

CHRISTIANITY IN MODERN CHINA



The Catholic Church in Taiwan

Birth, Growth and Development

EDITED BY FRANCIS K.H. SO;
BEATRICE K.F. LEUNG;
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Christianity in Modern China

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Editors

The Catholic Church in Taiwan

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To the Catholic Community of the faithful in Taiwan

PREFACE

The book is a must read for anyone who wishes to know about the Catholic Church in Taiwan. It offers very rich information about the trajectory of its growth or decline, tracing its distant origin in the seventeenth century before focusing on its eventful path after 1949 when the national government under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek retreated from the Mainland to Taiwan after its defeat in the Civil War by the Chinese Communist Party. The major themes of the book as highlighted by the volume's editor refer to the historical events, achievements and complex relationships domestically as well as externally. In the latter, both relationships within the Greater China Area and relations between Taiwan and other sovereign states such as the Vatican, Japan and Mainland China are intertwined.

The claim that this book is the result of groundbreaking research in English is well justified. It breaks with the tradition of theological and biblical studies. It also breaks, albeit to a lesser degree, with the pattern of single disciplinary treatment, by adopting multiple perspectives, for example, international relations, sociology, law and tourism. This methodological break is necessary giving the tensions inherent in the change experienced by the Church in Taiwan over the years.

Like many other multiauthors' works, the style of individual chapters in this volume varies much from author to author. Some readers may find particularly interesting chapters that give thorough details in the descriptions of events or about the contributions of key figures, like pioneering priests. The best example is Chap. 3 on "Catholic Church in Taiwan During the Japanese Occupation." It is the best since it offers, apart from historical details, a succinct and insightful conclusion at the end.

There are good analytical chapters for a different type of readers. Wang Chaoli's chapter on "Wanjin's Basilica: Church Evangelization Encountering Government's Tourism," compared to other chapters, covers a much shorter time, that is, from 2011 to 2015. Its research question is very good—"whether the peace and religious spirit of Wanjin Basilica will be affected by commercialism and secularism arising from the escalating demands of tourism." To guarantee reliable findings to the question, the author triangulates the analysis by transcribing, coding and cross-examining multiple sources of the data. Even more impressive is the acknowledgment whereby the author declares that given her membership in the Church under study and a field researcher, there may be possible bias with respect to his conclusions.

Finally, one can regard this volume as a mountain of treasures, as building blocks to weave interesting hypotheses or theories about complex religious or sociopolitically religious relationship centered around the Church of Taiwan. Michael Chuan-sheng Chang, author of Chap. 4 "External Influences on the Emergence of the Catholic Church in Taiwan (1950–1960s)," has employed the concept "kaleidoscopic religious organization" to describe the Church. One can indeed go several steps further, to better recognize the changing nature of the Church under the cross-pressures at several levels, that is, at home, within the region as well as in the world. At the domestic level, the issue pertains to the planting of a foreign religion by the people in a hostile soil. How has the Church been related to society, government and other religions? Alternatively, when and how has the Church succeeded to become a respected, religious institution of the people of Taiwan. Within the parameter of the Asian Pacific region, the pattern of relationship between the Church on the one hand and Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, the Philippines and the United States is no less complicated. At the world level, this book has also provided its readers plenty food for thought. The membership issue in the United Nations, the geopolitical and strategic value of Taiwan to the national interest of the United States as a world power with global responsibility, and the status of Taiwan in the evolving Sino-Vatican détente are by no means stand-alone characteristics, but complicated, ever-changing, co-emerging patterns of relationships. In fact, this defining characteristic of the Catholic Church in Taiwan has never waned. One can indeed go further and imagine a total system consisting of all interactions among these partial, complicate (sub-)systems as a mind-boggling aspect of Taiwan's life-world, thereby realizing how exciting a scholarly pursuit to

better understand it must be. In other words, complex systems theory may be the best method to understand the ever-changing Catholic Church in Taiwan. The greatest contribution of the book may lie in its stimulation to nurture meaningful research agenda by other scholars.

The Pontifical Academy
of Social Sciences, the Vatican

KUAN, Hsin-chi

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIT	American Institute in Taiwan
AMOR	Asian Meeting of Religious Women
CBRC	China Bishops' Rome Convention
CCB	Catholic Central Bureau
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDD	Chinese Congregation of Disciples of the Lord
CICM	Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary
CM	Congregation of the Mission
College of Apostles	Collegium Apostolorum
CPA	Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association
CR	Canons Regular of St. Augustine
CRBC	Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference
CSA	<i>Correo Sinoannamita</i>
CSJB	Congregation of St. John the Baptist
CSV	Clerics of St. Viator
CTC	Chinese Theologians' Colloquium
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
DTCP	Department of Tourism and Communication, Pingtung
EATWOT	Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians
FABC	Federation of Asian Bishops Conference
HKSAR	Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
IUM	Institute of Inter-University of Macau

JLAC	Jesuit Liberal Arts College
KMT	Kuomintang
MEP	Paris Foreign Missions
MI	Order of St. Camillus
MM	Maryknoll Missionaries
OFM	Order of Friars Minor
OP	Order of Preachers
OSB	Order of St. Benedict
PCJP	Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace
PRC	Peoples' Republic of China
RCIA	Rite of Christian Initiation for Adults
ROC	Republic of China
SDS	Society of the Divine Savior
Service Center	Service Center of the Bridge Church Committee
Sheng Kung Sisters	Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception
SIT	Spaniards in Taiwan, the collection of documents
SJ	Society of Jesus
SMB	Bethlehem Mission Society
SSC	Missionary Society of St. Columban
SVD	Divine Word Missionaries
The Work Report	The Work Report on Bridge Church Service Center under the Bridge Church Service Committee
<i>UCANews</i>	Union of Catholic Asian News
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
Vatican II	Second Vatican Council
WWII	Second World War

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The Introduction

Beatrice K.F. Leung

Contemporary Taiwan can be said to have experienced a turning point in 1949 offering challenge as well as development. This was seen both internally and externally in economic growth, cross-strait relations and political maturity in party alternation, a first attempt in the long history of China. A modern Taiwanese scholar, Yang Rubin*, held more or less the same opinion about the 1949 Civil War in China as Dickens' evaluation of the French Revolution (Yang 2015). Dickens reflected "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair" (Charles Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities*). In less long-winded terms, Yang opined that without the 1949 Civil War in China, the development of Taiwan would not be as advanced as it is today. From a cultural point of view, 1949 made a considerable contribution to Taiwan, at the same time having negative consequences on the Mainland following Communist rule. Without the 1949 Civil War in China, Taiwan might not have inherited the wealth of Chinese culture by welcoming Chinese intellectuals from many parts of the Mainland; they

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became absorbed into Taiwan to sustain Chinese academic life and cultural development (Yang 2015, 65–69). After 1949, Taiwan, from living a regional and parochial culture from Fujian* Province, expanded its cultural boundary covering the whole of China becoming the guardian of Chinese culture (Yang 2015, 14–16). Contemporary Taiwanese have not had to stand on the crossroad of conflicts or the encounter between West and East suffering the cross fire of ancient and contemporary culture (Yang 2015, 51–56).

This volume follows Yang’s argument to discuss how the Taiwan Catholic Church, after 1949, became the surrogate church for the Mainland where religious persecution was taking place. The Taiwan Church developed practically from a mission territory under the jurisdiction of Dominican Fathers to a Church with seven Catholic dioceses. Then it was entrusted by the Pope to be a bridge between Mainland Catholics and the universal Church helping them to avoid becoming heretical and cutting themselves off from the universal Church.

In 1982, the Italian Fr. Angelo Lazzaretto published *The Catholic Church in Post-Mao China* (Lazzaretto 1982), a first glimpse of a multifaceted China and the Catholic Church awakening to new life. The newly established Holy Spirit Study Center in Hong Kong diocese purposefully studied the revival of the Catholic Church on the Mainland after the Cultural Revolution. Its bimonthly, semi-academic bulletin “Tripod” began to publish up-to-date information and comments on the Catholic Church in the People’s Republic of China (PRC). On an international level, the opening up of China with a certain degree of religious revival aroused immense interest among international academics.

In 1992, a work on Sino-Vatican relations was published by Cambridge University Press, in which Taiwan’s role was briefly mentioned (Leung 1992). In 2014, in *Catholicism in China, 1900–Present*, a collection of essays on Catholicism in the Greater China Region, Taiwan Catholic questions began to be discussed by local Taiwan and international Catholic researchers (Leung and Kuo 2014, 169–187).

The transformation of Taiwan society after 1949 did not arouse the attention of international scholarship in religious studies. Even the transformation in 1948 of the Taiwan Church from a mission territory with a very minute cluster of some 3,000 rural and aboriginal believers and 15 clergy into a local church of 7 dioceses in 1969 with 809 priests and 300,000 urban Catholics did not arouse an interest in studying the Taiwan Catholic Church which, of course, included the Catholic Church diaspora

from the Mainland. The neglect of Taiwan Catholic affairs by international scholarship was due to the prevalence in the seventies of pro-socialist sentiment in the West which did not respect the relocated Nationalist government in Taiwan after its defeat in the Civil War (1945–1949). In the study of Taiwan's religions by Clark and Jones in 2003, the Catholic Church was only briefly mentioned without a chapter devoted to it, while Buddhism and the Presbyterian Church each merited a whole one (Clark and Jones 2003). In 2006, Cheng and Brown collected 11 studies on nations in Asia but not on Taiwan, while Catholicism in both Hong Kong and the Philippines was discussed (Cheng and Brown 2006).¹

After more than 50 years of Catholic Church life in democratic Taiwan, it is time for local Catholic scholars to look back on the development of the Taiwan Catholic Church, to review its achievements and to evaluate its role with actors in religious organizations outside its boundary (the Catholic Churches in the Mainland, Hong Kong and Macau), sovereign states (the Vatican, Japan and Mainland China) as well as with the government of Taiwan through the lens of the social sciences and the humanities.

Since it is a groundbreaking research in English on the Taiwan Catholic Church, it is our hope that more international scholars will be attracted in days to come to delve more deeply into ecclesiastical soil revealing more meaningful Catholic issues to enhance the studies on the Catholic Church in the Greater China Region.

This volume discusses the development of the Catholic Church in Taiwan after the 1949 Civil War in China with the influx of well over one million Mainlanders into Taiwan. They included Catholic Church personnel scattered over the vast territory of China arriving to escape from religious persecution under Communist rule. Thus, the change of the societal and political landscape in Mainland China as well as in Taiwan allowed the Catholic Church of Taiwan to turn a new page in its development after the 1949 Civil War in China.

Traditionally, many discussions on religion including Catholicism are in the disciplines of theological and biblical studies. Their research writings are replete with theological and biblical terms which attract only Catholic readers who are used to the Catholic culture within the church milieu. The tensions in the continuous changes and sustainable development in contemporary Taiwan with its Catholic Church since the 1950s demand an understanding of Catholic and Taiwan relations from a better perspective, from different angles, through various academic disciplines such as international relations, history, sociology, law, philosophy politics and tourism.

Although the time frame of this volume is from 1949 after the Nationalist government (of China) moved to Taiwan to the present, yet the roots of the Taiwan Catholic Church have to be identified before the current church-state issues can be discussed in a proper historical context. Thus, the development of the Catholic Church in Taiwan vis-à-vis the coming of Spanish missionaries and the Japanese influence within the Church during the Japanese occupation period will be reviewed. Then the rapid development between the 1950s and 1970s with the influx of clergy and religious from Mainland China with its pros and cons after the Chinese Communist Party took over the Mainland will be analyzed. Taiwan-Vatican relations deserve special attention since they have come under the shadow of Sino-Vatican relations, the Vatican being the only European state which has diplomatic relationships with Taiwan. The contribution of Taiwan Catholics to the Bridging Endeavor with Mainland Catholics has never previously been analyzed and should not escape our attention. Catholic higher education in Taiwan deserves description because it is the only place in the Greater China Region providing authentic Catholic education radiating Catholic values. A new lay movement—the Focolare—coming from Italy, coincided with the stimulus of the Second Vatican Council (Vat II). Its function in Taiwan adds extra human resources to the Church’s evangelization. For this, the Focolare’s contribution to Taiwan will be discussed. Cooperation between the Church and the Taiwan government for the development of the pilgrimage site in Wanjin is one of several concrete cases to illustrate the Catholic Church’s external relations with the Taiwan government.

THE EARLY CATHOLIC CHURCH IN TAIWAN: ITS FOREIGN RELATIONS

Spanish missionaries from the Philippines came to Taiwan in 1622 to establish the first Catholic mission there. The Portuguese did not stop the Spaniards from landing in Taiwan which was under the shadow of the Portuguese Padroado at the time (Ha 2015, 75–80). For the Portuguese, the most important halfway port on its Far East sea route was Macau, not Taiwan. Taiwan for them was a barren island of little value lying outside the Chinese continent, so they did not interfere with the missionary thrust of the Spaniards.

The Taiwan Catholic Church began to grow from 1622 to 1642 with a group of Spanish missionaries coming from the Philippines. They settled first in the Keelung and Tanshui districts targeting the natives of the Pingpu* clan. However, before they could expand their mission to other parts of Taiwan, they were forced to leave, being expelled by the Protestant Dutch who invaded Taiwan in 1642. In fact, the Spanish missionary achievement was very limited during these 24 years (Kuo 1999; Sy 2009, 37–72). From the very beginning of the Taiwanese Catholic mission, its existence and development depended entirely on the international relations of two rival foreign states, Spain and Holland. Two hundred years later, in 1858, the Tianjin* Treaty was signed between the French and Qing* officials allowing mission work to resume in China. Thus, the Spanish lost no time in returning to Taiwan in 1859, this time in the persons of Dominican missionaries; they settled down in the south which became a mission territory of the Dominicans with the support of the same Dominican mission in Fujian Province. Here again, it is worth noting that the rebirth of the Catholic Church in Taiwan with the re-entry of Dominican missionaries in the nineteenth century also depended on international relations between the Qing Dynasty and western powers.

A mission conclave was resumed by the Spanish missionaries in 1858 with 3,000 converts, more or less, in rural areas, laboring for 90 years (1859–1949). The transformation of the mission into a local church in the 1950s influenced by external political, social and ecclesial factors will be reviewed to identify the roots of the Catholic Church in Taiwan.

The time frame of our research begins from 1949 when the civil war on the Mainland forced the Nationalist government to withdraw to Taiwan. From this period onward, the Taiwan Catholic mission experienced rapid growth into a church organization with its own hierarchy among urban populations in modern Taiwan society. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Church experienced rapid growth but then began to see stagnation setting in from the 1970s until today.

Without considering the origins of the Church in the past decades, we cannot go into the heart of the matter in modern times. Take the Catholic Church of Taiwan and Hong Kong for comparison; both are Churches established by foreign missionaries in the same period (Hong Kong in 1858, by the Italian Pontifical Mission; Taiwan in 1895, by the Spanish Dominican mission). In the 1950s, both experienced an influx of Mainland Church personnel to increase their human resources and enhance their capacity for evangelization. Today, we see the difference in development

of these two Chinese Churches. Hong Kong had 357,000 Catholics in 2010 scoring 5% of the total population with at least 3,000 baptisms each year. In Taiwan, the Catholic population has 1% of the total, decreasing from 290,000 in 2008 to 230,000 in 2014.² The comparison provides a good reason to survey the brief history of Taiwan to identify the external impacts on the development of the Catholic Church in Taiwan since its early days.

The first period of the Taiwan Catholic Church began with the arrival of Spanish missionaries in 1626, the beginning of the Catholic mission being linked closely with international politics in Europe. The arrival of Spanish missionaries in Taiwan served as a springboard to China after they failed to settle down in Macau. Taiwan for them was the choice because Taiwan was a base close to Fujian Province, but outside Chinese administrative control (Borao 2009). The Spanish Dominicans in Taiwan began their mission in small clusters among the humble rural population of the northern part of Taiwan for a short period of 16 years. The mission was carried out among the Pingpu minority in northern Taiwan; great effort was made but minimal fruit was reaped. The mission experienced a halt for nearly 300 years due to the Dutch expulsion in 1642 (Kuo 1999).

In 1859, the second period of the growth of the Taiwan Church began with the second coming of the Spaniards when China was forced to open to the western powers through the signing of the Tianjin Treaty in 1858. The Spanish Dominican missionaries, headed by Fr. Fernando Sainz* O.P., landed in Kaohsiung from Fujian and began their mission among the cluster of small towns of Wanjin, Kaohsiung, Tainan, Shalun, Luohu and Douliu. They converted a few thousand mainly rural peoples to Catholicism before Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895 after the Sino-Japanese War. Later the mission spread to the north to Taichung, Yunlin and Tanshui (Pan 2009, 27–36; Ku 2008, 4–61). Eugene Borao Mateo, a Catholic historian, writes a brief survey of the history of the Church in Taiwan under the Spanish Dominicans before the Japanese period to identify the nature of the Church of this period and discuss difficulties which this foreign religion was facing. Most Taiwan city dwellers were migrants from Fujian and other coastal provinces of China born into Chinese culture and not easily open to foreign religions which had been misinterpreted by the Chinese (Lu 1966). Aborigines and the rural population were most attracted by the missionaries' charitable work in medical and educational service. Borao's historical survey of the Taiwan Church of this period is marked with its characteristics preparing for its future development.

THE TAIWAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION PERIOD

The third period of the Catholic Church in Taiwan took place during the Japanese Occupation (1895–1945). It marks how the Taiwan Catholic Church’s relationship with the Taiwan government had to be switched to Tokyo which was beyond its boundary. After the Japanese took over Taiwan, the Catholic Church together with Taiwanese society was subject to de-sinicization and gradually “Japanized” according to the national plan of Tokyo. The Apostolic Prefecture of Taiwan was erected in 1913. The communication between Taiwan and Fujian’s Spanish missionaries was carried on all the same until the outbreak of the Pacific War, called by Japan the Great East Asian War. In the midst of the Great East Asian War, in 1921, the Japanese Military Authority transferred a Japanese Dominican priest Fr. Satowaki Asajiro* to Taiwan from Nagasaki* to replace the Spanish Apostolic Prefect to lead the Taiwan Chinese Catholics. It was the need for national security which prompted the Japanese government in Tokyo to set up Japanese leadership in the Taiwan Catholic Church. Fr. Satowaki Asajiro with his Roman education background performed his duty as the religious leader in Taiwan with the cooperation of a leading native priest, Fr. Tu Minzheng* (Ku 2008, 204–245). For Catholic activities during the Japanese period, we have Ku Weiyang who writes a detailed discussion of the Spanish-related Catholic Church in Taiwan interacting with a foreign power, the Japanese, which had replaced the Qing government to govern the island. Incidentally Satowaki and Tu’s efforts initiated a change in the nature of the Taiwan Church’s orientation from being set up by a religious order to being governed by a local church hierarchy with an increased number of local clergy.

THE CONTEMPORARY TAIWAN CATHOLIC CHURCH: SINCE 1950

The fourth period of the Catholic history of Taiwan began with the withdrawal of the Japanese in 1945 and the arrival of the Nationalist government in Taipei. The Catholic Church in Taiwan during this period experienced immense changes with the influx of a huge number of Chinese from the Mainland who had fled from the atheist Communist regime. The political landscape and Catholic environment both in Taiwan and the Mainland took on a new outlook spearheading a development toward a

new society in Taiwan (Yang 2015, 3–12). The arrival of well over a million Mainland Chinese (Lin 2009, 323–336) including 1,000 Chinese Catholic clergy and women religious added extra human resources to the Taiwan Church. The small Taiwan Church with more or less 10,000 Catholics and 15 clergy in 1948 was quickly and radically transformed into a local church with 296 clergy in 1954 and 809 in 1969. The Catholic population increased to 32,310 in 1954 and to 305,793 in 1969 (Kuo 1999). The rapid increase in Catholic population and church personnel changed the outlook of Taiwan Catholic Church from clusters of Catholic missions in rural districts into a local church with urban culture. The new priests and sisters, mainly from the Mainland, opened channels for external relationships between their Mainland Church personnel in Taiwan and their relatives remaining on the Mainland.

The Mainland priests in Taiwan called themselves exiles in Taiwan; the diaspora from China and the Taiwan Church was the “surrogate church” of the Mainland (Chang 2003). Inevitably, the Taiwan Church had a certain degree of linkage with that of the Mainland. In this sense, the external relations of the Catholic Church in Taiwan added a new dimension to the Mainland during this period. Michael Chuan-sheng Chang discusses the role of diaspora bishops from China, their participation in the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) and their interactions with the Roman Curia with their request to set up a Chinese Bishops’ Conference based in Taiwan. Chang also discusses how the Vatican’s officials in different departments, that is, Archbishop Costantini* of Propaganda Fide and Archbishop Riberi* of the Apostolic Internuncio to Taiwan from the State Department, had their own functions and interactions in Taiwan in the matters of setting up new dioceses and the selection of new prelates to lead these new church territories.

Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations were established in 1942 under the Nationalist government in Nanjing and broken in 1951. The Papal Nunciature to China moved to Taiwan and initiated the Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relationship soon after the expulsion of the Papal representative, Archbishop Anthony Riberi, from Nanjing in 1951. Since then, the nature of Sino-Vatican relations is a disputed relationship stemming from the competing claims of state sovereignty, expressed in their teaching authorities between religious idealism and the atheist dialectic of Marxist-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Negotiations were initiated in 1987 aimed at reestablishing Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations through a concordat. In the course of 30 years (1987–2017), no fruit has been reaped from the formal negotiations.

The Vatican's principal aim in negotiating the normalization of its diplomatic relations with China is to obtain warmer relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC) in order to achieve normal development of the Chinese Catholic Church. Beijing's aim, originally, was to further isolate Taiwan in the international community by demanding the severing of Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations, thus inflicting a heavy blow on the island state, aimed at drawing Taiwan to the negotiation table for unification. However, at the turn of the twenty-first century, the aim of Beijing in the negotiation has shifted to improve its international image, through establishing diplomatic relations with the Holy See (Leung and Wang 2016). On various occasions beginning from the 1980s, China has laid down conditions for a Sino-Vatican rapprochement; these are (1) the severing of Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations and (2) noninterference in the internal affairs of China (Leung and Wang 2016).

For Taiwan citizens, the development of Taiwan and Vatican diplomatic relations during the reigns of various political leaders from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek to President Ma Ying-jeow should be studied if they consider that diplomatic relations between Taiwan and the Vatican are important for Taiwan foreign relations. Beatrice K.F. Leung and Tony Li Yun-chung in Chap. 5 "Taiwan-Vatican Relations from 1949 to the Present" present a discussion on how Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations in the last three decades have developed under the four presidencies since the Nationalist government moved to Taiwan, for example, Chiang Ching-kuo, Li Deng-hui, Chen Shui-bian and Ma Ying-jeow. They also remark that Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations have been constantly threatened by Beijing which demands the severance of Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations.

It is true that in the 1970s the Taiwan bishops were made uneasy by the fact that Taiwan Church would be influenced by the Vatican's Ostpolitik policy toward European Communist states; the Vatican had a two fronts' policy. On the one hand it sought dialogue with Beijing while on the other it asked the universal Church, especially the diaspora Chinese Catholics, to build a "bridge" between the Mainland and the outside world not allowing schism to break out among Chinese Catholics.

Seven Taiwan bishops led by Archbishop Lokuang* went to Rome on February 28, 1984, to meet the Pope and officials of the Roman Curia to voice out their grievances on their being marginalized by the international Catholic community. Their negative sentiment was skillfully turned into positive feelings when the Pope asked them in person to be the "bridge" to cement the gap between the Church in the Mainland and the universal

Church. The Bridging Endeavor in Taiwan was reported through the committee of serving the Mainland as requested by the Holy Father. Beatrice K.F. Leung and Kuo Wen-ban in Chap. 6 “Taiwan Catholic Bishops and the Bridging Endeavor” give a full account of how the Taiwan bishops cogently worked for this purpose in a political environment during the 1970s when socialism began to prevail in the West. European and US scholars and intellectuals turned to support Communist China after it was admitted to the United Nations and Taiwan was pushed to the margin of the international community. The history of the Bridging Endeavor is one of well-organized, sterling devotion on a number of fronts: political, formative and social, paving the way for contemporary development of relations.

Recent news reported that, under Pope Francis, talks with Beijing were “moving forward.” On the other hand, since September 2015, the Communist Party has tightened its control over all religions, by preventing overseas involvement in religious activity. Party members are now officially banned from following a faith as part of rules stipulating that religion must be separated from the Chinese state after officials in Zhejiang province had removed more than 1,000 crosses from domestic and religious buildings (Caballero, Lorraine 2016). The confusing signs of the zigzag development of Sino-Vatican relations have had subtle implications for Taiwan’s foreign relations. In this regard, it is primarily important for Catholics in Taiwan to have a comprehensive understanding firstly, of the nature of Taiwan-Vatican relations.

Beatrice K.F. Leung gives a detailed account of the recent ongoing Sino-Vatican negotiations and their impacts on Taiwan during the reign of Pope Francis. In 2015 he wished to activate the sluggish Sino-Vatican negotiations (1987–2016) during Tsai Ing-wen’s administration. The nature of the ongoing negotiations in the political environment of China is portrayed and the problems between the Vatican and China and Sino-Vatican negotiations are discussed to illustrate the difficulty of the negotiations and the role of Taiwan.

The universal Church under the new leadership of Pope Francis now arrives at the frontier of universal problems such as those of the environment and refugees as well as other social teachings of the church focused on justice and peace. The Taiwan Catholic Church does not have a tradition of being vocal as well as active in implementing the social teaching of the Church especially in the field of social justice (Kuo Wen-ban 1999). Catholic scholars act as forerunners to engage in these studies. Kuo

Wen-ban employs statistics from a survey made in Taipei diocese to discuss how Taiwan Catholics practice the Church's social teaching in various aspects and professions and how this affects Church-state relations. Kuo's figures tell the story of how Taipei Catholics have adopted the social teaching of the Church. Since in Catholic teaching, social justice, human rights and family values are essential components, Kuo describes his revelatory findings on Taipei Catholics' implementation of Catholic social teaching. They sincerely acknowledge that they are willing to embrace family values but remain at a distance from social justice and human rights due to their apolitical mentality.

Education is an important means to shape the mind, the heart and the spirit of our younger generation. As early as 1950, in the first Constitution of the People's Republic of China, it was clearly stated that the state established various kinds of education. Article 94 Constitution 1954 justified the confiscation of Catholic educational institutes at all levels on the Mainland. It was because the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) followed the Bolshevik tradition not to allow religion to interfere in education. With the amendment of the Constitution several times, the same concept of noninterference in education by religion remains (Article 36 Constitution 1982 through 2004). It reflects that the CCP is very conscious about education which has its own ideological orientation and which militates directly against atheism as advocated by the PRC. On the other hand, the Catholic Church has a long tradition of offering tertiary education in Europe, with its own principles of education. This year, the Catholic Church celebrates the 50th anniversary of the launching of the Second Vatican Council's Declaration *Gravissimum Educationis* and the 25th anniversary of the Apostolic Constitution *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* which constitute the backbone of Catholic higher education theory. Lin Yao-tang and Beatrice K.F. Leung discuss the characteristics of three Catholic tertiary institutes in Taiwan. Although these characteristics focus on various aspects of life, all illustrate the basics of Catholic social teaching with their gravity center on the human person—the image of God. Taiwan's Catholic tertiary education has remained possible even when Hong Kong has no Catholic university. Shortly after 1997, the Jesuits failed to establish a liberal arts university in Hong Kong with the support of major Jesuit universities in the USA. It was believed that Beijing did not allow the project to be realized especially since it was strong with US connections. Taiwan has the only Catholic educational institutes in the Greater China Region to carry out the will of the Pope who wishes that overseas Catholic institutes might play a demonstrable role in life education

and medical ethics when abortion, cloning, surrogate mothering prevail in Mainland China with insufficient respect for human life and human dignity. Lin and Leung's presentation reveal that the establishment of a medical school in Catholic Fu Jen University was at the request of the Holy Father. Catholic education in Taiwan has external manifestations for the Mainland while doing the will of the Holy Father. Thus, in this issue, Catholic education is playing a role in the triangular relations among China, the Vatican and Taiwan.

Although Taiwan Catholics comprise only 1% of Taiwan's population, the Catholic community in Wanjin organizes its own festival activities with a strong Catholic atmosphere and attracts many visitors from over the whole island irrespective of religious belief. Wang Chiao-li discusses Catholic and government relations vis-à-vis the Wanjin pilgrimage and Christmas celebration. Wang's discussion reveals that Church-state relationships can be further developed with mutual benefit. It affirms, moreover, that external relationships of Taiwan Catholics with society can profitably experience further expansion.

The Focolare Movement, founded by an Italian Catholic woman right after the Second World War, advocates that their members earn their own living professionally with the option of taking up a lifestyle as members of a religious community. The Movement came to Taiwan in the 1960s. Brian Reynolds discusses its contribution and endeavors at various stages of social development in Taiwan.

This volume is an amalgam of academic writings from the research findings of experts in their own disciplines: history, politics, international relations, sociology, education and philosophy. Their contributions enrich the book which aims at studying the Catholic Church in Taiwan with its interactions among contemporary political, religious and societal players coming from outside its national boundaries or within Taiwan society itself.

NOTES

1. In Vol. II Chap. 8 Kuo's social engagement also mentions the problem.
2. The Taiwan figure was provided by the clerk in the Archbishop's office of Taipei Diocese in September 2015.

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The Formosa Catholic Mission, 1626–1895

José Eugenio Borao Mateo

The first contact of Taiwan with Christianity took place in the context of the Jesuit missions to Japan, when the yearly galleon from Macao to Japan was shipwrecked in northern Taiwan in 1582. The 300 persons on board had to stay in Taiwan from July 16 to September 30 until they managed to get back to Macao in a smaller ship they had constructed themselves. Among them were five Jesuits, four priests and one brother. One of the priests was the Spaniard, Pedro Gómez, who was on his way to Japan to serve there as Vice-Provincial of the Society of Jesus. Another one was Alonso Sánchez, but from the mission in the Philippines, who after an official trip from Manila to Macao tried to go back to the Philippines by way of Japan. The other Jesuits were Portuguese, Frs. Alvaro Días and Christovão Moreira and Brother Francisco Pirez. We know many details of their two and a half months stay thanks to the reports written by Gómez, Sánchez and Pirez describing the island and its inhabitants (SIT,¹ 2–15). But regarding the propagation of the faith among the natives, nothing is recorded since this alien group and the natives mistrusted each other. Besides, the Portuguese sailors were working at preparing their way back to Macao. All the same, the first Christian ceremonies ever held in Taiwan

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were conducted at that time when the Jesuits celebrated mass in their camp, erected a big cross on the top of a nearby mountain and administered the sacraments (SIT, 7).

THE DOMINICANS ESTABLISHED THE FIRST MISSION IN FORMOSA (TAIWAN) (1626–1642)

One of the reasons why the Dominicans entered Formosa in 1626 was because it represented for them an area for natural expansion from their Cagayan province in northern Luzon and a convenient jumping board for their way to China and Japan. Since the end of the sixteenth century, some Dominicans had been assigned to the *parián* (or Chinese quarter) of Manila where they learned the language of the Chinese emigrants, mainly from northern Guangdong or from Fujian. In fact, they had translated some religious materials into Chinese in readiness for their move to the mainland. Their route from Manila to Macao had failed several times because of Portuguese and Jesuit opposition, so they changed direction and managed to enter Fujian from Formosa in 1632 (Borao 2010). On the other hand, the way to Japan, which had been open for them from the end of the sixteenth century, became totally inaccessible after the Japanese closed-door policy of the *Sakoku* was implemented from 1633. This means that their commitment to Formosa became more serious after this year.

Regarding the process of their settling in Formosa, first, they moved northward to the Babuyan Islands (between Formosa and the Philippines), and in 1626 they reached Quelang (present area of Keelung) on board the two galleys commanded by Carreño de Valdés. At the entrance of Keelung harbor, on the present Heping Island, the Spanish soldiers established the fort and city of San Salvador, where the Dominicans began construction of the church of *Todos los Santos*, but it was not until 1627 that the bishop of Manila granted them permission to administer the sacraments (SIT, 95).

Among the most significant missionaries who came to Formosa, we can mention first Francisco Vázquez who was one of the four Dominican missionaries who arrived there at the very beginning. Vázquez was a Portuguese whose ten-year residence in Formosa (1626–1636) was one of the longest, a term that ended when he was killed at the hands of the natives of Tamchui (Tanshui). He was probably the first to compile materials on the language of the natives for the purpose of evangelization. In all likelihood however, the most active missionary in writing reports was Jacinto

Esquivel, whose two-year stay in Formosa (1631–1633) was very important to understand both the missionary activity on the island and the native manner of life. He arrived in San Salvador in the summer of 1631. From there, he went to the nearby indigenous village of Tapparri, where he remained until October. Then he moved to Tanshui* and stayed there for about ten months, initially near the Santo Domingo fortress—from October 1631 to February 1632—later moving around the nearby area of Senar dealing closely with its natives whom he describes in detail. At the end of that summer, he returned to Keelung* where he met up with Aduarte, the bishop of Nueva Segovia (northern Luzon) who was then visiting the island. It must have been at the instance of the second governor, Alcarazo, and of Aduarte that Esquivel wrote two reports, the first focusing more on civil concerns (SIT, 162–168) while the second one was on ecclesiastical matters (SIT, 179–188). We know little of him afterward because he was busy finishing the manuscripts of his grammar, dictionary and the catechism in the native tongue of the aborigines of the Tanshui River area, before he joined the fateful voyage to Japan sometime in the spring of 1633, being killed just after departure.

We should also mention Teodoro Quirós, a missionary who stood out, not only for his ten-year stay (the same as that of Francisco Váez) but also for his unflinching spirit of perseverance in the mission. To him we owe the grammar book, *Arte de la lengua de Formosa (The Art of Language in Formosa)* and the dictionary *Vocabulario en la misma lengua (Vocabulary in the Native Tongue)*. Most probably, these books were made by updating those of Esquivel, while, at the same time, he might also have updated those of Francisco Váez.

After six years in San Salvador, the missionaries could still claim little success. In 1631, when Esquivel arrived, only two missions had been founded from Todos los Santos: Saint Joseph of Quimaurri and Saint John the Baptist of Tapparri. Esquivel consolidated this one and created a new one near Tanshui, Our Lady of the Rosary, near Senar. After this success, Esquivel became optimistic, and—according to the “missionary division land” method experimented in the Philippines—he made, in 1632, a draft plan for the division of northern Formosa into 12 ministries (SIT, 183–187), foreseeing that other religious orders might come, as had happened with the Franciscans in 1633. His plan was based on his own interest in the Tanshui area; thus he proposed that the Dominicans take the ministries in Tanshui and Senar. He showed no interest at that moment in the natives of Keelung and only paid attention to the two ministries in San

Salvador—the small Chinese quarter and a hospital. He also proposed to transfer the *curato* (the official chaplaincy offering religious service to the Spanish soldiers) to a different religious order because, at that time, the work of the chaplaincy was giving a lot of trouble to the Dominican in charge. He was very determined to do it, regardless of the fact that this official appointment had a salary attached to it. He concluded:

We lay claim to the better ministries. It will be good to distribute what remains to the other Orders. The Recollects can take care of Pantao, as well as the area beyond ... occupied by natives of Pulauan, and the Spaniards of the fort of Tamchuy which is in front of Pantao, with the parish of the island ... The Jesuits and the Augustinians can divide the territory of Lichoco, which is five leagues away from Taparri [between Keelung and Tanshui]; they can also take care of Taparri, Quimaurri [in the bay of Keelung, modern Dashawan] and Santiago [modern Fulong beach, near Sandiao Cap] because these areas are all close to each other. (SIT, 188)

Among these listed places, the Tanshui River area seemed very promising thanks to the achievements of Jacinto Esquivel and later Teodoro Quirós, who baptized “320 persons in the year of the smallpox epidemic (probably 1635)” (SIT, 456). In 1632, Esquivel still presents the future of the missions in the Tanshui area in a very optimistic way: the natives of Pantao were asking for a priest; others in the Quimazon River area said that they would also request a priest after seeing that his presence in Senar was not harmful; and, finally, the elders of Lichoco were also asking for a priest after learning how Esquivel had liberated from the Spaniards some natives who had been unjustly taken as prisoners (SIT, 181–182). This optimistic view changed abruptly in 1636 when natives of Senar murdered Frs. Francisco Vázquez and Luis Muro. Additionally, the Spanish garrison withdrew in the same year; the mission of Tanshui was discontinued, and those promising communities received no further mention in Dominican sources.

