call (Etiquette)	168
People Who Do Not Quarrel nor Cry Out (Matthew 12:15-19)	170
A Conscientious Girl (Written on December 12, 1947) ²¹⁸	175
God's Will (Unnamed Translated Article)	181
Silent Work (Unnamed Translated Article)	182
Unchanging Love (Unnamed Translated Article)	183
Set Apart from His Mother's Womb (Jeremiah 1:4-5... First Edition of His Autobiography Later Used in <i>Fifty Years</i> , as Chapter 2)	184

²¹² In this article on page 99 Wang quotes *The History of the Three Kingdoms*, Annal of Emperor Wu 39, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=601914>.

²¹³ On page 107 Wang describes Confucius as "China's saint/sage" and quotes *The Analects* 9.6, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1315#s10021396>. Wang uses the quote to contrast Confucius' willingness to gain ability in "mean matters" and Jesus' learning carpentry with modern people only thinking that those who are served are respected. It is an interesting pairing of the humility of Confucius and Jesus by Wang.

²¹⁴ In this article on page 109 Wang quotes *Mencius* Li Lou II 61, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1732#s10034307>.

²¹⁵ In this article on page 111 Wang quotes *The Analects* 19.21, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1594#s10028369>.

²¹⁶ In this article on page 122 Wang quotes Chen Ziang's poem, "On a Gate Tower at Yuzhou," https://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/4035.

²¹⁷ In this article on page 126 Wang quotes a modified version of a saying on filial piety that goes back at least to the Han Dynasty's *School Sayings of Confucius*, Zhi Si 10, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=84377>.

²¹⁸ Wang mentions he preached with Yang Shaotang 楊紹唐 on page 175.

<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill’s Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 5)	206
Editor’s News	211
Jesus Saves! (Hymn)	213
Winter 1948 Issue 88	
Bible Truth (Luke 24:50-51...)	219
Where Can I Flee from Your Presence? (Psalm 139:7-12, Mentions the Movement of Chinese Due to the Civil War)	221
When We Are Weak (Unnamed Translated Article)	225
You Must Not Be an Exception (Luke 6:7)	226
No Gold and Broken Jade (Unnamed Translated Article)	231
Be Slow to Speak (James 1:19-20)	232
A Few Words Concerning Peace (Unnamed Translated Article)	236
The Unseen Bodyguard (2 Kings 6:8-17)	237
The Blessing Humble People Receive (Unnamed Translated Article)	243
Through Fire and Water to an Abundant Land (Psalm 66:10-12, First Edition of His Autobiography Later Used in <i>Fifty Years</i> as Chapter 3)	244
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill’s Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 6)	276
Editor’s News (Mentions Increasing Numbers at the Christian Tabernacle)	281
Nothing but the Blood of Jesus (Hymn)	282
Spring 1949 Issue 89	
Bible Truth (John 14:1-3...)	11
A Very Foolish Thing (Isaiah 30:1-5 & 15-18)	13
What Kind of People Are Your Friends?	17
Do Not Work, Cannot Eat (2 Thessalonians 3:6-12, Counsels a Balanced Approach Toward “Worldly Things”)	18
God’s Unusual School (Unnamed Translated Article)	25
Obedying God’s Will (Unnamed Translated Article)	26
God’s Storehouse (Unnamed Translated Article)	27
Two Kinds of People (Proverbs 28:1)	28
A Fortified City, An Iron Pillar, and a Bronze Wall (Jeremiah 1:7-8... First Edition of His Autobiography Later Used in <i>Fifty Years</i> as Chapter 4) ²¹⁹	37
Why Are We So Weak? (Unnamed Translated Article)	58

²¹⁹ In this article on page 48 Wang quotes *The Analects* 15.9, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1490#s10023735>, and Mencius Gaozi I 10, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1763#s10033621>. To “sacrifice his life to preserve his virtue complete” and to “let life go and choose righteousness.” Wang says that Modernists use this Confucian description to characterize the death of Jesus with them seeing the resurrection of Jesus as his essence lives on and his influence remains but they deny Jesus’ bodily resurrection.

<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill's Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 7)	59
Carry Your Cross (Unnamed Translated Article)	62
No Gold and Broken Jade 零金碎玉 ²²⁰	63
Editor's News (Mentions Battles in Peking)	64
Christian, Walk Carefully (Hymn)	65
Summer 1949 Issue 90	
Bible Truth (Matthew 24:30-31...)	71
One Thing I Know (John 9:13-34...)	74
The Joy of Christians (Translated from Charles Spurgeon's Work)	80
Sages Discuss Speech (Translations of Cotton, Richard Cecil, Thomas A. Kempis and Charles Spurgeon on Speaking)	81
The Shortcut to Bring Shame and Ruin (Proverbs 11:2...)	82
Sages Discuss Freedom (Translations of Charles Kingsley, Savonarola, and H. Clay Trunbull)	
The God Who Curbs the Strong and Helps the Weak	88
The Human Heart (Jeremiah 17:9-10...) ²²¹	104
A Fortified City, An Iron Pillar, and a Bronze Wall (Part 2, First Edition of His Autobiography Later Used in <i>Fifty Years</i> as Chapter 4)	106
The Character "Small" (Wang's Poetry)	131
No Gold and Broken Jade (Translations of A. March, Watson, and Longfellow)	132
Editor's News (Mentions Minor Health Problems)	133
Send the Light (Hymn)	134
Fall 1949 Issue 91	
Bible Truth (Daniel 2:44...)	139
People Who Are Ashamed of Jesus (Mark 8:38)	141
Trivial Affairs and Important Affairs (Luke 16:10) ^{222 223 224}	145
Sages Discuss Success and Failure (Translations of Various Writers)	153
The Promise Keeping God (Psalm 19:20-37, Discusses Eternal Salvation) ²²⁵	155

²²⁰ A literary term meaning a brief piece of poetry or essay. Also written as No Pearls and Broken Jade 碎玉零璣.

²²¹ Wang introduces this article on page 104 by quoting Bai Juyi's entire poem, "Heaven Can Be Measured" from the *Fragrant White Mountain Poems*, http://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/21029. An English translation of the poem is available at Jordan A. Gwyther, "Bai Juyi and the New Yuefu Movement," (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 2013), 146, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/36687766.pdf>.

²²² Wang refers to a story about Booker T. Washington on pages 151-152.

²²³ In this article on page 152 Wang quotes a lesson from *The Book of Rites*, Zhong Yong, 15, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=10274#s10099315>.

²²⁴ Wang quotes a "Western saying" on page 152. The meaning is "Do not treat trivial matters lightly or they will become significant matters."

²²⁵ In this article on page 165 Wang quotes the *Daodejing* 63, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=11654#s10101833>.