Another interesting place was Caquiuanuan (Santiago), on the way from Keelung to the populated area of Cavalan. This mission probably started after the visit of the Dominican provincial, Domingo González, in 1634, and the cooperation of Governor García Romero. Quirós wrote that this governor “had the natives under control and that they esteem him very much” (SIT, 456). He allowed Fr. Quirós to baptize 141 children in five days in the year of the smallpox epidemic in Caquiuanuan (SIT, 456). The Santiago mission was formally established in 1635 because in that year the provincial chapter of the Dominicans assigned Fr. Miguel

Corona as minister of a church dedicated to St. Dominic. Similarly, the Dominican chapter of 1637 referred to Fr. Francisco Díaz as being given the same assignment, while the one of 1641 designates Fr. Pedro Chaves. Chaves, at that time residing in China, was unable to take over his post because the Dutch captured and imprisoned him in the same year while he was on his way to Isla Hermosa (Formosa).

Besides the churches, a project of Fr. Esquivel deserves mention, set up in cooperation with Governor Juan de Alcarazo, namely the creation of the Confraternity of the Misericordia (Holy Mercy). This was an association of laypeople for charitable works, formally constituted with the bishop's approval. The governing body was called Santa Mesa (Holy Table). It administered money and properties with which to cover the needs of the institution. It was very well developed in the Portuguese colonies and some Portuguese residents of Manila contributed to create another one there. The project of the Misericordia of Isla Hermosa was inspired by this pattern but featured in different ways (Borao 2005a). The idea took shape in the spring of 1632, and the Mesa was provisionally established in the summer of that year with the support of Governor Juan de Alcarazo, a few months before his definitive return to Manila. The governor agreed with Esquivel that the Mesa should start establishing a hospital in Keelung for Spanish soldiers and their wives, under the care of the crown and financed by commercial control over some products such as liana crafts or deer-skeen (SIT, 175). That hospital should be followed later by another three, one in Keelung for servants and slaves; another, also in Keelung, for Chinese, Japanese and natives, financed by the Misericordia of Isla Hermosa (SIT, 185); and a third one in Tanshui, also for Sangleys [Chinese merchants], Japanese and natives, financed by the sister hospital of the Dominicans in Manila (SIT, 185). The foundation of the first hospital was the fruit of regular conversations between Alcarazo and Esquivel:

They talked and decided that a Misericordia be established on that same island. To this, Don Juan later donated 4,000 pesos, and Fr. Jacinto, 2,000 pesos worth of alms that some people in Manila gave him to distribute among the pious works that were to be established in that new conversion. The 6,000 pesos gave rise to the Misericordia. (SIT, 209)

Upon the return of Bishop Aduarte and Governor Alcarazo to the Philippines, the statutes were presented by one of the members of the Mesa, Captain Juan Baquedano (SIT, 195), and finally approved in Manila

in the autumn of 1632. Baquedano went back to Isla Hermosa in the regular spring relief ship (SIT, 211), just to attend the first formal meeting of the Mesa in April 1633.

Regarding the goal of building a hospital, it can only be said that during the 16 years of Spanish presence in Formosa, the existence of just one hospital was registered and that one mainly for official needs. There is no certainty that this hospital was the one intended by the Misericordia or just the continuation and development of a pre-existing medical service inside the fortress. In the last years of Spanish presence, we have more details. For example, the official certificates of His Majesty's fiscal officer, Simón de Toro, stated that from 1634 to 1642, a "box of medicines" arrived in every relief ship that reached Keelung. The certificates give additional information; for example, in March of 1642, the vessel "San Nicolás Tolentino" brought Francisco Casta Vengala, surgeon and slave of His Majesty, who reported to Captain Andrés de Aguiar, caretaker of the Royal Hospital of the city of Manila. He brought surgical instruments, such as a pair of scissors, three razors and one lancet.

Esquivel had in mind another endeavor that the Mesa should carry out: a missionary school cofinanced by the Dominicans. In that meeting of April 1633, Esquivel pushed the Mesa for the creation of the school. They agreed to the idea and made a proposal that was signed by its members. The signatures show how this institution was supported by the most prominent Spaniards in San Salvador: Governor Bartolomé Díaz Barrera, as the elder brother of the Santa Mesa; the father procurator, Francisco Bravo, Superior and Vicar of the convent of Todos los Santos; Captains Luis de Guzmán, Juan Baquedano, Matías de Olaso and Miguel Sáez de Alcaraz; the royal accountant Francisco de Vivero; and the paymaster of the Royal Treasury Juan Pérez de Rueda.

The school project of Esquivel was a kind of seminary school for Chinese and Japanese, probably inspired by the Jesuit School of Sao Paulo in Macao, or the one in Manila, founded by the priest Juan Fernández León in 1594 to attend to the needs of orphans and the poor of the city, for whom he tried later to establish a seminary school (Molina 1984, 93). No doubt this project was intended also to counterbalance the Japanese government pressure against Catholics and the isolation policy which started precisely in this year of 1633. But later there is no reference in any of the documents to this projected school. One of the reasons may be that its main promoter, Esquivel, had just engaged in his long-awaited missionary expedition to Japan, maybe with the additional idea of finding students for his project but, as was mentioned earlier, he was killed upon his departure.

The Misericordia also experienced some changes. Firstly, the Dominicans had to support their increasingly frequent trips to China. Secondly, the governor's need to borrow money was increasing, and the Misericordia—as happened in other places—was the only available financial institution. So, the original figure of the governor as elder brother and/or “proveedor” was little by little blurred by the fact that the Misericordia was the one granting him loans. The clearest reference indicating this comes from the arrival of the last governor, Gonzalo Portillo. In his first report to Governor General Corcuera, Portillo wrote that as soon as he arrived in Formosa, “the priests of the Order of St Dominic asked me to pay them the 2,000 pesos that Your Majesty owes the cash box of the Santa Mesa, since they have lent it” (SIT, 316). Likewise, he states in another report, “Of the 4,000 pesos that came, I paid 2,000 to the Santa Mesa. It will be necessary to ask again, even when I know that I will have a big argument with the priests about it” (SIT, 335). All the same, the financial situation of the Misericordia, before the Spaniards left Formosa, after being defeated by the Dutch, seems to have been one of solvency, at least according to the testimony of the scribe and key keeper of 1642, Juan Pérez de Rueda, who in 1644 declared that the Dutch seized all its belongings, namely “8,000 pesos in reals, 10 plates of ordinary silver, two large plates and merchandise worth 1,000 pesos” (SIT, 518). Certainly this data is consistent with the Spanish Fortress inventory that the Dutch made after their conquest (SIT, 394–397).

NATIVE OPPOSITION IN TANSHUI (1636)

When Esquivel left for Japan in 1633, he had great hopes for the missions in the Tanshui River area that he had founded. It must have been hard for him to imagine the crisis they would encounter just three years later when two Dominicans were killed on different occasions, Francisco Vázquez and Luis Muro, the first a veteran of the mission, while the second had been on the island for only one year (SIT, 457).

According to the Dominican sources, especially the *History of Aduarte*, Francisco Vázquez was very confident in his dealing with the natives; he was even able to free from prison one of the troublemakers from Senar, Pila, who was later the one who took his life. Thinking that the missionary situation in Senar was consolidated, he tried in January 1636 to achieve the same in the rival village of Pantao, located on the other side of the Tanshui River. He told the elders of Senar his plans and found no opposition, so he decided to proceed. Nevertheless, during the evening of that day, the elders gathered to

discuss the matter again and disapproved it. Fr. Vázquez learned somehow of this change of mind, but he went to Pantao as planned to proceed with the foundation of a new mission and was killed on his way by the Senar natives.

The case of Luis Muro was different. Due to a daunting scarcity of food in April of the same year, the governor in San Salvador commissioned the captain in Tanshui to buy rice along the river. A group of soldiers went accompanied by Fr. Muro; but after some days they received news that six sampans from China had brought rice to San Salvador so there was no need to buy more. One group of Spaniards went to Santo Domingo to deliver half the grain they had bought, while four of them, including Fr. Muro, remained by the river where they were guarding the other half. The captain of Santo Domingo was concerned about the security of this small group and sent some reinforcements (20 soldiers and 40 laborers), but on their way back to the fort, the whole group was ambushed by 300 native warriors, who killed some soldiers, laborers and Fr. Muro.

It is difficult to know the real reason why the natives did this. Was it total opposition to the presence of foreigners in their territory? Of course, initial opposition is natural; and, if it were too dangerous to oppose the intruders, they could accommodate them as a temporary measure or even take advantage of their presence. Therefore, were these killings the way the natives responded to concrete (cultural or material) grievances believed to come from the Spaniards? This might have been the case in Senar and the reason behind the killing of Fr. Vázquez. The elders of Senar may have seen in the missionary presence three assets: a protection against the Spaniards of Santo Domingo; a mediator in asking the help of the Spaniards when confronted with any problem, for example, the attack from the Cavalans or those of Pantao; and finally a sign of prestige, because not every village had a missionary. In that case, it makes sense to think that the people of Senar might have considered Fr. Vázquez as a traitor, for planning to extend the mission to Pantao, on the other side of the river, opposite Tanshui.

Possibly the same can be suspected in the case of the killing of Fr. Muro, who may have been considered a mediator for the soldiers that went to buy rice. According to a Dutch report, this action might have been associated with the demand of a yearly contribution of “three *gantas* of rice and two chickens for every married couple” that the Spaniards asked from the natives (SIT, 249). But this reference seems a kind of solipism since Spanish sources do not mention at any moment that taxes were levied upon the natives.² After this success, the natives later continued their offensive against the fortress forcing the withdrawal of the garrison

to Keelung. As a result, Governor General Corcuera became pessimistic in his approach to Formosa (SIT, 256) and ordered the new San Salvador governor, Francisco Hernández, to burn down the Santo Domingo fort and punish the natives of Tanshui (SIT, 272). Peter Kang commenting on those deaths argued that early modern missionaries—unlike their nineteenth-century counterparts—sometimes overestimated their religious progress and ignored their fragile position in the native context. That might be why, when the missionaries moved to other villages for preaching purposes, they were considered as traitors by their earlier converts (Kang 2006, 209–222).

THE RESULTS AT THE END OF THE MING DYNASTY

To measure the success or failure of a mission, we must consider two aspects, the number of converts and the degree of acceptance of the new faith. In normal circumstances this can be known by using the registers of baptism, marriage and so on. But in our case, these were not kept, contrary to the case of the church in Taoyuan that has preserved part of them (Heyns 2005).

For the Spanish mission, figures such as the number of native converts are difficult to evaluate. We have only a general appreciation. People in favor of the mission would try to exaggerate the number of converts, while those against it would be very strict and selective in counting them. For example, in the *junta* (formal meeting) held in Manila in January 1637 summoned by Governor General Corcuera to discuss the situation of Formosa, he regretted the lack of success, saying that only 100 adults were converted. He added, “The Dominicans offered the argument regarding the conversion of the natives to the Catholic faith and about the fruit that they could gather in Japan if trade were to be established there. All these reasons and many others that are greatly related to His Majesty’s service have been disproved in the said eleven years” (SIT, 263). On the other hand, García Romero, who had been governor in Formosa, claimed in the same *junta* that there were 800 converts (SIT, 269); and the Dominican Quirós credited to himself the growth of Christians, during the time of García Romero (SIT, 456). But, in fact, this way of baptizing seems to prove Corcuera right when he said that the Dominicans were baptizing “left and right.” The most optimistic figure was given by one officer that stayed the 16 years of the Spanish presence, Pérez de Rueda. When he was interrogated in 1644, he claimed that in 1642 the number of converts in the friendly towns of Quimaurri, Taparri and Santiago was 1,000 only.

Maybe, the degree of acceptance of the faith was one of the reasons for the disagreement between both figures in the *junta* of 1637. Corcuera was right in being skeptical because the conversions had been made very recently. But looking at the year 1642, the comments of Pérez de Rueda and of the Second Lieutenant Diego Tamargo were more positive in evaluating the success of the mission.

The acceptance of religious faith by the natives is the most difficult to evaluate. Sometimes the missionaries were not satisfied, and they regretted the low level of understanding of their converts, while other times—especially when they had to justify their work—they presented it with very promising results. In measurable terms, was a thousand converts in 16 years too many or too few? If we compare this with the Dutch results of 5000 converts during 40 years, it is possible to say that the figures were similar, since they usually grow along the time in exponential terms. Another way to see it is that both groups claimed the total conversion of the villagers near their headquarters.

Part of the results of their mission is the accomplishment or not of their goal of entering Japan (Borao 2005b) and China (Borao 2010). The Christians in Japan still enjoyed a sense of freedom at the end of the sixteenth century, especially in the southern island of Shikoku because some *daimyos* (nobles) were Christians. But in 1597, the first great persecution of Christians³ took place in Nagasaki on the basis of fearing an invasion from the Philippines. The atmosphere became less tense after the death of Hideyoshi in the same year. Later things calmed down a little and some Franciscans returned to Japan and the Dominicans entered as well. But everything came to an end in 1614 when the shogun Ieyasu, a pious Buddhist, initiated a persecution against Christians, forcing many of them into exile to Macao or Manila. The martyrdoms, not only of missionaries but also of Japanese Christians, continued in Japan, reaching into the hundreds.

The first of the two Japanese Dominicans departing from Formosa to Japan was Hioji Rokuzayemon who had been exiled in Manila since 1614 and became a Dominican in that city. In 1629 he left Formosa and managed to reach Japan. His initial success might have encouraged the second Japanese Dominican, Gorobioye Tomonaga, to try to sneak into Japan. He had also had the same exile experience of Rokuzayemon. He arrived in Formosa in 1627 and left for Japan in 1632, eventually reaching his destination. The hopes of recovering the Japanese mission were reawakened in the Dominicans of Formosa, but they were short-lived. The new shogun,

Tokugawa Iemitsu (1632–1651), was even more radical than his predecessor and laid down the Sakoku policy (1633–1639), which, in addition to some economic dispositions, forbade Japanese to leave the country, isolated Japan and tried to eradicate Christianity. With Gorobioye and Rokuzayemon back in their country, things look timely for Esquivel, and he decided to try his luck, probably unaware of the new Sakoku policy. But the year proved to be fatal. Esquivel was killed just upon his departure and Gorobioye was captured and also killed. To make things worse, Rokuzayemon also underwent martyrdom the following year (1634). Another Japanese, Felipe del Espíritu Santo, stayed in Keelung from 1634 to 1636 most probably waiting for an opportunity but was recalled to Manila (*SIT*, 238). The Dominicans tried again, but now without passing through Formosa. In the summer of 1636, a group of six (four priests and two laymen) left from Manila without the consent of the governor (*SIT*, 275). Two were Japanese, the priest Vicente Shiwozuka de la Cruz and the laymen Lázaro of Kyoto, a leper. They reached Okinawa where they were taken prisoners, and were brought to Nagasaki where they suffered martyrdom in September 1637.

As for the entrance of the Dominicans into China and the resumption of the Franciscan missions in that country, that is another event in the history of the Catholic Church in Taiwan, since it was done via the two bases of Tanshui and Keelung that served as missionary bridges to China. The first one to enter China was an Italian Dominican from Florence, Angelo Cocci, who left Formosa on the last day of 1631 and arrived in China on January 1, 1632. He established a first mission in Fu'an, Fujian Province, and stayed there until his death in 1633. Four months earlier, the Dominican Juan Bautista Morales and the Franciscan Antonio Caballero also entered on the same boat. During those years, other missionaries began entering Fujian from Formosa. For example, the Franciscan Francisco Bermúdez and the Dominican Francisco Díaz went in 1634. In the spring of 1637, the Franciscan Gaspar Alenda arrived in China. Not long after, Francisco Díaz—who had returned to Taiwan for a while—resumed his work in China with two new Dominicans, Pedro Chaves and Juan García. Some Franciscans also went: Francisco Escalona, Onofre Pelleja and Domingo Urquicio. In fact, these three Franciscan missionaries also attempted a trip to Japan in 1634, but when they neared Lequios, they were forced to return to Formosa because of inclement weather.

In any case, in 1637, ten mendicant missionaries were in Fujian having arrived from Formosa, but this situation did not last long because in 1638

a persecution began in China that forced most of the missionaries to leave the country.⁴ This was a period of uncertainty that caused the priests to shuttle back and forth from Formosa. During ten months, between 1640 and 1641, there were no missionaries in Fujian, because the only one remaining, Juan García, had gone back to Formosa with health problems. Certainly, the whole situation changed after their Manila-Quelang lifeline was cut off by the conquest of San Salvador in Quelang by the Dutch in 1642 because the missionaries had to leave the island along with the Spanish forces.⁵

Was it possible for the Dominicans to remain as hidden missionaries to take care of their converted natives as they had tried to do in Japan and were doing at that moment in China? It is difficult to answer this question, because, although Teodoro Quirós had this in mind, either the Spanish officers or his confreres persuaded him not to do it. Probably there were three reasons for abandoning Formosa: first, the fatal experience of what they tried to do in Japan just a few years earlier that only created martyrs; second, the fact that they were already risking it in China where no actual persecution was going on in that particular year, and China was a more populated and vast area than Formosa for hiding; and the third reason might have been that if they remained in Formosa, they would be easily captured by the Dutch, hostile to Catholicism, since the northern area had little in the way of native population.

TWO CENTURIES WITH FEW MISSIONARY ATTEMPTS (1662–1859)

When the Spaniards left the island in 1642 and the Dutch reduced their presence in the China Sea area after 1662, Christianity began to disappear in northern Formosa and then in the whole island. The new attempts of Dominicans in Formosa were two. The first one, in 1666, was coincidental and made by the Italian Victorio Ricci. The second was a formal missionary attempt from Manila in 1673–1674 that subsequently failed.

The Victorio Ricci episode is more an anecdote of an adventurous Dominican priest than a personal plan of establishing a mission. Victorio had a checkered, errant and colorful career “dictated by an inscrutable fate,” as he recalled in his memoirs during his final retirement in Manila (SIT, 581–627). He left Manila for Xiamen in 1655, staying there for seven years, watching the movements of Koxinga* and hearing about the conquest of Dutch Formosa. Up to 1662, Ricci was just a passive spectator

of events, devoted to his mission. Soon after that, however, he got drawn into Chinese events, when he received a personal notification from Koxinga ordering him to go to Anping (modern Tainan in southern Taiwan) for a special mission. He arrived in April 1662. Unexpectedly he found himself appointed as ambassador of Koxinga to the Philippines, something that brought him to different places around the China Sea. Finally, in January 1666, he boarded a ship to Manila which passed first by Keelung, a post that the Dutch had recovered two years earlier. His presence there was providential for the Dutch because he helped them as translator in a negotiation with some Zheng Jing* envoys from Anping. Ricci claimed that this enabled him to regain contact with natives baptized by the Dominicans 20 years earlier before continuing to Manila (Borao 1997).

The Dominicans, as an institution, formally organized an attempt to return to Formosa after 30 years of expulsion. On August 1, 1673, four missionaries set sail for Formosa to explore if it could still be used as a way into China. They were Pedro de Alarcón, who spoke Chinese after several years in the *parián* of Manila, Arcadio del Rosario, Pedro de Alcalá and Alonso de Córdoba. This is mainly based on a short narrative in the official history of the Dominicans, but it refers neither to the places they landed nor to where they stayed. The documents mainly indicate that they were not welcomed by the Chinese, probably because they were based in Tainan and had tried to meet Zheng Jing* (the son of Koxinga*) without success. Since at that moment the Zheng regime enjoyed peaceful relations with Manila, even though the missionaries were regarded by the Chinese as spies, they were tolerated, and granted lodging outside the city, a kind of house arrest. During that time they worked with Christian natives, probably baptized by Calvinist Dutch pastors, as well as with some pagans that had been baptized. Finally, Zheng Jing did not offer them passage to China so they decided to go back to the Philippines in April 1674.⁶

A new, brief and unexpected Catholic presence in Formosa took place at the very beginning of the eighteenth century when a Jesuit led a Chinese team of cartographers there. From 1709 to 1718, a team of Jesuit scholars was commissioned to draw maps of all the provinces of the Empire, and a certain Fr. Mailla was in charge of the province of Fujian and the nearby islands. According to Mateos: “On the third of April in the year 1714, the team sailed from Amoy, escorted by fifteen junks of war with 755 soldiers and 75 officers.” Mailla described minutely the Jesuit expedition to Formosa in a long letter of 85 pages, published in the widely read “*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* of the Jesuit Missionaries” (Mateos 1998). This was

the last recorded Christian presence on the island until the Dominicans resumed their mission in 1859 after 150 years, creating the last Christian wave on Formosa.

The final return of the Dominicans was due to two main developments in mainland China, missionary and political ones, in the first half of the nineteenth century (Fernández 1958, 419–421). First, Pope Gregory XVI reorganized the ecclesiastical administration in China creating Apostolic Vicariates and Apostolic Prefectures. As a consequence, the Dominicans who were in Fujian, Zhejiang and Jiangxi concentrated their apostolate in Fujian, under the governance of Miguel Calderón, who was appointed apostolic vicar and later ordained bishop in 1840.

Secondly, a new scenario was created by the Opium Wars and the succeeding encroachment of colonial powers in China. After the Whampoa Treaty (1844), which legalized the practice of Christianity in China, the French ambassador, Joseph Théodore de Lagrené, managed to transfer the old Portuguese Protectorate of the Catholic missions in China (the so-called Padroado) to France who accepted the responsibility of protecting the missionaries holding French passports as if they were French citizens. From then on, the Catholic Church began to expand and consolidate, as it had done in Fujian, where the Dominicans created several churches along the coastal area of the province, and soon after in Fuzhou and near Xiamen, in Houban (Aupoa) and in the island of Gulangyu. It is worth mentioning, in relation to Formosa, that the church of Gulangyu was erected by Fr. Angel Bofurull, who had been living there since 1852 and seven years later started the mission of Formosa.

Later on, the Tianjin Treaty (1860) opened several Chinese harbors, including those in Tanshui and Dagou (actual Kaohsiung), opening up the possibility of going to Formosa. But, this time the initiative did not come from the Dominicans, but from Propaganda Fide, the Vatican institution promoting missions, that suggested the Dominicans go once again to the island to reestablish missionary work. They prepared the mission for 1859 even though no French consul had arrived in Formosa who might offer some protection. Moreover, it was a real challenge, because at that moment the Beijing agreement ratifying the Tianjin Treaty had not been signed. This treaty, signed in 1860, added that the emperor should return the buildings confiscated from the Church a century earlier and that the missionaries should have the faculty of renting or buying land to build their churches (Fernández 1958, 420).

THE DOMINICANS IN FORMOSA AT THE END OF THE QING DYNASTY (1859–1895)

The final arrival of the Dominicans in Formosa certainly took place in 1859 and laid the foundation of the present Catholic Church there. The missionaries came from Xiamen, and were received amid suspicion and hostility, similar to those in China during the seventeenth century, as, for example, when Cocci went to Fuan in 1630. As was mentioned earlier, the leader was Angel Bofurull, accompanied by the young missionary, Fernando Sáinz, and a few laypeople. The Dominican archives keep vivid accounts of the difficulties of the landing and the first problems they encountered. These were so strong that Bofurull after a few weeks in Formosa decided to go back to Xiamen, entrusting the mission to Sáinz. This Argonian priest was appointed one year later as vicar of the Dominicans, and remained in southern Formosa for ten years, crediting him as the founder of the early mission stations, most of which still exist as regular churches.

Sáinz followed traditional ways of establishing missions. He bought land not only to erect a church but to arrange some lodgings in the surrounding areas for the laymen coming with him. Such dwellings could also host the first converts, giving them the opportunity to till the neighboring rice fields and additionally creating some provisions for the mission. In this way the community of Qianjin (Chienchin) in Dagou (Kaohsiung) was created, with a big church according to the style of a huge Chinese house, surrounded by other buildings for an orphanage, residents, catechists and others. It became a very prominent building in the area, transformed in 1930, during the Japanese colonial times, into neo-gothic style, becoming a real landmark in the nascent city, and 20 years later the cathedral of Kaohsiung.

Sáinz should be also credited for the work among indigenous people, whom he considered more receptive than the Chinese, an opinion also shared by the Protestant missionaries who came a few years later to the south of the island. Sáinz went particularly to the area of current Pingtung, near the mountains, where he founded the mission of Wanjin, a place located two days walking distance from Qianjin, and for security reasons communicated through an intermediate station, facilitating the trips in two nights. In Wanjin, Sáinz established a pious institution called *Socorro de Vivos y Difuntos* (Provisions for Dead and Living Christians), to offer

some land to the natives, not only to solve their economic needs and those of the church but also to prevent the Christians emigrating out of difficulties threatened by their neighbors.⁷

From his letters to the Provincial of the Philippines, some of them published in the *Correo Sinoannamita* (CSA), a clear picture emerges of the social and racial groups he had to deal with in his missionary journeys: the Chinese, either of Fujian or Guangdong ancestry (normally Hakka), usually unfriendly to him, and even hostile to his early success; secondly, the “igorrots” in the mountains, difficult to deal with; and finally the natives of the plain areas, or pingpuzu, located in between the previous groups, and very friendly and receptive. Precisely, in the pingpuzu village of Wanjin (later classified by Japanese anthropologists as belonging to the Paiwan tribe), the year after Sáinz went back to Manila, 1870, a huge Philippine style church was built, with strong walls that remain until today, and two magnificent bell towers erected in 1884, being, at the present time, one of the most relevant historical sites in Taiwan.

Sáinz made other missionary attempts, first in Tainan, the capital of the prefecture, and in Keelung, expecting to find some remaining Christianity from the seventeenth century, as had happened few years earlier in Nagasaki, where the happy and auspicious event of regaining contact with clandestine Catholics who had survived the ban of Christianity was reported around the Christian world. But both attempts of Sáinz ended in failure, especially the second one, where the missions did not return until 50 years later. The case of Tainan was difficult, but still a little continuity can be claimed.

Once the southern missions were consolidated in the 1970s, there was a decade of peace and prosperity (1874–1884) that led to the expansion in the central plains of the island. A first wave of churches took place, Shalunzi (Soa-lun-a)⁸ in 1874, Luocuo (Lo-chhu-chug) in 1875 and Douliu (Taulak, Toroku) in 1882. Besides, in 1883, the Apostolic Vicariate of Fujian, based on Xiamen, was divided between the one of northern Fujian (capital in Fuzhou) and the one of southern Fujian (capital in Xiamen), in which the Dominican missions of Formosa continued to be included, but now becoming more relevant for the reduction of the territory. A second wave of expansion in central Formosa arrived in the decade before the arrival of the Japanese, Francisco Giner being one of the main promoters. First, the church of Puqianglun (Po-kiuu-lun) was erected in 1887, Shuzaijiao (Chiu-a-kha) followed in 1889, Taliwu (Talibu) in 1890, Linzaijie (Na-a-ke) and Yuanlin (Oan-lin) in 1893, Luliao (Lok-liau) in 1893 and finally Tienzhong (Chhang-liong) in 1895.

Parallel to this expansion was the interest in the north of Formosa, which was indirectly induced by the French invasion of Keelung and Tanshui (1884–1885), and the reaction of the Governor Liu Mingchuan*. This governor, the one that faced the French troops, requested from the Qing government that Formosa change its status of prefecture depending from the province of Fujian and become an independent province, divided in three prefectures, something that became effective in 1887. Then, the capital of the island became Taipei (Taipak), a newly designed city between the old Menjia* (Banka) and the most recent Dadaocheng* (Taotiutia). The Dominicans thought that they would establish a church there, but when the moment arrived through an invitation it was cursed by Chinese from Zhounai (present Luzhou) claiming that their ancestors had been baptized in Fujian and that it was they who landed in that place in northern Formosa, establishing in 1887 a church (the present church of Saint Joseph), near the Protestant one. The final endeavor was entrusted to Celedonio Arranz, who also looked immediately for the possibility of opening a new church in Dadaocheng, where after many difficulties he established the one of Saint Peter (the current cathedral of Taipei).⁹

Arranz had to deal with the local authorities, even with Liu Mingchuan, to negotiate for a church based on the favorable legislation of the treaties with China. In fact, these negotiations, incidents or confrontations, as well as the previous ones, were also recorded in Chinese sources as “missionary cases” and well studied by Ku Weiyong (2000) and Shih Li-lan (2000).

CHINESE OPPOSITION: THE MISSIONARY CASES

The missionary cases are usually caused by Chinese suspicions and misunderstandings about the role of the missionaries. Usually they are regarded as foreign government agents, who bring a foreign religion, and whose actions can contribute to social instability. At other times, they are seen as an opportunity to make easy money by kidnapping them, or using them as scapegoat of local conflicts. Usually all these reasons appear—as it was the case for the seventeenth century—mixed in different combinations, making it difficult to categorize the actual cases in a simple classification; that is why we will present them chronologically. The first relevant missionary case happened in 1867, in Wandan, a place between Quianjing and Wanjin where Sáinz was kidnapped by Hakkas who requested a high ransom.¹⁰ The Dominicans went to talk to the magistrate in Tainan, who sent some

soldiers, who did not make any use of force. To reduce hostility, the kidnappers decided to decrease the amount of the ransom to which Sáinz agreed.

In 1868 took place one of the most serious cases, known as the Fengshan incident that happened in relation to a dispute over the British trade of camphor in Tainan. The case is quite complex because different issues in the southern part of Formosa were mixed in at the same time. Summarizing we can say that, first, in Wuqi, a harbor not included in the port treaties, a local magistrate confiscated a cargo of camphor—a product monopolized by the Qing government (Ku 2000, 18)—that had been bought by the British. They complained to the British consul in Tainan, Gibson, who started threatening the Chinese authorities. At the same time it happened that the taotai, or prefect of Formosa, Liang Yuangui, refused to recognize the legality of the purchase of some properties in Tainan by the Dominicans. Simultaneously, similar rumors to those circulating in the mainland were spread against the Catholics, as people that poisoned the water of the wells and some food. This ended in the burning of the provisional church of Saint Joseph of Gouziqian (Kao-a-khi), on April 18, 1868. Three days later, the Presbyterian catechist Gao Zhang, working near Fengshan, was accused in Tainan, where he was passing by, of poisoning his wife and acting like the Catholics. He was beaten and almost died, and his church was burned down.¹¹ At the same time, the Dominican, Herce, who went also to the yamen (the magistrate office) of Tainan, unaware of what had happened to Gao, experienced similar pressure from the people, until he was able to take refuge in the yamen, where he left few days later in the early morning. In this hostile climate, two catechists, one Catholic and other Protestant, were interrogated and put into jail, and soon after the Protestant pastor Zhuang Qingfeng was killed. The British consul talked to the local authorities to restore peace, even with the taotai Liang Yuangui, but without success. Then, he decided to make use of force under his own responsibility and attacked Anping on October 26, 1868, forcing the Chinese authorities to accept his petitions. These included the payment to compensate the military expenses for the loss of the British trading company and for the rebuilding of the two churches. Additionally, it stated the right of residence and work of the missionaries along the whole island and the right of foreigners to travel along any part of the island. Naturally, the imposition of this ruling was not well accepted by the common people, making the missionary work in the south maybe more secure, but less receptive among Chinese, especially after the arrival of the news of the Tianjin massacre, on June 1870.

A new missionary incident can be registered in Wanjin in 1872, while the missionary, Herce, was absent, but this time it was of another kind, more of an intellectual discussion. The Temple of Just, Faithful and Humanitarian Cantonese tried to redeem the Christian converts and bring them back to the ancestral practices. Basically, they said that nothing worthwhile could be found among Catholics and the only interest of missionaries was to take the heart and other parts of the defunct converts in exchange for carrying out their funeral. They even placed a libelous notification in front of the church explaining these ideas. When Herce returned he removed the notification and brought it to the British consul in Dagao (later Kaohsiung); then they went to see the magistrate in Fengshan, who wrote an edict praising the Christian religion to be posted in the same place where the notification had been initially hung. In fact, Catholics of those years could have considered themselves fortunate if they compared their fate with that of other Christians in Fujian, where the pressure was stronger, and sometimes led by the magistrates themselves.

A new incident happened in Laopi, near Wanjin, where some Christians refused to contribute to the *han shi*, the food offered to common ancestors. The pagan relatives opposed the Christian ones, creating two groups ready to fight. Since the mediation of the priest and other Christians failed, they engaged in a preliminary skirmish. Even the local magistrate declared to Clemente, the missionary, that he was helpless, because the people from Laopi were uncivilized. Eventually the skirmish came to nothing but the Catholics fled temporarily from the town, the church was vandalized and the situation became so confused that even the British consul intervened to restore order. The situation calmed down after restoration of some of the stolen property.¹²

We have already mentioned, in 1887, how Arranz's difficulties when establishing his mission in Taipei became almost another missionary case. In this instance, the discussion was more juridical in terms, namely whether the missionary residence accorded or not with the specification of the treaties.¹³ But, in fact, Arranz's main complaint was the lack of personal willingness of the governor of Formosa to grant him permission, justified in different ways, of interpreting the treaties. Examples which illustrate are the validity of his passport (valid in the south of Formosa, but not in the north) and other technical and legal excuses that in the same circumstances applied to him but not to the Protestants. The situation was resolved as were many other similar incidents. Arranz disappeared for a while from Taipei, going to Keelung and Ilan, and after few months beginning his

work again as if nothing had happened. This time he met with success. He bought land in a place that after many years became the site of the cathedral of Taipei.

Before the arrival of the Japanese in 1895, two more missionary cases in central Formosa are worthy of mention. The first happened in 1893 in Changhua, and its main protagonist was the young missionary Nemesio Fernández, who probably, due to his youthfulness and lack of experience, was the most representative of a Europeocentric view. He decided to assume the representation of his Christians in public affairs when and if they did not receive justice. The situation became such that after a short time in Formosa, he appeared to be the leader of a civil militia of catechumens (at least in theory), a situation in which he felt comfortable, in spite of the disapproval of his immediate superiors. A crisis erupted in 1887 and in 1880 when a member of a Chang family tried to burn down a Catholic chapel. The situation developed into ugly opposition to Christianity. Fernández was leading his group hoping to defuse the tension in the area. The case came to the magistrate in Changhua, later to the taotai (circuit military attendant) of Formosa, and even to the Chungli yamen (the Chinese office for foreign affairs), who sent a note to the Spanish ambassador in Beijing, José Delavart, telling him that Fernández was accompanied by 15–20 armed persons.¹⁴ The situation was becoming increasingly serious but was eventually solved through diplomacy when the Chungli yamen requested Delavart to engineer the removal of Fernández from Changhua, an action that was carried out by Perignat, the French consul in Xiamen. In May 1894, both diplomatic sides considered the problem solved.

The last mission case during the Qing dynasty occurred in 1894, in Yuanlin. It was at the moment of registration of the properties for the *baojia* (a community-based system of law enforcement and civil control). The officers in charge of this job when they arrived at the house of the Christian, Zhang Ming, stuck a paper strip on the door of his house saying “believer in a foreign religion.” Everything was done amid so many difficulties, some of which were new for the missionaries, like being accused of being enemies of Formosa, associated with colonial powers, or considered by the Hakkas as intruders in their relation with the natives. On the other hand, this relationship of the missionaries with two different social groups recalls the very problems they encountered with the natives of Tanshui in the seventeenth century, when they crossed the river to preach to the natives in Pantao. Even more, some comments by the nineteenth-century missionaries about aborigines or Chinese were similar to those of the missionaries of the

seventeenth century. Regarding missionary method, some differences can be established in these two periods, like the system of Sáinz of bringing lay missionaries from Xiamen and the idea of buying and providing farming lands for the new converts under an advantageous rental system.

Finally, a way of measuring the results achieved in this second period by the missionaries is the statistical one. This data is clearly recorded in the last pages of every yearly issue of the *Correo Sinoannamita*, and during these years of the end of the Qing dynasty in Formosa, growth was very slow, especially if we compare it with the simultaneous progress made by the Dominicans of the same religious province in Fujian or Vietnam. In the first 25 years of the mission (until 1885), there were a thousand converts (1,052) and in 1901 the figure only reached 1,327. In other words, the growth was reduced to a half, something that might be explained by the upheaval created by the arrival of the Japanese that decimated the Catholics in central Formosa, as we will see in the following chapter, until the “pax japonica” allowed a faster growth.

NOTES

1. The letters *SIT* refer to the collection of documents *Spaniards in Taiwan* (see the bibliography).
2. In 1644, the Dutch asked the chieftain of Quimaurri, Teodoro, if they had paid taxes to the Spaniards. The Dutch recorded: “They did not pay tribute to the Spaniards and this was also never demanded by the latter. They only paid for the candles that were used in the churches. And he, the one who was interrogated, was responsible for the receipts and expenditures of the candles” (*SIT*, 477).
3. This persecution can be traced back to the famous incident of the galleon “San Felipe” (1596). This galleon was going from Manila to Acapulco but suffered a misfortune in Japanese waters. Misunderstandings produced by this incident caused Hideyoshi to suspect the ultimate intention of the Spanish missionaries, which eventually led to the persecution (*SIT*, 24, 26, 35).
4. The same persecution applied to Giulio Aleni, who in 1625, five years before the Dominicans, established the Jesuit mission in Fujian and in 1639 was expelled to Macao.
5. The Dominican presence in Fujian was able to continue notwithstanding some misfortunes, like the deaths of Francisco Díaz in 1646 and Francisco Capillas in 1648. The latter case happened as a result of the disorder created in Fuan by the arrival of the Qing soldiers. In any case, those years of

- Spanish presence in Taiwan consolidated a Dominican missionary network in Fujian, solid enough to be supported from Manila after 1642. A new revival in China came in 1649 when Morales arrived back from a trip to Rome, in the context of the Rites Controversy.
6. Arcadio del Rosario tried again to go to China on 1676, accompanied with another Dominican and two Franciscans, and this time with success, but it is not clear if he used or not the Formosa route.
 7. Letter of Fernando Sáinz, on April 6, 1869. Dominican archives of Kaohsiung.
 8. When citing these churches, we mostly use the pinyin system, followed within the parenthesis by the Roman phonetization used by the missionaries of the Taiwanese pronunciation.
 9. The vivid narration of these episodes can be found in the “Carta de Celedonio Arranz al P. Provincial, en Tam-súi, Toa-tiu-tia, a 10 Agosto de 1887,” *CSA*, XXII (1888), 23–46.
 10. About this incident Ku (2000, 17) consulted Chinese sources, while the Spanish ones can be found in Fernández (1959, 91).
 11. This incident and the previous one can be traced in the “Carta de Andrés Chinchón al Provincial, 5 de enero de 1868,” *CSA*, III (1868): 47–48, as well as the Chinese sources consulted by Ku (2000, 19), basically *Jiaowu jiao'an dang* [教務教案檔] (*JAD*, 1272, 1279). Substantially Spanish and Chinese sources coincide.
 12. The whole story in the long “Carta del P. Isidoro Clemente al P. Provincial; Ban-Kim, a 1 de agosto de 1885,” *CSA*, 1885, 209–226.
 13. The detailed version of Arranz in *CSA*, 1887, 23–46.
 14. Spanish Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (AMAE), H-2537.

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Catholic Church in Taiwan During the Japanese Occupation

Wei-ying Ku

THE TURMOIL DURING THE TRANSFER OF THE REGIME

The signing of the Shimonoseki¹* Treaty between China and Japan in 1895 ended the war between these two countries and also marked the cession of Taiwan to Japan. However, when the Japanese forces came to rule and marched southward to the Yunlin and Jiayi areas, the resistance from the native Taiwanese and aborigines, supported by the Qing government, was very fierce.

Before the Japanese army arrived, there had been many rumors circulating to scare the local people, such as the confiscation of rice fields, the cutting off of queues and tax increases (Richardson 1971, 44). Moreover, a vicious rumor was circulated at the time that two years earlier, the Japanese soldiers, guided by the infamous Fr. Nemesio Fernandez (1866–1895), had come down to the Changhua¹ and Yunlin areas where the abovementioned priest was very active and had come into conflict with the local official. Local people were very scared and the Resistance Army ambushed a group of strayed Japanese soldiers and also destroyed the church in Shalun. The local Catholics ran away and Fr. Giner, the Dominican priest

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in charge, who was accused of collaborating with the Japanese, returned to mainland China. Several other churches were ransacked, especially in Dounan and Shalun. It was only after several months when the situation had settled down and the Japanese were in control that Fr. Giner returned and began to call the Catholics back to their normal life.

The local Catholics of central Taiwan at the beginning of the Japanese occupation were found “dispirited, confused and bewildered at the rapid and unpredictable turn of events.”² They were accused of “collaborating with them (the Japanese) and extending them moral and physical assistance.” The churches of Shalun, Douliu and Taliwu were ransacked, especially that of Shalun (Fernandez 1994, 190). The confusion and misery was clearly expressed in the following description by a contemporary Spanish priest:

In May of last year, for instance, the Japanese falsely accused three of our converts here of conspiring against them. After a trial that was a mockery, they were put to death. The following July, three other innocent Christians met the same fate, this time at the hands of the rebels. These poor souls were shot to death by the Chinese in Taulak (Douliu). God grant us the patience to endure! (Fernandez 1994, 199)

Owing to the heavy losses of the churches, the Catholic Church on December 9, 1897, asked the Minister of Spain in Japan to represent the Catholic Church and ask compensation for damages caused during the two riots in 1895 and 1896. These two riots included the attacks launched by the local people on the churches before and after the Japanese army occupied them. In 1896, the missionaries built several houses which were later taken over by the Japanese army as bases from which to shoot at resistance groups. The Spanish Minister specified the loss of 250 yuan in Taliwu, 130 yuan in Shiguixi, 700 yuan in Douliu, 1600 yuan in Shalun, together with the loss of cash, goods, books, food and some property temporarily deposited by the local Catholics in the churches. In total, he asked 9000 yuan for the whole loss. The Spanish Minister wrote:

*The burning-down and destruction of the missionaries' houses and buildings obviously were because our Church helped to cover and hide the Japanese. The Catholic missionaries in Taiwan are all very civilized and caring for others. We tried to direct the local Chinese to respect and obey the Japanese authorities to meet the demands of Japan. Therefore, it is worth protecting the missionaries.*³

In response to this demand, the Japanese authorities denied and rejected the claim outright, indicating that all the losses were caused by the local people and that the houses were empty before the Japanese army arrived.⁴ They only admitted that they used the church for ten days. And even if the Church could “ask(s) for rent or not,” it had to “follow the standard procedure.”⁵

As a matter of fact, there was a catechist from Changhua, by the name of Zhang Derun, who did help the Japanese army by making indispensable logistic arrangements. This incident, together with other rumors about the Spanish being the guides for the invading Japanese forces, provided very good excuses for the local people to loot local churches and chapels. To further confuse this situation, Japanese soldiers were stationed in the local church buildings using them as shelters. It was not surprising that some church buildings in the area were ransacked not just once, but twice. Since Zhang’s activities were controversial, his identity in Church records is also very confusing. He was mixed up with another catechist by the name of Chen Peiran.⁶

Later, as recompense for his contribution to the Japanese, Zhang was rewarded with a Third Rank Purple Star. It was said he had some influence among the Japanese when they had to find out who among the local people did oppose them. However, he could not save the lives of the three Catholics who were charged with anti-Japanese activities. It took the Japanese about five years to control the greater part of the island.

THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA

When the Japanese came, the Catholic missionaries, like those of the Protestants, were optimistic and welcomed the change. They expected a newly modernized country would behave according to international standards and that they would not suffer from the frequent local harassment and government intervention common under Qing rule. Some missionaries even entertained the idea that the Japanese would remove a major obstacle to the Catholic faith for them:

Perhaps, with the coming of the Japanese, there will be an easier time ahead for the mission. The Japanese have already shown that they do not like the Chinese idols and tablets since they are systematically destroying them. (Fernandez 1994, 198)

Indeed, after the first few years of turmoil, the Japanese colonial government was in good control. The Spanish missionaries could now preach without irrational interruption from the local people and officials. The only complaint was that all the missionaries had to report to the local authorities when they left home. This indicated that the Japanese government strongly intended to monitor the movements of all foreigners. At best, however, the missionaries now felt secure. What they had to do was to vie for converts in competition with the Protestant ministers. This new situation was expressed in the following observation:

Even the Japanese conquerors respect us and our religion. In fact, they consider the Catholic religion to be useful in civil society and regard it as a comfort in times of need and adversity. So highly do they esteem Catholicism that they have declared it one of the three official religions. The other two are Buddhism and Protestantism. (Fernandez 1994, 228)

There were, however, advantages before the Japanese occupation for the evangelization of local people. It was well stated that the natives could “protect their lives and properties by conversion to Christianity” (jie-jiao yi bao shenjia).⁷ With the help of the foreign missionaries, the aborigines could be saved from the bullying of the neighboring Hakka people. The local faithful also occasionally got assistance from the priest when seeking justice from the government. But this advantage disappeared after 1895. Fr. Isidoro Clemente made this remark in his annual report:

Perhaps the natives think the missionaries can be useful to them, perhaps they believe that the missionaries can give them protection.

But the coming of the Japanese has deluded the natives of even this mistaken belief. The Japanese have taken absolute control of everything on the Island, and the missionaries have certainly become powerless insofar as extending protection is concerned (p. 204). Whatever projects the Japanese may undertake, they do not want anybody, much less Europeans like us, to interfere. (Fernandez 1994, 203–204)

Indeed, in a way, Taiwan during the Japanese rule was a “police” state. Policemen were almost omnipresent.

And the sight of so many policemen has made the Chinese realize that if it is protection they need, they can best get it, not from the missionaries, but from the Japanese themselves. (Fernandez 1994, 204)

Almost all aspects of life such as the maintenance of social order, public health, tax collection and even local administration were under the charge of policemen. People now were aware that they could get all the protection they needed from the Japanese authorities rather than from the Spanish priests. This new development reduced the influence of the foreign missionaries in China and was unexpected by optimistic Spanish Dominicans. Consequently, it decreased the influence of the Catholic Church on the island.

When the Japanese consolidated their rule in Taiwan, Taipei as the capital, developed very fast. The Catholic mission had a small church in the business district of Dadaochen in 1887, but it was not suitable so the mission bought a larger tract of land in 1889 and built a church there. In 1898, a typhoon damaged it and Fr. Prat built a new one in the following year (San Roman Perez 2015, 251–252, 255–257). In 1906, Fr. Fernandez Clemente again constructed a new church and completed it in 1907. No sooner had Fr. Clemente celebrated the completion of this church than they got a notice from the government that the new buildings stood in the way of urban planning and half of the buildings should be demolished. This sad news was a huge setback for the missionaries. Fr. Fernandez Clemente tried all means to resist the pressure. He finally asked the Spanish Minister in Tokyo, Ramiro Gil, to negotiate with the central government and in 1911 the government promised to compensate for the loss in a generous way. The church got another piece of land and 40,000 dollars. A new and beautiful church was inaugurated on May 4, 1913 (San Roman Perez 2015, 258–260).⁸ The priests in Taiwan were very pleased with this result as well as satisfied with such a huge sum of money as compensation.

THE APPLICATION FOR THE STATUS OF LEGAL PERSON

The first thing the Dominican priests in Taiwan had to do after the Japanese took over was to seek recognition of ownership of churches and land. After some negotiation in Japan among the Spanish diplomats and the Japanese authorities from 1907 to 1912, the colonial government, finally, through orders and regulations from the Governor-General of Taiwan, recognized the validity of the treaties signed by the Qing prior to the 1894 War and allowed the Catholic Church in Taiwan to keep its land holdings and churches (Takaki 1985, 13–20).

In order to make their status and properties even more secure, the missionaries applied for the formal status of legal person. The first application was denied on the grounds that some of the church land belonged to non-clergy natives. It was feared that controversy might arise later. It was not until 1916, when a further application for the legal person status was made, that the colonial government finally granted it. It was said the Japanese granted it only after the Catholic Church of Taiwan successfully separated from the Apostolic Vicariate of Xiamen and became an Apostolic Prefecture in 1913 (Yang 2014, 153). With the formal establishment of the legal person status, the Dominicans felt secure and their properties protected.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE APOSTOLIC PREFECTURE

The establishment of a Taiwan Apostolic Prefecture was a natural development because, since 1895, the Japanese colonial government wanted to de-sinicize Taiwan. The Catholic Church was still very much part of a larger ecclesiastical organization in mainland China: the Apostolic Vicariate of Xiamen, Fujian province. However, some changes were made. In 1904, the Apostolic Prefecture of Shikoku, Japan, was handed over to the Holy Rosary Province of the Dominicans. A missionary in Taiwan, Fr. Francisco Giner, was appointed as the Apostolic Prefect but asked to remain in Taiwan (San Roman Perez 2015, 426). With an increasing number of Japanese coming to live in this newly colonized territory, among them, some were Catholics who needed spiritual care. In 1909, Fr. Faustino Rodriguez, aged 32, arrived and was asked to take care of the Japanese Catholics (San Roman Perez 2015, 435), but in 1912, he left (San Roman Perez 2015, 438). Later on, in July 1911, the Holy Rosary Dominican Provincial in Manila, PBG Paredes, wrote to the Pope asking to set up a new Apostolic Prefecture in Taiwan, based on the decision made by a council meeting of the Province (San Roman Perez 2015, 438). On July 19, 1913, the Apostolic Prefecture of Taiwan was formally established by Propaganda Fide. On September 2, Fr. Clemente Fernández was appointed as the Apostolic Prefect (San Roman Perez 2015, 438–439). The Catholic Church of Taiwan was now formally separated from the Apostolic Vicariate of Xiamen.

Prefect Clemente had been very active as an evangelist in Taipei before he assumed office in the Prefecture. He had an older brother, Fr. Nemesio Fernandez (1866–1895), also very active in Changhua and Luochu earlier,

who died prematurely and suddenly of cholera in 1895 at the age of 29. Fr. Clemente had challenged the Presbyterian Pastor, Chen Qingyi, during a Protestant gathering regarding Chen's remark on other religions. On another occasion, Fr. Clemente also tried to help a new convert to remove the ancestral tablet and Buddhist statues from his home causing him to engage in a quarrel with his family members. These two incidents created quite a scenario and were reported on in the newspapers.⁹ He was in charge of the church affairs of Taipei when he was appointed Apostolic Prefect in 1913.

Despite its independent position vis-a-vis China, in September 1919 Prefect Clemente went to Fuzhou to meet the Visitor of the Catholics in China, Msgr. Jean-Baptiste Budes de Guebriant, MEP, who was on an information gathering tour. Prefect Clemente's move and report on the church situation in Taiwan to the Visitor of China indicated that the Taiwan church was still very much under Chinese influence. This, no doubt, made the Japanese very uncomfortable. Three months later, Propaganda Fide of the Vatican asked the Taiwan Prefect to leave, in order to "allow the Holy Office to re-define the mission boundaries" (San Roman Perez 2015, 445). In December 1920, Propaganda Fide asked the Superior-General to present three candidates who could speak Japanese to take up the position of Taiwan Prefect. On January 26, 1921, Prefect Clemente announced his resignation. In October, Thomas de la Hoz, the Prefect of the Apostolic Prefecture of Shikoku in Japan, was appointed as the new Taiwan Prefect (San Roman Perez 2015, 447).

CHARITY WORKS AND THE INCOMING OF RELIGIOUS WOMEN AND HELPERS

Since their status was secured and protected by the colonial government, the routine work by the missionaries was continued and further enhanced. One of the works initiated by the missionaries was the care of orphans. As is well known, the Holy Childhood Association was founded mainly for abandoned children, especially for Chinese baby girls. It was founded in France in 1843 by Bishop Charles de Forbin-Janson. The organization had aided many branches over the world, especially in China, and of course Taiwan was included.

Having begun in 1866 with the aid of dedicated Chinese women from mainland China, an orphanage was first built in Tainan, and then the mission opened a Holy Childhood Association office in Kaohsiung

(San Roman Perez 2015, 390). These two institutes led a precarious existence until 1874 when they got strong support from Lyons, France (San Roman Perez 2015, 400). In 1883, a report stated that it took 500 dollars per month to keep the orphanage going (San Roman Perez 2015, 406). Beginning from 1903, several Dominican nuns were dispatched to Taiwan: Sr. Josepha was a Spaniard; Sr. Rosa Remedias was a Philippina (Jiang 2008, 217). Most of them served in the orphanage. Subsequently, in 1903, the children of the Holy Childhood Association in Luochu were moved to Qianjin, Kaohsiung (San Roman Perez 2015, 427). Fr. Francisco Giner formally set up an orphanage of the Holy Childhood in 1907 (San Roman Perez 2015, 432). In addition to the support from Lyons, Japanese officials sometimes visited the orphanage, and, as a result, the orphanage received financial aid from the Imperial household, the Taiwan government and a number of local relief agencies. Statistics showed that in 1875, Luochu set up a branch of the Kaohsiung orphanage (Jiang 2008, 215); in 1914, there were two Holy Childhood Orphanages for 77 girls; in 1917, five of them attended the newly opened Blessed Imelda Girls' School in Taipei (San Roman Perez 2015, 440, 443); by 1939 the orphanages in the island had cared for some 1,333 children (Jiang 2008, 211). A total of 347 were brought up in Luochu by 1940; 180 of these children eventually died because of malnutrition, illness and deformities (Jiang 2008, 215). Most of the orphans were girls. To begin with, the running of the orphanages was mainly by volunteers and wet nurses and later, from 1903, by the Dominican Sisters (Jiang 2008, 218–219; Fernandez 1994, 218).

An important development regarding the evangelization of females and children was the introduction of *Gupo*. These *Gupo* (women catechists, or “*Zhennu*” (Virgins) as they were called in China) did not make public vows like religious Sisters, but worked for the Church for life. Since the priests were male, they needed the *Gupo* to support their evangelization of women and children. At beginning, in 1900, the priests invited two *Gupo* from Xiamen, Fujian, China. These two *Gupo* did very well and in 1906, four more *Gupo* entered Taiwan. Later, the missionaries tried to set up a local training school for *Gupo*. It failed at first, but in 1921, the school took ten volunteers and seven finished the four-year program. Later, in 1926 and 1937, the school continuously produced a total of 16 *Gupo* (Lin 2005, 77–78). Some of the *Gupo* came from the orphanage (Jiang 2008, 213). These female church helpers usually visited the farmers' houses in the afternoon and gathered the wives and children

in the neighborhood to preach. In doing so, the *Gupo* could convert not just individuals but also families. It is recorded that in 1883, there were more than 30 *Gupo* and most of them lived in Luochu (San Roman Perez 2015, 406).

In order to increase converts, the Catholic mission in Taiwan needed the help of catechists. The demand was high so obviously there was a need to open a catechists' training school for both male and female catechists. As early as 1870 and 1871, there were already some young Catholics in Kaohsiung beginning to learn how to become catechists (San Roman Perez 2015, 396–397). In 1873, at Qianjin, Kaohsiung, a school for training catechists was formally set up (San Roman Perez 2015, 399). On May 8, 1904, a new catechist school was established in Luochu, and eight young people attended it (San Roman Perez 2015, 428). In 1907, 17 students enrolled (San Roman Perez 2015, 432) in Luochu, Kaohsiung, Tianzhong and Tainan indicating that the location of the school for the training of these doctrine teachers often shifted. For instance, the forward-looking new Apostolic Prefect, Msgr. Clemente Fernández, moved the catechist school in 1915 from Luochu to Taipei shortly after his installation (San Roman Perez 2015, 440). The country boys who were being trained did not like the big city and, following the death of one of their number, they fled to the south. In 1922, a new catechist school for men and women was built in Qianjin (San Roman Perez 2015, 448).

In May 1923, Fr. Angel Rodriguez went to Tainan from Pujianglun, opening a catechist training school. He successfully raised a fund of more than 8,000 dollars (San Roman Perez 2015, 449). In 1924, again the catechist school moved from Luochu to Taipei (San Roman Perez 2015, 450). In 1927, there were 15 students and, in 1929, 12 (San Roman Perez 2015, 455, 458). In 1933, 11 graduated from the catechist school (San Roman Perez 2015, 461).

THE PRINTING MACHINE AND THE PUBLICATION OF BOOKS

The insufficient number of priests and helpers necessitated the use of printed books. But in what kind of Chinese? It takes “at least six or seven years of rigid schooling” to become literate in Chinese characters. It only needs two or three weeks to learn Romanized Chinese (Fernandez 1994, 247). Obviously the solution was to use a Romanized system to publish books. The competitor of Christianity of the time, the Presbyterians, had

already made use of the press shortly after they came to Taiwan in 1865. They used a Romanized system to publish religious works for the largely illiterate local people and had published a newspaper “Taiwan Church News” in 1885. Probably stimulated by the Protestants (Richardson 1971, 202), the Dominicans in Taiwan in 1903 applied to Manila for a printing machine which was imported the following year. However, due to lack of proper “type,” the machine lay idle for five years, until they created a satisfactory type font. Fr. Manuel Prat gladly reported to the Provincial in Manila:

We are once again able to use the press which was sent to us from Manila five years ago.... Rather, it was because the type that we had did not have the various accents necessary to distinguish one word from another with the same spelling but with a different inflection and a different meaning. You see, my Father, we cannot use Latin characters to print in Chinese unless we can produce a set of type which contains all the required accents. Finally, we managed to assemble a set together. (Fernandez 1994, 246)

With the help of students from the catechist school, they created a set of type and started to print religious books. In March 1927, Fr. Giner of Taichung published a hymn book in Taiwanese (San Roman Perez 2015, 453).

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BLESSED IMELDA GIRLS’ SCHOOL

One of the most significant contributions of the Roman Catholic mission to the field of education was probably the buildup of the Blessed Imelda Girls’ School in Taipei.¹⁰ The Spanish mission in Taiwan requested of their Provincial in Manila to establish a girls’ school in 1909 and the plan was approved in 1914. Msgr. Clemente Fernandez, the first Apostolic Prefect of Taiwan, was commissioned to buy land and build the school. He began to work on this project in 1916. First, he was able to acquire an ex-wine factory, borrowing 60,000 dollars from the Holy Rosary Province to build the school. The Spanish mission also promised to provide 8,000 dollars annually to support it. On November 5, 1916, permission was granted by the government to open the school (Ku 2008a, 116). The school was inaugurated on April 16, 1917. Several well-educated Japanese female teachers were hired. It was run by Dominican Sisters, five of whom came to teach at the school. The students were taught music, painting, handicrafts and English courses (Okuni 1941, 389–392). It had two classes; one

was junior high school level and the other high school level. The total number of students was 158, among them, three quarters were Japanese girls. The courses were mainly the languages of Japanese and Western countries, domestic service courses mainly training young girls to be “competent wives and good mothers” to serve the country. Of course, some Christian doctrine was taught, but restricted and monitored by the colonial authorities. In late 1922, the government issued a new regulation to control private schools under local government. Blessed Imelda Girls’ School was closed down on October 31, but reopened on November 8 under the name of “*Sili Jingxiu nuxuexiao*”; the whole program was extended from three years to four. In 1934, new courses in typewriting were added to the curriculum, and a three years’ program was again included. In 1936, to cut off all relationship between the church and the school, the president, Prefect Thomas de la Hoz, was suddenly replaced by a Japanese lawyer, Komiya Motonosuke. From then on until the end of the war, the president of the school was Japanese.¹¹ However, the Dominican sisters were still de facto running the school.

This school was the only private school operating during the Japanese occupation. It was particularly famous for sports, especially tennis and table tennis. In 1935, the enrollment was 740 students taught by a staff of 22 (Richardson 1971, 143–146). In all, it had 2,113 high school graduates and 327 domestic service graduates. Every year it took only 120 students, but the applicants numbered 585 in 1940 and 652 in 1941. This girls’ school was the one many people wanted their daughters to enter (Jiang 2008, 210).

In general, the Blessed Imelda Girls’ School has served society and the Church well. It has produced many remarkable citizens and has a good reputation. It also had a good record in sports competitions. This school is still open today and several famous women have been educated there.

SOME OTHER DEVELOPMENTS BEFORE THE WAR

The growth in the number of converts was slow. One priest had come to a conclusion:

I have realized that the evangelization of Formosa cannot be anything but a slow, tedious and painstaking process. I have realized that, for the natives, it is most difficult to grasp the eternal verities of our faith. (Fernandez 1994, 203)

However, as could be seen, the Church was still making efforts to evangelize. Some events are worth mentioning.

The year 1927 saw the entry of several Dominican missionaries from nearby Fuzhou seeking refuge in Taiwan due to the turbulence in China caused by the Northern Expedition. A hospital was rented for them for rest and recuperation (San Roman Perez 2015, 454). In August an American educated Japanese Dominican, Pio Yoshitoku Futagami, joined the community increasing the number of the priests to 13 (San Roman Perez 2015, 454). The priests made every effort to make the best use of modern technologies and inventions to attract people to the faith. The organization of a youth musical band was one, and movies were another.

Some of the Spanish priests were music lovers and they came up with the idea of importing modern Western musical instruments and organizing the local young Catholics to form a musical band for religious occasions. As early as 1917, there was a report that the band from Kaohsiung was entertaining those who attended Fr. Francisco Giner's evangelical meetings (San Roman Perez 2015, 443). Later, in the 1930s, another band was organized in Luochu, central Taiwan. In addition to playing on religious occasions, these bands were also hired by others for different secular activities (Jiang 2008, 152).

As for movies, a priest reported vividly about this new attraction for the people.

Recently, we conducted a series of conferences which lasted several days... During the first three nights of the conferences, no less than four thousand people attended. The primary attraction for them was the moving pictures that we showed. Our movie projector is indeed worth its weight in gold for without it, we would be unable to draw such big crowds. (Fernandez 1994, 270–271)

Another significant development was the completion of a small but beautiful Gothic church building in 1929. Since it was located in the district of Kabayama, it was called Huashan Tang. This district was in memory of Kabayama, the first Governor-General of Taiwan. The church was to serve only Japanese Catholics (San Roman Perez 2015, 455). It was located close to the government center and was run by a Japanese-speaking priest. Local faithful usually did not go there. Apparently the Taiwanese were not encouraged to mingle with the Japanese. In 1935, the Prefect called for the establishment of a branch organization of Catholic Action in the respective missionary posts to help with evangelization since the

number of catechists was insufficient. By the end of that year, nine branches with youth members had been set up (San Roman Perez 2015, 464). In 1936, the Provincial ordered all the missionaries in Taiwan to learn Japanese (San Roman Perez 2015, 466). In 1939, an international event occurred: the World Eucharistic Conference met in Manila and five priests, several local Catholics and about 15 *Gupo* (Woman catechists) participated (San Roman Perez 2015, 468).

ATTEMPTS TO DEVELOP A NATIVE CLERGY

In 1917, a visitation by the Superior-General, Fr. Luis Theissling, took place after which he suggested that a mission council and a Prefect council should be set up. A school for training catechists should also be founded and, not least, a magazine should be published for the benefit of the local Catholics (San Roman Perez 2015, 443).

The Catholic missions in Taiwan knew the importance of catechists and their training. As early as October 12, 1873, a school for training catechists had been set up in Qianjin, Kaohsiung (San Roman Perez 2015, 399), but after only one year, some students quit, creating quite a setback for the priests. Almost ten years later, some priests still thought it would be good to hire some well-educated Catholics to replace the catechists (San Roman Perez 2015, 400; 405). The school remained open and was even gradually extended. In April 1905, Fr. Prat opened a new catechist training school in Luochu and admitted 14 students (Okuni 1941, 346). The students increased to 17 two years later (San Roman Perez 2015, 432). In 1915, this school moved to Taipei when Fr. Prat was transferred there (Jiang 2008, 188). One missionary reported that in 1928 there were 20 male and 17 female catechists working and 3 schools for male (Jiang 2008, 204–206)¹² and 9 schools for female catechists in training (Fernandez 1994, 261).

In general, the female catechists performed better than the males probably because the salary of 30 pesos per month could not attract competent male catechists. “The women do infinitely better work” (Fernandez 1994, 261). However, several very effective male catechists contributed a great deal to further evangelization during the Japanese rule. The most outstanding were Zhang Derun, Zhang Lishan, Pan Fuqiu, Fang Dengke, Huang Chongyi and Li Tingfei, among others (Jiang 2008, 202–206). As a matter of fact, the first local priest was originally an aspirant catechist.

The Dominicans in Taiwan got off to a rather late start in their attempts to develop a native clergy (Richardson 1971, 147). The first native-born young man to be ordained a priest in over 80 years of Dominican missions in Taiwan was Fr. Tu Mingzheng* (1906–1982).

A grandson of the first Catholic in Luochu, Tu Xin (1833–1910) was first sent to the catechist school in Tainan in 1923. The next year he met the then visiting Msgr. Prat of Xiamen, who had been Tu's parish priest years back in Luochu. Msgr. Prat took this 18-year-old boy to the minor seminary in Xiamen, and later in 1931 sent him to Hong Kong to study in the Hua-nan Major Seminary. On December 19, 1936, Tu was ordained a priest and returned to Taiwan two days later. On New Year's Day, 1937, Fr. Tu said his first Mass in his home town Luochu. All the priests on the island together with more than 2,000 people attended this first Eucharist ceremony. "In sum, this festival occasion had never been seen before in the whole Island. It was indeed a glorious historical moment!"¹³ Fr. Tu joined the mission in Taiwan and was assigned to various places to do church work. Later, in 1942, he became a close friend of Msgr. Satowaki and his successor after the War (Ku 2008a, 183).

In 1926, a minor seminary in Douliu was set up. Fr. Felipe Villarrubia was in charge of the four students. Three of the four had to be dismissed the following year for incompetence, and the remaining boy plus another were sent to Xiamen to continue their studies in Latin and Chinese. In September 1930, they were sent to a university in Tokyo. However, both had to return home in 1934, one because of poor health, the other because of poor academic performance (Okuni 1941, 289).

In 1931, another attempt was made in Tianzhong with five students. One student soon dropped out while two of the remaining four were first sent to Fukuoka seminary and later to Matsuyama, Shikoku, to continue their studies for the priesthood; they later changed their mind and returned home. Meanwhile the classes in Tianzhong continued with two more students joining in 1933 and four more in 1934. Three of the seven gave up. Later in 1937 this minor seminary was moved to Taipei along with Fr. Villarrubia, who continued to teach them Latin and music. Teachers from Blessed Imelda Girls' School taught other courses. Three of them were sent to Tokyo seminary. In April 1938, eight new students entered the minor seminary in Taipei, under the direction of Fr. Tomas Pascual (Okuni 1941, 289–291), and four of them in May left for Tokyo to study in the seminary there (San Roman Perez 2015, 469). Among the seven studying in Tokyo, only two were eventually ordained

on September 29, 1944, in Tokyo returning to Taiwan at the end of World War II (Jiang 2008, 233–234), Fr. Li Tianyi* from Yunlin and Fr. Li Weitian from Qianjin.

THE CHURCH DURING THE GREAT EAST ASIAN WAR

After the Mukden Incident in 1931, the Japanese army gradually gained influence inside Japan and became more aggressive in mainland China. In 1937, the war between China and Japan broke out and Japan was on its way to launch the Great East Asian War. In order to win the war, it had to tighten up internal control. One way to achieve this was to enhance the worship of Shinto and Tenno. This policy inevitably caused tension between the State and Church. The latter was still controlled by Western clergy who strongly opposed worship of any “idols.” This kind of rites controversy was solved, at least on the Catholic side in the late 1930s. However, later development of religion policy imposed a straitjacket on the Catholic Church. The growth of the Christian church stagnated.

On October 12, 1940, in order to mobilize all the resources and personnel available for the War, Japanese government set up the “Organization supporting the Great Polity” (*taiseiyokusankai*). Additionally, in April 1941 the Japanese colonial government established the Public Service Association of the Imperial Subjects (*kominhokokai*) (Xu 1999, 167–211). Accordingly “Units of Public Service” were set up in all neighborhoods. Later that year, when the Religious Organization Law (*syukyoudantaihou*) came into effect, a Japanese priest replaced the Spanish Prefect. In August 1942, the Public Service of Christianity in Japan (*nihon kirisitokio hokokai*) was established. All foreign religious personnel came under surveillance; church buildings were sometimes expropriated for military use. Regular church activities were permitted but evangelization inevitably slowed down.

STATE-CHURCH RELATIONSHIPS

During the first half of the Japanese occupation years, Church-State relations in Taiwan had been smooth, largely because the Japanese government wanted her colony to be a showcase for other imperialistic countries. It would demonstrate the success of Japan’s modernization in state-building. It tolerated the existence of different religions and supported law and order. Under this situation a middle school for girls was

established and an orphanage managed by the Holy Childhood Association was financially supported by a variety of Japanese official and private foundations.

But when, in 1929, the World Depression set in, the situation changed. The economy of Japan suffered and social discontent rose to a high point. The military sector was not happy with the liberal government. After the Mukden Incident in 1931, the Guandong army in Manchuria took over power and replaced the civil government. To mobilize all available resources for military action in East Asia, the Japanese military government instilled a strong dose of nationalism into the minds of the subjects of the Japanese Empire. The Imperial Rescript on Education issued in 1890 exhorted respect for authority and emphasized loyalty to the Japanese Empire.

All students in schools had to listen to the Rescript on holidays and many other occasions. (Richardson 1971, 167–171)

A key development affecting Church-State relationships was the forced attendance of all school children at the Shinto shrines. It is said that in 1911 there was an

unofficial instruction of the Minister of Education regarding shrine attendance, ordering that school teachers should conduct their pupils in a body to public shrines and there do obeisance before the altars.... The government was reported to require attendance at the shrine once annually as a condition of government recognition of the school. (Richardson 1971, 172)

These demands on the Christian students caused intense tension between the Church and state. The situation eased, however, when on September 30, 1932, the Vice Minister of Education stated that

making students perform shrine worship has an educational basis. The solution required in the case of student groups is nothing but an expression of patriotism and loyalty.

The Shinto shrine attendance issue was completely solved when a letter from Propaganda Fide was sent to Bishop Marella, the Apostolic Delegate in Tokyo stating that

while Catholic doctrine cannot be changed, Japanese Catholics have the duty to recognize what is good in the Japanese national spirit. (Richardson 1971, 173)

Following this, there was a more important development regarding the age-old “Rites Controversy” in China. On May 28, 1935, the Vatican admitted that participation in Confucian rites was cultural and patriotic in nature and not religious. It was first time in 230 years that the ban on rites to Confucius and the ancestors had been lifted. By the same token, one year later, attendance at Shinto shrines was also permitted. Catholics in Taiwan were now free of Church-State tension (Richardson 1971, 181). Unlike the loss of the Canadian Presbyterians’ two middle schools in Tanshui due to their rejection of shrine attendance, the Catholic Blessed Imelda Girls’ School continued to function (Richardson 1971, 182–183).

THE REPLACEMENT OF THE APOSTOLIC PREFECT AND WORLD WAR II

In the late 1930s when military forces gradually gained power in the Japanese government, nationalistic conservatism gained strength. Shintoism was emphasized and anti-Western sentiments increased. In Japan, the prelates of the Catholic Church were mostly Western. When the Great East Asian War began, the military government of Japan wanted Japanese or local clergy to replace all Western bishops, Apostolic Vicars and Prefects. It was under this pressure that in 1941, the archbishop of Tokyo asked the Prefect of Taiwan, Thomas de la Hoz, to resign (San Roman Perez 2015, 473). Shortly afterward, a young Japanese priest was appointed to take up his position (Fig. 3.1). According to the Spanish record:

His name was Fr. Jose Satowaki. He was thirty-seven years old and a graduate of Rome. What made him acceptable to the Japanese was that he was Japanese himself. He was installed on July 2. He came from Nagasaki and was educated in Rome. (Fernandez 1994, 275)

Msgr. Joseph Asajiro Satowaki* was born in a seashore suburb of Nagasaki which had been an active place for underground Catholicism (kirishitan) for more than 200 years. He came from a traditional Catholic family and was sent to the Urbana University in Rome before he served in

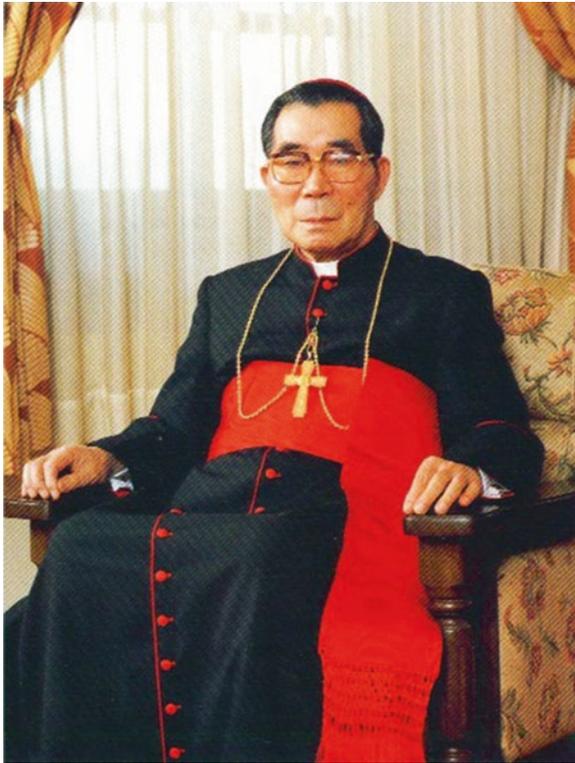


Fig. 3.1 Msgr. Joseph Asajiro Satowaki*, later Cardinal Satowaki, the Apostolic Prefect of Taiwan (1941–1946) (picture use by special permission of Nagasaki Archbishop Takami Mitsuki)

his hometown as a parish priest. As we can imagine, Fr. Satowaki was suddenly assigned to an unwelcome place to lead a dozen foreign priests who were mostly older than he was. He had a hard time, at least at the beginning (Ku 2008a, 203–245). After he assumed office, he went with Fr. Tu Mingzheng, the only native parish priest, to visit all the churches on the island. On July 12, they arrived in Kaohsiung and celebrated a Mass the next day at the Holy Rosary Church (San Roman Perez 2015, 473). Since Kaohsiung was a naval base, and later during the War closed to foreign missionaries, it was only natural for a Japanese prelate to settle down there. As a result, Kaohsiung, rather than Taipei, became the new seat of the

Prefecture, and Tianzhong in central Taiwan was the seat of the Vicar of the Holy Rosary Province. Distance could ease the tension between the Japanese Prefect and senior Spanish missionaries.