The Authentic Life Will Not Be Defeated (Translation of Frederic W. Farrar’s Work)	167
Does God Have an Image? ^{226 227}	168
A Fortified City, An Iron Pillar, and a Bronze Wall (Part 3, First Edition of His Autobiography Later Used in <i>Fifty Years</i> as Chapter 4)	178
How to Keep One’s Youth (Unnamed Translated Article)	190
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill’s Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 8)	191
Editor’s News	196
Be Ye Strong in the Lord! (Hymn)	197

Winter 1949 Issue 92

Bible Truth (Colossians 3:2-4...)	203
A Strange Carpenter (Mark 6:1-3...)	205
A Few Words On Prayer (Translations of Various Writers)	212
Helpful Friends and Harmful Friends (2 Samuel 18:1-4...)	213
No Gold and Broken Jade (Translations of Various Authors)	220
People Who Are Always Alert	221
Christian Life Advice (Acts 20:20-21, Wang Mentions His Qualifications for a Preacher)	224
Does God Have an Image? (Part 2)	231
An Overseer of All the Flock (Acts 20:28, First Edition of His Autobiography Later Used in <i>Fifty Years</i> as Chapter 5) ²²⁸	241
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill’s Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 9)	263
Editor’s News (Mentions 51 People Baptized)	268
Crown Him King (Hymn)	269

Spring 1950 Issue 93

Bible Truth (1 Corinthians 6:19-20...)	11
Being What Kind of Person is Worthwhile? (Proverbs 12:19, Discusses Honesty and Lying) ²²⁹	13
Are You Satisfied with These or Not?	18
Look at These Two Men Courting Disaster (2 Samuel 4:1-3 & 5-12, Rekab and Baanah)	20
The Privilege of Giving Up (Unnamed Translated Article)	26
A Serious Question (Luke 6:46)	27

²²⁶ Wang refers to a book he read as a child, *The True Way Questions and Answers* 真道問答, on page 168, from which this article’s question arises “Does God have a form/image?”

²²⁷ Wang refers to the Greek word “pneumna” on page 175.

²²⁸ Mentions his conflict with Watchman Nee, although he does not mention his name, over the name of the Christian Tabernacle. Wang uses Robert Young’s *Analytical Concordance* for Greek words related to the name of the church on page 246. He also mentions the Greek word for “baptize” on page 251, and “poimen” related to church roles on page 252.

²²⁹ In this article on page 15 Wang refers to a saying from *The Book of Documents*, Zhou Shu 4, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=21446>.

Doing What You Are Not Able to Do (Unnamed Translated Article)	34
People Who Sacrifice Themselves (Unnamed Translated Article)	35
The Summons of Grace (Isaiah 55:1-13)	36
The Divineness of Service (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ²³⁰	47
You Give Them Something to Eat (Mark 6:34-44, First Edition of His Autobiography Later Used in <i>Fifty Years</i> as Chapter 6) ^{231 232}	48
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill's Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 10)	67
Editor's Notes	
All Hail the Power! (Hymn) ²³³	
Summer 1950 Issue 94	
Bible Truth (1 Corinthians 6:19-20...)	81
Who Truly Loves the Lord?	83
Need of the Reserve (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	89
Through Failure Obtaining Profit (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	90
[Jesus] is a Lamb and Also a Lion (Revelation 5:1-7) ²³⁴	91
Weaving Our Life's Clothing (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	97
Depending on Jehovah is Better Than Relying on People (2 Kings 18:13-25...)	98
The Summons of Grace (Part 2)	105
I Will Make a Helper Suitable for Him (Genesis 2:15 & 18, First Edition of His Autobiography Later Used in <i>Fifty Years</i> as Chapter 7) ²³⁵	114

²³⁰ Many of these short translations come from Miller's daily devotional book, James R. Miller, *In Green Pastures* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1904). It is available online at "In Green Pastures," Internet Archive, accessed December 19, 2020, <https://web.archive.org/web/20060207200904/http://in-green-pastures.jr-miller.com/>.

For example, this article is translated from the October 6th entry available here: <https://web.archive.org/web/20081121233334/http://in-green-pastures.jr-miller.com/oct/6-divineness-of-service.html>.

²³¹ Wang mentions the books he translated by George H. Knight and Shi Tianmin's translation of Elizabeth K. Churchill's *Overcoming* on page 54.

²³² Wang refers to a saying on page 64 that ultimately goes back to *The History of the Southern Dynasties* 南史, Book 61, Verse 5, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=343836#p6>.

²³³ The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include the section "Editor's News" nor the "Song" but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version has the "Editor's News" for Spring 1950 on page 42 and "Song" on page 43.

²³⁴ Wang refers to a story on pages 94-96 from *The Grand Scribe's Records* to illustrate how Ling Xiangru 蔺相如, the famous statesman of Zhao, was both like a lion and a lamb. See *The Grand Scribe's Records*, Biography of Lian Po and Ling Xiangru, <https://ctext.org/shiji/lian-po-lin-xiang-ru-lie-zhuan/zh>. See also Sima Qian, *The Grand Scribes Records*, Vol. VII, 263-267.

²³⁵ In this article on page 138 Wang quotes *Shuo Yuan* 說苑 Zheng Jian, 25,

Two Characters in the Chinese Bible [CUV] That Have Been Translated Incorrectly	144
Editor's Notes	
Blessed Redeemer (Hymn) ²³⁶	
Fall 1950 Issue 95	
Bible Truth (Psalm 103:20-21...)	151
Authority is in Whose Hands? (John 19:8-11)	153
The Inscription on the Cup of Suffering (Translation of Theodore L. Cuyler's Work)	157
To Neglect a Warning is to Court Disaster (2 Kings 2:36-46...) ²³⁷	158
Sinning Without Thinking (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	165
Stored Up Promises (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	166
The Summons of Grace (Part 3)	167
The Shame of Christians	175
God's Son Jesus (Matthew 16:16-17...)	184
Preface to <i>The Last Fifty Years</i> First Edition of His Autobiography Later Used in <i>Fifty Years</i> as Preface	190
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill's Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 11)	198
Editor's Notes (Announces the Publication of His Autobiography <i>The Last Fifty Years</i>)	
We Must Be Born Again (Hymn) ²³⁸	
Winter 1950 Issue 96	
Bible Truth (Job 1:6...)	211
To Men Who Hung Themselves (2 Samuel 15:12...Ahithophel and Judas)	213
The Daily Benefit of Carrying Your Cross (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	220
The Summons of Grace (Part 4)	221
What the Lord Wants from Us (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	230
Greatness in the Lord's Eyes (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	231
Why Does God Not Let Us Know the Date of Jesus' Birth ²³⁹	232

<https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=21789>. He quotes this in order to show the importance of honesty but it also reveals that he is familiar with the five fundamental Confucian relationships.

²³⁶ The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include the section "Editor's News" nor the "Song" but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version has the "Editor's News" for Summer 1950 on page 42 and "Song" on page 43.

²³⁷ In this article on page 162 Wang quotes The Song Dynasty Confucian scholar Lu Zuqian's 呂祖謙 *Mr. Donglai's Extensive Deliberations* 東萊博議, Book 2, Verse 8, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=726346#p9>.

²³⁸ The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include the section "Editor's News" nor the "Song" but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version has the "Editor's News" for Fall 1950 on page 36 and "Song" on page 37.

²³⁹ Originally published in Winter 1939 Issue 52, pages 218-226.