As early as in April 1941, several Spaniards were forced by the Japanese to leave their missions in Keelung and Kaohsiung, the northern and southern port cities, and Wanjin, because these were sensitive strategic places during the War (Richardson 1971, 191–192).

On December 8, 1941, when the Pearl Harbor attack began, Fr. Toribio Tobar, who had come to Taipei for a retreat, Fr. Gabriel Ormaechea, the mission procurator, and Fr. Montero were in the Taipei mission. That afternoon, an incident occurred. According to Fr. Montero's description:

At two o'clock that afternoon, a detail of secret servicemen pounded on our door and sought admission. They searched the house, left no box or corner uninspected. They were particularly assiduous in their search of the Father Procurator's room and they carried away all documents and papers which they alleged, constituted proof that we were doing espionage work for their enemies. Among those things they took away were the letters that we had received from Manila and the United States.

They allowed us to stay in our house, but they kept us incommunicado, forbidding all—Christian or non-Christian—from communicating with us in any way. They locked all our doors and constantly, tirelessly, they made sure that policemen kept watch over us.

The Dominican sisters in the convent were not spared either. They were interned in the old seminary. Only Sister Yamauchi, who was Japanese, escaped internment. (Fernandez 1994, 276)

The priests and sisters were kept under house arrest for a few days and later were allowed to pray together. However, the Mass was still not allowed since the Japanese feared that during Mass the priests could communicate with the local Catholics. The restriction on religious men and women only softened after the Italian counselor intervened, reminding the Japanese of relationships with Generalissimo Franco in Spain (Richardson 1971, 192–193).

In other parts of the island, the Spanish missionaries also encountered trouble of varying degrees. Shortly after the Pearl Harbor attack, on December 19, 1941, the colonial government announced that all foreigners had to leave Kaohsiung. However, after the new Prefect Satowaki

intervened, this order was canceled. Nevertheless, Frs. Julián Villegas, Felipe Villarrubia and Tomas Pascual were imprisoned. Fr. Villegas was even lost to communication for two months (San Roman Perez 2015, 473). Fr. Jose Arregui of Taichung was kept in jail for more than two weeks (Richardson 1971, 192–193).

To “protect” the Spanish priests who were posted in local areas, Fr. Jose Villaverde of Tainan, Buenaventura Gordaliza and Marcelino Delgado of Pujianglun, Fr. Felix Sanchez of Douliu and Fr. Faustino Saez Munoz of Shuzaijiao were all asked to come to Chiayi to live together and be guarded by policemen (San Roman Perez 2015, 473).¹⁴ One thing worth mentioning was that two nuns of Japanese nationality were allowed to travel around without being interned. They were Srs. Yamauchi Tomo and Sakamoto Kosuma (Fernandez 1994, 276). Thanks are due to both nuns who helped the Catholic churches in Taiwan a great deal during the War.

The situation improved even more when the Spanish priests were able to get help from an insider. Again, Fr. Montero:

When the war was a little over three months old, a Japanese Christian took over as chief of police of Taipei. His name was Okuni and we thought of seeing him and asking his permission to carry on our missionary duties.... Our optimism was justified since we found Mr. Okuni most accommodating. (Fernandez 1994, 277)

Generally speaking, the days during the war were not too bad since Japan was on good terms with Generalissimo Franco in Spain. If a priest had to leave his home base, he had to ask special permission and a secret police officer would accompany him (San Roman Perez 2015, 473).

On May 17, 1942, Prefect Satowaki got a helping hand. Fr. P. Furukawa arrived in Taipei and replaced Fr. de la Hoz as the parish priest of the Kabayama Church, taking care of local Japanese Catholics. Fr. Thomas de la Hoz left Taipei for Luochu (San Roman Perez 2015, 475).

On September 22, 1943, the Catholic Church in Taiwan opened a new organization for local religious women. At the end of this year, Prefect Satowaki was also drafted to military service. However, he was sent to Taipei only for a very short period of time. From October 14, 1944 on, the bombardment of the island of Taiwan began and became serious. The priests gradually retreated to the countryside for safety. Thomas de la Hoz went to Fr. Faustino Saez Munoz, Luo Ursino Gonzalo Adamez went

from Chiayi to Shuzaijiao, Angel Rodriguez from Chiayi to Douliu, where Fr. Sanchez lived, and Toba to Luochu, together with the other nuns. Fr. Furukawa left from Taipei to Tianzhong where Fr. Julián Villegas stayed and Fr. Li Tianyi to Shuzaijiao (San Roman Perez 2015, 478). On October 25, 1944, the Japanese army occupied the Catholic Church building of Wanjin, Pingtung (San Roman Perez 2015, 477). All these arrangements were obviously not beneficial to evangelization.

The American bombing at first was mainly on military targets, but from

January 3, 1945 began what is called the great daily bombing until the end of the war; the targets included transport (forty per cent knocked out), alcohol, sugar and pineapple factories (ninety per cent destroyed) and all government buildings. The cities of Taipei, Hsinchu, Tainan and Kaohsiung were very badly hit, while the railway stations at Taipei, Jiayi, Xinzhu and Tainan were almost destroyed. (Richardson 1971, 194)

Some church buildings were not spared by the bombing. The church houses in Tainan and Chiayi were damaged but the beautiful church in Taipei suffered most. On May 31, 1945, “one plane let loose a high-explosive bomb which plummeted straight down to the foot of the tower of the church” (Fernandez 1994, 280). Almost all the church and its surrounding houses were reduced to rubble. Frs. Arregui and Ormaechea miraculously escaped death on the spot.

Given this precarious situation, further evacuation to a safer countryside place seemed necessary. Frs. Arregui, Ormaechea and Toribio Tobar and all nuns in Taipei were sent to Luochu in central Taiwan. “The priests of Chiayi split up, Fr. Angel Rodriguez, the Vicar Provincial, going to Douliu and Fr. Urino Gonzalo making his way to Shuzaijiao. Also going to Shuzaijiao was Fr. Jose Villaverde who had earlier stayed in Tainan” (Fernandez 1994, 282). Fr. Montero went to Tianzhong (Fernandez 1994, 281–282). One more thing worth noting is that many local Catholics in the south, especially from Kaohsiung and Tainan, since they had married into Catholic families of Shuzaijiao, Tianzhong and Pujianglun in central Taiwan, were also evacuated to their Catholic relatives in the Yunlin and Taichung areas to avoid the bombing.¹⁵ A war, especially an international war, is clearly detrimental to evangelization.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the Catholic history of Taiwan, it is fair to say that, from the perspective of Church development, the Japanese occupation beginning 1895 is a turning point. Now it seems time to look back over the development during this period.

An observation on the comparison between the Scottish Presbyterian church and the Spanish Catholic church of 1936 in Tainan made by a Spanish priest seems to be a truthful representation of these two religions in Taiwan as a whole.

It was in Tainan that the Protestants built their magnificent hospital. It was here that they founded schools for catechists, here that they set up a printing press for the publication of their own magazine. It was here, in other words, that they dazzled the natives with an impressive display of their wealth.

In poor contrast, the Catholic missionaries could offer nothing—no hospitals, no schools, no resources. In the beginning, it is true, we had a humble residence, but we were forced to close it, partly because of the hostility and antagonism of the Chinese mandarins, partly because of the lack of personnel to carry on catechetical work.

The Protestants have had a great head start on us, but we are not discouraged. We are continuing, in our small, humble way, the work which our predecessors in Tainan began, and we have brought together a small Catholic community which, we are proud to say, increased by five new members this year. (Fernandez 1994, 271–272)

The Roman Catholic mission grew quite slowly during the 50 years of Japanese occupation of Taiwan, beginning with little more than 1,000 members (including children) in 1895–2,000 by 1904, 6,000 by 1929, 7,000 by 1933 and about 10,000 by the end of the Japanese regime. This was an average increase of 180 per year and if children were included the rate would be somewhat higher. For instance, in the early 1930s the natural increase would average 250–300 (due to the larger number of Catholics), while the rate of conversions would remain 150–200 (Richardson 1971, 165).

There are no detailed or complete statistics regarding new converts from 1859, only a roughly estimated 2,000 baptized in 1889 and around 1,100 still surviving (San Roman Perez 2015, 413). After the Japanese stabilized their rule in Taiwan, the calculation became more accurate and specific. In 1904, the total number of the Catholics was 2,045 against the

total number of Taiwan's population of 3,123,000 in 1905 (San Roman Perez 2015, 428–429). In 1912, there were 3,270 among the total population of 3,280,978 (0.099%) (San Roman Perez 2015, 438). In 1914, Catholics numbered 3,452, while among them 65 were Japanese and 15 others were foreigners. That year there were 226 newly baptized, among them 70 adults (San Roman Perez 2015, 440). The report of 1925–1926 shows that there were 5,501 Catholics, about 0.151% out of 3,634,828 (San Roman Perez 2015, 452). In 1929, Catholics increased to 6,150 (San Roman Perez 2015, 457). In 1937, Catholics numbered 9,040 out of a population of 5,108,914 (0.17%), 550 more than last year (San Roman Perez 2015, 469).

It seems not too far-fetched to estimate that the total number of Catholics in Taiwan around the time of the Japanese surrender in 1945 was about 10,000 local converts, whereas the total Taiwan population was about 6 million. The percentage of Catholics in Taiwan was about 0.00166. It is not easy to calculate the newly baptized everywhere; however, the record showed that usually there were more than 200 annually, and sometimes the number went up to 500 in a year. As far as the number of converts was concerned, evangelization during the Japanese period was even better than today.

In sum, 41 priests served in Taiwan during those 50 years. Among them, 37 were Dominicans, 1 Japanese parish priest and 3 Taiwanese parish priests. During the first half of the Japanese colonial period, an average of 11 priests worked on the island. It increased during the latter half of the colonial period but there were always fewer than 20 working at any given time. The number of newly built churches or renovation of churches during this period reached 26. All over the island, only Taoyuan,¹⁶ Miaoli, Yilan and the eastern part were not covered by the Catholic mission.

It is true that at the beginning of the Japanese era, many missionaries were optimistic regarding future evangelization, expecting that there would be less interference and obstruction by the government. Society would be stable and beneficial for the spread of Christianity. However, there were also some disadvantages for the missionaries. For one thing, local people were used to seeking protection and support from the Catholic priests; these were now to lose their local influence. They were no longer attracting a large number of followers. The missionaries had to find other ways and employ more helpers to make new converts.

Three catechist training schools were set up. They produced several dozen male and female catechists around the island. The *Gupo* (woman catechists), first imported from China, at one point numbering around 30, also helped in a variety of church works. An orphanage of the Holy Childhood Association accommodated around 60 orphans in Kaohsiung.

More than 80 years after the second coming of the Catholic Church to Taiwan in 1859, there was finally a single local seminarian ordained in 1936, Fr. Raymond Tu Mingzheng, who was conscious of being the first native priest and very proud of it (Ku 2008b, 219–221). Later, he grew close to the Japanese Prefect, Satowaki, and succeeded him after the War. Thanks to his effort, the Catholic Church in Taiwan survived another change of regimes. Two more local priests, trained and ordained in Tokyo, joined the native clergy only in the last year of World War II.

An esteemed girl's middle school was built during this period. Blessed Imelda Girls' School was a contribution to the Catholic mission in education during the Japanese rule. It helped produce thousands of well-educated young women. One of the graduates, Lin Huanliang, was outstandingly significant for the conversion of many aborigines in the 1950s (Ku 2008b, 149–150).

After comparing the different developments between the Presbyterian and Catholic churches during the Japanese colonial period, a scholar made the following observation:

When examining their individual contributions to the intellectual, material and spiritual well-being of the people in Taiwan, a necessary conclusion is that the Roman Catholic mission just did not have missionaries in Taiwan of the high caliber which some of the Protestant missionaries exemplified. Men like Fathers Francisco Giner and Celedonio Arranz made magnificent contributions to the mission and to the life of the people, but they did not have the overall impact of men like the Rev. Thomas Barclay, Campbell Moody, David Landsborough and William Campbell. (Richardson 1971, 202–203)

It is true that the Presbyterians dispatched many high caliber missionaries: medical doctors and educators, to Taiwan. They opened hospitals and set up schools. To manage these, institutes kept a number of missionaries very busy who otherwise would have been evangelizing. But by doing social work, they attracted many more local people to their religion and in general contributed more to the social welfare of the island as a whole. The Roman Catholic missionaries, by contrast, had just one girls' middle

school to take care of and “consequently lacked the social prestige which the Protestants enjoyed because of their schools and hospitals” (Richardson 1971, 201). However, the Catholic missionaries could concentrate on evangelization alone and used their rather limited resources and personnel to the full.

In short, it seems fair to say that in the 50 years of Japanese colonialization, thanks to the efforts made by the Holy Rosary Dominicans, the number of local Catholics increased from around 2,000 to almost 10,000 with only about 40 priests working everywhere. The Catholic Church in Taiwan during the Japanese occupation laid the foundation for the future swift development. The faith spread to the eastern seaboard and the Taoyuan-Hsinchu-Miaoli area where the Gospel did not reach before 1945. Today the Catholic Church has seven dioceses all over the island and is a very robust community with about 250,000 faithful. This achievement would not have been possible had the Spanish Dominican missionaries not made such courageous and strenuous efforts during the Japanese occupation.

APPENDIX 3.1

The vicar provincials of the Dominicans of the Holy Rosary in Taiwan during the Japanese occupation (Adapted from Richardson (1971), San Roman (2015) and Jiang (2008))

1894–1899 Isidoro Clemente
 1900–1905 Francisco Giner
 1906–1909 Manuel Prat Pujoldevall
 1909–1910 Toribio Tobar
 1910 Tomas Pascual Allende
 1911 Celedonio Arranz
 1914 Manuel Prat Pujoldevall
 1915–1916 Tomas Pascual acting
 1917–1919 Angel Rodriguez
 1919 Buenaventura Gordaliza acting
 1922–1926–1929 Tomas Pascual
 1929/April to May, Francisco Giner
 1934 Julián Villegas
 1939 Angel Rodriguez
 1945 Francisco Giner acting

Catholic missionary personnel in Taiwan (1895–1945)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Time in Taiwan</i>	<i>Dates of birth and death</i>
Ramon Colomer	1866–1875, 1882–1903	1842–1906
Celedonio Arranz	1879–1905	1853–1922
Isidoro Clemente	1883–1900	1853–1915
Francisco Giner	1886–1919, 1923–1946	1863–1946
Nemesio Fernandez	1890–1895, 1895	1866–1895
Jose M. Álvarez	1895–1904	1895–1937
Leon Gallo	1895–1896	1870–1898
Tomas Masoliver	1896–1900	1864–1922
Manuel Prat	1898–1916	1873–1947
Tomas Pascual	1898–1912, 1916–1929, 1938–1952	1872–1961
Angel Rodriguez	1898–1936, 1939–1945	1873–1945
Toribio Tobar	1898–1952	1873–1956
Pedro Prat	1898–1907	1872–1930
Buenaventura Gordaliza	1902–1950	1874–1950
Juan Beovide	1902–1928	1874–1928
Clemente Fernández	1903–1920	1879–1952
Justo Sasián	1903–1918	1879–1952
Felipe Villarrubia	1904–1933, 1936–1960	1878–1960
Faustino Rodriguez	1909–1912	1877–1966
Eutimio Pérez	1914–1923	1889–1938
José Gavilian	1916–1917	1891–1964
Felix Sanchez Muñoz	1917–1949	1892–1961
Gabriel Ormaechea	1918–1961	1880–1961
Julián Villegas	1921–1989	1897–1989
Thomas de la Hoz	1921–1949	1879–1949
Elias Fernández	1924–1939, 1952–1956	1899–1956
Vicente Prada	1923–1938, 1946–1952, 1970–1976	1903–1978
Pio Yoshitoku Futagami	1927–1929	1898–1981
Jose Arregui	1929–1979	1903–1979
Marcelino Delgado	1930–1947, 1949–1997	1905–1997
Jose Villaverde	1931–1946	1905–1960
Ursino Gonzalo	1934–1951, 1954–1974, 1976–1987	1903–1987
Constantino Montero	1934–1948, 1951–2007	1909–2007
Faustino Saez	1934–1987	1908–1987
Raymond Tu Mingzheng	1936–1982	1905–1982
Orencio Perez	1939–?	1913–?

(continued)

(continued)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Time in Taiwan</i>	<i>Dates of birth and death</i>
Sergius Santa Maria	1939-?	1913-1974
Joseph Asajiro Satowaki	1941-1946	1904-1996
Furukawa Shigeyoshi	1942-1946	?-1970
John Baptist Li Tianyi (Li Thien-It)	1944-1958	1920-1958
Vincent Li Weitian (Li i-Thiam)	1945-1994	1921-1994

New churches or prayer rooms built during 1895-1945

<i>Year</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Person responsible</i>
1896	Jiadong	
1897	Yuanlin	
1898	Xinghuadian	Isidoro Clemente
1900	Pujianglun	Angel Rodriguez
1904	Shuzaijiao	Angel Rodriguez
1907	Daxin	
1910	Kulingjiao	Justo Sasián
1915	Tianzhong	Justo Sasián
1915	Taichung	Manuel Prat
1915	Xiaobaisha	Manuel Prat
1916	Dounan	Buenaventura Gordaliza
1925	Zhushan	Felipe Villarrubia
1926	Xinhua	
1928	Huashan	Thomas de la Hoz
1929	Tuku	Julián Villegas
1929	Mianqiancuo	
1931	Zhanghua	
1932	Jilong	Felix Sanchez Muñoz
1933	Huwei	Julián Villegas
1933	Xiaomei	Julián Villegas
1933	Shiding	Angel Rodriguez
1933	Xindian	
1934	Dahu	
1934	Jiayi	Julián Villegas
1934	Zuoying	Elias Fernández
1935	Xiushui	Francisco Giner

NOTES

1. Actually Fr. Nemesio Fernandez had already passed away due to a sudden attack of cholera on July 7, 1896. See a letter from Fr. Celedonio Arranz to the Provincial dated September 1896 (Fernandez 1994, 192).
2. A letter from Isidoro Clemente to the Provincial in Manila, dated, September 1895 (Fernandez 1994, 187).
3. *The Divided Collection of Official Documents of the Taiwan Governor's Office*, Yi, 26:11 (1897), Ming wai, no. 57, Tai-yi, no. 243, translation of letter from the Spanish Minister, p. 2a.
4. *The Divided Collection of Official Documents of the Taiwan Governor's Office*, Ming zi 35 wai, no. 39 (1898), Feb. 8, the Magistrate of Jiayi, Kogura Nobuchika's answering letter, 1a-2a.
5. *The Divided Collection of Official Documents of the Taiwan Governor's Office*, Ming wai no. 35-2 (1898), Mar. 16, rejecting the application for the compensation to the damage done to the Catholic buildings and missionaries, 2.
6. For the confusion and Zhang's life, please see my article (Ku 2011, 155-175).
7. *Taiwan Literature Series, no. 308, the Japanese Soldiers' Invasion of Taiwan in 1874*, Juan 4, the 11th Month, the 11th Day, the Memorial of the Fujian Governor, Wang Kaitai.
8. The budget of the construction of this church was only 14,000 dollars.
9. They appeared on October 31, 1908, November 13, 1908 and August 14, 1906, respectively, on *Taiwan Daily News (Taiwan Riri Xingbao)*.
10. For the detailed description of the establishment of this school, please see my article "the Blessed Imelda Girls' School—The First Formal Educational Institute of the Catholic Church in Taiwan" (Ku 2008a, 95-156).
11. When Komiya passed away, he was succeeded by Suzuki Jouzaburou (Ku 2008a, 135-148).
12. They were located in Tainan (1924), Douliu (1927) and Tianshong (1930).
13. Diary of Fr. Tu Mingzheng, cited in Ku Weiyang, "Msgrs. Satowaki Asajiro and Tu Mingzheng in the history of Taiwan's Catholic Church" (Ku 2008a, 183).
14. "Only Sr. Yamauchi, who was Japanese, escaped internment" (San Roman Perez 2015, 473). Another Japanese Sister, Sakamoto was in the south, taking care of the orphanage.
15. The author heard this information in person during his visit to Kaohsiung, talking to Catholic friends there in 2012.
16. A piece of land was purchased in Xinzhu in December 1938, but never put to use before 1945 (Jiang 2008, 138).

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External Influences on the Emergence of the Catholic Church in Taiwan (1950s–1960s)

Michael Chuan-sheng Chang

INTRODUCTION: THE PRE-1949 CATHOLIC PREPARATION—RETREAT FROM THE MAINLAND TO TAIWAN

At the end of the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), civil war broke out between the Chinese Nationalist government led by the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Red Army headed by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Foreign missionaries in northern China anticipated possible hardships under Communist rule because some missionaries who were active in local rural areas had experienced harsh treatment by the Communists. For example, the Eighth Route Army burned down the oldest monastery in the Far East and forced nearly a hundred monks of the contemplative Cistercian Order in Yangjiaping to march to Shijiazhuang* under the guns of the Red Army. Some elderly monks died on the road because of the unbearable hardship. The leading monks were later tried in the People's Court in Yenan* and were shot (Leung 1992, 76–78).¹

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Beginning from 1948 when the victory of the Red Army was almost assured, leaders of religious congregations thought of transferring their missions outside China, Taiwan being one of the favorable locations. The Divine Word Missionaries (SVD)* are an example. In April 1948, Fr. Peter Huengsborg, SVD*, was sent to Taiwan to investigate whether Taiwan was an agreeable location for the possible retreat of the SVD mission from the Mainland. The SVD wished to establish a school, a hospital and a nursing school in Taiwan (Kuepers 2012, 29, 35–66). Unfortunately the plan failed. Fr. Peter Huengsborg left Taiwan with empty hands. However, in his report to the General Administration of the SVD, he revealed that Archbishop Yupin* and Archbishop Riberi*, the Apostolic Nuncio to Nanjing, were planning to set up a new ecclesiastical region in northern Taiwan in 1948. The SVD hoped to set up a middle school in Taipei affiliated to Fu Jen Catholic University (Arens 1962).²

The purpose of this chapter is to study the emergence of the Taiwan Catholic Church in the 1950s–1960s. First of all, the Taiwan Church's planning and administration were orchestrated by the Vatican and its representatives in Taiwan. In the 1950s–1960s, the Taiwan Catholic Church received numerous religious personnel from the Mainland. The exiled mainland clergy in Taiwan were foreign assistance coming as important human resources for the development of the Church. The warm relationship of Archbishop Yupin, leader of the Church in Taiwan, with the government could well be regarded as making him an external influence on the Taiwan Church's emergence. The demarcation of the Taiwan ecclesiastical region was not decided by the Taiwan Church itself but by the Roman Curia. According to the regulation of the Roman Curia, before an independent diocese was created under the governance of a local bishop, it would first become an Apostolic Prefecture under the jurisdiction of a representative of the Roman Curia, the central administration of the Catholic Church in the Vatican. Then the Apostolic Prefecture would become a diocese managed by a local bishop with full autonomy because the bishop is the head of the local church. The formation of Apostolic Prefectures and dioceses constituted the main features of the development of the Taiwan Catholic Church during this period (1950s–1970s). The interactions and the tensions between the Vatican officials and the Chinese exiled (Psalm 137)³ clergy in Taiwan during the four stages of demarcation reveal how these external factors influenced the development of the Taiwan Catholic Church in future days. Above all, the influence of the USA on Taiwan through the Taiwan Catholic Church constituted particular relations with the Taiwan Church in its external relations.

THE PRELUDE TO THE DEMARCATION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL REGION OF TAIWAN

The demarcation of ecclesiastical units in Taiwan into dioceses goes back to the pre-1949 period before the moving in of the Nationalist government from Nanjing to Taiwan. The demarcation was closely related to the exile of a great number of mainland clergy to Taiwan. Before the arrival of Chinese clergy from the Mainland, 1948, there was only one Apostolic Prefecture on the whole island. The Spanish José Arregui, OP*, had been appointed Apostolic Prefect stationed in Kaohsiung (*Catholic Church Directory Taiwan* 2015, 25).

At the same time, Archbishop Celso Costantini*, the Secretary General of Propaganda Fide, a bureau in the Roman Curia,⁴ in 1948–1949, suggested allowing the Chinese Congregation of the Disciples of the Lord (CDD)* to take up mission work in the northern part of Taiwan with Archbishop Yupin to lead the new mission area while the Dominicans remained in the southern part of the island headed by Msgr. José Arregui OP. This suggestion for development of the Catholic mission in Taiwan coming from the Vatican coincided with the influx of mission personnel from the Mainland, when the Nationalist army on the Mainland was gradually being defeated in the civil war (1945–1949).

During the period of the late Qing dynasty and early Nationalist government, Catholicism had been rejected by many Chinese out of nationalism and patriotism as a foreign religion allied with western imperialists as a means of cultural aggression (Lu 1966). Catholic believers were perceived as disloyal to the motherland. So Catholicism in China had to be patriotic and pro-Nationalist to prove that Chinese Catholics loved the motherland before it could be accepted by Chinese society (Chen 2001, 329–334; Chen and Jiang 2003).

Given Yupin's contribution to the Nationalist government in Nanjing, the Catholic Church gained very high regard from Taiwan society after the Nationalist government moved to Taiwan (Chen 2001, 43–86). The Catholic Church was ranked side by side with the Nationalist government (Chang 2016, 105). It also invited high officials into its upper levels of administration. The growth of Fu Jen Middle School is an example. Its Board of Trustees was filled with officials of the Nationalist government.

Honorary President of the Board of Managers:

Honorary President: Wei Daoming* (Provincial Governor of Taiwan)

President: You Mijian (Mayor of Taipei)

Managers:

Huang Chaoqin (Taiwan Provincial Assembly Speaker)

Nu Xinming (Taiwan Garrison Deputy Commander)

Tsai Peihuo (Taiwanese Legislator)

Li Tonghua (Director General of Taipei Commissioner of Customs)

Cardinal Thomas Tien Ken-sin* (represented by Fr. Li Tianyi*)

Archbishop Yupin (represented by Ku Ta-hsien, Deputy General
Manager of Taiwan Power Company)

Aloysius Grosse-Kappenberg (Superior General of the SVD)

Fr. Harold Rigney (Director of Academic Affairs of Peking Fu Jen
University)

Liu Jin-yu (General Manager Taiwan Power Company)

José Arregui OP (Apostolic Prefect of Kaohsiung) (Arens 1962)

A Closer Look at the Phenomena The warm relationship between the Catholic Church and the Taiwan Nationalist government turned a new page in interdependent Catholic and state relationships in Taiwan's development for the coming years (1950s–1960s). It reflected that when the Catholic Church on the Mainland was in exile after 1949, it turned to Taiwan as a platform for its continued existence. In other words, the Catholic Church in Taiwan became the substitute Church of the Mainland.⁵ The foundation of Fu Jen Middle School and its Board of Directors filled with government officials and the addition of Taiwan as the 21st ecclesiastical province before the actual move of the Nationalist government to Taiwan are signs to indicate the preparation of Taiwan's role as the substitute for the Mainland.

THE DEMARCATION OF ECCLESIASTICAL REGIONS IN TAIWAN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH HIERARCHY (FIG. 4.1)

The First Stage of Demarcation

In 1949, the creation of the ecclesiastical regions in Taiwan was the plan of Propaganda Fide⁶ through Archbishop Costantini, its General Secretary. Costantini's plan itself revealed that the church development of Taiwan

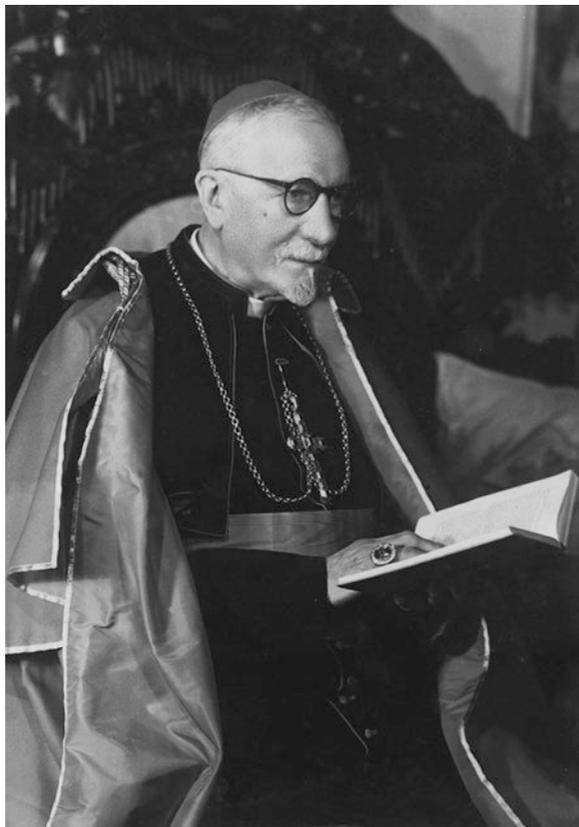


Fig. 4.1 Photo of Cardinal Celso Costantini (1876–1958)

was decided by external decision coming from the Roman Curia Costantini suggested the vast ecclesiastical region of the northern part of Taiwan would be reserved for the exiled priests from the Mainland and administered by the Chinese Congregation of the Disciples of the Lord (CDD) founded by Costantini in Xuanhua*, Hebei Province, in 1927 (Chen 2001, 152–154).⁷ Archbishop Yupin of Nanjing should head that part of mission territory in northern Taiwan.

In the process of demarcation of ecclesiastical territory, Archbishop Riberi, the Apostolic Nuncio to China and Costantini, had differing opinions regarding the deployment of leading personnel in the ecclesiastical region in

the northern part of Taiwan. Riberi did not support the pro-Nationalist Yupin to head northern Taiwan which was planned by Propaganda Fide to be the mission territory to receive all the exiled priests from China (Chen 2001, 154–155). Costantini had decided that the northern part of Taiwan should be an ecclesiastical region taken care of by the CDD since the southern part of Taiwan was administered by the Spanish Dominicans. Thus, the CDD would have a mission territory of its own (Chen 2001, 153). To compromise the two different opinions from Riberi and Costantini, Fr. Joseph Kuo* of the CDD instead of Yupin was selected to head the Apostolic Prefecture of Taipei. The island was divided into two ecclesiastical domains. The Apostolic Prefecture of Taipei was under Joseph Kuo as a mission field for the CDD, and the Prefecture of Kaohsiung was left to the Spanish Dominican Fathers.

The differences in the ways of managing the Taiwan Church began from the day of the demarcation of dioceses and the deployment of church personnel. The diversified impacts on the internal development of the infant church, due to the difference of the two bureaus of the Vatican, were felt within the Taiwan Church until the end of the 1950s. This was because when Costantini died in 1958, Taiwan affairs were taken care of by Cardinal Agagianian* who had a new approach to the Taiwan Church. Most importantly, the Vatican transferred Riberi to Ireland and his impact on Taiwan gradually diminished. It explains why at the end of the 1950s the tension within the Taiwan Church could weaken gradually, waiting for the return of the more prominent leadership of Yupin and Thomas Tien who had been prevented from coming back to Taiwan by Riberi.

After Yupin and Thomas Tien were allowed to return to Taiwan from the USA, they lost no time in plunging into the task of activating the infant church. Yupin began to work for the reopening of Fu Jen Catholic University in Taipei. Yupin's warm relationship with the Nationalist government enabled the local Taiwan Church which had weakened from divisive orientations to become stable under his leadership. Consequently, the development of the Taiwan Catholic Church in the area of indigenization was able to flower in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In 1950 the Korean War broke out and countless numbers of clergy came to Taiwan after Mao Zedong expelled foreign missionaries from the Mainland during the same period. On October 6, 1950, the Vatican divided part of the Kaohsiung Prefecture into the Taichung Prefecture which included the counties of Taichung, Changhua and Nantou. Bishop

William Kupfer, MM*, of the American Maryknoll missionaries*, was appointed to head the Apostolic Prefecture of Taichung (Barry 1977).

On August 7, 1952, the Taipei Apostolic Prefecture was elevated to become an archdiocese. In October 1952, Archbishop Riberi ordained Joseph Kuo as the archbishop of Taipei. With the installation of Joseph Kuo, CDD, the church affairs were officially in the hands of the Chinese clergy of the religious congregation of the CDD.

Since the installation of the Chinese hierarchy of China in 1946, the Taiwan Church had been excluded. Since its inauguration it had been part of the Apostolic Prefecture of Xiamen, China. After the birth of the Republic of China—under Japanese influence—the Holy See in 1912 decided that Taiwan, a colony of Japan, should be separated from the Apostolic Vicariate of Xiamen and be reallocated as an Apostolic Prefecture administered directly by the Vatican. This separation in 1912 made clear that Taiwan was to operate independently under the Vatican not under Xiamen. In 1945, when Taiwan became part of the Republic of China, the insignificant Taiwan Church with 15 clergy and 13,000 Catholics continued to be administered by the Vatican. That was why, in the 1946 installation of church hierarchy of China, Taiwan was not in the plan.

From 1952, Taiwan was set up by the Vatican as the 21st ecclesiastical province of the Catholic Church of China. In other words, beginning from 1952, the Taiwan Church was officially assigned by the Roman Curia to be the substitute church of the Mainland, while the Apostolic Prefecture of Taipei was elevated to become the Archdiocese of Taipei⁸ (the title of archdiocese being usually for the diocese in the national capital). It was because Taiwan was the only ecclesiastical province in China to function freely without political disturbance.

At the same time, the Vatican established two more Apostolic Prefectures: Hualien and Chiayi, with bishops who were former bishops in Mainland China. The Hualien bishop was the former Yingkow bishop, Bishop Andre-Jean Verineux*, a missionary of the Paris Foreign Missions (MEP)*. Part of the territory for Hualien Apostolic Prefecture had been cut from Taipei and part from Kaohsiung. Chiayi Prefecture was led by Bishop Thomas Niu*, a Chinese bishop who was the former Yangku bishop in Shandong Province. The territory for the Prefecture of Chiayi had also been cut from the territory of Kaohsiung Apostolic Prefecture comprising the counties of Chiayi and Yunlin.

The Second Stage of Demarcation

In 1958, soon after the death of Costantini, the Secretary General of Propaganda Fide and acting head of Propaganda Fide Cardinal Pietro Agagianian was sent by the Vatican to Taiwan under the guise of a private visit with the purpose to settle the problems related to Riberi and Joseph Kuo (Chang 2003, 94). Three days before his arrival in Taiwan, Agagianian announced that Riberi would be transferred to Ireland. Archbishop Joseph Caprio* would be sent to replace him as the Chargé d’Affaires in Taipei. Riberi was displeased with the deployment of the Vatican and seldom made ad limina visits to the Vatican after he left China.⁹

Agagianian also suggested that Archbishop Joseph Kuo should resign from the archbishopric of Taipei and later asked Cardinal Thomas Tien to succeed him to lead the Archdiocese of Taipei because Agagianian was not satisfied with the Archdiocese of Taipei’s administration.

Propaganda Fide had received complaints about Archbishop Kuo¹⁰ (Chen and Jiang 2003, 289–290) so the Roman Curia thought of removing him (Shi 1987, no page). Simultaneously the Vatican also withdrew the CDD’s administrative power in the Archdiocese of Taipei (The Church in Taiwan, *ROC Brief History* 2014, 45) (Fig. 4.2).