Perfect Work (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	243
Transfer Blessings to Others (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	244
God's Son Jesus (Part 2, John 10:27-30...) ²⁴⁰	245
The Shame of Christians (Part 2) ²⁴¹	254
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill's Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 12)	262
Editor's News (Mentions Overflowing Christian Tabernacle)	269
Safe in the Arms of Jesus (Hymn) ²⁴²	

Spring 1951 Issue 97

Bible Truth (1 John 3:4...)	11
The Three Testimonies of Christians	13
The Image of Christ in Family (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	20
Finding Good Things in God's World (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	21
A Very Dangerous Thing! (Matthew 13:31-32, Growth in Numbers But Not in Quality of Christians)	22
Christian's Work (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	27
To Have Need and Then There is Grace (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	28
The Greatest Miracle	29
Confession of Sin and Compensation (Acts 2:37-38...)	34
The One Who Harms God's People Turns Out to Be the Old Prophet (1 Kings 13:1-32) ^{243 244}	47
God's Son Jesus (Part 3, Psalm 110:1...) ²⁴⁵	53
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill's Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 13)	59
Grace That is Needed Every Day (Translation of	

²⁴⁰ Wang discusses the English Bible's translation of "I and the Father are one" in the Chinese Bible on page 245.

²⁴¹ In this article on page 254 Wang quotes *The Analects* 19.21, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1594#s10028369>.

²⁴² The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include the "Song" but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version has the "Song" on page 39.

²⁴³ In this article on page 49, Wang quotes *The Grand Scribe's Records*, House of Confucius 85, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=7003>. Sima Qian describes Confucius's noble character by saying "The Great Mountain, I look up to it! The great road, I travel it!" [*The Classic of Poetry*] Although I cannot reach him, my heart goes out to him." Szuman Chien, *Selections from Records of the Historian*, trans. Yang Hsien-yi & Gladys Yang (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1979), 27. Wang quotes Sima Qian to extol the "man of God" from the Bible's 1 Kings 13:1-32 who refuses to succumb to the "false prophet" but Wang also uses it autobiographically to describe his own conflict with the "false prophets" who are joining the TSRM, and to show that not only is he like the "man of God" from 1 Kings 13, but also like Confucius.

²⁴⁴ In this article on page 51 Wang quotes *The Classic of Poetry*, Greater Odes of the Kingdom, Decade of Dang, Dang 1, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=16509#s10005666>.

²⁴⁵ Wang makes his most complete summary of his Doctrine of Christ and indirectly refers to Trinitarian thought which he considers to be an inheritance from previous generations of Christians which is based on unclear reasoning on page 58-59.

James R. Miller's Work)	67
Editor's News	68
Faint, Yet Pursuing (Hymn)	69
Summer 1951 Issue 98	
Bible Truth (Matthew 26:26-28...)	75
You Have the Words of Eternal Life; To Whom Shall We Go? (John 6:53-69)	77
Are You Willing to Walk That Road?	82
God Wants Faithfulness, Not Work (1 Corinthians 4:1-2)	84
A Small Warning (Proverbs 25:17)	89
The One Who Harms God's People Turns Out to Be the Old Prophet (Part 2) ^{246 247}	93
God's Secret Room (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	106
Are You Alone? Not Alone (2 Timothy 4:9-18)	107
Angel Research	110
A Phrase Often Misused by Believers (Gentile)	117
What is Circumcision?	121
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill's Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 14)	124
Asking Questions is Inferior to Trust (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	131
Editor's News	132
Oh, Song of My Redeemer! (Hymn)	133
Fall 1951 Issue 99	
Bible Truth (John 3:16-18...)	139
This is How You Start to Fall (1 Samuel 13:5-14)	141
This is Worthy to Be Called God's Servant (Acts 20:20-21...)	149
A Trustworthy Person Is Treated Faithfully by People (Genesis 47:29-31...) ²⁴⁸	155
What is the Meaning of "To Be Saved"?	163
Arduous Humble Work (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	172
God's Better Answer (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	173
Angel Research (Part 2)	174
Discussing the Character "de" in the Chinese Bible Translation [的 in the CUV]	180
A Character in the Chinese Bible [CUV] That is Incorrect	190
The Test of Compassion (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	191
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill's Work Translated by	

²⁴⁶ In this article on page 100 Wang quotes *The Classic of Poetry*, Minor Odes of the Kingdom, Decade of Xiao Min, Xiao Min 6, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=15735#s10003655>.

²⁴⁷ In this article on page 105 Wang refers to *The Book of Rites*, Tan Gong I 18, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=9616#s10045184>.

²⁴⁸ In this article on page 159 Wang quotes *The Analects* 13.6, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1411#s10022503>.

Shi Tianmin, Part 15)	192
Brotherly Love (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	200
Editor's News (Mentions "Seven Cups" Summer Preaching Series)	201
Crown Him! (Hymn)	202
Winter 1951 Issue 100	
Bible Truth (Leviticus 19:1-2...)	207
Look at This Worker For God (1Thessalonians 2:10) ²⁴⁹	209
A Lying Opportunist Youth (1 Samuel 31:1-6...)	214
The Good Shepherd Who Lays Down His Life for the Sheep (John 10:11-15)	219
Do Not Seek False Glory (Philippians 2:3...)	225
A Strange Group – God's Church ^{250 251}	232
Those Who Are Easy to Flare Up in Anger, Listen (Proverbs 12:16...)	248
A Prophet Loathed by People (1 Kings 22:1-28, Micaiah) ²⁵²	250
The Crown of Righteousness (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	261
The Blessings of Faith (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	262
Resurrection from the Dead (Isaiah 26:19...) ²⁵³	263
Discussing the Words "xingqi" and "libai" (星期 & 禮拜) ²⁵⁴	274
Testing the Lord's Words (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	280
Discussing the Character "de" in the Chinese Bible Translation [的 in the CUV] (Part 2)	281
<i>Overcoming</i> (Elizabeth K. Churchill's Work Translated by Shi Tianmin, Part 16)	287
Twenty-Five Years (The 25 th Anniversary of TSFQ, Includes Publishing Information & Number of Copies Printed)	321
<i>Spiritual Food Quarterly's</i> Inaugural Introduction to the Periodical & Martin Luther's Prayer ²⁵⁵	326
Editor's News	331

²⁴⁹ Wang mentions the academic focus on Christianity in China in 1951 on page 211.

²⁵⁰ Wang discusses "ekkleisia" in Robert Young's *Analytical Concordance* on page 233.

²⁵¹ Wang refers to a story from the *Strategies of the Warring States* on pages 244-245,

<https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=50597>. G.S. Bonsall's English translation of the story is available at G.S. Bonsall, "Zhanguoce," The University of Hong Kong Library, page 239, accessed December 19, 2020, <https://lib.hku.hk/bonsall/zhanguoce/29.pdf>.

²⁵² In this article on page 253 Wang quotes *The Grand Scribe's Records*, Biography of the Lord of Shang, 9, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=7622>. Wang makes frequent references to this quote, "The 'yes, yes' of a thousand men is not as good as a single knight's 'no, no'" and it is central to his moral philosophy. See Wang Mingdao, *Last Confession*, 158 and 179

²⁵³ Wang mentions the Greek words "thanatos" and "nekros" on page 267.

²⁵⁴ Wang mentions the Greek word "sabbaton" on page 274 and "kurios" on page 277 as well as several English words in the article.

²⁵⁵ Reprinted from Spring 1927 Issue 1, pages 11-17. An English version of the prayer is available in Martin Luther, *What Luther Says*, ed. Ewald M. Plass (St. Louis: Concordia, 1959), 1107-1108.

The Song of the Soldier (Hymn)²⁵⁶

Spring 1952 Issue 101

Bible Truth (Matthew 3:18-20...)	11
This Year Remains Temporarily (Luke 13:1-9) ²⁵⁷	13
Victory Over Death (1 Corinthians 15:55-57, Wang Mentions His Own Fear of Death) ^{258 259}	24
People Beaten with Many Blows (Luke 12:47-48)	34
Two Principles for Christian Life (1 Corinthians 10:31-11:1)	35
Bronze Snake and Wood Cross (Numbers 21:4-9...Discusses Aspects of Roman and Protestant Church History)	42
The Question of Validity of the Last Half of Mark 16 (Verses 9-19) ²⁶⁰	54
What Do We Obtain Through Faith in Christ Jesus?	56
Formidable Foes and Good Friends (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	61
Making Progress Through Combat (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	62
She Finally Understands Today (Contains Several Quotations on Moral Conduct from Wang's Book <i>Admonition for Believers</i>)	63
Editor's News (Largest Group Ever Came to Hear New Year's Preaching Series)	75
Walking in the Sunshine (Hymn)	76

Summer 1952 Issue 102

Bible Truth (1 Samuel 15:22-23...)	81
But Do God's Will and Do Not Ask About the Future (John 4:34...)	83
What is Truth? (John 18:37-38) ^{261 262}	88
Jeroboam Outsmarts Himself (1 Kings 11:26-40...)	94
Things Jehovah Hates (Proverbs 3:31-32...)	106
Discussing Heaven and Hell (Wang Mentions that Both Words in	

²⁵⁶ The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include the song but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version has the song for Winter 1951 on page 101. There is also a "List of Contents" for the first 100 issues of the journal on pages 83-100 in the original that is not included in the CCLM digital version.

²⁵⁷ Wang refers to a number of sayings on page 19 that refer to people who do not get involved in conflict.

²⁵⁸ Wang notes that the last verse has been mistranslated in the Chinese Bible [CUV] on page 24.

²⁵⁹ Wang quotes several Chinese poets including Tao Yuanming 陶淵明, Chen Zi'ang 陳子昂, Bai Juyi 白居易, Su Shi 蘇軾, and others to express thoughtful people's lamentation over the inescapability of death on pages 24-26.

²⁶⁰ Wang references *The Scofield Reference Bible*, *The American Revised Version*, and *The Holy Bible: A New Translation* by James Moffatt in this article.

²⁶¹ In this article on page 88 Wang quotes *The Book of Changes*, Xi Ci I 5,

<https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=46918#s10023011> as well as *Zhuangzi*, The Adjustment of Controversies 5, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=41935#s10036072>.

²⁶² Wang mentions the Greek word "logos" on page 88.

Chinese Come from Buddhism) ^{263 264 265}	108
Misunderstandings (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	124
Unjust Silence (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	125
What Do We Obtain Through Faith in Christ Jesus? (Part 2)	126
Evil Allures, But God Endures (Translated from Leo Tolstoy's 1885 Short Story) ²⁶⁶	135
A Grain as Big as a Hen's Egg (Translated from Leo Tolstoy's 1886 Short Story) ²⁶⁷	138
Love Full of Patience (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	142
Editor's News (Mentions Publishing Shi Tianmin's Translation of <i>Overcoming</i>)	143
I Know Whom I Have Believed (Hymn)	144
 Fall 1952 Issue 103	
Bible Truth (Matthew 7:21...)	149
The Powerful Carpenter and Powerless King (Mark 6:1-3...)	151
Make Others Happy (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	159
People Who Do Not Treasure Life (Acts 20:17-24...)	160
Wise David (2 Samuel 16:5-14...)	168
Discussing the Netherworld (Wang Mentions that Ideas About It Comes from Chinese Traditional Religions) ²⁶⁸	174
Behind the Valley of Suffering (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	193
Other People's Errors (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	194
Listen Sons and Daughters (Deuteronomy 5:16...)	195
What Do We Obtain Through Faith in Christ Jesus? (Part 3)	197
Editor's News (Preached on "Who is Jesus" During Summer Preaching Camp at the Christian Tabernacle)	209
Jesus Leads His Army (Hymn)	210
 Winter 1952 Issue 104	
Bible Truth (Job 22:29...)	215
Is Lying a Significant Sin? (Psalm 5:6...)	217
Two Men Who Were Sold Out (Genesis 37:25-28... Joseph and Jesus)	225
The Unchanging God (Malachi 3:5-6...)	233
The Price People Pay to Bless Others (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	246

²⁶³ Wang mentions the Greek word "ouranos" on page 109.

²⁶⁴ Wang mentions Buddhist ideas of "hell" on page 118 and the Greek word "geenna" on page 119.

²⁶⁵ Wang mentions the "unbelievers" calling him "superstitious" and the "traditional theologians" calling him a "heretic" on page 123.

²⁶⁶ This story by Leo Tolstoy is available in English at "Evil Allures, But God Endures," The Literature Network, accessed December 19, 2020, <http://www.online-literature.com/tolstoy/2893/>.

²⁶⁷ This story by Leo Tolstoy is available in English at "A Grain as Big as a Hen's Egg," The Literature Network, accessed December 19, 2020, <http://www.online-literature.com/tolstoy/2898/>.

²⁶⁸ Wang mentions the Hebrew word "sheol" on page 174 and the Greek word "hades" on page 175 and 181.

What Do We Obtain Through Faith in Christ Jesus? (Part 4)	247
God is Father (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	260
A Lonely Life (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	261
What Should We Hate? (Psalm 26:4-5...)	262
The Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:14-31, This Article is Related to "Discussing the Netherworld" in the Previous Issue) ^{269 270}	265
The Path of Glory (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	278
Editor's News (Wang Mentions He Only Baptized 26 People Despite Many Requests)	279
Light After Darkness (Hymn)	280
Spring 1953 Issue 105	
Bible Truth (Psalm 5:6...)	11
Did You Do That? (Psalm 119:60)	13
A Person Who Sold Himself (1 Kings 21:17-26, Ahab)	16
Is He Sitting? Is He Standing? (Psalm 110:1..., Jesus) ²⁷¹	19
Why Do People Lie?	26
Be Silent When You Are Slandered (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	38
God's Word is Living (Hebrews 4:12..., Mentions the 1942 Creation of the North China Christian Union Group, Makes Note Of Those Chinese Who Participated but No Names)	39
God's Seven Testimonies (Psalm 115:1-3) ²⁷²	48
It's "Mohu" Not "Mahu" (Wang's Correction to the Popular Confusing of the Characters 模糊 and 馬虎)	59
Who Are God's Sons? (Genesis 6:1-4) ²⁷³	60
What Is Going On Here? (Acts 9:10-16...)	70
God's Love is Unchanging (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	71
Editor's News	72
What a Wonderful Savior (Hymn)	73
Summer 1953 Issue 106	
Bible Truth (Leviticus 19:1-2...)	79
What is Your House Built Upon? (Luke 6:46-49)	81
Who Are You Trying to Please? (Galatians 1:10...)	86

²⁶⁹ Wang discusses Josephus' historical narration of the Roman General Vespasian and his son Titus' siege of the Jewish town of Jotapata on page 26.

²⁷⁰ Wang references Robert Young's *Analytical Concordance* on page 276.

²⁷¹ In this article on page 25 Wang quotes *The Analects* 4.25, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1193#s10020304>. Wang comments on this quote, "Virtue is not left to stand alone. He who practices it will have neighbors," that only one who was able to successfully practice virtue was Jesus and is important since for Wang, Jesus is the fulfillment of the ethical demands of Confucianism, and Jesus makes it possible for others to also fulfill these ethical demands.