The Third Stage of Demarcation

In 1961, the Roman Curia ordered the establishment of Tainan diocese which covered Tainan city and Penghu Island (Pescadores Islands). The creation of the new Tainan diocese was again made from part of Kaohsiung Apostolic Prefecture (The Church in Taiwan, *ROC Brief History* 2014, 45). Hsinchu diocese was cut from the territory of Taipei comprising the counties of Taoyuan, Hsinchu and Miaoli. At the same time, the Vatican suggested to develop the indigenization of the Taiwan Church by appointing Cheng Tianxiang, OP*, a Chinese bishop of the Dominican Order to lead the diocese of Kaohsiung, and appointed two Chinese clergy who had studied in Rome and were working in the Roman Curia to head the two new dioceses (Pope John XXIII 1961). They were Lokuang for Tainan and Tu Pujin* for Hsinchu. Shortly before and after Vatican II (1962–1965), all the Taiwan Apostolic Prefectures were elevated into dioceses by order of the Vatican. On July 15, 1963, Hualien Prefecture was the last one to be raised to the status of a diocese. Bishop Andre-Jean Verineux, MEP, was its prelate (Verineux 1977).

Fig. 4.2 Photo of
Thomas Cardinal Tien
Ken-sin (1890–1967)



During this third stage of the church demarcation of Taiwan, both the creation of new dioceses and the raising of prefectures to normal dioceses with independent administrative power under the leadership of their bishop were designed by the Vatican (Table 4.1 and Table 4.2).

The Fourth Stage of Demarcation

On September 25, 1968, Kinmen and Matsu Islands which were originally in the ecclesiastical territory of Xiamen and Fuzhou, Fujian Province, respectively (The Church in Taiwan, *ROC Brief History* 2014, 45), were amalgamated into Kinmen-Matsu Apostolic Prefecture under Bishop Philip Cote, SJ* (the former bishop of Xuzhou, 1946). The Penghu Apostolic Prefecture was created out of Tainan diocese, with Edward C. Quint, OFM*, the former Apostolic Prefect of Weihaiwei* 1950, as its

Table 4.1 Before February 1946^a Types of Taiwan Catholic Clergy

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Prefecture/Diocese</i>	<i>International Religious Order (OP)</i>
Chinese (Taiwanese)	3	None
Foreign	Fr. Satowaki Asajiro and his Japanese secretary ^b	15 ^c

^aOn February 9, 1946, the Apostolic Prefect Fr. Satowaki Asajiro returned to Japan after the Sino-Japanese War (Satowaki 1994:20). However, Ku Weiyin in a document discovered his departure date was April 5, 1946 (Ku 2002:195)

^bFr. Satowaki Asajiro and his Japanese secretary (Ku 2002:193). For example, the Parish Priest Fr. Furukawa Shigeyoshi of the Japanese Church in Kabayama Cho of Taipei (Calderon 1960:22)

^cThe statistical figure of 1946 is not available; thus the figures for 1948 are employed for statistical purposes (Ku 1971:85)

Table 4.2 1962 clergy in religious order and diocesan priests

Prefecture/diocese	Chinese religious orders	International religious orders
(Originally from various dioceses in Mainland) Total 155 people Seminary of the Society of Auxiliaries of the Missions* Total 8 people	Congregation of St. John the Baptist (CSJB)* Congregation of the Disciples of the Lord (CDD) Total 2 institutes 19 clergy 12 religious men	Originally in Taiwan/exiled from Mainland and transferred to Taiwan Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM)* Congregation of the Mission (CM)* Canons regular of St. Augustine (CR)* Clerics of St. Viator (CSV)* Paris Foreign Missions (MEP)* Order of St. Camillus (MI)* Maryknoll Missionaries (MM) Order of Friars Minor (OFM)* Order of Preachers (OP)* Order of St. Benedict (OSB)* Society of the Divine Savior (SDS)* Society of Jesus (SJ)* Bethlehem Mission Society (SMB)* Missionary Society of St. Columban (SSC)* Divine Word Missionaries (SVD) Total 15 orders 470 clergy 80 seminarians/brothers

(continued)

Table 4.2 (continued)

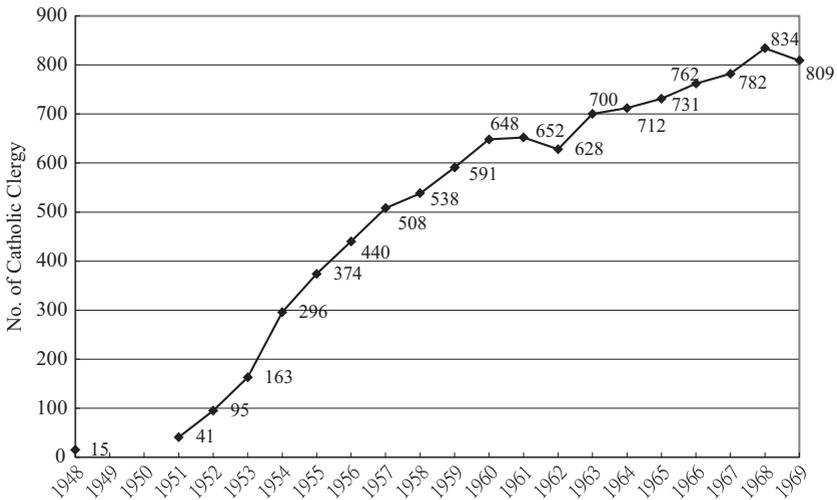
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Source: The figures were compiled by the author

Apostolic Prefect. In 1969, Archbishop Yupin was elevated to the status of a cardinal succeeding Cardinal Thomas Tien to be the top leader of the Taiwan Catholic Church (Table 4.3).

THE LOCAL CHURCH ADMINISTRATION MANAGED BY THE VATICAN

On October 26, 1952, in the ceremony of ordination of Joseph Kuo as the archbishop of Taipei Archdiocese, Riberi announced to the public the addition of Taiwan as the 21st ecclesiastical province of China. On November 3, 1952, the Apostolic Nunciature to China was moved to Taipei and began to function immediately (Chen and Jiang 2003, 244–251).

Table 4.3 The Change of Catholic Clergy in Taiwan Catholic Church (1948–1969)

Once Riberi arrived in Taiwan, he began to reactivate the Catholic Central Bureau (CCB) which was a central church administrative center in the Mainland. He hoped the CCB would follow the same tradition and style to administer church affairs in Taiwan which was representing the administration in Mainland China (Liu 1974, 57).

From 1956 to 1957, Riberi spent two years trying to thrash out problems in church finance, real estate and immovable property in the whole of the Taiwan Church. Within these two years, he managed to set up the legal person system for the Church of Taiwan. With this legal registration system, the church finance and property would not be registered under private names of priests or bishops.¹¹ At the same time it resolved the problem of the state's regulation of not allowing foreigners to own property.¹²

In 1959, after the arrival of Archbishop Joseph Caprio, the Apostolic Nuncio in Taiwan, he helped to establish the Episcopal Conference of Taiwan. Cardinal Thomas Tien, Archbishop of Yangku, Shandong Province, and Apostolic Administrator of Taipei, was the chairman of that Conference (Catholic Directory of Taiwan 1965, 8). This Conference was called by Caprio before Vatican II for bishops to discuss the problems in their newly established dioceses (Chinese Bishops Conference 1974, 57–61).

On April 21, 1967, Caprio again assembled the bishops of Taiwan dioceses to meet under a new name “The Chinese Regional Bishops’ Conference” (CRBC). Its members included all the bishops working in Taiwan whether they administered their own dioceses or were exiled bishops stationed in Taiwan (Chinese Bishops’ Conference 1974, 58; Chang 2016, 106–197). This Chinese Regional Bishops’ Conference was designed to discuss common issues of the whole Taiwan Church. Joseph Kuo was elected as its first president (Chinese Bishops’ Conference 1974, 58).

QUESTIONS RELATED TO EXILED CLERGY FROM THE MAINLAND

Some of the exiled bishops from the Mainland had taken refuge in Taiwan. Their ecclesiastical duties in their own Mainland dioceses had not been suspended. Propaganda Fide confirmed to Bishop Van Melckebeke*, the Apostolic Visitor to all the Overseas Chinese, that the exiled China bishops’ jurisdiction had been impeded without suspension (CBRC minutes) (Appendix I).¹³ It meant that even when the power of a bishop could not be exercised in a location, his power remains with him. When both the bishops and priests were exiled to a new location, the bishops had no jurisdiction over the priests from their old diocese when they were in a new location (CBRC minutes) (Appendix I).

Generally speaking, most of the priests who had left their dioceses in China and come to Taiwan had done so with virtually no resources of any kind. They had to request admission from local bishops in Taiwan, mostly in Taipei, because the Taipei Apostolic Prefecture was designated to admit them. However, due to interpersonal relation problems, many of them were left to ensure their survival through whatever means they could devise. The multifaceted phenomena among the exiled priests deserve our attention vis-à-vis the development of the Taiwan Catholic Church.

In reality, some dioceses did not willingly accept the exiled priests from China for various practical reasons, even though Propaganda Fide defined that the exiled priests had to be integrated into the new dioceses. Therefore, various methods of survival surfaced among this group of exiled priests. For example, in Taipei, three priests from Beijing lived together without being cared for by the Taipei Archdiocese.¹⁴ They set up a small-sized chicken farm and worked as poultry farmers relying on poultry products for a livelihood. Some set up orchid gardens in the countryside of Chiayi

diocese and sold orchids for a living. Some used the money from their original dioceses in China to build a church and an educational institute such as a kindergarten.¹⁵ However, the church or the kindergarten was always under the name of the priest owner and not under that of the relevant Taiwan diocese. Nanjing diocesan money was invested in a TV station that was never entered into the Taiwan local ecclesiastical property.¹⁶ Thus the responsibility of the exiled mainland priests in Taiwan eventually overlapped with the ecclesiastical duties rising from their new posts in Taiwan. These clergy with dual responsibilities were described as wearing two hats.

The following are cases of four priests in the northern part of Taiwan. They are not cases related to economic problems as described above, but all deal with the ecclesiastical faculties of priests who seemed to challenge the bishops' leadership and the ideal plan of the Propaganda Fide.

*A Record from the Superior of a Chinese Religious
Order of Men (Not the CDD)*

This record of a superior of a Chinese religious order of men recalls the following:

When Archbishop Joseph Kuo invited our religious priests to come to Taiwan, it was “for evangelization only but not setting up a religious house in northern Taiwan.” When the Mainland was under Communist rule, I was ordered by the Roman Curia to set up our headquarters in Taiwan. A superior of the Congregation of St. John the Baptist, a religious order of men, went to see Archbishop Joseph Kuo of Taipei asking for written permission to set up our religious order in the domain of his ecclesiastical region, the Taipei Archdiocese. However, he kept on delaying to grant the permission for an unknown reason.¹⁷

Then I went to ask the permission from the Apostolic Prefect, Kupfer MM¹⁸ of Taichung diocese according to the recommendation of Riberi. Msgr. William Kupfer MM, the Apostolic Prefect of Taichung was an American of the Maryknoll mission. I met him once and presented the recommendation of Riberi; immediately he gave his verbal permission. After a few minutes he gave me his written permission allowing me to set up a religious house in Taichung Apostolic Prefecture.

This case revealed that the local bishops in their own dioceses were given the faculty to govern their ecclesiastical territory under Canon Law. Unfortunately the power of governance bestowed on them had not been

fully and properly utilized to admit the exiled Chinese clergy from China. This exiled religious congregation was accepted by an international mission society with a much wider vision and mission.

*The Case of an Exiled Priest, a Former Vicar General
in Northwest China*

Father John was a former Vicar General of a diocese in Mainland China. When he was in China, he had given much help to the newly established CDD. When Fr. John coming from abroad visited Taiwan, he met his priest colleague settled in Taiwan and asked him about the status of exiled priests in Taiwan.¹⁹ He was informed that he would receive a warm welcome and friendly assistance if he came as a visitor. However, it was difficult to get ecclesiastical permission for a permanent stay.²⁰

After Fr. John finished his touring business in Taiwan, he planned to stay in Taipei. He did not get the permission to join the Taipei Archdiocese nor was he granted priestly faculties of hearing confessions and saying Mass.²¹ However, Fr. John remained in Taipei as a citizen of the ROC and rented a small house near the chapel for college students headed by the historian Fr. Fang Hao* who was teaching at a state university and taking care of the Catholic college students. Fr. Fang Hao invited him to say Sunday Mass in his student center.²² He was granted the faculty of saying Mass but not for hearing confessions. Actually the faculty to say Mass is stipulated in Canon law; the bishop only grants the permission to say Mass in a public Church. Only the local bishop can grant the faculty of hearing confessions.²³ However, Fr. John learned that the bishop criticized Fr. Fang Hao for allowing unwanted people to say Mass in his student center even when Fr. Fang Hao did not fully follow the bishop's order but acted according to Canon law.²⁴ It reveals that in the chaotic situation flowing from the influx of exiled priests from the Mainland into Taipei Archdiocese, obstruction of the Sacra Potestas/Faculty prevailed for various reasons.

The Third Case of a Parish Priest of Taipei Archdiocese

In the USA, Fr. Joannes remembered his days as a parish priest in Taipei. He was given the "Sacra Potestas", the faculty to say Mass and hear confessions. However, the permission to officiate at the sacrament of matrimony had to be applied for each time. After Thomas Cardinal

Tien succeeded Joseph Kuo to lead the Archdiocese of Taipei, Fr. Joannes went to Tien to ask the same kind of permission to officiate at the sacrament of matrimony and received permanent permission from Cardinal Tien.²⁵ Actually, from the beginning Fr. Joannes learned that the reason for restriction of the sacred faculty was only for non-CDD priests, because the faculty was to be reserved for the archbishop's own people. This case reveals that the normal sacred faculties of the exiled priests could not be fully obtained until after the leadership of Cardinal Tien.²⁶

*The Case of Fr. Nicolas (Bishop's Representative
in Overseas China)*

Fr. Nicolas was educated in Rome and was the representative of external affairs in his own diocese in northern China before he was exiled to Taiwan in 1953. He had witnessed the mismanagement of Taipei Archdiocese under inexperienced church prelates. Archbishop Riberi, the Apostolic Nuncio in Taiwan, although knew about the situation did not like to interfere in the administration of the archdiocese. However, Fr. Nicolas traveled to Rome to reveal the seriousness of the problems to the Propaganda Fide. To do that, Fr. Nicolas had first to apply to leave Taipei Archdiocese, before he could get written permission to travel abroad. At that time, during the Martial Law period, church permission was absolutely essential for a clergyman who wanted to leave the country. While he was in the Vatican, he reported the case of Taipei to Propaganda Fide as a priest from his original diocese of Northwest China. The Propaganda Fide accepted Fr. Nicolas's report and asked Riberi to confirm the issue before Rev. Jose Onate, SJ*, the Jesuit Provincial of Taiwan was assigned to investigate the case (Chen and Jiang 2003, 89). In 1958, when investigation was completed, action was taken after the death of Costantini in the same year.²⁷

This complicated court case within the church itself revealed that Fr. Nicolas had to employ dual responsibility as a priest from his former diocese in northern China to formulate the court case in Rome while he had to abandon his status as a diocesan priest of the Archdiocese of Taipei. Propaganda Fide, on February 24, 1959, sent Cardinal Pietro Agagianian to Taiwan to settle the case of mismanagement in the Archdiocese of Taipei.²⁸ Immediately after the death of Costantini, Agagianian arrived in Taiwan under the aegis of a private visit. Three days before he came to Taiwan, he announced that Archbishop Riberi would be transferred to Ireland. Riberi was not happy with the action of the Vatican in China for,

with Agagianian, he appointed Thomas Tien to be the new prelate of Taipei Archdiocese to succeed Joseph Kuo.

Although the above cases reveal tensions between the clergy and the leaders of the archdiocese, much was due to misunderstanding, misgiving and disregard for fellow clergy as a consequence of self-interest, selfishness and other human weaknesses. Though many cases will hold Archbishop Kuo as responsible, there were other factors contributing to the tensions and conflicts.

Given the conflicting tension between the exiled Chinese clergy and the Archdiocese of Taipei which did not accommodate them, the Chinese could contribute to evangelization in northern Taiwan only with difficulty. From then on, it demonstrates the internal and external struggling forces in the process of growth while the Church in Taiwan was rapidly expanding although unsteadily. Even up to now, since the 1960s, the Catholic Church is still moving toward stable development. Today, the difficulty for the Church in Taiwan to integrate into a community with seven small dioceses independently working on their own is a legacy from the early days of tension and division.

The refusal of the Archdiocese of Taipei to accommodate the exiled priests leading to divisions among exiled clergy demonstrated that within the organization of the Taiwan Catholic Church, the Archdiocese of Taipei became the “*imperio in imperium*”.

Historical Legacy Left Behind by Vatican I for Vatican II

The abrupt ending of Vatican I due to the Franco-Prussian War in July 1870 left unsettled questions concerning the co-administration of the Pope and local bishops in the relationship between the central and the local governance, for example, ultramontanism, to be resolved in Vatican II (Duffy 1997, 204–235). This tension was demonstrated in the first demarcation of Taiwan’s ecclesiastical regions and in the China Bishops’ Rome Convention (CBRC) and its relationship with the Propaganda Fide described below.

THE CHINA BISHOPS’ ROME CONVENTION (CBRC)

The Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) was inaugurated on October 11, 1962.

For the first time, 59 bishops who had dioceses in China and Taiwan attended the Vatican II assembly and were able to meet outside the

Council Assembly to discuss their own problems (CBRC in Vatican II 1962: 35–37).²⁹ During the Council period (1962–1965), the meeting was named the China Bishops’ Rome Convention (CBRC). It met 12 times in Rome³⁰ during the period of Vatican II.

The CBRC comprised exiled bishops who were originally from Chinese territories participating in Vatican II. They followed the example of the meetings of other National Bishops’ Rome Conventions (e.g. France, Italy). It was a common practice for national bishops during Vatican II to gather from time to time to discuss problems related to their own countries vis-à-vis Vatican II discussions.

Bishops in former Chinese dioceses in the CBRC suggested establishing a formal Chinese Bishops’ Conference, but the proposal was rejected by the Vatican due to the fact that many of the bishops were scattered around the world (in the list of participants in the October 11, 1962 meeting, there were 59 bishops of whom only 13 were working in Taiwan) (CBRC in Vatican II 1962: 35–37) (Appendix I).

Since the setting up of the Chinese hierarchy in 1946, it was the first time that the bishops in China had the chance to meet to discuss their common problems such as problems of exile and questions handed down from the 1930s such as the beatification of Hsu Kuang-chi*, Matteo Ricci* and Candida Su*, the granddaughter of Hsu Kuang-chi and a martyr in Tibet (Chang 2016, 62–68). The question of beatification of Chinese Catholics had been discussed in the 1930s but no solution had been reached. Other questions discussed in their meetings were combating Communism and the controversial question on schism (Chinese Catholic under CCP control) because of Bishop Dong Guangching* and Yuen Wenhua*’s appointment. The Vatican denied the request (Chang 2016, 42–45).

Pope John XXIII accepted the suggestion from the CBRC not to denounce the Church in China as schismatic because the complexity of the situation of the Catholic Church on the Mainland could not be fully grasped at that time.

During Vatican II, questions related to local bishops and their dioceses were discussed in 1963, and the document on “Decree of the Bishops’ Pastoral Office in the Church” was issued in 1964. The document explicitly expressed “Therefore this most sacred Synod considers its supreme opportunity everywhere that bishops belonging to the same nation or region from an association should meet together at fixed times” (Decree on Bishops 1966, art.36).³¹

There were 64 participants in the sixth CBRC meeting on October 26, 1963: 36 absentees, 12 Taiwan participants, 2 absentees. Its members requested the Propaganda Fide to allow them to establish the National China Bishops' Conference when Episcopal conferences recommended in the Vatican II Assembly had to be implemented (Appendix II). The request of the CBRC was rejected by the Propaganda Fide for geographic and economic reasons (Appendix III). Most of the Chinese exiled bishops were scattered round the world except for a handful in Taiwan; some of them had been absent from their Chinese dioceses for more than 15 years (Lokuang 1981, 24–25; Chang 2016, 79, 100–103). However, in the same reply to the CBRC on April 22, 1964, Propaganda Fide suggested a Conference for Bishops of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau.

A Bishops' Conference for Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan was set up, but due to differences in the sociopolitical environment in these three localities, not many common problems could be discussed except that a Liturgical Commission was formed which was a very much needed endeavor to implement liturgical reform in the Chinese speaking world as suggested in the Council document "The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy". This Liturgical Commission decided to invite experts among exiled Chinese clergy in Taiwan to engage in the translation of liturgical works in Chinese before the indigenization of the liturgy could be launched among the Chinese speaking Catholics throughout the world.³²

On November 20, 1965, a second petition on the setting up of a Chinese Bishops' Conference was sent from the CBRC during the fourth session of Vatican II which had passed the Council document on bishops as the "Decree on the Bishops' Pastoral Office in the Church". All the national bishops were busy in preparing their own national conferences. The CBRC was no exception. Its petition was rejected, based on the same reasons as the former one. In the opinion of the Vatican, the scattered Chinese bishops would have difficulties in gathering annually for the Bishops' conference. To make up a quorum would be a problem but the bishops asked the Vatican to allow them to communicate by correspondence, sending votes by letter. In November 1965 the CBRC members went to meet Propaganda Fide's dispute director, Bishop Sigismondi*, who once more rejected their second petition (Lokuang 1981, 24–25; Chang 2016, 102–103).

Before the World Bishops' Synod was called in 1967, the Vatican had the idea of employing the concept of the nation-state as a unit delineating the bishops' national identity for the conference. Therefore, a national bishops' conference must be established to represent a nation. Since Mainland China

by that time suffered from the chaotic Cultural Revolution and religious persecution, no possible Chinese Bishops' Conference could be set up. Taiwan played the role of representing the Mainland Church. Permission was given to establish the Taiwan Bishops' conference with a new name: the "Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference" (*The Church in Taiwan, ROC Brief Church History*). Its membership covered only prelates working in a Taiwan diocese or exiled China bishops resident in Taiwan.

On November 4, 1967, the request was approved and the Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference was established. This conference excluded all foreign bishops formerly in China but now exiled abroad. Archbishop Joseph Kuo was elected as the first president.

TAIWAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND US RELATIONS DURING THE COLD WAR PERIOD

If Taiwan is viewed from the perspective of the international politics of that period, the Cold War deployment had a significant impact on the Taiwan government's Catholic Church relations. One reason was because the Catholic Church is a transnational organization and through the latter's international connections, the Taiwan government could obtain more resources from the Catholic Church in European countries and the Catholic Church of the new continent (Vallier 1971, 479–495).

Catholic assistance through international Catholic communities to Taiwan originated from the days in Nanjing under the campaign of combating the Japanese invasion (1937–1945). The Nationalist government in Nanjing depended heavily on the international lobbying of Archbishop Yupin to combat the Japanese invasion (Chen and Jiang 2003, 45–48). In reality, after WWII, the Nationalist government had warmer relations with the USA than with other countries, and it depended heavily on US aid through the US Catholic Relief Services to the Catholic Church in Taiwan (Collignon 1981, 399–406). The relief items such as flour, milk powder, butter and other humane relief goods were very much welcomed by the poverty-stricken Taiwan society with the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees from the Mainland. So it was that the Catholic Church cooperated with the Nationalist government in Taiwan strengthening the US influence in Taiwan society with its relief goods.

On the international level, when the American Cardinal Spellman, the Military Chaplain of the US army overseas, was on his routine visit to the

US army stationed in Guam, Korea, the Philippines and Japan (Okinawa), he also visited Taiwan. In Taiwan, he was received by President Chiang Kai-shek and the first Lady Madam Soong Meiling* with special solemnity and was offered family dinner in the presidential residence. The event was reported by the mass media with special coverage (*United Daily News*, January 1, 1955; December 30, 1955; December 21, 1962; December 30, 1966). Through the role played by the Catholic Church in US aid for Taiwan programs, the Nationalist government naturally favored the Taiwanese Catholic Church.

CONCLUSION

In the late 1940s, the Mainland Church began to develop Taiwan as a location for the transfer of the Chinese church to Taiwan due to civil war and the gradual victory of the CCP and the possibility of the retreat of the Nationalist government to Taiwan. In 1951 after Archbishop Riberi was expelled from Nanjing he went to Taiwan in 1952. Simultaneously the Apostolic Nunciature to China was moved to Taipei and started the momentum of making the Taiwan Church the representative Church of the Mainland with various kinds of deployment. Riberi in Taiwan worked according to the policy of the Vatican in demarcating the ecclesiastical regions of Taiwan. At the same time, with the influx of exiled Chinese priests to Taiwan, a chaotic situation was created in church administration on the grassroots level. The difference of opinions between the Vatican's officials, Riberi and Costantini, in Taiwan Church affairs reflected the tension between Vatican bureaucracy and diplomacy since the late 1940s. Other tensions appeared between the leadership in the Taipei Archdiocese and the exiled priests from the Mainland. With the force of two streams of tensions, the Taiwan Catholic Church in 1950s to 1960s appeared as a confusing religious organization.

However, in the 1960s, with the arrival of Archbishop Caprio, the successor of Riberi, the Vatican, after Vatican II, decided to have the Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference only for bishops working in Taiwan in spite of the fact that it had twice rejected the request to create a wider national bishops' conference.

All in all, in the initial period of the setting up of the Taiwan Catholic Church the external influences coming from the Roman Curia were apparent, complicated by tensions with the exiled clergy coming from the Mainland.

APPENDIX 4.1

CONCILIUM OECUMENICUM VATICANUM II						
PATRES CONCILLIARES ECCLESIAE SINENSIS						
ROMAE PRAESENTES						
.....						
11-X-1962						
Cogn. et Nomen		Natus	Elec.	Mun.	Dioec.	Nat. Residentia
TIEN KENHSIN, Th. SVD 田耕莘		1890	1939	CP Peiping 北平	Sin.	Via dei Verbiti 1 tel. 570059
ARAMBURU Z., SJ 蒲盧		1879	1936	VR Wuhu 蕪湖	His.	Borgo S. Spirito 5 tel. 650933
ARDUINO M. 歐深頌	SDB	1909	1948	VR Shiuchow 韶州	Ita.	Via Tibuetina Km.10 Istituto Gerini Tel. 419141
BASSI A. 巴友仁	Parma	1887	1935	VR Loyang 洛陽	Ita.	Viale Vaticano 90 tel. 315940
BIANCHI L. 白英奇	Pime	1899	1949	VR Hong-Kong 香港	Ita.	Corso d'Italia 36 tel. 848044
BOISGUERIN R. 林茂德	MEP	1901	1946	VR Suifu 叙府	Gal.	Via Ulisse Seni 2 tel. 580446
GAPOZI L. 李露加	OFM	1899	1946	AR Taiyuan 太原	Ita.	Pz.S. Franc.d'Assis 88 tel. 586313
GEOL O. 邱先覺	OFM	1911	1948	VR Kichow 忻州	It.	Viale Marconi 446 Suore Stimmatine tel. 355362 5571265
CHANG V. 張維篤		1903	1941	VT Ciane	Sin.	Via Iberia 8 tel. 779807
CHENG J. 鄭天祥	OP	1922	1961	VR Kaohsiung 高雄	Sin.	Via Magnagrecia 122 Hotel Piccadilly tel. 777017;750163
CHENG P. 成世光		1915	1960	VT Uccula	Sin.	Hotel Piccadilly Via Magnagrecia 122 tel. 777017;750163

Appendix I List of Bishops in China Participated the Vatican II (first phase 1962)

Cogn. et Nomen		Natus	Elec.	Mun.	Dioec.	Nat.	Residentia
CIVELLI M. 祁济泉	Pime	1890	1935	VR	Weihwei 衛輝	It.	Corso d'Italia 36 tel. 848044
CLEARY P. 利伯高	Colomba	1886	1938	VR	Nancheng 南城	Hib.	Corso Trieste 57 tel. 846603
COMBER J.	MM	1906	1959	VT	Foraziana	USA	Via Sardegna 83 tel. 456700
COTE P. 邱敦欧	SJ	1895	1935	VR	Süchow 徐州	Can.	Motel Piocadilly Via Magnagrecia 122 tel. 750163; 777017
DEROUINEAU A. 德為能	MEP	1898	1946	AR	Kungming 昆明	Gal.	Via G. Fabrizio 1 tel. 846551
DONAGHY P. 唐汝琪	MM	1903	1939	VR	Wuchow 梧州	USA	Via Sardegna 83 tel. 456700
FERRONI M. A. 費樂理	OFM	1892	1932	VR	Laohokow 老河口	It.	Suore Stimmatine Viale Marconi 446 5571265
GRIMM P. G. 甘維德	OFM Cap.	1901	1949	VR	Tsinchow 青州	Ger.	Hotel Nordland Via Alciato 14 tel. 620704
HAERING E.	OFM	1894	1933	VR	Shohchow 朔州	Ger.	Via Camiluccia 687 tel. 324260
KOWALSKI R. 郭時濟	OFM	1884	1941	VR	Wuchang 武昌	USA	Suore Stimmatine Viale Marconi 446 tel. 5571265
KRAMER F. 康濟民	OFM	1903	1946	VR	In-an 潞安	Hol.	Via Cassia 645 tel. 3070557
KRAUSE I. 葛樂才	CM	1896	1944	VR	Shunteh 順德	Pol.	Collegio Leoniano Via Pompeo Magno 21 tel. 3564402
KUO J. 郭若石	CDD	1906	1952	AT	Salamina	Sin.	Hotel Piocadilly Via Magnagrecia 122 tel. 777017; 750163
KUPFER W. 蔡文央	MM		1962	VR	Taichung 台中	USA	Via Sardegna 83 tel. 456700
Kurz B. 顧主教	OFM	1894	1939	VT PA	Terenuti yungchow	Ger.	Via Camiluccia 687 tel. 324260

Cogn. et Nomen		Natus	Elec.	Mun.	Dioec.	Nat.	Residentia
LABRADOR T. 趙炳文	OP	1888	1946	AR	Foochow 福州	His.	Via Condotti 41 tel. 680548
LACCHIO S. 藍澤民	OFM	1901	1946	AR	Changsha 長沙	It.	Suore Stimmatine Viale Marconi 446 tel. 5571265
LAGOSTE I. 鄭紹基	Betharram	1905	1948	VR	Tali 大理	Gal.	Via del Corso 528 tel. 673292
LANE R.	MM	1894	1940	VT	Ipepa	USA	Via Sardegna 83 tel. 456700
LARRANAGA I. 高金鑑	OFM Cap.	1892	1950	VR	Pingliang 平涼	His.	Piazza Asti 35 tel. 789033
LEMAIRE C.	MEP	1900	1939	VT	Otro	Gal.	Via G. Fabrizio 1 tel. 846551
LESINSKI J. 雷新基	OP	1904	1947	VR	Tingchow 汀州	Ger.	Hotel Piccadilly Via Magnagrecia 122 tel. 750163; 777017
LOKUANG S. 羅光		1911	1961	VR	Tainan 台南	Sin.	Via Tor Fiorenza 38 tel. 836842
MAGGI G. 孟守道	Pime	1898	1949	VR	Hanchung 漢中	It.	Corso d'Italia 36 tel. 848044
MASSA P. 梅光春	Pime	1895	1938	VR	Nan-yang 南陽	It.	Corso d'Italia 36 tel. 848044
Merckebeke (van) 王守礼	C. CIM	1898	1946	VR	Ningsia 寧夏	Bel.	Hotel Nordland Via Alciato 14 tel. 620704
MELENDRO F. 梅耿光	SJ	1889	1946	AR	Anking 安慶	His.	Suore Mercedarie Via Iberia 8 tel. 779807
MIGNANI G. 梅雅誼	CM	1882	1928	VR	Ki-an 吉安	It.	Collegio Leoniano Via Pompeo Magno 21 tel. 3564402
MOREL I. 穆清海	CICM	1880	1946	AT	Eno	Bel.	Via San Francesco di Sales 25 tel. 653240
NIU Hui-ching Th. 牛會卿		1895	1943	VR	Yangku 陽穀	Sin.	Hotel Piccadilly Via Magnagrecia 122 tel. 777017; 750163

Cogn. et Nomen		Natus Elec. Mun. Dioeco.	Mat. Residentia
WEBER K. 萬賓來	SVD	1886 1937 VR Ichow	Ger. Via dei Verbiti 1 tel. 570059 沂州
YUEN Ching-Ping J. 袁慶平		1896 1944 VR Chumatiem Sin.	Via Vitellia 97 tel. 536028 駐馬店
YU-PIN P. 于斌		1901 1946 AR Nanking	Sin. Via Vespasiano 40 tel. 354058 南京

Card. 1
Arch. 8
Epis. 49

58

59

Praelati Ecclesiae Sinensis Impediti

In Sinis: 22

Extra Sinas: 4

26

Secretarii Patrum Conciliarium:

Ou Carolus CM (pro S.E. NIU)
 Chang Lei Francis X. SJ (Pro S.E. TOU) 張雷 吳宗文
 Hsi Paulus CDD (pro S.E. KUO) 許哲作
 Kade Leo SVD (pro S.E. NIU)
 Lierde (van) Albertus CICM (pro S.E. Kupfer) 栗
 Suen Franciscus (pro S.E. CHANG) 孫靜
 Wenders Nicolas SAM (pro S.E. Cheng Paulo) 文博
 Hotel Piccadilly
 Via Magna Grecia 122
 tel. 777017; 750163

Chao (pro S.E. Yu-Pin) 趙光
 Chao Petrus (pro S.E. van Merckebeke) 范德
 Che Chen-Tao Vincentius (pro S.E. Yuen) 阮真道
 Chow Augustin (pro S.E. Lokuang) 周幼偉
 Liu Lucas (pro S.E. Cheng Joseph) 劉順
 Schmih Bartley SVD (pro S.E. Tien); Via dei Verbiti 1; tel. 570059
 Mons. Wang Franciscus : Via Ponza 6; tel. 8929352; 420313; 420560

Ting Joseph (pro S.E. van Merckebeke), Hotel Nordland, Via Alciato 14, tel. 620704
 Yang Martinus (pro S.E. Yu-pin), Via Vespasiano 40, tel. 354058
 Wang Mons. Bonifatius (ad relationem Episcoporum), Pz. N.S. Guadalupe, tel. 334967
 Liu Joseph 劉俊鋒 (ad Studium), Via Flaminia 732/G; tel. 321624

Epistola Pro-Praesidis Episcopatus Sinarum ad
Em. Card. Praefectum S. Congr. de Propaganda Fide
de constitutione Conferentiae episcopalis sinensis.

Romae, 3 dec. 1963

Eminentissime Princeps,

Episcopi Sinarum Romae secundam sessionem Concilii Vaticani II participantes, sese congregaverunt in tribus conventibus ad negotia Ecclesiam sinensem respicientia discutienda opinionisque ad invicem communicandas. Plures eorum pro nomine Christi passi sunt, et omnes quotidie angoribus conficiuntur propter cruciatas Ecclesiae in Siniis.

Nihilominus, hoc moerore afflicti vere recreati sunt ex frequentia ac fraterna coadunatione extra-conciliari. Immo ex ipsa vita conciliari magis magisque convicti sunt talem reunionem amicalam ultro progrediendam esse, arduoque vinculum obstringendam. Atteato etiam spiritu decisionum conciliarium, earumque futura executione considerata, organizatio Conferentiae episcopalis nationalis propria dictae indispensabilis erit.

Propter adiuncta tamen morsus extraordinaria Hierarchia sinensis sub immani persecutione ac insuperabili obstaculo communicationis, non pauci Ordinarii locorum actuali constitutionis Conferentiae episcopalis nationalis interesse non possunt. Hoc vero non obstante, omnes Patres conciliares conventui diei 30 novembris 1963 praesentes firmiter convicti de huius organizationis necessitate, communiter deciderunt veram Conferentiam episcopalem nationalem seu totius nationis sinensis instituere. Etiam post illum conventum, alii Patres eo die ob varias rationes absentes, huic decisioni adhaeserunt.

Procul dubio enim, Hierarchia sinensis, etsi ad tempus normali functione impedita sit, nullatenus tamen dissoluta est et plus quam 70 episcopi Sinarum actualiter in territorio libero degentes nunquam responsabilitatem suam erga Ecclesiam sinensem in oblivione dederunt. Propterea ad futurum Ecclesiae in Siniis providendum, et ad executionem decisionum conciliarium tempestive praeparandam, inerte expectandum non est, sed immediate ad organizationem Conferentiae episcopalis nationalis procedendum est.