²⁷² Wang refers to the Greek words "syneidisin" and the English word "conscience" on page 56.

²⁷³ Wang mentions the Greek word "sodoma," and expresses his views on homosexuality, on page 66.

Why Do People Lie? (Part 2)	91
Make Your Blessings Flow Out (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	105
Forgotten Our Promises (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	106
Does Praying Before Meals Have a Foundation in the Bible?	107
Obedience, Suffering, Progress, Victory, Glory (Philippians 2:5-11..., Wang Recounts his Baptism Story and Details About the North China Union Group)	114
How Did Peter Fall? (Article by Shi Tianmin)	123
God's Seven Testimonies (Part 2, Isaiah 43:1-13...)	129
Spiritual Binoculars	136
Editor's News (Mentions the Publishing of Books including <i>Look at These Men</i>)	141
Who is On the Lord's Side? (Hymn)	142
Fall 1953 Issue 107	
Bible Truth (Matthew 22:37-40...)	149
People Who Do Not Fear Threats (Acts 4:1-31)	151
The Building of Character (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ²⁷⁴	162
Christ Before He Was Born	167
Better is Open Rebuke Than Hidden Love (Proverbs 27:5-6)	174
A Serious Error (Errors in Writing "God" and "gods" in Chinese)	184
Unfinished Life Building (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ²⁷⁵	185
Balaam's Path (2 Peter 2:14-16...)	200
Important Homework (Article by Shi Tianmin)	200
The Making of Character (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ²⁷⁶	205
Editor's News (Mentions the Publishing of <i>Look at These Men Part II</i> , His and Liu Jingwen's 25 th Wedding Anniversary Party on August 8, 1953, Talks About Liu Jingwen's Partnership with Him in Life)	210
Praise the Lord and Worship Him (Hymn)	212
Winter 1953 Issue 108	
Bible Truth (Proverbs 19:11...)	217
A Man Full of Grace and Power (Acts 6:1-15...Stephen)	219
The Power of Faith (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	229

²⁷⁴ A longer article Wang translated from the first chapter of James R. Miller's book, *A Life of Character* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1894). The book is available online at "A Life of Character," Grace Gems, accessed December 19, 2020, https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/a_life_of_character.htm. The James R. Miller references that follow are from this book.

²⁷⁵ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/unfinished_life_building.htm.

²⁷⁶ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/the_making_of_character.htm.

Balaam’s Path (Part 2, Numbers 25:1-18... Wang Discusses How “False-Prophets Have Led Believers to Join with Unbelievers in Recent Years in China)	230
Eternal Work (Translation of James R. Miller’s Work)	248
The Influence of Companionship (Translation of James R. Miller’s Work) ²⁷⁷	249
I Have Made Such a Friend (Wang’s Poem)	253
Getting Help from Criticism (Translation of James R. Miller’s Work) ²⁷⁸	254
God’s Seven Testimonies (Part 3, 2 Timothy 3:14-17...)	259
Noah, A Preacher of Righteousness (Genesis 6:9..., Article by Shi Tianmin)	270
Conditions for Growth in Faith (Luke 17:5..., Article by Shi Tianmin)	273
Our Undiscovered Faults (Translation of James R. Miller’s Work) ²⁷⁹	277
Editor’s News (Mentions publishing of <i>Our Lord</i> and Other Books, Christian Tabernacle is Overflowing)	281
Daniel’s Band (Hymn)	283
Spring 1954 Issue 109	
Bible Truth (31:6...)	11
Strange People and Strange Things (Acts 5:12-42) ²⁸⁰	13
What is Consecration? (Translation of James R. Miller’s Work) ²⁸¹	26
Enraged Moses (Exodus 32:1-20, Wang Mentions Personal Life Experiences of Being Angered About “Unrighteousness”)	32
Making Life a Song (Translation of James R. Miller’s Work) ²⁸²	41
Loyalty (Translation of James R. Miller’s Work)	45
Great Co-Workers (Acts 18:1-4...)	46
Making Life Music in Chorus (Translation of James R. Miller’s Work) ²⁸³	52
Servant’s Work (Translation of James R. Miller’s Work)	56
God’s Seven Testimonies (Part 4, Luke 2:1-7...) ^{284 285}	57
A Changed Life (Translation of James R. Miller’s Work)	67

²⁷⁷ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/influence_of_companionship.htm.

²⁷⁸ https://gracegems.org/Miller/getting_help_from_criticism.htm.

²⁷⁹ https://gracegems.org/Miller/our_undiscovered_faults.htm.

²⁸⁰ Wang mentions the Roman Emperor Constantine’s conversion to Christianity on pages 18-19.

²⁸¹ https://gracegems.org/Miller/what_is_consecration.htm.

²⁸² https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/making_life_a_song.htm. (Top half of the page)

²⁸³ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/making_life_a_song.htm. (Bottom half of the page)

²⁸⁴ Wang mentions the Christian persecution under Roman Emperor Nero on page 63.

²⁸⁵ In this article on page 63 Wang quotes Tertullian, “If the Tiber River floods, or the Nile River does not irrigate the fields, if the clouds do not rain, if the earth shakes, if natural disasters strike, the people will shout, ‘Feed the Christians to the lions’.” Tertullian, *Apology*, Chapter 40, <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0301.htm>.

The Safest Path (Article by Shi Tianmin)	68
Pay Attention to Minor Matters (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	76
Editor's News	77
Hold the Fort (Hymn) ²⁸⁶	
Summer 1954 Issue 110	
Bible Truth (Matthew 5:5...)	83
Who Is Worthy to Suffer Disgrace for the Name? (Acts 5:33-42) (Continued from Last Issue's "Strange People and Strange Things")	85
People Who "Sell Out the Son of Man with a Kiss" (Matthew 26:47-49...)	92
The Beauty of the Lord (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ²⁸⁷	100
Conduct (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	104
The Greatest Love (Acts 5:17-21...)	105
Getting Christ's Touch (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ²⁸⁸	112
The Power of Compassion (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	117
"God Loves You" (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	118
An Important Warning! (Ephesians 4:1-6, To Not Unite with "Unbelievers") ^{289 290 291}	120
How Do I Become a Great Person? (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	133
God's Seven Testimonies (Part 5, John 9:1-38)	139
Editor's News (Address of the Christian Tabernacle is [Beijing] East City District, Shijia Hutong, No.42)	148
Onward, Christian Soldiers! (Hymn) ²⁹²	
Fall 1954 Issue 111	
Bible Truth (Romans 12:12...)	153
This is How They Framed Jesus (Matthew 26:57-68...) ²⁹³	155
The Blessing of Weakness (Translation of	

²⁸⁶ The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include this song but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version includes it for Spring 1954 on page 43.

²⁸⁷ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/beauty_of_the_lord.htm.

²⁸⁸ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/getting_christs_touch.htm.

²⁸⁹ Wang discusses Fundamentalist doctrines and Modernist teachings on page 126. He also quotes critiques of him by other authors here but with no names or references.

²⁹⁰ In this article on page 127 Wang quotes *The Book of Documents*, Zhou Shu, Officers of Zhou, 4, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=21446>.

²⁹¹ Wang quotes extensively in this article on pages 127-129 from the article by Wang Zizhong 王梓仲, "Avoiding Reality" 躲避現實 *Truth and Life* 真理與生命 9, no.7 (1935): 439-440.

²⁹² The CCLM Publishing Group version does not include this song but the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version includes it for Summer 1954 on page 43.

²⁹³ In this article on page 164 Wang quotes what other authors write about him but with no names. On this page he quotes as well the *Book of Documents* Zhou Shu, Officers of Zhou, 4, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=21446> and the Chinese idiom that facts speak louder than words.

James R. Miller's Work) ²⁹⁴	168
The Path Forward (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	173
Look at This Wise Apostle! (1 Corinthians 9:24-27)	174
The Strength of Quietness (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ²⁹⁵	179
Republished Preface for <i>Discriminating Between the True and False Gospels</i> (Originally Published in 1936)	184
Spiritual Armament (1 Peter 4:1-2)	185
God's Seven Testimonies (Part 6, 1 Timothy 3:14-15, In Wang's Biographical Section, Mentions his Calling to "Reform" the Church in China)	191
The Blessing of Patience (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ²⁹⁶	200
Obtaining Victory by Standing Firm (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	204
Lord, Forgive Me! (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	205
Different Beliefs? Or, No Beliefs? (Talks About Differences Between Christians and with "Unbelievers") ^{297 298}	206
Editor's News (Talks About Right Shoulder and Hand Pain, Need for Rest, and Publishing <i>Distinguishing Between the True and False Gospels</i>)	220
Stand Up for Jesus! (Hymn)	222
Winter 1954 Issue 112	
Bible Truth (Revelation 2:7...)	229
Be Faithful to God and Not Concerned About People's Feelings (Exodus 32:1-6..., Mentions How He Wrote a Book on Social Etiquette but is Willing to be Impolite When Dealing with "False Prophets") ²⁹⁹	231
As it is in Heaven (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ³⁰⁰	239
An Important Truth (Luke 16:10)	244
The Shadows We Cast (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ³⁰¹	250
The Reward of Suffering (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	254
Obey Men? Or, Obey God? (Acts 4:5-20...Obey Men in Authority Unless it Violates God's Will)	255

²⁹⁴ https://gracegems.org/Miller/Blessing_of_Weakness.htm.

²⁹⁵ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/strength_of_quietness.htm.

²⁹⁶ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/blessing_of_patience.htm.

²⁹⁷ Wang talks about differences of opinion between Christians and seems to be referring to Dora Yu (Yu Cidu) 余慈度 and Jia Yuming's 賈玉銘 describing him as a "heretic" on page 217. See Wang Mingdao, *Wang Mingdao's Diary*, 78-79, June 2 & 4, 1925.

²⁹⁸ Wang quotes statements made by "false prophets" that "Imperialistic poison wants to split the Chinese Church apart" on pages 217-218 and they have said that Wang is "proud," "doesn't respect other's beliefs," and that "scolding is his special talent" on page 218.

²⁹⁹ Wang quotes criticisms of him as "lacking compassion," "self-important," and "destroying unity" on page 236.

³⁰⁰ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/as_it_is_in_heaven.htm.

³⁰¹ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/shadows_we_cast.htm.

Spices Brought for Jesus (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	263
Do it for Christ (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	267
Is it Truth? Or, is it Poison? (Psalm 12:6...) ^{302 303}	268
On the Bearing of Our Burden (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ³⁰⁴	291
Editor's News (Mentions Books Published Including Republishing of <i>The Last Fifty Years</i>)	295
A Mighty Fortress (Hymn)	296

Spring 1955 Issue 113

Bible Truth (Matthew 7:7-8...)	11
A Man Who "Dies Every Day" (1 Corinthians 15:31) ³⁰⁵	13
Judging Others (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ³⁰⁶	23
Today, Not Tomorrow (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	29
Our Place in the Temple (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	30
People Who Are Hated by the World (John 3:19-20...)	31
Other People (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ³⁰⁷	38
Christian History (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	42
Whoever Has Will Be Given More, Whoever Does Not Have, Even That Will Be Taken from Him (Matthew 25:14-30, Wang Recounts Some Biographical Details)	43
Helping Others Through Prayer (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	54
The People with the Best Future in the World (Genesis 49:10..., Wang Mentions How Young Chinese Are Pressured to Abandon Christian Beliefs in Order to Have a Prosperous Future)	59
Faith's Checkbook (Translated from Charles H. Spurgeon's Work) ³⁰⁸	73
Please Pay Attention When Writing Letters (Problems with Western Style Envelopes)	79
Loving Your Neighbor (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ³⁰⁹	80
Editor's News (Mentions Extremely Busy Schedule and Book	

³⁰² Wang equates the terms "New Theology" with "Modernist" on page 269. In this article he makes many quotations of Modernists without naming them.

³⁰³ In this article on page 273 Wang quotes Luke 12:2 and *The Book of Documents*, Zhou Shu, Officers of Zhou, 4, <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=21446>. He argues that what the Modernists are calling "imperialist poison" is distinguishing between theists and atheists, believers and unbelievers.

³⁰⁴ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/on_the_bearing_of_our_burden.htm.

³⁰⁵ Wang describes a problem with the Chinese translation of 1 Corinthians 15:31 on page 16.

³⁰⁶ https://gracegems.org/Miller/judging_others.htm.

³⁰⁷ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/other_people.htm.

³⁰⁸ Wang translates January 1-8th of the daily devotional by Charles H. Spurgeon, *Faith's Checkbook* or *The Cheque Book of the Bank of Faith* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1888).

The entire book is available online at Charles H. Spurgeon, "Faith's Checkbook," The Spurgeon Archive, accessed December 20, 2020, <https://archive.spurgeon.org/fcb/fcb-bod.htm>.

³⁰⁹ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/loving_your_neighbor.htm.

Publications)	84
Onward Soldiers! (Hymn)	86
Summer 1955 Issue 114	
Bible Truth (Psalm 50:14...)	93
Firm Attitude and Victorious Life (Daniel 3:16-18...)	95
The Cost of Being a Friend (Translation of James R. Miller's Work) ³¹⁰	103
People Who "Stood at the Side of Jesus' Cross" (John 19:25)	108
Things that Make Friendship Difficult (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	116
The Use of Obstacles (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	121
The Simplest Yet Most Difficult Lesson (Matthew 5:37, To Tell the Truth)	122
What Makes People Depressed is Sin (Translation of James R. Miller's Work)	130
We Are for the Faith! (Wang's Most Vehement Articulation of the Difference Between Modernists and Fundamentalists and his Refusal to Unite with the TSPM) ^{311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319}	134

³¹⁰ https://www.gracegems.org/Miller/cost_of_being_a_friend.htm.

³¹¹ Wang delineates the differences between "Fundamentalists" and "Modernists" in China as part of a larger world phenomenon on page 134.

³¹² Wang throughout this article names Wu Yaozong and quotes from his work, Wu Yaozong 吳耀宗, *Darkness and Light* 黑暗與光明 (Shanghai, YMCA Press, 1949), to illustrate the divergence between Modernist and Fundamentalist theology. He also names Bishop Manning and Harry E. Fosdick as representative Modernists on page 136-137.

³¹³ In this article on pages 148-149 Wang quotes an article by Cui Xianxiang 崔憲詳, "We Must Consolidate and Expand Our Unity" 一定要鞏固和擴大我們的團結, *Tianfeng* 464 (May 1955): 2-4. Cui argues that Christians should not break up the harmony of unity (datong) for the sake of minor differences (xiaoyi) between Christians and should respect one another's differences. Cui uses the Confucian idea of Great Harmony (datong) as representing an ideal society here.