Rogo igitur exire Eminentiam Tuam Rev. mam ut beneplacitum ad instituendam Conferentiam episcopalem nationalem sinensem requisitum nobis concedere velit, ita ut supradicta Conferentia quamprimum, non obstante absentia coacte partis Episcoporum in Siniis, institui possit ac valeat.

Haec dum humiliter propino, summa qua par est reverentia, me profiteri gaudeo

Eminentiae Tuae Rev. mae
addictissimum
+ Paulus Yu-pin, Arch. Nanchineensis
Pro-Praeses Episcopatus Sinarum

Em. mo ac Rev. mo Domino
D. no Card. Petro Greg. Agagianian
Praefecto S. C. de Propaganda Fide
Città Vaticano

Sacra Congregazione
"De Propaganda Fide"

Prot.N. 1509/64

Romae, 22 aprilis 1964.

Excellentissime Domine,
Litteris die 3 mensis decembris superioris anni, ^{dati} huic
Sacrae Dicasterio subieiendam curasti propositionem Episcoporum
a Sinis expulsorum constituendae Conferentiae Episcopalis Na-
tionalis Sinensis, ut futuro Sinarum bene apteque prospiciatur
atque tempestive Conciliarium resolutionum executio in Conti-
nenti sinensi opportunis deliberationibus praedisponatur.

Ad rem quod attinet, Tibi significare satago hanc Sacram
Congregationem, cum omnia mature perpenderit, ea, quae sequun-
tur, respondenda censuisse.

Etsi legitimum atque laude dignum sit propositum Exc.morum
Episcoporum a Sinis expulsorum, ut quodam modo obstricti mane-
ant suis dioecibus, in quibus tot tantosque labores exantla-
verunt plurimos per annos atque magnas tribulationes aerumnas-
que sustinuerunt pro nomine Jesu, haud facile tamen videtur
quomodo ordinari reddique actiosa possit eiusmodi Conferentia,
cuius quidem membra sunt dispersa ubique terrarum et Ordinarii
quindecim abhinc annos sunt impediti absque ulla praecisa co-
gnitione de praesentibus rerum adiunctis suarum dioecesium et,
praeter occasionem a Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II oblatam,
in posterum difficillime coadunari poterunt, quin gravibus
obveniant impensis.

Quibus de causis, expeditius utiliusque videtur quo, saltem
in praesentiarum, Conferentia habeatur Exc.morum Ordinariorum,
qui sunt in Formosa, Hong-Kong et Macao quoad executionem Con-
ciliarium praescriptionum pro iisdem dumtaxat territoriis.

Haec Tibi referens, omnia fausta Tibi et felicia a Deo
Optimo Maximo enixe adprecor et summa cum observantia subsignor

Excellentiae Tuae Rev.mae
addictissimus in Domino

G. P. Card. Agagianian
Praef.

Exc.mo ac Rev.mo Domino
D.no Paulo Yupin
Archiepiscopo NANCHIMENSI.

+ P. Sigismondi
a Secr.

Appendix III Cardinal Agagianian of the Propaganda Fide's Reply to Archbishop Yupin's Letter (April 22, 1964) (Prot. N. 1509/64)

Your Eminence,

While attending Phase 2 of the Second Vatican Council in Rome the Chinese Bishops themselves have held three meetings together to discuss the business of the Chinese Church and for mutual exchange of ideas. Among them, many have suffered persecution in the name of Christ. Now they suffer every day because of the persecution happening in China.

However, those who have suffered often have new insights during brotherly meetings. The experience of living together during the Council confirms that this warm and friendly meeting should be continued to establish closer relationships. Seeing the spirit and decisions of the Council and considering putting them into practice in the future, a National Chinese Bishops' Conference is very necessary.

But because of the very special situation and that the Chinese hierarchy has been under cruel persecution and meets obstacles which prevent them from meeting together, so many local bishops could not attend a national meeting. Even so, all those who attended the meeting on November 30, 1963 firmly believe the necessity of establishing such an organization. Together they decide to establish or form a conference called Chinese Bishops' Conference. Also others who were unable to attend this meeting agreed with the decision.

Without doubt, the Chinese hierarchy, even though its normal activities are temporarily prevented from being carried out, has never been dissolved. In the meeting there were over 70 Chinese bishops living in the free world; they never forgot their responsibility towards the Church in China. Therefore caring for the future of the Chinese Church and the promotion of the decisions of the Council as soon as possible we cannot just wait. We must immediately establish a National Bishops' Conference.

All in all, I earnestly beg your Eminence to accept our petition to approve formally the Chinese Bishops' Conference and all necessary related matters pertaining to it so that the above mentioned Bishops' Conference, even if all the bishops cannot attend it, can be validly established.

In closing, I sincerely and joyfully express my great respect.

Yours most faithfully,

Paul Yupin, Archbishop of Nanjing,

Deputy Chairman, China Bishop Rome Convention

Respected Archbishop,

Your letter dated 3rd December of last year sent to the Sacred Congregation has been received regarding allowing the exiled Chinese Bishops to form a Chinese Bishops' Conference. The desire to do so would be to make a good arrangement to ensure the future in China. The bishops wish to arrange it quickly so that through proper discernment, they could carry out the resolutions of the second Vatican Council.

Concerning this matter, after thorough and mature consideration of all aspects of the situation, the reply is as follows:

Even if the proposal about the exiled Chinese Bishops is legal and worthy, and these bishops have patiently done hard work for their dioceses for so many years, suffering for the name of Jesus, how can a Bishops Conference promote development effectively? As it is seen now, it is not easy.

The members of this Bishops Conference are dispersed all over the world. They have known nothing about their own dioceses for 15 years. Apart from the opportunity given by the Second Vatican Council for them to meet together, future meetings would be much more difficult, not to mention the great amount of expense to be incurred.

For these reasons, at the moment, it seems more advantageous and profitable to establish a Bishops' Conference for the Bishops in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau and for them to carry out the resolutions of the Vatican Council solely within these areas.

Sincerely Yours in Christ.

G.P. Cardinal Agagianian
Prefect of the Propaganda Fide

+ P. Sigismondi
Secretary.

NOTES

1. This author also interviewed one of the few survivors of the Cistercian monks from the Communist destroyed monastery of the Yangjiaping, Hebei Province, Fr. Yam, in "Our Lady of Joy Abbey" in Hong Kong which is the continuation of the Cistercian Order of Yangjiaping according to the Cistercian tradition on September 15, 1988.
2. Arens Richard, SVD Missionaries in Taiwan till 1962 (1962) <http://www.svdchina.org/?q=node/102>
3. The exiled priests from the Mainland to Taiwan embraced the same attitude as the Jews in the Old Testament who were exiled to Babylon from Jerusalem and longed to return to their homeland from overseas. Cf. Psalm 137.
4. The full English name of "Propaganda Fide" is "Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith". It is a department under the Roman Curia. Now this department has been renamed the "Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples".
5. The term "substitute" church will be discussed in detail in the following issues such as when the Chinese hierarchy and Apostolic Nunciature moved to Taiwan and the Catholic central bureau was reestablished. All these issues will be discussed later in this chapter.
6. Propaganda Fide which oversees all missionary activities was renamed as the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples.

7. Congregation of the Disciples of the Lord in Latin is called *Congregatio Discipulorum Domini* (CDD).
8. In the Catholic Church, normally the national capital is named as the archdiocese and headed by an archbishop. When Taipei was elevated as the archdiocese, it was a gesture that the Taiwan Catholic Church was the substitute church of Mainland China. However, this is not necessarily true: Los Angeles is an archdiocese and LA is not the capital of the USA!
9. Report from an interview with Fr. Nicolas who was knowledgeable about this issue. The interview took place in 2000.
10. Fr. Nicolas admitted that he had reported the mismanagement of Kuo's administration. He was interviewed in 2000, in Taiwan.
11. Reported by Fr. Wu Zhenduo who had been helping Riberi to manage the legal person system and the legal registration. He was interviewed on April 17, 2002, Taichung.
12. Report from an interview with Msgr. Peter Wu Chengdou who was assigned by Riberi in 1956–1957 to investigate the church property of Taiwan. Later he was assigned to be first Secretary General of the Catholic Central Bureau in Taipei in 1961.
13. CBRC is the meeting of exiled Bishops of China's Convention in Rome during the Second Vatican Council, 1962–1965. It is a formal meeting of exiled bishops in China with 12 meetings during 1962–1965.
14. It was reported by Fr. Paul Ma, one of the priests from Beijing who was interviewed by the author on April 4, 2016, Taipei.
15. A few kindergartens were treated as the personal property of the priest because these institutes were not listed in the Catholic Directory. The priests treated these kindergartens as their own property and transferred them to their friends after their death.
16. An official in the KMT who took care of religious affairs revealed that an investment in the China Television Company (CTV station) was the fund from the Nanjing diocese.
17. It was the personal experience of Fr. Alexander Tsao, the Superior General of the Chinese Congregation of St. John the Baptist. Fr. Tsao was interviewed on March 23, 2002.
18. Taichung Apostolic Prefecture was assigned to be administered by the American missionaries (Maryknoll Fathers). Maryknoll Fr. William Kupfer M.M. was the first Apostolic Prefect of Taichung.
19. It was revealed by Fr. Nicolas who was knowledgeable about the situation of these exiled priests as well as this issue in Taiwan. Fr. Nicolas was interviewed on April 11, 2002.
20. Reported by Fr. Nicolas who was interviewed on April 11, 2002.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*

23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Fr. Joannes Chi, later promoted as Msgr. Joannes Chi, revealed his own experience of his mistreatment in China after he migrated to Seattle, USA, some years later. He was interviewed by the author in Seattle on August 7, 2007.
26. Ibid.
27. The case was the personal experience of Fr. Nicolas who revealed his stories and his relationship with the church hierarchy in an interview held in Taipei on July 21, 2002 with the author.
28. It was revealed by Fr. Nicolas in the interview on July 21, 2002.
29. The list of all the CBRC was listed in this issue.
30. Each meeting was minuted.
31. “Decree of the Bishops’ Pastoral Office in the church” 1966, in Walter Abbott (ed). *The documents of Vatican II*. London: Geoffrey Chapman.
32. For the valuable contribution of the Taiwan Bishops Liturgical Commission in the liturgical reform in the Chinese speaking world, cf. Chap. 3 “The Taiwan Catholic Church and the Indigenization Movement”.

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Taiwan-Vatican Relations from 1949 to the Present

Beatrice K.F. Leung and Tony Yun-chung Li

INTRODUCTION

Taiwan-Vatican relations¹ are defined as the Holy See's relationship with the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan. However, this relationship has its origin in 1942 as Sino-Vatican relations when the Republic of China, formerly based in Nanjing, first established diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Diplomatic relations were interrupted in 1951 by the emergence of Communist China led by Mao Zedong. Mao expelled Archbishop Anthony Riberi*, the Papal representative to mainland China, following Mao's launch of a full-scale class struggle which did not tolerate heterodox ideology. In 1952, the Vatican moved the Apostolic Nunciature to Taipei headed by Riberi to continue diplomatic relations with the Nationalist Government (ROC) in Taiwan. Yet, soon, the Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations were threatened by the China factor when Deng Xiaoping adopted the Open Door Policy in 1978.

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After 1978, however, there was a possibility for dialogue between Beijing and the Vatican, with the view of establishing a Sino-Vatican Concordat. In November 1987, Zhao Ziyang*, the then Secretary General of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), met Jaime Cardinal Sin of Manila in Beijing, and they agreed to allow their aides-de-camp to discuss further details so as to initiate formal Sino-Vatican negotiations aiming to replace the interrupted Sino-Vatican diplomatic relationship.²

For the sake of clarity, the interactions between the People's Republic of China (PRC) with the Vatican are called the Sino-Vatican relations, and the interactions between the Vatican and the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan are called the Taiwan-Vatican relations.

The meeting between Jaime Cardinal Sin and Zhao Ziyang should have given hope for a new dawn to break on the Sino-Vatican rapprochements and a new development in Sino-Taiwan-Vatican relations. However, in the course of 30 years (1987–2017), it seems the new dawn has changed into a sunset on the prospects for further dialogue; no rapprochement can be seen in the near future unless more consideration is given to the Vatican from Beijing.

This chapter aims to study the course of Taiwan-Vatican relations after 1949 until the Ma Ying-jeow administration from the perspective of Taiwan. Discussion will be based on the bilateral Taipei-Vatican relations which have gone through four stages of development according to the changes of political environment engendered by different presidents in Taiwan, namely Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo, Li Deng-hui, Chen Shui-bian and Ma Ying-jeow.

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH FROM THE 1990s TO THE PRESENT

In 1993, George Crane had discussed the insuperable obstacles besetting the unification of China and Taiwan in the context of sociocultural differences (Crane 1993, 705–723). Michael Yahuda explored Taiwan's foreign relations in the 1990s (Yahuda 1996, 1319–1339). Beatrice Leung analyzed the Sino-Vatican relations in the period from 1976 to 1986 as the problem of conflicting authority whenever the question of Taiwan was discussed (Leung 1992). Richard Madsen wrote a detailed history of the Catholic Church in China in which Taiwan-Vatican relations were briefly mentioned (Madsen 2003, 468–487). Beatrice Leung and Marcus J.J. Wang discussed the triangular relations among Beijing, Taipei and the Vatican

from a Taiwan perspective with suggestions on the outcomes if diplomatic ties between Taiwan and the Vatican were severed (Leung and Wang 2007, 495–522). Taiwan scholars Chen Fangzhong* and Jiang Guoxiong* compiled a history of Sino-Vatican relations in which the development of Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations from 1942 to 1990 was discussed (Chen and Jiang 2003). In 2016, Chen Congming employed archival material from the French to write the historical development of the Sino-Vatican relations between 1912 and 1978 in which Taiwan-Vatican relations were discussed (Chen 2016). Beatrice Leung and Marcus Wang recently discussed major problems remaining in the Sino-Vatican negotiations in which Taiwan and Vatican relations are one of them (Leung and Wang 2016).

TRIANGULAR RELATIONS, BILATERAL RELATIONS AND THE CORE PROBLEMS

In fact, the China factor has played a decisive role in the development of bilateral relations between Taiwan and the Vatican. The period 1949–1978 was the only one during which bilateral relations between the Vatican and Taipei faced no external disturbance. That was mainly because China, under the leadership of Mao Zedong, was engaged in a series of political purges and social movements, and he paid no attention to overtures coming from the Vatican. Consequently, in the Maoist era (1949–1975), no contact was possible between Beijing and the Vatican.

The tide turned when Deng Xiaoping launched the Open Door Policy in 1978. The Vatican initiated overtures with Beijing upon which triangular relations: China-Vatican-Taiwan began to develop, replacing the bilateral relations between Taiwan and the Vatican. Beijing from the beginning of the Sino-Vatican negotiations has been demanding the severance of Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations as the prerequisite condition of establishing any Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations (Leung and Wang 2016). Thus, one might argue that the core problem of Taiwan-Vatican relations comes from Beijing. How to deal with the China threat when the Vatican is the only European state from which Taiwan can extend its nondiplomatic relations of social, cultural and commercial natures with Europe is an art in foreign relations for the ROC government.

Sino-Vatican-Taiwan Relations

Sino-Vatican Relations: Clash of Authority

The clash of authority has been a traditional theme of religion and state relations for the last four centuries in China. In modern times, ideologies in religious idealism including Catholicism, clash with the dialectical materialism of Marxist-Leninism and Maoist Thought (Leung 1992). The dialectic approach of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to “Religious Freedom policy” gives the impression to most outsiders that religious freedom prevails in China as it does in the West. However, control of religious organizations including the Catholic Church in China has been practiced from Mao Zedong to Xi Jinping while the degree of control depends on the political climate (Leung 2005, 894–913).

Apart from the ideological conflict between atheism and religion, the Sino-Vatican dispute involves administrative conflicts between sovereign powers. The Vatican’s principal aim when negotiating the normalization of its diplomatic relations with China is to obtain a warmer relation with the PRC to facilitate the normal development of the Catholic Church in China.

Taiwan-Vatican Relations: Under the Threat of the CCP

Nevertheless, since 1978, Taiwan-Vatican relations have been constantly under the threat coming from China. It is because one of Beijing’s aims when negotiating with the Vatican is the severance of Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations. This would inflict a heavy blow on the island state by further isolating it from the international community and eventually forcing it to the negotiation table for unification talks. Taipei lost its UN membership in 1971 being replaced by the People’s Republic of China (PRC). This means Taipei lost its legal right to establish diplomatic relations with UN member governments as a sovereign state or to participate in any international organization with statehood as a membership requirement. This loss also opened a veritable floodgate of diplomatic relations being switched from Taipei to Beijing.

As a matter of fact, before the ROC left the UN, there was a possibility that it could have kept its seat in the UN, if Chiang Kai-shek had been able to accept dual representation, following the examples of North and South Korea and Eastern and Western Germany, as suggested by Washington. Due to Chiang’s stubborn insistence on the “One China Principle,” Taipei’s inflexible and emotional foreign policy resulted in the dramatic

loss of diplomatic relations (Li Yun-chung 38). The number of nations recognizing the ROC dropped significantly in the 1970s and 1980s. When President Ma Ying-jeow was inaugurated in May 2008, Taiwan had only 23 diplomatic allies. The 23 relatively small states with which Taiwan enjoys full diplomatic relations account for only four percent of its total trade (ROC Bureau of Foreign Trade Information 2008); it has membership with just a handful of international, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (Wang et al. 2011, 249–267). Frustrated by Beijing's imposed isolation, Taiwan's citizens demand that the government seek ways and means to rejoin the international community for active and meaningful participation. Thus, Taiwan's political leaders have to reflect the people's desire to loosen the grip of pressure coming from Beijing. Ma Ying-jeow, in his presidential speech in 2008, called for a halt to Taiwan's isolation in the international community and demanded more international space for Taiwan before warmer Cross-Strait relations could develop (Ma 2008).

Meanwhile, Taiwan-Vatican relations are definitely a major focus and priority of Taipei's diplomatic policy making. The loss of the Vatican's diplomatic relationship would be a definite setback in foreign affairs for any incumbent in the Democratic Progress Party (DPP) as the ruling party. Such a diplomatic failure would also attract heavy attack from the opposition and an erosion of public support for the new government of Tsai Ing-wen.

Sino-Vatican Relations from Nanjing to Taipei (Chiang Kai-shek Era 1942–1975)

In 1942, with the establishment of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations, the rank of the Nanjing Nationalist Government representative to the Vatican was Minister Plenipotentiary. The second Chinese government's representative to the Vatican, the reputed scholar Dr. John Wu Ching-hsiung*, began to work on the upgrading of the office of Ministry Plenipotentiary (1946–1949) into that of an embassy. At the same time, the Nationalist Government was defeated in the civil war; on 16 January 1949, it retreated from Nanjing to Guangzhou. Not only was the upgrading of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations impossible, but also Chiang Kai-shek and his government had to flee to Taiwan in December 1949. The office of Ministry Plenipotentiary to the Vatican was vacant from 1949 to 1954. It was the decision of Pope Pius XII that the renewed representation from the Nationalist Government to the Vatican should be postponed following the political

changes in China (Chen and Jiang 2003, 223–232). The Papal representative, Archbishop Anthony Riberi, did not follow the diplomatic personnel of some Western countries and leave China because he hoped to remain and present credentials to Mao Zedong and establish Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations with the new government of the People's Republic of China (PRC). However, he was expelled unwillingly from Nanjing in 1951 (Su 2000, 29–51).

After his expulsion, he remained for a short while in Hong Kong. At that time, the Vatican hesitated to send him to Taiwan to resume Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations there because some officials in the Roman Curia entertained a vague hope that the Nunciature might return to Beijing a little later (Chen and Jiang 2003, 238–243). However, persecution of Chinese Catholics was gaining momentum and the endeavor to eliminate the independence of the Catholic Church in China was in full swing. All this reflected that the chance of resuming the Sino-Vatican diplomatic relationship with the Beijing government in the near future was zero.

Archbishop Yupin of Nanjing before 1949, who was close to the Nationalist Government, successfully lobbied the Chiang Kai-shek administration in Taiwan to invite the expelled Papal representative to Taipei upon which the Vatican appointed Archbishop Riberi to re-establish the Nunciature in Taipei and resume Sino-Vatican relations in Taiwan. The bilateral relationship with the Republic of China in Taiwan and the Vatican was resumed in 1952 (Chen and Jiang 2003, 244–251).

During the reign of Pope Pius XII, the Vatican was reluctant to maintain close relationships with Taiwan for fear of antagonizing Beijing who might exert more suppression on Catholics in the Mainland. Pope Pius XII (1939–1958) in 1948 had requested Archbishop Yupin to remain in the USA³ to prevent him becoming involved in politics with his anti-Communist lobbies (Chen 2016, 265–267). In 1949, the Communist government in China declared Yupin to be a wanted war criminal (Chen and Jiang 2003, 225–232).

As far as the Vatican and Beijing's relations were concerned, with the Papal encyclicals *Cupimus imprimis* 1952 and *Ad Sinarum Gentem* 1954 denouncing Communism, and condemning the harsh treatment imposed on the Chinese Catholic Church, the Vatican raised no hope of resuming Sino-Vatican relations. Above all, the movement of independence in the Chinese Catholic Church under the Three-Selfs Policy (Xing and Liang 1996; Chen 2016, 242–246) launched by Beijing was frowned on by the

Pope (Wurth and Maheu 2006, 57–72). Beijing's relations with the Vatican became even more antagonized when Mao perceived that the Catholic Church was traditionally allied with the West, ideologically standing in the opposite camp to China in the Cold War period. Thus, no Sino-Vatican contact was possible and explains why there was no China factor to disrupt Taiwan-Vatican relations.

In 1958, a new Pope, John XXIII (1958–1963), succeeded Pius XII. The new pontiff was more open to socialist ideology in general and he was not so anti-Communist as his predecessor. The new Pope convoked the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) (Vat II) to renew the Church. Taiwan bishops were invited to participate in the Vat II, but not a single bishop from the Mainland was allowed to participate. It was said that the Vatican had extended the invitation through Egypt, but no reply was received from the PRC (Chen 324). That was because, by that time, China under Mao was completely isolated from the outside world. It was state policy that no citizens were allowed to travel to the West. It partly explained why the Catholic Church in the Mainland was separated from the universal Church and later on when China was opening up in the 1980s it had to learn from scratch the renewed liturgy in the vernacular and the doctrines with a new approach.

In 1963, Pope Paul VI was elected to the papacy. He was influenced by the modern trend of accepting European Communism as a reality. Thus, the Vatican's Secretary of State, Cardinal Casaroli, launched the Ostpolitik policy which was an accommodation policy toward the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Communist bloc (Stehle 1981). The Vatican hoped to develop a less antagonistic attitude toward the Communist states while requesting the local churches to cooperate with Communist governments in policies which would be for the benefit of the people. With concession and compromise, the Ostpolitik policy was successful to some extent in Eastern Europe apart from Poland (Stehle 1981), even though it also generated negative effects on the local churches in Hungary (Chen 2016, 338–339).

The Pope prepared himself to dialogue with China. He made overtures to China on various occasions. First of all, on 4 October 1965 when he spoke in the UN Assembly, he suggested that China should be brought into it (*Acta Apostolica Sedis* 1965, 880). Then on 31 May 1965, he sent telegrams to leaders of the USA, USSR, China and Vietnam asking them to make a joint effort to settle the problem of hostilities by bringing peace to Vietnam. The telegram to China was addressed to Chairman Mao but

there was no reply (Wurth and Maheu 2006, 152). In January 1966, a New Year message was sent to Mao but again, no reply. In his homily on 6 January 1967, he expressed his wish to open up some kind of contact with China. The Pope's message fell on deaf ears. The lack of reply was partly due to the fact that China under Mao in that period was immersed in various political purges prior to the Cultural Revolution and the Cultural Revolution itself.

The release of the American Bishop James Walsh from China in 1970 after 12 years of imprisonment prepared the way for Sino-US rapprochement in the 1970s, inspiring the Vatican to approach China in a more dramatic way. For Pope Paul VI on his first trip to Asia and Oceania, Hong Kong, a British colony, would not normally be on his itinerary. Since the door to China was closed to foreign visitors from the West and to go to Taiwan would have been a *faux pas* indeed, Hong Kong was the only remaining possibility. In spite of the cool reception of the Hong Kong government, the Holy Father still insisted on making a short half-day visit to Hong Kong during which he spoke to China. It showed his ever urgent desire to have some kind of contact with the silent Catholics under Communist rule (Leung 1992, 193–196). The Taiwan Church was furious, because the Taiwan bishops and Catholics who wanted to meet the Pope in Hong Kong were refused entry visas. Consequently the Taiwan Church sent not only its bishops to meet the Pope in Manila but also a group of very high-profile laity headed by John Wu Ching-hsiung, the former ROC ambassador to the Vatican, to meet the Pope and participate in the Asian Bishops' Conference with an added agenda item denouncing Communism (Chen and Jiang 2003, 319–323).

The "Two China" Policy of Pope Paul VI (1963–1978)

Cardinal Montini had become Pope Paul VI in 1963. As a cardinal, Montini had had experience in the Vatican's foreign affairs. He himself had to face the reality of the existence of Communism, so he began to launch the Ostpolitik of the Vatican and transform the policy of confrontation into one of accommodation toward the atheist Communist countries in Eastern Europe (Stehle 1981). Pope Paul VI's so-called Two China Policy was very dialectic in approach (Chen and Jiang 2003, 307–310). At the beginning of his reign, the West led by the USA was engaged in the Cold War against the USSR bloc, and an arms race and nuclear deterrence were in full swing. A nuclear war could be triggered at any time, indicating

that peace was indeed distant even though the UN was an international organization which was supposed to promote peace and settle conflict in the international community.

Pope Paul VI's "Two China" Policy meant that he expressed his willingness to make overtures to the PRC while enhancing its closeness with Taiwan. Pope Paul VI's thinking agreed with the USA's suggestion of dual recognition of the PRC and ROC governments and also agreed with the USA's suggestion as to the coexistence of the PRC and ROC governments in the UN. Secondly, he knew that the UN was an international organization and an instrument to promote peace and reduce conflict. With the membership of the PRC in the UN, possible antagonism between China and the West could be reduced (Chen and Jiang 2003, 307–317).

In 1965, when Pope Paul VI spoke in the UN Assembly, he openly suggested that China should be brought into it. In 1968, he sent a message to the Secretary General of the United Nations repeating his suggestion that the PRC should be allowed UN membership. For Taipei, naturally it was an unfriendly gesture, because to allow the PRC to enter the UN meant recognizing it as a sovereign power.

To the surprise of Taiwan, in 1969, the Pope unexpectedly elevated Archbishop Yupin to the College of Cardinals, a candidate whom the Nationalist Government favored, but who was frowned on by Beijing, and once silenced by the Vatican. Yupin's elevation to the Cardinalate was in the "Two China" Policy of the Vatican of Paul VI (Chen 2016, 355–367). The Taiwan Church and government took it as a sign confirming Yupin's anti-Communist stance.⁴

On 25 October 1971, Taiwan's representative to the UN declared Taiwan's withdrawal of its membership of the UN before the UN voted to admit the PRC as a member. Taiwan was thus replaced by Beijing as a member of the UN, the international community formally accepting the PRC as a member of their assembly.

On the same date, the Apostolic Internuncio to the ROC government, Archbishop Edward Cassidy, was recalled to the Vatican. The Taipei Nunciature was vacant for a few months until Msgr. Francesco Colasuonno was sent by the Vatican to Taipei as the Charge d'Affaires. In fact the sending of the Charge d'Affaires was the best result Taiwan could obtain after a difficult negotiation between the Taiwan Church leader, Archbishop Lokuang of Taipei and Cardinal Casaroli, the Secretary of State of the Vatican, the architect of Ostpolitik (Leung 1992, 48–72). In fact Casaroli's original idea was to withdraw the Apostolic Nunciature from Taiwan

(Chen and Jiang 2003, 338–341). Since then, the Papal representative to Taipei has been downgraded to the rank of Charge d’Affaires. It was a gesture to China that the Vatican has good will for dialogue with Beijing regarding the normalization of Sino-Vatican relations (Dai 2002, 9–13). The normalization has been a threat to the disruption of Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations. However, the ROC government representative to the Holy See has remained unchanged with the rank of ambassador.

“Normalization” of Sino-Vatican Relations (in the Chiang Ching-kuo and Li Deng-hui Era, 1975–2000)

Even after the death of Mao in 1974, the signal of overture from the Vatican was not received positively when Hua Guofeng, Mao’s successor, visited Europe in November 1979. He met the Italian president in Rome but refrained from paying a friendly visit to the Pope in the Vatican.

Only after Deng Xiaoping initiated the modernization policy in 1978 was there a possibility for dialogue with the view to establish a Sino-Vatican Concordat. First of all, in June 1980, the release of Bishop Dominic Deng Yiming* of Guangzhou from imprisonment of 22 years, and allowing him to go abroad, was a trial balloon sent up from Beijing to see the reaction of the universal Catholic Church to its liberalization policies. In February 1981, Cardinal Casaroli who accompanied Pope John Paul II on his visit to Manila made a detour to Hong Kong to meet Deng and gave an explicit message to the press conference in Hong Kong that the Vatican would like to initiate a dialogue with the PRC (Leung 1992, 203–210).

In this trip to the Far East, Pope John Paul II also spoke to Chinese people from Manila. In a warm speech he confirmed that the Church embraces all men as brothers. Then he praised the Chinese efforts in building up the future and assured that a good Christian would also be a good Chinese citizen. However, China responded with indifference by not allowing any newspaper to cover the Pope’s Far East visit nor the joint press conference of Casaroli and Deng. The government officials only remarked coldly that the PRC had no relations with the Vatican, and the prerequisite condition of establishing any Sino-Vatican relations was the severance of Taiwan-Vatican relations (Leung 1992, 210–212). The Vatican’s overture toward Beijing was also expressed in the commemorative conference on the 400th anniversary (1582–1982) of Matteo Ricci’s arrival in China, the founding figure of the Jesuit China mission, who was honored as a bridge between Eastern and Western culture (Chen and

Jiang 2003, 371–376). When there were gestures from the Vatican aimed at wooing Beijing for a Sino-Vatican dialogue to normalize Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations, the Taiwan government watched the interactions between Beijing and the Vatican with anxiety. The Taiwan Catholic Church which had a tradition of being allied to the Nationalist Government in Nanjing since the time of the Sino-Japanese War (1938–1945) was nervous about the Vatican's lopsided policy toward China. Taiwan bishops on 13–14 November 1983 met the Papal representative, Cardinal Lourdasamy*, the deputy head of Propaganda Fide in Taipei, to express their displeasure at the Vatican's China policy of giving the cold shoulder to Taiwan. The message was passed to the Pope after Lourdasamy returned to the Vatican (Chen and Jiang 2003, 378–390).

In February 1984, seven Taiwan bishops made their *Ad Limina* Visit (to the Vatican).⁵ They had the opportunity to meet the Pope and high-ranking officials of the Roman Curia to express their anxiety about the Vatican's policy toward Mainland China. They challenged the views of the Vatican on the possible severance of diplomatic ties with Taiwan and remarked that this would be a bitter blow to the morale of Taiwan Catholics. Apparently they had the Nationalist Government behind them and represented their government to express the fear of being victimized by the Vatican in its wooing of Mainland China (Lokuang 1996, 35/511–525).⁶

They requested to be kept directly informed on the Vatican's future moves toward the Mainland. The Vatican had to appease the anguished Taiwan bishops that the normalization of Sino-Vatican relations would not be at their expense. In future, if there were any move toward China, the Taiwan Church would be the first to be informed (Leung 1992, 231–238). Then the Pope himself recruited the Taiwan Church to help him with China, by inviting the Taiwan Catholics as well as all overseas Catholics to become the bridge between the Chinese Catholic Church and the Universal Church (Wurth 1985, 177–179).

In November 1987, Zhao Ziyang, the then Secretary General of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), met Jaime Cardinal Sin of Manila in Beijing, and they agreed to allow their aides-de-camp to work out more details initiating formal Sino-Vatican negotiations. The meeting gave new hope for the fostering of Sino-Vatican rapprochements. During the years of informal and formal talks between Beijing and the Vatican, issues which were brought up for negotiation can be summarized into the following categories: (1) the arrangement to share power between the Vatican and

China in appointing Chinese bishops; (2) the method of unifying the official and nonofficial sectors of the Chinese Catholic Church; (3) the ways and means whereby the Papal representative in Beijing relates to local bishops in the future; (4) the ways for moving the Papal Nunciature in Taipei to Beijing with minimal disturbance and embarrassment to Taiwan.

In 1999, the United Front Office of the CCP called a meeting in Beijing on 19 October to discuss Sino-Vatican relations. It was participated in by a restricted group of bishops to discuss deployment after the realization of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations. Beijing acknowledged that these diplomatic relations were important because they would give China a better image in the international community. However, Chinese analysts agreed that the normalization of relations with the Holy See depended on the needs of the foreign as well as the domestic political climate in China.

On 25 October 1999, the Vatican's spokesman, Dr. Navarro-Valls, expressed the common knowledge that the Holy See desired to have good relations with all countries including China. The following day, China's Foreign Minister expressed that China was willing to establish relations with the Vatican under two conditions: breaking relations with Taiwan and not meddling with China's internal affairs including religious affairs (*International Fides Service* 1999). This rhetoric had been echoing for many years, since 1987 in fact, at the beginning of the Sino-Vatican negotiations. The rhetoric was repeated when issues of the clash of authority were crystalized in the unilateral appointment of bishops on 6 January 2000. In Beijing, the unilateral ordination of five new bishops was the beginning of a series of illicit episcopal ordinations in later days to reflect the Sino-Vatican dispute. The 6 January 2000 ordination seemed to be an open challenge to the Pope just hours before the Pope was to ordain 12 bishops from around the world in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Jasper Becker in his report called this "Beijing in Open Snub to Pope" (Becker 2000). It was because all the episcopal ordinations without Papal approval would jeopardize Sino-Vatican negotiations. The China Foreign Service Department repeated the same rhetoric that breaking relations with Taiwan and not meddling with China's internal affairs including religious affairs were the two essential conditions to begin the normalization of the Sino-Vatican relations (Leung and Wang 2016, 469).

Before some solution embodying tolerance and accommodation could be created to resolve the issues stemming from the above discourse, two new requests appeared from Beijing in August 1999 adding extra

complexity to the unresolved problems. Beijing's two requests which unnerved the Vatican were (a) the transference of the ecclesial administrative power of a local bishop to the civil authority and (b) in the joint appointment of Chinese bishops, Beijing suggested the current practice of selecting an episcopal candidate unilaterally while the Vatican would continue simply to approve the government appointment. In the first place, the Vatican could not accept the suggestion because the Papal authority would be undermined in the Chinese Catholic Church according to Art. 333, Art. 377.1 and Art. 377.5 of Canon Law (*Codex Iuris Canonici* 1983, 333,377.1 and 377.5).⁷

In other words, such a suggestion does not reflect a Sino-Vatican joint appointment in the spirit of the Concordat, when Beijing appoints the episcopal candidate and the Vatican simply approves the appointment.

*Vatican's Attempts to Break Through Beijing-Vatican Deadlock
(the Chen Shui-bian Era, 2000–2008)*

On 21–26 November 2005, Cardinal Tauran, the Vatican's former Minister of Foreign Affairs, was informally sent to Taiwan, to deliver a message from the Vatican on its recent move regarding Sino-Vatican relations and its implication for Taiwan-Vatican relations. He gave two public lectures in Taipei and Kaohsiung on the Vatican's diplomacy. Having delivered the sensitive lectures, he used diplomatic language to promise Taiwanese people that the Vatican would not abandon them though the Vatican's relations with Taiwan in days to come might be switched to a social and cultural nature rather than a diplomatic one. He openly acknowledged that the Nunciature in Taipei would remain the "Apostolic Delegation to China" as it was in Nanjing some 50 years before. For political reasons it had been moved to Taipei in 1954 and, after the normalization of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations, the "Apostolic Delegation to China" would be moved back from Taipei to Beijing.

An apostolic delegate is not a diplomatic representative and is a form of representation which the Vatican has created to maintain a presence in countries which have refused to have diplomatic relations with it, very often because they are hostile to Catholicism (as in England in the past). This status is not equivalent to the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT). An apostolic delegate does not normally undertake cultural and similar negotiations.