³¹⁴ In this article on pages 151-153 and following, Wang quotes an article by Ding Guangxun 丁光訓, "Summary of Standing Committee Member Ding Guangxun's Speech" 丁光訓常委發言摘要, *Tianfeng*, 457 (March 1955): 7.

³¹⁵ Wang quotes his own 1930 TSFQ from issue 13, "What About Union? What About Separation?" to show that he has been against uniting with "unbelievers" for the last 25 years on page 154-157.

³¹⁶ Wang quotes his own 1936 TSFQ from issue 39, "A Serious Warning to Today's Church" to illustrate that he has written about the theological errors of "unbelievers" long before the recent calls for unity by Modernists along with other books and articles he has written in the rest of the article.

³¹⁷ In this article on pages 169-171 Wang quotes an article by Wang Weifan 汪維藩, "Although We Are Many, We Are Still One Body" 我們雖多, 乃是一個身體, *Tianfeng* 465 (May 1955): 5-9.

³¹⁸ In this article on page 172 Wang quotes an article by Han Pide 韓彼得, "Introduction to Nanking Seminary" 金陵協和神學院介紹, *Nanking Seminary Review* (Jinling Union Theological Seminary Review) 金陵協和神學誌 1 (1953): 13. Wang quotes Han, who was the president of the seminary, to illustrate that even here, the flagship Modernist theological institution in China, there is a recognition of the divergence in beliefs between Modernists and Fundamentalists.

³¹⁹ In this article on pages 172-173 Wang quotes another article in the same magazine by Cang Antang 臧安堂, "The Last Ten Months at Jinling Seminary" 十個月來「協和」生活的一點體會, *Nanking Seminary Review* 1 (1953): 16, in which professor Cang also recognizes the differences between the Modernists and the Fundamentalists in

Faith's Checkbook (Translated from Charles H. Spurgeon's Work) ³²⁰	175
Editor's News (Mentions Health Problems and Busy Schedule)	178
On to Victory! (Hymn) ³²¹	180



China.

³²⁰ Wang translates January 9-11th of Charles H. Spurgeon, *Faith's Checkbook*, January 9-11th, <https://archive.spurgeon.org/fcb/fcb-bod.htm>.

³²¹ The CCLM version adds the song "Onward, Christian Soldiers!" that is not present in the original Spiritual Food Quarterly Press version.

Appendix 4: A Partial Listing of Wang Mingdao's Reading as Recorded in his Published Diary

This appendix provides a partial listing of Wang Mingdao's reading from the years of 1920-1955 as recorded in his published diary. The one volume published diary is still quite limited until the full diaries are made available, nevertheless, they do provide some information on what Wang was reading during these years. When no Chinese translation is given the work is recorded by Wang in English and he most likely read the English version. Where the English translation is followed by a question mark (?), this indicates that the work is in Chinese and the translated title is uncertain.¹

1921

p. 11, November 16, 1921 reads 青年進步 YMCA of China's *Association Progress*

1922

p.15, January 28, 1922 reads 天定論 *Predestination*

1923

p.24, February 14, 1923 reads 邁爾通史 *General History* by [Philip Van Ness] Meyers

p.24, February 14, 1923 reads 生命中的雅歌 *The Song of Life* (?)

1924

p.31, (Year summary) reads 神之琴 *The Piano of God* (?)

p.50, November 9, 1924 reads 倪柝聲 Watchman Nee's 復興報 *Revival* that Nee mailed to Wang.

1925

p.60, January 2, 1925 sends article to 賈玉銘 Jia Yuming's 靈光報 *Spiritual Light Magazine* entitled 大喜之音 "The Sound of Joy"

p.61, January 3, 1925 refers to reading 天定論 *Predestination*

p.80, June 6, 1925 given the book 辨惑 *Bianhuo* (?)

p.81, June 8, 1925 reads Watchman Nee's article 與主同死 "Dead with Christ" in Jia Yuming's 靈光報 *Spiritual Light Magazine* (June issue)

¹For books Wang Mingdao read from 1918-1919 as recorded in his unpublished diary, see Gene Ng, "The Shaping Influence of the Chinese YMCA on the Young Wang Mingdao," 178-180.

p.87, July 25, 1925 reads 通問報 *The Chinese Christian Intelligencer* (A Church and Family Newspaper)

p.87, July 25, 1925 reads 靈界大戰 *The Holy War* by John Bunyan

p.88, July 26, 1925 reads 申報 *The Shanghai News*

p.99, November 13, 1925 reads 申報 *The Shanghai News*

p. 99, November 13, 1925 reads 新聞報 *Xinwenbao* Newspaper

p.108, December 5, 1925 reads 通問報 *The Chinese Christian Intelligencer*

1926

p.119, April 22, 1926 reads Watchman Nee's 基督徒報 *The Christian*

1929

p.139, January 2, 1929 reads *Overcoming* by Elizabeth K. Churchill

p.141, January 30, 1929 reads *King Arthur* (Henry Gilbert?)

p.143, February 1, 1929 reads 通問報 *The Chinese Christian Intelligencer*

p.144, February 22, 1929 reads 申報 *The Shanghai News*

1930

p.150, January 27, 1930 translates 隱密處的靈交 *In the Secret of His Presence* by George H. Knight

p.150, January 27, 1930 reads 聊齋誌異 *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* by 蒲松齡 Pu Songling (1640-1715)

p.154, July 5, 1930 reads 韓湘子 *Han Xiangzi* (One of the Daoist Immortals)

p.155, July 14, 1930 reads 仇馬恩裘 *Qiu Ma En Qiu* by 董蔭狐 Dong Yinhu (Police Novel)²

p.156, July 15, 1930 reads *The Advent Herald* (Adventist Church Magazine)

1931

p.162, July 31, 1931 reads *What is Pentecost's Message Today* by Robert C. McQuilkin (*Sunday School Times*)

p.163-164, December 22 & 23, 1931 reads 西遊記 *The Journey to the West* by 吳承恩 Wu

² See <http://www.zashuguan.cn/minguo/77427/>

Chengen (1500-1580?)

1932

p.167, February 11, 1932 translates *What is Pentecost's Teaching [Message] Today*

p.170, May 18, 1932 reads 實用講道術 *Practical Preaching Skills* by 萬應遠 Robert Thomas Bryan

1933

p.193, November 25, 1933 reads *Grace and Glory* Periodical

1934

p.196, April 14, 1934 buys *The New Testament's Treasury* by Charles H. Spurgeon

p.199, July 7, 1934 reads 田家 *Tianjia* Bimonthly Magazine

p.206, September 11, 1934 reads 茶花女遺事 *The Lady with the Camellias* by Alexandre Dumas II

p.206, September 11, 1934 reads an unnamed book criticizing the Oxford Movement

1935

p.211, January 7, 1935 reads *How to Overcome (Overcoming?)*

p.215, April 30, 1935 reads Keswick Convention's Preaching Collection

1936

p.219, February 7, 1936 reads 上帝的兒女們 *God's Daughters* (1933) by 張資平 Zhang Ziping

p.219-220, February 8, 1936 reads 雙城故 *A Tale of Two Cities* by 狄更斯 Charles Dickens

p.219, February 8, 1936 reads 哀史 *Les Miserables* by 法囂俄 Victor Hugo (Chinese version)

p.221, February 26, 1936 reads 耶穌傳 *Life of Jesus* by 趙紫宸 Zhao Zichen

p.221 April 27, 1936 reads 悲慘世界 *Les Miserables* (English version)

p.223, July 8, 1936 reads 曼殊小說集 *A Collection of [Su]Manshu's Novels* by 蘇曼殊 Su Manshu

p.223, July 9, 1936 reads 老殘遊記 *The Travels of Lao Can* (1907) by 劉鶚 Liu E

p.223, July 9, 1936 reads 琵琶記 *Tale of the Pipa* by 高明 Gao Ming (Yuan Dynasty)

1938

p.237, March 2, 1938 mentions a conversation with a person who has read the article 聚會生活 “The Assembly Life” and the book 敞開的門 *The Open Door* by Watchman Nee

p.238, July 2, 1938 reads 滑稽故事 *Funny Stories*

1940

p.245, January 25, 1940 reads 左傳 *Zuo Zhuan*

p.250, November 15, 1940 reads the play *Family Portrait* (1939) by Lenore Coffee and William J. Cowen

1941

p.253, May 18, 1941 reads *Les Miserables*

p.253, May 18, 1941 reads the novel *What is Love?*

1942

p.259, January 13, 1942 reads 實報 *Shibao* Bimonthly Magazine

p.260, January 16, 1942 discusses the book 博議 *Bo Yi* which is short for 東萊博議 *Mr. Donglai's Extensive Deliberations* by 呂祖謙 *Lü Zuqian* (1137-1181)

p.261-262, February 3, 1942, discusses the book 博議 *Bo Yi* or *Mr. Donglai's Extensive Deliberations*

1947

p.290, April 23, 1947 reads 洗禮正範 *The Proper Pattern of Baptism* edited by 劉滋堂 *Liu Zitang*

1949

p.311, February 10, 1949 reads 聖教禮義 *Ceremonies of the Holy Faith* (聖教禮儀 by 羅司鐸 *Father Luo*, 1930?)

p.315, April 4, 1949 reads 斷獄奇聞 *Thrilling Court Cases* (?)

p.320, July 2, 1949 reads 讀者文摘 *Reader's Digest* article 最誠實之人 “The Most Honest People”

p.321, July 4, 1949 reads 天風 *Tianfeng*

p.321, July 5, 1949 reads 天風 *Tianfeng*

1951

p.353, April 5, 1951 reads 新民報 *Xinminbao* Newspaper

- p.360, May 29, 1951 reads 黑暗與光明 *Darkness and Light* by 吳耀宗 Wu Yaozong
- p.361, June 14, 1951 reads 敞開的門 *Open Door* Issue 24 by Watchman Nee
- p.363, July 3, 1951 reads 恩友 *Gracious Friend* by 趙紫宸 Zhao Zichen (Zhao's denouncement of John Leighton Stuart)
- p.367, August 6, 1951 reads 初信造就 *Bringing Up New Believers* by Watchman Nee
- p.372, October 7, 1951 discusses an article in the 新生晚報 *New Life Evening Newspaper* on 精神復活之語 "The Spirit of Resurrection" and 耶穌傳 *Life of Jesus* both by 趙紫宸 Zhao Zichen
- p.377, November 20, 24, & 27, 1951 reads and discusses the article, 我是怎麼轉過來的 "How I Turned Around," by Watchman Nee
- p.377, November 27, 1951 borrows 宗教問題選輯 *Selected Religious Questions* edited by 東北新華書店編 Northeast Xinhua Bookstore
- p.378, November 30, 1951 revises 石天民 Shi Tianmin's translation of 得勝 *Overcoming*
- p.380, December 20, 1951 mentions Shi Tianmin's translation of 如何得著能力的充滿 *How to Obtain Fullness of Power* by Reuben A. Torrey
- 1952**
- p.386, January 28, 1952 reads 天風 *Tianfeng*
- p.387, February 10, 1952 mentions the article 我不能說阿門 "I Cannot Say Amen"
- p.388, February 21, 1952 mentions 天風 *Tianfeng*, No. 301
- p.388, February 21, 1952 quotes 人依何為生 *What Men Live By* by 托爾斯泰 Leo Tolstoy
- p.392, March 26, 1952 reads 天風 *Tianfeng*, No. 306
- p.397, May 4, 1952 reads 新燕京 *New Yenching*, 1952 Issue 3 (Several denouncements of 趙紫宸 Zhao Zichen)
- p.402 June 19, 1952 mentions 托氏 Leo Tolstoy's book 復活 *Resurrection* and reads his book *Master and Man*
- p.406, July 17, 1952 reads 天風 *Tianfeng*
- p.411, August 4, 1952 reads article in 天風 *Tianfeng* entitled, 中國的基督教會 "China's Christian

Church,” by 約翰遜 John Xun

1953

p.441, February 5, 1953 refers to the article in 天風 *Tianfeng*, 1945 Issue 22 entitled 上帝在哪裡 “Where is God?” by 吳耀宗 Wu Yaozong

p.470, August 27, 1953 reads in 天風 *Tianfeng* an article entitled 一群讀者 “A Group of Readers” which criticized the book 聖潔沒有瑕疵 *Holy Without Blemish* by Watchman Nee

p.475, October 1, 1953 refers to Wu Yaozong’s 宗教的反動本質 *The Reactionary Nature of Religion*

p.481, December 10, 1953 reads 天風 *Tianfeng*

p.482, December 24, 1953 memorizes 金人銘 *Jinrenming*³ with two other people.

p.482, December 24, 1953 reads the articles 躲避現實 “Avoiding Reality” and 基督的復活 “The Resurrection of Christ” by 王梓仲 Wang Zizhong

p.483, December 24, 1953 reads the article 聖誕認罪禱文 “Christmas Confession Prayer” by 陳崇桂 Chen Chonggui

1955

p.486, January 11, 1955 reads article by 陳崇桂 Chen Chonggui.

p.491 February 10, 1955 reads unnamed articles by 吳耀宗 Wu Yaozong and 丁靈生 Ding Lingsheng

p.497, March 17, 1955 reads an article in 天風 *Tianfeng* Issue 8 by 徐素英 Xu Suying

p.497 March 17, 1955 reads 指中秘錄 *Zhizhong Milu* (?)

p.498 March 29, 1955 reads 福音報 *Gospel News* 1946, Issue 1

p.500, April 14, 1955 reads 天風 *Tianfeng* speeches by 陳見真 Chen Jianzhen etc.

p.507, May 27, 1955 reads 黑暗與光明 *Darkness and Light* by 吳耀宗 Wu Yaozong for research in writing his article “We Are for Faith”

p.509, June 2, 1955 reads 天風 *Tianfeng*

p.512, July 7, 1955 reads 東萊博議 *Mr. Donglai’s Extensive Deliberations*

³ See <http://www.dfg.cn/big5/zhhy/whdc/05-zym-01.htm> and <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=285181>

p.512, July 12, 1955 reads 天風 *Tianfeng* Issue 7 and notes that 丁光訓 Ding Guangxun has been named the Bishop (Anglican?) of Zhejiang Province on June 19, 1955.

p.513, July 27, 1955 reads 天風 *Tianfeng* Issues 27 & 28 which includes four articles attacking Wang.

p.515, August 4, 1955 reads 天風 *Tianfeng*

p.515, August 5, reads 天風 *Tianfeng*