Vatican-Taiwan relations would become different in nature. The Vatican would have social and cultural relations rather than diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Under the policy of replacing diplomatic relations with cultural and academic relations, Taiwan government might consider the following:

1. To initiate exchanges between the Vatican Museum and the National Palace Museum. Such cooperation between two of the world's biggest museums would serve Taiwan's foreign policy aiming at increasing its presence in the international community.
2. To increase academic exchanges between Taiwan and the Vatican by putting it on the list of nation-states with which it has academic exchanges through the National Science Council.
3. To initiate a project like Ireland's, by assisting the Mainland in the name of a Bridge Church. This endeavor would be in keeping with Taiwan's policy toward the Vatican—to help it foster the freedom of religious belief on the Mainland.
4. To use the building of the Apostolic Delegation in Taipei after its relocation to Beijing as the premises of the Taiwan-Vatican Cooperation Office. An archbishop would replace the Charge d'Affaires as the Vatican's representative for social and cultural affairs in Taiwan.
5. Taiwan's Catholic Church should urge the amending of the Education Law by allowing religions to be taught in primary and high schools. That might allow Christianity to help improve public morals. Few people know that, in 1947, the KMT while still in power on the Mainland banned the teaching of religion in schools (Liang and Wang 2007, 129–153).

If Taiwan adopted these suggestions, it would continue to have strong ties with the Vatican, though these would be religious, societal, cultural and academic in nature. In fact, teaching religion in schools is not “academic.” It is an essential part of the exercise of freedom of religion. There would be deeper understanding and frequent exchanges between them. Taiwan-Vatican relations could be strengthened rather than eroded.

In 2006, the Vatican sent a delegation to Beijing for routine contact. It gave Beijing a clear message that any Sino-Vatican negotiation had to be conducted in an atmosphere of mutual trust. It implied that the Sino-Vatican negotiations were at a deadlock due to the lack of mutual trust between Beijing and the Vatican.⁸

In 2010, negotiations between the Vatican and Beijing resumed and have continued. In February and June 2010, two sessions of formal talks took place in Rome and Beijing, respectively. In July 2010 two Vatican special envoys visited Beijing quietly for a discussion on various issues. According to the report of a veteran China watcher of the Church, the July 2010 meeting failed to get a document signed by the Vatican on the appointment of bishops.

*A Return to Stable Taipei-Vatican Relations
(the Ma Ying-jeow Era 2008–2016)*

The illicit ordination of the Chinese bishop of Chengde, Father Joseph Guo Jincan*, took place on 21 November 2010. The ordination was a blow to Sino-Vatican relations. It brought the ongoing Sino-Vatican negotiations to a halt. Sino-Vatican relations further deteriorated with the Eighth National Assembly of Catholic Representatives (The Assembly) held in Beijing from 7–9 December 2010. The Assembly’s high-sounding goal was “to support patriotism and independent Church principles, resist outside forces and unite all clergy and Catholics to walk the path of socialist society.” For the past four years, the Assembly had been postponed because bishops of the government-monitored section of the Church refused to participate, following directives from the Holy See. Thus Sino-Vatican relations dropped to their lowest ebb with the unilateral appointment of bishops and the calling of the Assembly (Leung and Wang 2016, 467–482). Meanwhile, Taiwan was also glad to see no interactions between the CCP government and the Catholic Church.

The Vatican is the only sovereign state in Europe, which has diplomatic relations with Taiwan. The loss of the Vatican’s diplomatic relationship would be a definite setback in foreign policy for Ma Ying-jeow’s administration and would incur a heavy attack from the opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), especially when a presidential election was round the corner in January 2016. Beijing was anxious to see Ma Ying-jeow’s government with its warm policy toward the Mainland still prevail after the election; therefore, Beijing did not make the Sino-Vatican negotiation a success by creating a Sino-Vatican Concordat during that uncertain period before the presidential election on 6 January 2016.

To be more specific, Cross-Strait relations, which have important implications for Sino-Vatican relations, have now changed significantly. The relationship across the Taiwan Strait experienced a fundamental change

from Taiwan, which was heading toward independence under Chen Shui-bian's presidency, to the dialogue and cooperation with Beijing under Ma Ying-jeow's presidency. Beijing perceives that eventual unification with Taiwan might be on the not-so-distant horizon. There is less incentive for concessions and compromises to create successful Sino-Vatican negotiations because the need to isolate Taiwan has dwindled considerably. From Beijing's point of view, future unification could be possible without further contribution from the Vatican.

Moreover, the value of religion in general, including Catholicism, has decreased in China. There are signs to show that the Beijing leadership does not wish to have a close alliance and cooperation with religions that are reservoirs of virtues and morality. In the national campaign of building morality during Hu Jintao's administration, religious leaders in China were asked to promote only economic development and social harmony, but not to build up socialist morality (Senior leader urges religious group 2009). China prefers Confucianism as a means for building morality. In reality, there are many contrasting versions of Confucianism: liberal Confucianism, official or conservative Confucianism, leftist Confucianism and depoliticized-popular Confucianism, among others. More importantly, Confucianism is just one ingredient in the eclectic mix of characteristics in today's China. China has been selectively choosing depoliticized-popular Confucianism as its means to develop socialist morality (Ash 2009). It is an indication that China would like to keep its distance from religion in order to avoid a clash about teaching authority between dialectic Marxism-Leninism and religious idealism.

TAIWAN'S INADEQUATE UNDERSTANDING OF THE VATICAN

In Taiwan's bureaucracy, compared with other ministries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs somewhat lacks esteem. It is because the 22 mini states in Central America and Africa which have diplomatic relations with Taiwan do not make a significantly important impact in promoting Taiwan's foreign relations, when these mini states themselves are very minor players on the periphery of international politics.⁹

There are some other states that have no diplomatic relations with Taiwan, but maintain commercial and cultural ties. Taiwan still sends representatives to these countries. For example, the USA maintains unofficial relations with the people on Taiwan through the American Institute in

Taiwan (AIT). On the occasion of the inauguration of President Tsai Ing-wen, there were 700 foreign guests from 59 nations, some were headed by vice presidents, some were led by vice prime ministers and some were led by first ladies (CTI News 20 May 2016).

The Vatican is a sovereign state which embodies religious issues as well as political ones. Many Taiwan officials in the European Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, have failed to grasp the nature of Vatican diplomacy: when does it play a religious role and when does it play the role of a secular state? The process of bringing President Chen Shui-bian to the Vatican for the funeral of Pope John Paul II was a classic example to illustrate this problem.

Immediately after the news of the death of Pope John Paul II was released, no one in Taipei's Foreign Ministry took the initiative to work for President Chen's participation in the funeral ceremony. It was left to a Jesuit priest who had friends in the Nationalist Government and the Apostolic Nunciature in Taipei which served as liaison between the two Foreign Affairs offices in Taipei to facilitate the president's participation. The Vatican's Charge d'Affaires in Taipei worked carefully and discreetly with the officials in Rome as well as with officials in the Vatican making sure that Beijing would not block Chen's presence on the solemn occasion with 4 emperors, 5 queens, 50 presidents and prime ministers and 44 religious leaders participating.

Eventually President Chen's delegation of five persons was able to go to the Vatican for the Papal funeral without disturbance from Beijing. On this solemn occasion, the US President Bush's delegation consisted of three presidents, the First Lady and the Secretary of the State. The Taiwan Presidential delegation consisted of the President, two anonymous Catholic priests including one aboriginal Catholic priest, one Muslim Imam and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Compared with those in the US delegation, the Taiwan President did not realize that the occasion of this funeral was a religious service as well as a platform for interactions among the political leaders who were present on the occasion. Indirectly it reflected that under the leadership of President Chen, the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not grasp the nature of the Vatican, with its religious and secular aspects.

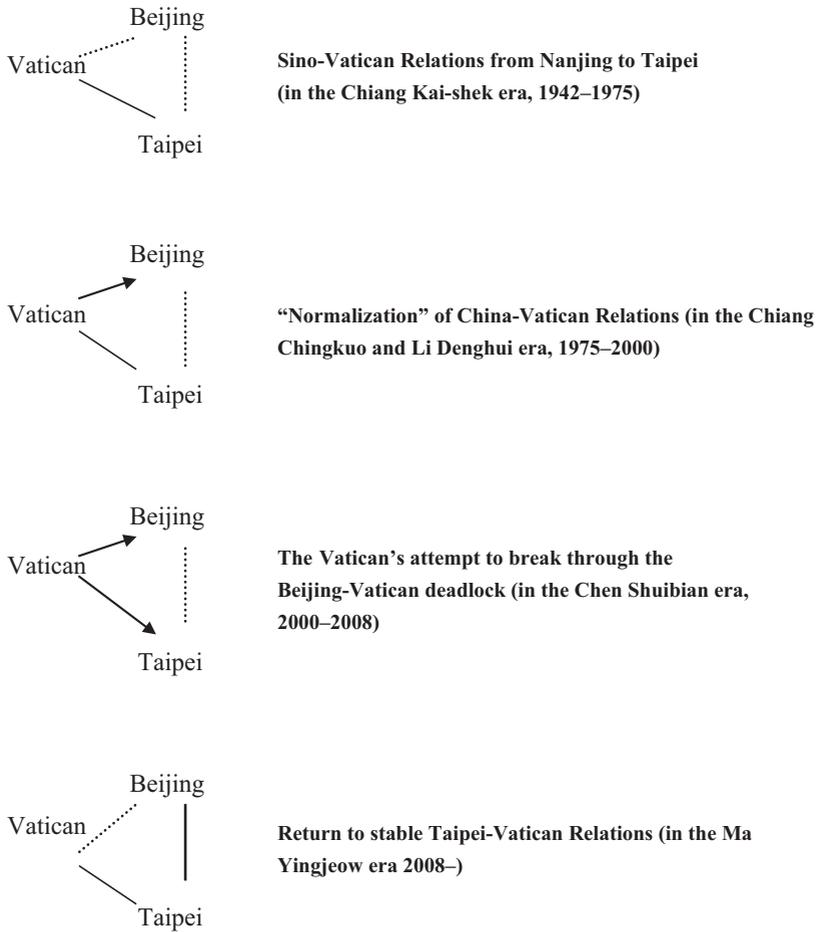
The Taiwan delegate to the canonization of Popes John XXIII and John Paul II on 27 April 2014 headed by Taiwan's Vice President Wu Den-yih appeared more presentable than that of President Chen.

However, Wu was seriously criticized by Catholics for violating religious practice. It was because he, as a non-Catholic, during the Holy Mass of the canonization received Holy Communion which by Catholic doctrine is exclusively for Catholics alone. From a religious point of view, Wu's act in receiving Holy Communion was sacrilege. While Chen Shui-bian was criticized for not appreciating the secular aspect of the Vatican, Wu was unaware of the religious aspect of the Vatican.

The former ROC ambassador to the Holy See, Mr. Raymond R.M. Dai* (1996–2003), has made a thorough study of Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations in the context of the current political environment. Even though China has been imposing a threat to the safety of Taiwan-Vatican relations, he maintained that the Vatican would like Beijing and Taipei to dialogue and find a way through which both sides of the Taiwan Strait could enjoy peaceful coexistence. By so doing the Vatican might avoid the painful choice of severing relations with Taipei for the sake of the Catholics on the Mainland (Dai 2002, 9–13). According to Dai, the Vatican hopes very much for a possible dialogue between Beijing and Taipei working toward reconciliation between the PRC and ROC. Given the political development of China, the political mood of Zhongnanhai*¹⁰ and its role played in the international arena as a rising power, it would be hard to dream that Beijing would allow the Vatican to maintain the same diplomatic relations with the PRC and ROC on an equal basis acceptable to both sides of the Strait. The co-representation of the PRC and ROC with the Vatican in diplomatic ties might be interpreted as the wishful hope of Taiwan.

In the 2000s, for Beijing, the normalization of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations was not the first of its political priorities. Not everyone in the top leadership of Beijing agreed about dialoguing with the Vatican, as revealed by a veteran Church scholar, Father Jerom Heyndrickx* (Heyndrickx 2014). During Ma Ying-jeow's rule, the Cross-Strait relationship was perceived by Beijing as never having been so harmonious since 1949. Not only has the volume of Catholic exchange between the Mainland and Taiwan increased dramatically, but also, in 2001, Taiwan allowed Chinese Catholic clergy and religious women from the Mainland for the first time to pursue further studies in Taiwan's Fu Jen Catholic University. It is the beginning of interactions among three players: the Vatican, China and Taiwan in the context of the United Front Policy in one project.¹¹

Beijing hopes for the continuation of the ROC's administration (2008–2013) whose policy of Cross-Strait relations it finds most acceptable. In short, Taiwan's sociopolitical development is also a factor which directly contributes to the prolonged Sino-Vatican negotiation and stabilizes the Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations (Fig. 5.1).



Legend:

- Normal Relationship with equality
- > Warming Relationship of one state towards the other following the direction of the arrow
- Broken Relationship or disputed relationship

Fig. 5.1 Four stages of Taipei-Vatican-Beijing relations described and analyzed in this chapter

Taiwan, in reality, could be more confident about its own status as the target to be wooed by Beijing for unification. Beijing's policy of "one country two systems," "Taiwanese govern Taiwan," "fifty years unchanged" and "high degree of autonomy" has been applied to Hong Kong first and, so it hopes, to Taiwan later. Unfortunately from the outset this policy has not been attractive to Taiwanese. In the presidential election in January 2016, there was a slogan current among young people requesting the public not to give votes to the KMT. It read: "If you vote for the KMT, Taiwan will change like Hong Kong." It was apparent that the young people in Taiwan had carefully watched the mainlandization of Hong Kong and were trying to avoid it as much as possible.

TAIWAN AND THE VATICAN: EXPERIENCING GOOD RELATIONS

Many commentators hold that the security of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and the Holy See largely depends on the stage of development of PRC-Vatican relations. Many people think that Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations rest in the shadow of PRC-Vatican relations. It seems to them that Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations can enjoy a high degree of security as long as the formulation of Sino-Vatican relations remains on the distant horizon. Given that the PRC and the Vatican are not ready for sincere rapprochement, Taiwan-Vatican relations are experiencing a period of security.

According to this view, a "win" for Beijing is a "loss" for Taipei, and a "win" for Taipei is a "loss" for Beijing. The Holy See is uncomfortable at being placed in this situation. "We must seek to break out of the current international framework of competing alliances, in which one or some parties win and one or some parties lose. We must break out of the sterile win-lose approach and seek solutions which are beneficial to all parties (Russell 2015)." Thus, from the perspective of the Holy See, it remains to be verified whether Taiwan must lose in order for the PRC to win or whether a solution can be found which is positive for Taiwan, the PRC and the Holy See.

The Catholic population in Taiwan has been decreasing in size (290,000 in 2008 and 230,000 in 2014). Although it has seven dioceses, the Church in Taiwan is small compared with the Church in other states where the Holy See maintains an Apostolic Nunciature and diplomatic personnel. Since

August 2012, the Holy See maintains two diplomats in Taiwan. The Holy See's resources are limited, and it naturally prefers to focus on countries with an increasing Catholic population and a growing Church.

Despite its small size and decreasing Church membership, Taiwan enjoys very high levels of interaction with the Vatican. In recent years, Taiwan-Vatican relations have experienced a heightened degree of activity, including events which had never previously taken place in their 73 years of diplomatic relationship. On 2 December 2011, the Holy See and the Republic of China signed an education cooperation agreement which was ratified by both parties and took effect in December 2012. This agreement confirms that titles, diplomas and degrees earned at ecclesiastical universities worldwide will be recognized in Taiwan. Similarly, the titles of Taiwanese universities will be recognized by all worldwide ecclesiastical universities (Cervellera 2011). This is the first-ever international agreement between the Holy See and the Republic of China.

Taiwan and the Holy See have exchanged many high-level visits. On the occasion of the election of Pope Francis, the Taiwan President Ma Ying-jeow and his wife traveled to the Vatican and were present at the Pope's Installation Mass. At that Mass, President Ma Ying-jeow was able to meet a considerable number of Heads of State. He was received as a Head of State among other Heads of State. After the Mass, President Ma Ying-jeow and his wife were received by Pope Francis and talked with him. This marks the first time in history that the President of the Republic of China met a reigning pontiff. This gesture represents a great honor for Taiwan whose President's sphere of activity in the international community is very circumscribed. Similarly, the Vice President of the Republic of China, Mr. Wu Den-yih, traveled to the Vatican in April 2014 and participated in the Canonization Mass of Pope John XXIII and Pope John Paul II. After the Mass, Vice President Wu also met Pope Francis. The Foreign Minister of the Republic of China, Mr. David Lin, traveled to the Vatican in October 2014 and participated in the Beatification Mass of Pope Paul VI. After the Mass, Foreign Minister Lin was received by Cardinal Pietro Parolin, Secretary of State, and the two held a 40-minute conversation. There have been many visits of high-level Holy See officials to Taiwan. At different times in the past years, Taiwan has seen the visit of the Prefect and other officials of the Congregation for Catholic Education; the Prefect and other officials of the Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life; the President and other officials of the

Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue; the President and other officials of the Pontifical Council “Cor Unum”; the President of the Pontifical Council for the New Evangelization; the Secretary and other officials of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (multiple visits); the President of the Pontifical Commission for International Eucharistic Congresses and many others of the same or different levels. Moreover, the Holy See has chosen to hold several important international conferences in Taiwan.

There have also been significant cultural events. The Pontifical Sistine Chapel Choir performed in Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan in September 2015. It was the first time the Choir had traveled to Asia and therefore the first time the Choir had performed in Taiwan. The Choir, the Pope’s personal choir, can only travel with the express permission of the Pope. Its performance may be interpreted as a sign of Pope Francis’ consideration and effort to balance the relationship between China and Taiwan (Sistine Chapel Choir readies for 1st Taiwan concert 2015). In November 2015, the Office for the Liturgical Celebrations of the Supreme Pontiff and the Taipei National Palace Museum signed a contract for the exhibition of 60 precious liturgical items from the Apostolic Sacristy at the National Palace Museum to be held from February to May 2016. Never before in history have so many precious items been lent by the Apostolic Sacristy to any institution anywhere in the world. Paul Russell, the Charge d’Affaires of the Holy See to the Republic of China in March 2016, announced that the Holy See Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue and Daoist Religious Authorities would hold the first-ever official high-level Christian-Daoist dialogue in Taiwan in October 2016. In 2017 the same Pontifical Council would hold the sixth high-level worldwide Christian-Buddhist dialogue in Taiwan (*Taiwan News* 12 March 2016). Reflection on these events demonstrates the Holy See’s friendship and high regard for Taiwan.

CONCLUSIONS

Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations began in Nanjing in 1942. Due to the insignificance of the Vatican in the international arena, the Nationalist Government in Nanjing only sent a Minister Plenipotentiary but not an ambassador to the Vatican. Sino-Vatican relations changed their name into Taiwan-Vatican relations when the Nationalist Government retreated to Taiwan. It was a bilateral relation during the presidency of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo with considerable stability when China under

Mao Zedong did not respond to the welcoming gestures of the Vatican which cared about the well-being of the persecuted Chinese Catholics.

However, the China threat to Taiwan-Vatican relations was a state policy of Beijing to force Taiwan to negotiate for unification. In the Sino-Vatican informal and formal contacts, the possible severance of Taiwan-Vatican ties posed a significant threat to this island state during the presidencies of Li Deng-hui and Chen Shui-bian.

It was during the Cold War period that the Vatican launched its Ostpolitik policy of accommodation with Communist states, which aroused the anxiety of Taiwan society and Catholics in particular about the possible severance of Taiwan-Vatican relationships.

Indirectly the bilateral relations between Taipei and the Vatican gradually switched to triangular relations among Beijing, Taipei and the Vatican. Taiwan cannot afford to lose diplomatic relations with the Vatican for geopolitical reasons. Since 1999, Taiwan's anxiety about the formulation of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations and the severance of Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations has been greatly reduced due to the political environment in China both in its domestic scene and its Cross-Strait policy.

NOTES

1. The Vatican city-state is a territory of 44 hectares (110 acres) on the Vatican Hill in Rome under the sovereignty of the Holy See created by the 1929 Lateran Treaty. The Vatican is an ecclesiastical or sacerdotal-monarchical state, governed by the Pope. It is the sovereign territory of the Holy See (Latin: *Sancta Sedes*) which is the central governing body of the Catholic Church and a sovereign entity recognized by international law, consisting of the Pope and the *Roman Curia* (the central administration of the Catholic Church). The Pope is not only the sovereign ruler of the Vatican State but also the supreme leader of the Catholic Church in the world.
2. Revealed by Father Jose Calle, SJ, who accompanied Jaime Cardinal Sin during the latter's meeting with Zhao Ziyang in 10–20 November 1987.
3. In 1948 Yupin was in the USA Lobbying USA Chinese and the Church to combat the Communists. By that time Nanjing was under Communist rule, the National Government exiled to Guangzhou was preparing to go to Taiwan, so the Pope had no choice but to ask Yupin to stay in the USA without returning to Taiwan or to Guangzhou to join the National Government.
4. Yupin's anti-Communist stance also found in Vol. II Chap. 2.

5. Ad Limina Visit means every five years local bishops go to the Vatican to visit the Roman Curia and the Pope to present a report on the pastoral work to the Holy Father and the Roman Curia on their own dioceses.
6. Archbishop Lokuang's diary had a special section on how he interacted with Taiwan officials and President Li Deng-hui who requested Lokuang to persuade the Pope to visit Taiwan in 1988. On Lokuang's return from Rome, he reported to President Lee on his mission entrusted by the latter. See Lokuang. *Mù lú wénjí* [Pastoral Lodge Anthology] Section 6, in Complete Collection of Lokuang's Work volume 35 p. 511–525.
7. *Can. 333: Romanus Pontifex, vii sui mueris, non modo in universam Ecclesiam potestate gaudet, sed et super omnes Ecclesias particulares earumque coetus ordinariae potestatis obtinet principatum....Can 377.1: Episcopos libere summus Pontifex nominat, aut legitime electos confirmat. Can. 377.5: Nulla in posterum iura et privilegia electionis, nominationis, praesentationis vel designationis Episcoporum civilibus auctoritatibus conceduntur. Codex Iuris Canonici. Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis. 1983.*
8. The lack of trust led to the Vatican's delegate refusal to sign a preliminary agreement in the negotiation in 2011. Thus the conservative leaders on the top level of Beijing took the winning side and began the militant policy of resuming the unilateral appointment of bishops. It was revealed by a priest close to Beijing.
9. It was revealed by an anonymous staff member who had spent some time serving in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
10. Zhongnanhai is an imperial garden in the Imperial City, Beijing, China, adjacent to the Forbidden City; it serves as the central headquarters for the Chinese and the State Council (central government) of the People's Republic of China. The term *Zhongnanhai* is closely linked with the central government and senior Communist Party officials. It is often used as a metonym for the Chinese leadership at large (in the same sense that the term the White House frequently refers to the President of the USA and his associates).
11. This author interviewed the Archbishop of Taipei, John Hung, SVD, in 2011 and learned that Beijing will send 30 clergy and sisters to Taiwan each year to further their studies. She met the Mainland sisters and clergy studying at Fu Jen University in May 2013.

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Taiwan Catholic Bishops and the Bridging Endeavor: Origins and Development

Beatrice K.F. Leung and Wen-ban Kuo

INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Recently, in fact since 2013, there has been discussion among Vatican officials about the terms “Bridge Church” and “Bridging Endeavor” regarding the Church in Mainland China. The terms were launched in 1984 to describe assistance to the Church there. After 30 years, given the great changes in China, the Vatican has suggested that the terms “Bridge Church” and “Bridging Endeavor” go into history and the interaction between the Catholics on the Mainland with diaspora Catholics in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau should be the interactions of “Sister Churches”.¹

Before the concept of “Sister Churches” is widely promoted, and the “Bridge Church” with its “Endeavor” goes into history, this chapter aims at studying the origins and the development of the “Bridge Church” and “Bridging Endeavor” beginning from 1984 under the sterling leadership of the Taiwan Bishops’ Conference headed by Archbishop Lokuang* of Taipei.

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After the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1978, China turned a new page by launching a policy of modernization leading to the opening up of society. Loosening its grip on non-conformists including religious personnel and the revival of religious activities in China, it aimed at facilitating the modernization program. Consequently, Chinese Catholics saw the dawn of a revival of Catholicism. The Vatican, the administrative headquarters of the Catholic Church, lost no time in making an overture to Beijing hoping to normalize their disrupted Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations.

In 1981, the release of Bishop Dominic Tang (Deng) Yiming* of Guangzhou to Hong Kong after solitary confinement in prison for 22 years encouraged the Vatican to push the idea of seeking reconciliation with Beijing (Tang 1994). However, the Beijing government openly declared that the two prerequisites of any Sino-Vatican reconciliation would have to be: firstly, the Vatican must sever its diplomatic ties with Taiwan and secondly the Vatican must not interfere in China's internal affairs including religious affairs (Leung 1992, 376–383).² In 1981, when the Vatican began to seek dialogue with Beijing about the rapprochement of Sino-Vatican relations, Beijing even requested the severance of Vatican-Taiwan relations before any negotiations could take place (Leung 1992, 231–238).

THE TAIWAN CHURCH AFTER MAINLAND CHINA REPLACED TAIWAN IN THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY 1971

In 1963, Pope Paul VI was elected to the papacy. He was influenced by the modern trend in the West of accepting European Communism as a reality. His right-hand man, Cardinal Casaroli*, the Secretary of State, launched the Ostpolitik policy between 1967 and 1987 which was an accommodating policy replacing confrontation toward the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Communist bloc (Stehle 1981; Chen 2016, 335–339). Casaroli was supported by his assistant, Archbishop Silvestrini, the Undersecretary of State. They both thought that the same accommodating policy could be applied to Communist China. By that time, in the Department of Propaganda Fide, now renamed the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, its head, Cardinal Rossi, was neutral toward this accommodating policy, while the deputy head, Archbishop Lourdasamy, supported Cardinal Casaroli's view. In the

Roman Curia's³ administrative system, foreign affairs were under the control of the Secretary of the State, and Church affairs in foreign mission countries such as China were under Propaganda Fide.

Church leaders in Taiwan shared the unease of Taiwanese political leaders who were disturbed about the possible normalization of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations and the consequent result of the severing of Taiwan-Vatican relations. It was because by that time (1971) Taiwan had left the United Nations (UN) and many states had severed their diplomatic ties with the ROC and turned to the People's Republic of China (PRC). As things stood, the Vatican was the only European platform for Taiwan's presence in the international community.

Archbishop Lokuang of Taipei, the president of the Taiwan Bishops' Conference, believed that it was inappropriate for Vatican officials to cultivate a sympathetic view toward the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CCPA) while neglecting the clandestine Mainland Catholics who were loyal to the Vatican.⁴ The CCPA, a state organized religious association, aimed at controlling the open sector of the Chinese Catholic Church which dominated the Catholic Church on the Mainland. The clandestine sector of Chinese Catholics, who had remained faithful to the Holy See since 1949, still remained under persecution (Lokuang 1996a, 35/431).

On 25 October 1971, Taiwan's representative to the UN had declared Taiwan's withdrawal of its membership before the UN voted on it. Taiwan was replaced by Beijing as a member of the UN, other independent states in the international community thereby formally accepting the PRC (Beijing) as a member of the UN and recognizing it as China and the Republic of China on Taiwan as Taiwan (Lokuang 1996a, 35/431; Chen and Jiang 2003, 376–379).

On that same date, Archbishop Edward Cassidy, the Apostolic Internuncio to the Nationalist government in Taipei, was recalled to the Vatican and transferred to Bangladesh. The withdrawal of the Apostolic Internuncio caused ripples not only in religious circles but also in international community circles. The Holy See's embassy in Taipei remained vacant for a few months. Bishops in Taiwan did not comprehend the Vatican's intention to permanently close its embassy in Taipei (Lokuang 1996b, 32/387). Lokuang, using his 30-year-old connection with officials in the Vatican, had to plead with the Holy Father three times before the Pope consented to have Cassidy become simultaneously the Apostolic Internuncio to Taiwan and Bangladesh until Msgr. Francesco Colasuonno

was sent by the Vatican to Taipei as the Charge d’Affaires (Chen and Jiang 2003, 338–341; Chen 2016, 378–379). In fact, the appointment of a Charge d’Affaires was the best result Taiwan could obtain after a difficult negotiation between Archbishop Lokuang and Cardinal Casaroli (Leung 1992, 48–72). Casaroli’s original idea had been to withdraw the Apostolic Nunciature from Taiwan altogether (Chen and Jiang 2003, 338–341). Since the papal representative held a high moral position within the diplomatic circle, its diplomacy was weighted with moral value. The withdrawal of Taiwan’s Apostolic Nuncio would have negative effects, for example, among states in Latin America (Chen 2016, 379). That is why the papal representative to Taipei still exists although downgraded to the rank of Charge d’Affaires, a gesture to China that the Vatican has good will to prepare the way to dialogue with Beijing aiming at the reestablishment of Sino-Vatican relations.

TAIWAN UNDER THREAT BY THE SINO-VATICAN NEGOTIATIONS

In the 1970s, scholars convoked many academic seminars and conferences in Europe and the USA on China. In 1972, European Protestant and Catholic Churches began to create study centers. For example, in Brussels, a semi-academic bulletin called “Pro Mundi Vita” was launched to report the news of the Christian churches on the Mainland and discuss the Church and state relations there. From 29 January to 2 February 1974 in Baståd, Sweden, the Lutheran World Conference convoked an international conference discussing the Christian experience and theological development in Communist China. In the same year, from 9 to 14 September, the second part of the conference was held in the Catholic University of Leuven. This international conference was one of the early conferences on the Christian churches in modern China and was participated in by the European Catholic and Protestant church scholars. Thirty-two papers were read by pro-socialist scholars from the Catholic and Protestant churches during these two conferences. Participants agreed that the 1949 Civil War was salvation for Chinese Christians after China had been freed from western imperialism. Chinese Christians should read the “signs of the times” to exercise self-examination, self-criticism and adjust themselves to the new Communist regime (Lutheran World Federation and Pro Mundi Vita 1976, vol. 1, 3–4, vol. II 17–23). In the 1980s, after the Holy

Spirit Study Centre had been established, these documents were promoted for study and discussion because they were the first batch of academic writing about Christianity after 1949.⁵ Pro-leftist Sinologists in the European and US Churches advised the Vatican to take the Catholic Church in Mainland China as the Catholic Church in China, and give aid for whatever was needed, while keeping the Taiwan Church at arm's length in order not to antagonize Beijing (Lokuang 1996a, 35/431).

The possibility of normalization of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations has always been a threat to Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations (Dai 2002, 9–13). However, the Taiwan government's representative to the Holy See has remained unchanged with the rank of ambassador. Meanwhile, in the international community, a “new attitude” had been developing toward China. Archbishop Lokuang in his autobiography recalled that since the 1980s, within Catholic circles in the West, the cry for the formulation of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations and the severance of Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations was strident. The West perceived that the Taiwan bishops were in the same boat as the Nationalist government in opposing the Vatican's contacts with Beijing. Some even suggested that Taiwan bishops should not touch the pastoral work of overseas Chinese round the world, and withdraw from the pastoral care of Chinese students in Europe and the USA, in order to prevent Taiwan pastoral workers dividing the overseas Chinese into pro-China and pro-Taiwan camps causing trouble to the local bishops (Lokuang 1996b, 32/383).

Backed up by pro-leftist intellectuals, Beijing adopted an unfriendly attitude toward those who had diplomatic ties with Taiwan. Simultaneously within Catholic circles, Taiwan bishops were criticized for not caring about the persecuted church on the Mainland.

TAIWAN BISHOPS AND THEIR FRUSTRATION

External segregation and internal pressure pushed the Taiwan church leaders into a corner, neglected by the international community and blamed by the local church. Thus, the Taiwan Bishops' Conference needed to clearly express its grievance and anxiety to the Pope and Roman Curia. It decided therefore to make use of the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the arrival of Matteo Ricci* in China in mid-November 1983, inviting a papal representative to discuss these so-called divisive issues (Lokuang 1996a, 35/431–432) (Fig. 6.1).



Fig. 6.1 Photo of Archbishop Lokuang (1911–2004)

The program of celebration of the arrival of Matteo Ricci was attended by Taiwan government officials and celebrities. It was not the core of the agenda. The meeting of the Bishops with the papal representative was the heart of the matter. On 13–14 November, 1983, meetings were held in the Internunciature in Taipei. All Taiwan Bishops, led by the president of the Bishops' Conference, Lokuang, met the papal representative, Archbishop Lourdasamy* the deputy head of Propaganda Fide, one of the promoters of the Vatican's Ostpolitik in China.

The Taiwan bishops and Lourdasamy held closed door meetings in two lengthy sessions over two days. Each participating bishop expressed his grievances and views on the Vatican's China policy, on the Catholic

Church in Mainland China and on the Vatican's treatment of Taiwan. The minutes of these two meetings were signed by 11 episcopal participants and were translated into Italian as a five-point memorandum to the Pope from the Taiwan Bishops' Conference (Chen and Jiang 2003, 378–390). The five points were as follows: (1) The Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CCPA) is an instrument of the Chinese Communist Party. (2) The sacrifice of the clandestine Chinese Catholics who suffered for their faith should be treasured and honored. (3) Foreign Catholic visitors in China only meet the open sector of the Catholic Church and they tend to favor the CCPA who controls the Open Church. (4) Although Taiwan bishops are not experts in Sinology, yet they are Chinese and can comprehend events on the Mainland and the Catholic Church there. (5) If the universal Church is concerned about the Catholic Church in China, how much deeper the concern the Taiwan church should express. The Vatican should not, out of fear of Beijing, forbid the Taiwan Catholics to be concerned about their brethren across the Taiwan Strait (Lokuang 1996a, 35/435).

After receiving the five-point memorandum, the Polish Pope John Paul II, who had experience in dealing with Communists in the Soviet bloc, sensed the frustration and anxiety of Taiwan church leaders. On 20 January 1984, through Msgr. Paul Giglio, the Vatican's Charge d'Affaires in Taipei, he sent a message to Lokuang saying that, given the recent dialogue between Taiwan bishops and the undersecretary of Propaganda Fide, and the psychological situation of the church in Taiwan, he was really anxious about the whole issue. He therefore invited the Taiwan Bishops' Conference or its representatives to come to Rome for a face-to-face talk about it (Lokuang 1996a, 35/437).

TAIWAN BISHOPS VISIT THE VATICAN

In February 1984, seven Taiwan bishops at the request of the Holy Father made a special visit to the Vatican before their normal *Ad Limina Visit*⁶ (8 November 1985). The seven Taiwan bishops were the members of the Steering Committee of the Taiwan Bishops' Conference plus Bishop Paul Cheng Shi-guang* of Tainan. The subject of discussion not only focused on the Church on the Mainland in the context of the five-point memorandum but also on Catholic education in the Catholic Fu Jen University in Taipei.

During this trip to the Vatican, Taiwan bishops also visited the Ministry of Education and Department of the Secretary of State. In Lokuang's record, the exchange of views between Taiwan bishops and the officials in the Department of Education headed by Cardinal Baum on the issue of seminary education revealed the wide gap in perceptions concerning church-state relations. The bishops expressed to Cardinal Baum, the head of the Department of Education of the Vatican and other officials there that "seminaries in the Mainland were controlled by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)". However, the undersecretary replied that there were also Communist-run Catholic seminaries in states like Cuba and Czechoslovakia, where the majority of seminarians were loyal to the Pope. Lokuang retorted that the National Bishops' Conferences of Cuba and Czechoslovakia were loyal to the Pope, but the CCPA in China did not accept the Pope as the supreme head of the Catholic Church (Lokuang 1996a, 35/443). However, Lokuang's comments conflict with the oral evidence from Mainland church students in that era who reported that they resisted Communist indoctrination very successfully during their seminary training. It depended on the stage of Communist control of the Catholic Church. From 1957, first of all the CCP applied the United Front technique to attract some Catholics to their camp. Then they persecuted the non-conformists by putting them on public trial in various political campaigns such as the Anti-Leftist Campaign. The persecution drove many Catholics underground and they claimed to the Vatican that they had resisted Communist indoctrination by studying in underground seminaries.

During the visit to the Department of the Secretary of State which is the center of the Vatican's *Ostpolitik*, the deputy head of the Secretary of State, Archbishop Silvestrini, held two sessions of lengthy discussion with Taiwan Bishops. Silvestrini explained to them the Vatican's China policy of wooing Beijing to re-establish Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations. It was purely for the sake of the Church on the Mainland and not for political reasons. However, Taiwan bishops expressed to Silvestrini and the officials in the Secretary of State that they were concerned about the severance of Taiwan-Vatican relations. The severance of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and the Vatican would draw the hearts of the Catholics in Taiwan away from church authority, but mostly the bishops explained that the Vatican's policy toward China was problematic (Lokuang 1996a, 35/445). In fact, Lokuang later explained to Taiwan Catholic leaders that the first priority of their concern was not the severance of Taiwan-Vatican relations

as such but the Vatican's problematic attitude toward the Open Church on the Mainland whose concept of the Catholic Church was not "one, catholic, apostolic Church" explicitly according to Catholic doctrine (Lokuang 1996b, 32/387).

During the meeting with the Department of the Secretary of State, a new eight-point memorandum was drawn up from the discussions among the Taiwan bishops and Archbishop Silvestrini. These eight points suggested actions the Vatican should take.

1. Openly announce that communion with the Pope was the essential gesture to join the College of Apostles (Collegium Apostolorum).
2. Through public opinion on an international level, clarify that the "religious freedom" advocated in the Mainland was not the same as the "religious freedom" in the Catholic context (Leung 2005, 894–913).
3. Invite the Secretary of State to celebrate the 125th anniversary of the establishment of the Taiwan Catholic Church.
4. Strengthen the Radio Veritas and Radio Vatican broadcasts to the Mainland.
5. Strengthen the loyalty of the Hong Kong Catholic Church and its functions in aiding China.⁷
6. Strengthen the recruitment and formation of vocations in Taiwan preparing it with personnel to evangelize the Mainland and the diaspora Chinese.
7. Allow high ranking Vatican officials to visit Taiwan.
8. Set up a China Church Commission to study problems concerning the Church in Mainland China with Chinese bishops included in the commission (Lokuang 1996a, b, 443–444; 445–446).

Although this eight-point memorandum overlapped somewhat with the previous five-point memorandum, yet some years later, most of the eight-point suggestions had been adopted by the Vatican. For example, Radio Veritas was moved to Taiwan for better performance in beaming to China. Chinese language programs of Radio Vatican had been strengthened targeting audiences in China.⁸ The China Church Commission was set up in 2007 by the Vatican to advise the Holy See on China affairs. In fact, the two memoranda (five points and eight points) which enshrined the views of the Taiwan bishops had long-range results.

TAIWAN BISHOPS MEET THE POPE AND THE BRIDGING ENDEAVOR

When meeting the Taiwan bishops in person, the Holy Father consoled them by telling them that the normalization of Sino-Vatican relations would not be at their expense. He stressed two things. First, the Pope promised that, in future, if the Vatican made any moves toward China, the Taiwan church would be the first to be informed (Leung 1992, 231–238). Second, the Pope during the same visit of Taiwan Bishops invited the Taiwan Church to “help him” with China. Explicitly the Pope asked the Taiwan Catholics as well as all overseas Chinese Catholics to become a bridge between the Chinese Catholic Church and the Universal Church (Wurth 1985, 177–179; Lokuang 1996a, 35/448–452).

When meeting the Pope, the Taiwan bishops dialogued with him in the context of their eight-point memorandum which had been summarized into four points. (1) The Universal Church should render support and encouragement to the clandestine church. (2) Concerning the Hong Kong Catholic Church, a center should be established to unite the diversified ideas within the diocese. (3) The spirit of evangelization of the Taiwan Church should be strengthened to let it become the center of revival of the Church in Mainland China. (4) The universal nature of the Catholic Church should be openly emphasized by the Holy Father in order to stimulate the self-examination of the so-called patriotic Church. Clearly these four points crystallized the wishes of the Taiwan Church regarding the Church in Mainland China.

Evidently the Taiwan bishops had the National Government of ROC behind them and represented it to express their fear of being victimized by the Vatican in its wooing of Mainland China (Lokuang 1996a, 35/511–525). They requested to be kept directly informed on the Vatican’s future moves toward the Mainland Chinese Church. It was the best the Holy Father could do for Taiwan. During this visit, Pope John Paul II expressed his difficulty in dealing with China to one of the Taiwan bishops. The Holy Father recalled that in dealing with the Polish Communist Government, he himself led the whole process, and he could have the final say on the Vatican’s policy for the country. It was because he knew Poland and he knew what he was doing. However, he could not do the same for China because he was not familiar with the complicated situation there so he had to allow his officials to manage the issue.⁹

The encounter of the Taiwan Bishops with the Vatican certainly drew papal attention to the neglected Taiwan factor in its China policy. More

importantly, the Pope invited the Taiwan Church to become a “Bridge” Church. This was the most significant result of the negotiations generated in the long term, concerning the Churches in Taiwan and Hong Kong. The papal invitation to the Taiwan Church together with the diaspora Chinese Church to be a bridge linked the Universal Church and the Chinese Church. In other words it laid the foundation of the Bridging Endeavor of the overseas Chinese Catholics toward China.

EVALUATION OF THE TAIWAN BISHOPS’ VISIT

While the visit of the Taiwan bishops to the Vatican in February 1984 could not suddenly uproot the pro-leftist orientation of the Vatican, at least it provided some suggestions to counterbalance its pro-leftist views. Also the experience of Polish Pope John Paul II under European Communism contributed to checking the speed of the optimistic pro-leftist approach creating a more careful or cautious approach to Chinese Communism. The policy making of the Vatican toward China which was traditionally generated from the European clergy began to be more open to the views of Chinese clergy from Taiwan. This gesture also opened the door of the Vatican’s bureaucracy to Chinese staff in days to come. It eventually led to the appointment of Archbishop Savio Hon Daihui,* a Chinese from Hong Kong, as secretary of Propaganda Fide on 23 December 2010.

On 8 September 1984, the Taiwan Bishops, through a pastoral letter, explained to Taiwan Catholics their views on the issues regarding Mainland China. The pastoral letter entitled “On the Church in China: One Flock and One Shepherd” raised three issues—(1) communication between the local church and the Universal Church; (2) communication with the Pope; and (3) the necessity of the relationship among the Church in China, the Universal Church and the Holy Father. According to Lokuang, these were the core perceptions of the Taiwan Church on the Bridging Endeavor (Lokuang 1996a, 35/474–480).

HONG KONG CATHOLIC CHURCH AS A BRIDGE: SUGGESTIONS OF TAIWAN BISHOPS

Lokuang’s observation about the Hong Kong Catholic Church’s diversity, when he dialogued with Pope John Paul II, reflected that Lokuang had inadequate knowledge about the development of the Catholic Church in

Hong Kong. Hong Kong church hierarchy and he himself had very little interaction or communication at that period. In fact, after WWII, Hong Kong Catholics made good progress under the leadership of the Italian Bishop, Lawrence Bianchi, and the first Chinese Bishop Francis Hsu Cheng-pin* who convened the Diocesan Synod (1970) making Hong Kong the first Asian diocese to implement the teaching of Vatican II on a diocesan level. Lokuang failed to realize the healthy development of the Hong Kong Catholic Church in which diversity is allowed within the framework of unity in charity and faith (Leung and Chan 2003).¹⁰

The lack of good understanding of the Hong Kong Catholic Church made Lokuang think the loyalty of Hong Kong Catholics had to be strengthened as he indicated in his eight-point suggestions. Perhaps the diversification of a small number of young Hong Kong Catholic university students who had been sympathetic to socialism and had a romantic patriotism of supporting the new China under Communist rule made Lokuang take them as diversified and disloyal to Church teaching. However, his misconception proved to be groundless. It was true that in the 1970s, Hong Kong Catholic students had been attracted for a short period by pro-socialist ideology, colored as it was by Liberation Theology. However, a pro-socialist approach and pro-Communist approach are different in many ways. Social and political outcomes in the Mainland such as the famine during the Great Leap Forward, the armed struggle among different cliques during the Cultural Revolution and, above all, the pro-China riot in 1967 led a considerable number of traditional Communists in Hong Kong to defect to the free world.

Among them were young Hong Kong Catholics who were aware enough to be awakened into disillusion with Communism. Pro-China sentiment in their political participation turned into the protection of religious freedom through democracy when Beijing and London decided to have Hong Kong return to Chinese rule in 1997 (Leung 2017). Hong Kong Catholics took part in the first Legislative Council election in 1991 supported by the Hong Kong British government but frowned on by Beijing. The voting rate reflected that more Catholics than others in the general public (86.6 percent vs. 39.1 percent) participated in the election (Leung and Chan 2000) and the China factor or the attitude toward China was one of major factors for them to vote for the Democratic Party but not the pro-China Party (Joan Leung 1992, 49–78).

Regarding the question of helping the Mainland church through the mission entrusted by the Pope John Paul II, Lokuang's viewpoint was that the Taiwan church would be more capable than that of Hong Kong due to its understanding of the Mainland situation, common language and affinity. He gave the impression of being rather like an elder brother among the Chinese bishops (he was the chairman of the Chinese Bishops' Conference), not wanting to see the younger brothers go astray, suggesting that the Taiwan Church could work with Bishop John Wu* who had spent years in Miaoli as a parish priest before being appointed bishop of Hong Kong. By that time, Bishop John Wu who had warm relations with Taiwan bishops was willing to cooperate with Taiwan's bishops on the issue of dealing with the Church on the Mainland (Lokuang 1996b, 32/387). However, the Vatican's opinion differed from that of Lokuang. Hong Kong was chosen by the Vatican to set up a research center—the Holy Spirit Study Centre—to study the development of Catholic life in China. This center would be the location for annual meetings of Bridging Church members during which the coordination of projects rendered to China Mainland both societally and ecclesiastically would be discussed and evaluated.

Taiwan bishops' perception of the Hong Kong Church had its historical background. Shortly before 1949, Beijing was already under Communist rule and it was becoming evident that the CCP would replace the KMT as the ruling power in China. Some Chinese clergy exiled from the Mainland fled to Hong Kong. However, Archbishop Riberi, the papal representative in Nanjing, insisted that Chinese clergy should not desert their Catholics and leave China (Chen 2001, 155). Many of the exiled clergy from China were not welcomed by the Hong Kong Diocese and had to turn elsewhere, very many of them to Taiwan. However, after 30 years, the aloofness between Hong Kong and Taiwan churches did not prevent Taiwan church leaders thinking about the Hong Kong Church in terms of the Bridging Endeavor.

After 1987, when China opened up for modernization and reform, Taiwan Catholics began to travel to China to visit their homes on the Mainland. They had to travel through a third location, that is, Hong Kong or Macau (Leung and Kuo 2014, 170–172).¹¹ Before the Taiwan government in 2001 allowed the three links: “linking of trade, mail, air and shipping between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait” (Three Links),¹² it was clear that Hong Kong and Macau's proximity to the Mainland made them ideal transit stations for the Bridging Endeavor in aiding Catholics on the Mainland.

Therefore, during the 1980s, with Bishop Wu's Taiwan connections and his friendship with Taiwan Bishops, the Taiwan Bishops' Conference found the Hong Kong church under Wu's leadership was more acceptable and approachable than formerly. With the good communication system and efficiency in Hong Kong, Taiwan Bishops thought of it as a suitable transit station between Taiwan and the Mainland.

Thus, in 1984, when Taiwan bishops had to encounter the Vatican on the China question, even Lokuang who had his own perceptions about what he thought was the arrogance of young Hong Kong Catholics presented Hong Kong to the Holy See as a potential partner in aiding China. Even though some Taiwan bishops were uneasy about Hong Kong's loyalty to the orthodoxy of Catholic faith, they suggested that Taiwan should ally with Hong Kong in the Bridging Endeavor (Lokuang 1996b, 32/387).

Therefore, the Data Collecting Committee on the Chinese Church sponsored by the Taiwan Bishops' Conference extended its membership not only to Taiwan but also to Hong Kong, then to Macau and Singapore becoming a platform for exchange of data and information (Lokuang 1996a, 32/385; 32/387; b, 35/473-474).

THE OPERATION OF THE BRIDGE CHURCH UNDER TAIWAN BISHOPS

The Taiwan bishops returned from the Vatican with the mission that their Church should render assistance to the Chinese Catholics on the Mainland. The Taiwan Bishops' Conference during its meeting on 8 March 1988 decided to dissolve the "Committee Concerning the Church on the Mainland" which had aimed at assisting the revival of the Mainland Catholic Church in the post-Maoist era. It would be replaced with the newly established Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference" (CRBC) (A Table of Summary)¹³ led by Archbishop Lokuang, Bishop Ti Kang* of Taipei Archdiocese, the Coadjutor Bishop of Taipei, and Bishop Liu Hsien-tang* of Hsinchu. These bishops all came from Mainland China and were veteran church leaders and China experts. It was hoped they would competently assist the Catholic Church on the Mainland (The Work Report 2007).

Five sub-committees were set up for bridging purposes by the CRBC. These were (1) the Mainland Church Committee, (2) a data bank at the Catholic Studies' Center of Fu Jen University, (3) a committee concerning the Evangelization of China, (4) a committee for Research on Chinese Church Problems, (5) Service to Visitors to the Mainland (A Table of Summary).

The Service Center of the Bridge Church Committee (Service Center) was set up in September 1989 and operated actively for 15 years (1988–2007). The CRBC has the following records concerning aid to Catholics on the Mainland in various areas:

1. Sending religious literature (52,728 volumes), audio-visual equipment (1,666 pieces) and sundry items (53,346 pieces) to 33 locations in China (The Work Report 2007).
2. Receiving 3126 letters from China. These letters did not include e-mails. Information from these letters was classified as important data for future references and records of the Catholic Church in China (The Work Report 2007).
3. Campaigning for scholarships to foster priestly vocations. During the years 1991 to 2005, the Service Center launched a campaign to aid the formation of future priests in local seminaries in China. Seminarians numbering 1416 from 63 dioceses within 24 provinces and districts benefited from the scholarships. Each candidate received NT\$10,000 per annum. Most of them were recommended by Taiwan priests who had connections to the Mainland. The total donations for the scholarships amounted to NT\$13,690,000.¹⁴ The total expenditure on scholarships came from 330 donors in Taiwan. At the outset, donation campaigns took place in different dioceses, but the response was not positive. In fact most of the donations came from close friends of members of the CRBC or the Service Center.¹⁵
4. Setting up a service section for visiting in Mainland China (Visiting Section). In 1988, when traveling to China was still a new experience, the Visiting Section compiled a booklet comprising a brief directory and information for travelers on the procedures of China travel, on the situation of the Catholic church in China, advising Catholic travelers on things they “could do” and “could not do” in China and so on. This Visiting Section also liaised with the returned Catholics from China to get their reports on the development of the Church there (The Work Report 2007). The booklet was welcome when copies were first printed in 1988. It was because, since 1949, Taiwan people were ignorant about regulations in the People’s Republic of China. The travelers to the Mainland found the booklet very useful. Later on, when there had been more traveling experience between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, the booklet became obsolete.¹⁶

5. In the 1950s, the exiled priests in Rome had promoted a prayer campaign for the conversion of China. However, the message was not widespread and the response less than dynamic. In 1992, the Service Center set up a Committee for “Praying for the Conversion of all Chinese People” calling upon Catholics around the world to pray for the conversion of the Chinese on the Mainland and also for Chinese in the Greater China Region and diaspora Chinese. Prayer cards were printed not only in Chinese but also in major European languages such as English, Italian, French and German, to be distributed to the public.
6. Inviting representatives of the Mainland Church personnel to visit Taiwan. In 1997, with the cooperation of Taiwan Fu Jen Catholic University, seven priests, three nuns and three lay persons from China visited Taiwan. They visited all the Taiwan dioceses with the exception of Hualien. The CRBC hoped that the experience of the Taiwan visit might have an impact on the visitors and enhance their pastoral service on the Mainland in days to come. In 1998, an invitation for March 1999 was planned to invite 20 church personnel to visit Taiwan again. However, the planning came to a sudden halt due to an internal dispute within the Taiwan Church on the question of the invitation of underground church personnel.¹⁷
7. Concerning formation courses for religious Sisters. Among the personnel working in the Chinese Catholic Church, religious Sisters were most numerous. However, the formation of religious Sisters was far from satisfactory. Therefore, officials of the Service Center visited China 12 times within the period from 1996 to 2007 for the formation of Chinese religious Sisters. In general the formation was launched according to the seniority of Sisters in religious life. Some of the formation courses were organized for the Sisters of a certain geographical district, and others were launched annually according to the nature of the program and the needs of the Sisters. The CRBC had a detailed record of each major formation course recorded in the final report of the Service Center when its work was terminated in 2007 (The Work Report 2007).
8. In April 1998, the Service Center set up a committee for “Data Collection for Catholic History in China” (Data Collection Committee). This committee was subsidized by the Service Center and the CRBC but functioned with complete independence and autonomy. Up to February 2000, two volumes relating to the

Catholic history of China entitled *History of Religious Persecution of Contemporary China* (Zhongguo jindai jiaonan shi)* (1948–1957) and *The Annual of Major Events in the Last 40 Years of the Chinese Catholic Church* (Zhongguo Tianzhujiào sishi nian dashi jilu)* had been printed. When the Service Center closed in 2007, the work of the Data Collection Committee was transferred to the Catholic History Study Center, Fu Jen Catholic University.

DISCUSSIONS ON THE BRIDGING ENDEAVOR UNDER TAIWAN BISHOPS

On Obtaining Information on Catholic Life in China

In general, for 18 years, the Bishops' Conference, through the aid programs of the Service Center, witnessed unexpected achievements regarding China in two areas.

First, through the Sisters' formation programs, the sending of religious literature and sundry items requested by China, and through various forms of communication such as letters and e-mails, the CRBC obtained a substantial outline of the situation of the Chinese Church. In reality, from the 3,126 pieces of correspondence from the Catholics in Mainland China, some important information was obtained and "A Brief Summary on Important Information Compiled by the Bridge Church" (Qiaoliang jiaohui fuwu zhong zhongyao xunxi zhaiyao biao) was formulated from which a more accurate picture of the Catholic Church in China could be painted. The information was very valuable, like small pieces in a jigsaw puzzle, which could help to reveal more about the complicated picture of the Catholic Church in China at that time.

On the Sisters Formation Program

As early as the 1980s, when the Chinese Church began to resume its religious activities, the formation of priests was the first to receive the attention of the Vatican which requested funding agencies to help priestly formation in China (Leung 2001). However, the formation of the female section of church personnel, for example, the Sisters' formation, had to wait for development. Eventually funding agents agreed that some resources should be transferred to Sisters' formation. In September 1989, Fr. Lucien Schmidt, OMI, the head of the Asian Section of Mission, the

German funding agency, after traveling intensively to some dioceses in China, expressed the view that some resources for formation of Chinese priests should be transferred to the nuns. He believed that without external help, the local Sisters under the jurisdiction of diocesan bishops would simply become the domestic helpers of priests and bishops. Indeed, most of the Sisters coming from traditional Catholic families were from rural areas and had a very low level of education.¹⁸

In 2004, the Vatican's China Committee confirmed that the major part of the Bridging Endeavor in China should focus on formation of church personnel in general and Sisters' formation in particular.¹⁹ From the 12 programs recorded in the final report of the Service Center, the life of religious Sisters in China can be outlined. From the intensified formation programs offered by the Service Center, one might notice the following phenomena:

- A) At the beginning of the launching of the formation programs, when Sisters needed professional training, vestment making provided them with a livelihood. The female religious orders, although under the supervision of the bishops and priests, had to be financially self-supporting. Vestment making was a very appropriate means for the Sisters to earn a living within the Church. The nature of religious life, spirituality and human integration were themes for formation that followed later. The first two programs of Sister Formation in 1996 and 1997, had vestment making as the chief objective. It was because in 1996, Fr. Jeroom Heyndrickx CICM, who had been establishing good relations with Liu Bainian*, the head of the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association, received state permission to import one large-sized container of religious articles and materials for vestment making for liturgical purposes.²⁰
- B) The type of formation themes and contents revealed that the formation programs were very necessary because the potential of Chinese religious Sisters had simply not been developed. The comparatively low educational standard, the lack of role models and norms of religious life plus insufficient formation in many diocesan congregations provided very limited essential knowledge and awareness of religious consecration (Leung 2004, 67–106). Therefore, basic catechetics, the nature of religious life, spirituality and liturgy were fundamental courses for most Sisters. In religious communities,

leadership and skill in administration are important; therefore, the training of religious superiors and formators of Sisters (novice mistresses) were also appropriate for many religious congregations (The Work Report 2007).

- C) All these formation programs were launched by the Service Center in Taiwan. Teachers were invited from abroad. With foreign involvement, the cooperation of the CCPA was absolutely essential. In fact, it was the chairman of the CCPA, Liu Bainian, who suggested launching the project of Sister Formation to Fr. Jeroom Heyndrickx CICM representing the Taiwan Bishops' Conference and the Service Center.²¹ Without Liu, how could such a big container of religious articles, materials and fabrics for vestment making be imported into China? There was sufficient mutual trust among Fr. Jeroom Heyndrickx, Liu Bainian and the Service Center in the matter of Sisters' formation. The trainers and lecturers for each program were carefully selected, and not a word relating to politics would be uttered during the courses.

According to the general practice of the Chinese Communist Party, Liu knew the minute details of the course contents and the delivery of courses through reports of the participants. He kept records of all the activities regarding formation courses on the top floors of the building of the CCPA to ensure protection without any disturbance from other bureaus. Even though Liu had the reputation of being antagonized by the far-sighted Cardinal Joseph Zen Ze-kium*, having being Zen's archenemy for many years, he revealed another side of himself which was not known to many in the matter of Sister Formation. Even though all the 12 programs listed as major programs on either national or regional levels, under the auspices of the CCPA, were for the Open Church, a few underground church Sisters were able to join although the Sisters of the Open Church remained in the majority.²²

- D) According to recent statistics, there are more or less 5,000 Chinese religious Sisters in China (Charbonnier 2014, 24). The 12 formation programs could not accommodate even one fifth of them. While most of the participants were selected from various religious congregations, it was expected that the participants would share with those who did not have the opportunity of being trained. However, sharing had not been the culture of Chinese society when

political purges and persecutions prevailed during the Cultural Revolution and other political campaigns. The message from the formation courses did not penetrate as well as expected into the various religious orders.

- E) After the establishment of the Bridging Endeavor between Taiwan and overseas Chinese Catholics, Taiwan bishops witnessed national economic prosperity and Catholics in Taiwan tended to enjoy an affluent life switching their attention to the secular development of life while neglecting religious practice (Evangelization Committee, Taiwan Regional Bishops Conference 1987, 60). After Vatican Council II, with the opening up of the Church, within 30 years, more than 40 priests had left the priesthood creating a considerable blow for Church discipline. Taiwan bishops witnessed stagnation in the growth of the Taiwan Catholic Church (Qu Haiyuan 1997, 209–246).

CONCLUSIONS

However, externally, the abundant fruit reaped by the Bridging Endeavor on the Mainland created new hope and new energy to revive the dormant local church of Taiwan. Taiwan Catholics had a vision of a new mission as defined by theologians in the Church. Together with the formation of laity and religious Sisters and the setting up of the Association of Lay Evangelization, the Bridging Endeavor of serving China reactivated the life of the Taiwan Church by stimulating more lapsed Catholics and young people to return to their faith. In other words, it may be said that the Bridging Endeavor of the Taiwan Bishops' Conference which aimed at the Mainland had a side effect in reactivating the dormant Catholic Church in Taiwan. Consequently, Taiwan had an increasing number of lay Catholics to join the Bridging Endeavor and supplement the dearth of priests and Sisters (Leung and Kuo 2014, 169–187).

The Bridging Endeavor undoubtedly obtained a great deal of valuable information on Catholic life in China and contributed major help to the much needed area of Sisters' Formation. It is a pity that much of the data lies hidden in a corner of Bishops' House and not yet utilized by researchers for study purposes. However, it is heartening that even though the CRBC Service Center no longer exists, the spirit of bridge building prevails.

NOTES

1. Msgr. Paul Russell, the Charge d’Affaires of the Holy See to Taiwan, on 23 September 2014, expressed this view to one of the authors who had learned the phrase “Sister Church” for the first time from a conversation with a Vatican official in Taipei, 23 September 2013.
2. Since 1981, on various formal and informal occasions, Beijing’s officials announced the Party’s policy eventually written down in a Party document known as “Document 3” 1989.
3. The Roman Curia is the administrative center of the Vatican headed by the Pope.
4. Lokuang held an anti-Communist view partly because he was originally from Hengyang, Hunan Province. After 1949 Civil War, his family in the Mainland due to religious reasons was persecuted. He stayed in Rome to work for the Propaganda Fides in the 1950s and 1960s until he went to Taiwan and was ordained as the first bishop of Tainan in the 1960s. Also he followed the orthodox teaching of Pius XII with his three papal letters not only to condemn Communism but to condemn the harsh treatment inflicted on Chinese Catholics. These were *Cupimus Imprimis* (1952), *Ad Sinarum Gentem* (1954) and *Ad Apostolorum Principis* (1958).
5. It reflected that the Catholic world including the Hong Kong Catholics would like to be opened to the progressive views on pro-socialist scholars in church matters for discussion. It did not mean that they all accept the pro-leftist view. In the political campaigns like the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, even the traditional Communists in Hong Kong quietly deserted Communism and defected to the free world, not to mention the Hong Kong young Catholics.
6. “Ad Limina” in English means “to the door”. According to the regulation of the Roman Curia, local bishops throughout the world have to come to Rome (to the door) of the Roman Curia and the Holy Father to report on the ecclesiastical management of their dioceses every five years.
7. Lokuang’s statement revealed that he has little understanding of the Hong Kong Catholics, when only a very tiny small group of Catholic university students were interested in Liberation Theology which had been colored by socialism. For Lokuang they were disloyal to the church. In fact Lokuang wrongly took this cohort of Catholics to represent Hong Kong Catholics.
8. One of the writers visited the Radio Vatican Chinese Section in 2006, receiving this positive impression.
9. Revealed by Bishop Ti Kang who was one of the seven Taiwan bishops who went to meet the Holy Father in 1984.

10. Beatrice Leung and Chan Shun Hing's book had a discussion of the development of the Catholic church from 1950 to 2000.
11. For the Taiwan Catholics traveling to the Mainland, see Beatrice Leung and Kuo Wen-ban 2014 "The Vatican-China-Taiwan Relations and Taiwan's Bridging Endeavour" in Cindy Chu (ed) *The Catholic Church in China 1900–Present*. New York: Palgrave, pp. 16.
12. For the Three Links cf. <http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E4%B8%89%E9%80%9A>
13. The establishment of the "Committee of the Bridging Church" did not appear in the year 1988 as "notable dates and events of the Church in Taiwan" in the *Catholic Church Directory Taiwan 2014*. See Taiwan Regional Bishops' Conference ed. *Catholic Church Directory 2014*. Taipei: Taiwan bishops Conference. p.(53–54). However, it appeared in the "Information Summary of Important Issues from the Service Center of the Committee of the Bridge Church" (Qiaoliang jiaohui fuwu zhong zhong-yao xunxi zhaiyao biao) (A Table of Summary).
14. ¹¹ Revealed by the Sister responsible for the Service Center who worked in the Service Center for more than ten years. She was interviewed on 1 July 2014 in Kaohsiung.
15. Revealed by the Sister responsible for the Service Center who worked in the Service Center for more than ten years. She was interviewed on 1 July 2014 in Kaohsiung.
16. Revealed by the Sister responsible for the Service Center who worked in the Service Center for more than ten years. She was interviewed on 1 July 2014 in Kaohsiung.
17. Revealed by a staff member of the CRBC involved in the program of invitation of Mainland priests to visit Taiwan (Interview held on 2 July 2014).
18. Fr. Lucien Schmidt was interviewed in Hong Kong on Sept. 1992 after his trip to China.
19. One of the Committee members who preferred to remain anonymous told the author when they met in Hong Kong at Christmas time, 2004.
20. Liu Bainian, a Catholic layman to be posted as the vice chairman of the Catholic Patriotic Association. In reality he is member of the Chinese Communist Party sent by the Beijing government to monitor the Catholic Church in China when he was vested with full power to manage the Catholic Church in the Mainland.
21. Revealed by a religious Sister who was a staff member of the CRBC's Service Center. She was the coordinator of the program of Sister Formation (Interview held on 2 July 2014).
22. Ibid.

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Taiwan Catholic Higher Education: Its Contribution to the Greater China Region

Peter Yao-tang Lin and Beatrice K.F. Leung

INTRODUCTION

In modern Chinese history, from the nineteenth to the early twentieth century, socialist historians denounced foreign powers together with foreign missionaries who were, they said, imperialists carving up a weakened China (Gu 2004). However, it cannot be denied that Christian missionaries made two major contributions to Chinese society which later changed the economic-political order and the social landscape. The first is a western type of advanced education with western curriculum and pedagogy to modernize the intellectual quality of the population. It laid the foundation of a new educational system in modern China. The second was the introduction of western medicine and the establishment of medical schools to enhance the development of health in China (Bullock 1980; Fenn 1976; Wu 2003).

The Book of Great Learning, one of the Confucian classics, promoted the idea that the way of great learning is the purification of the original human condition and the attainment of the Supreme Good. The “Supreme

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Good” refers to the attainment of the higher common good of society through education. It constituted the backbone of learning and education in Chinese society.

THE FIRST MISSIONARY TO CHINA AND TERTIARY EDUCATION

The first Catholic missionary to China, Fr. Matteo Ricci* SJ, introduced higher education there by cooperating with scholars like Xu Guangqi*, Li Zhizao* and Yang Tingyun* for the translation of scientific and agricultural works into Chinese to widen the scope of different orientations of learning. Thus it can be claimed that these missionaries indirectly promoted higher education with great success and considerable influence by introducing new areas of learning such as mathematics, astronomy and agriculture through translation. For example, Xu Guangqi’s *Nongzheng quanshu* (The Comprehensive Management of Agriculture) was based on western agricultural methodology, and *Taixi shui fa* (A Water Conservation Project) introduced by Matteo Ricci was accepted nationwide, creating revolutionary reform in agriculture. Many areas of Western learning such as mathematics, geometry, geography and Reform of the Calendar which had been gradually introduced into higher education by the Christian missionaries enriched the curriculum of Chinese higher learning in the Nationalist government when modern types of schools replaced the tutorial schools which had studied Chinese classics only. Much had been brought about by Matteo Ricci’s translation team which consisted of Chinese intellectuals mainly Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizao and Yang Tingyun. Thus western learning aroused the intellectual curiosity of many Chinese academics and drew them to Matteo Ricci and his companions for consultations and discussions (Motte 1981). These intellectual interactions among foreign missionaries and Chinese scholars began to turn into discussions about religion, and eventually the Chinese scholars helped the foreign missionaries to translate some works of Catholic doctrine written in Latin and other European languages into Chinese. An example is *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (Tianzhu shiyi), co-translated by Matteo Ricci and Xu Guangqi.

Ricci’s evangelization method was through intellectual discussions with scholars who first came to him attracted by the learning of science. We might say that he deliberately engaged in advanced studies, the equivalent to higher education in modern China, through which, indirectly, he launched his evangelization.

Despite the introduction of western learning by the missionaries, traditional Chinese education was carried on nonetheless. It began from tutorial schools for children, continuing up and through the education that enabled students to pass various levels of state examinations. Tutorial schools were provided by families which could afford the tuition fees. The program, curriculum and pedagogy were all focused on Confucian classics.

During the period of the late nineteenth century to the early years of the twentieth century, three Catholic universities together with other Christian and state universities were established. It was a crucial moment in Chinese society which experienced the aborted 1889 Political Reform during the reign of Empress Dowager Cixi* of the late Qing Dynasty*, the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901), the abandonment of the Imperial Examination system, the inauguration of the Republic of China (1911) and the New Civilization Movement (1934). Chinese citizens felt the need of further western learning in the midst of chaotic changes from an old society to a new order (Fairbank 1978; Fairbank and Reischauer 1989; Hsu 1975). Given the profound transformation of Chinese society, foreign missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, seized the chance of promoting Christian higher education through which students could be formed not only to professional excellence but also to the development of their whole person according to Gospel values (He and Shi 1996). Probably foreign missionaries were more interested in evangelization than in the “whole person” education development of the Chinese which they may have seen as a means to an end. If the missionaries claimed the latter, traditional Chinese mentality would have said that it was “imperialistic” because Confucian teaching also works on the whole person; for instance, Confucius regarded great learning as aiming at the realization of virtue, establishing harmonious relations with people and finally targeting perfection.

When the Nationalist government came to power in 1912 to form the ROC, Chinese educationalists promoted morality, intellect, physical strength, collegiality and aesthetics, five ways of life, or five learning goals which aimed at cultivating persons with recognition or cognition of truth and the capacity of specification through which they could acquire goodness and the power of comprehending aesthetics.

Overall, this chapter aims to discuss the development of Catholic tertiary education in the Greater China Region: Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan, in the modern period (1925 to the present). Taiwan’s Catholic

tertiary education with its characteristic features will be singled out to identify a contribution, highlighting the characteristics of Catholic tertiary education in the region.

OBJECTIVES OF CATHOLIC TERTIARY EDUCATION

Starkloff, a scholar in educational research, is of the opinion that the difference between Catholic higher education and secular higher education can be seen in their basic educational philosophy, administrative style and human resources (Hunt 2003). In reality there is a wrestling contest between the pragmatic demands of our modern society and the moral, ethical values of the transcendental nature of Catholic education. The great art is to keep the balance between the two philosophies. The administrative style traditionally has no problem as long as professed religious men/women continue to lead the Catholic educational institutes. The change to Catholic lay leadership begins to cause ripples in administrative practice. It impinges on the recruitment of teaching staff who must generate Catholic values in academic teaching, posing a formidable challenge to such an essential aspect of successful Catholic higher education. These three essential elements will be discussed in detail in the Taiwan section of this chapter.

It is true that the development of the skills and qualities necessary to develop a career and the intellectual advancement of a student to foster knowledge, skill, intellectual acumen and talents to enable the student to engage in a profession are the common goals of any higher education in modern times. Then the aesthetic development of artistic ability with creativity, imagination and appreciation of art, music, poetry, literature and drama can be encouraged for the development of a well-rounded individual. These are essential for any program of whole person education. However, Catholic education also carries a transcendental dimension by forming students within the framework of Gospel values forming them spiritually toward the wholeness of their person (Newman 1996). Having said that, given that Taiwan society is nonreligious in nature, how can its tertiary education be integrated with transcendental Christian values demonstrating that it is an institution aiming at evangelization (2015 World Congress on Catholic Education)?

The transcendental nature of Taiwan Catholic education can be demonstrated in two categories: hardware and software. The hardware is exemplified as Christian imagery on the campus such as the crucifix, statues of

saints, the chapel and other religious symbols to generate an atmosphere of peace and harmony. The software is the core academic program to facilitate the spiritual, psychological and physical development of students. “Holistic Education” with special emphasis on morality and personality is the pedagogy to realize these developments (Lin 2013). The establishment of an office of Religious Counselling and Life Education aims at providing service for the spiritual needs of staff and students. Thus, the transcendental dimension is expressed by the addition of the new dimension of spirituality as the ultimate concern in the academic approach to education.

Given the limitations demanded by the “Law of Universities in Taiwan”,¹ the three Taiwan Catholic higher education institutes move forward heading toward the goals of Catholic education. In reality, the major problem facing these Taiwan Catholic universities may not be academic programs but the problem of inheriting leadership, now that professed religious personnel have been decreasing during the last 50 years. How long can Catholic culture, which means the Gospel message of love and justice, be preserved on the campus in days to come without professed religious leadership there?

THE ORIGINS OF CHINESE CATHOLIC TERTIARY EDUCATION IN MAINLAND CHINA

Fu Jen Catholic University was founded in 1925 by the Benedictines in Beijing and Aurora University in Shanghai as early as 1903. In 1920, the Jesuit missionaries in Xianxian, Hebei Province, established the second Catholic University in Tianjin. It was called Institut des Hautes Études et Commerciales.

After the 1949 Revolution, the newly established People’s Republic of China (PRC) followed in the footsteps of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union. Article 94 of its first Constitution, 1954, stipulated that the government managed all education.² Article 36 of the revised Constitution of 1982 and 1988 clearly states that religion may not involve itself with education, obviously because the political orientation of the PRC is atheist Marxist-Leninism plus Mao Zedong Thought. They are both in conflict with religious idealism including Catholicism.

In addition, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has traditionally relied on education/learning as a means to indoctrinate Communism even among illiterate farmers. Its education is an endeavor to transfer learning, knowledge, skill, value systems, beliefs and habits to others

through discussion, teaching, training and research. When one-party dictatorship had to be maintained in the newly established Communist state, it was natural that the ruling party/government would not allow Christian education to influence the minds of the younger generation.

OUTLINE ACCOUNT OF CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATION IN HONG KONG

Liberal arts education has always been a salient element in tertiary education in the European tradition. It emphasizes small group teaching aimed at training students in critical judgment and independent thinking. Blessed John Henry Newman's *The Idea of a University* set out his experience of teaching at Oxford University as well as adding to it the Christian flavor of training a whole person in integrity, truth, goodness and aesthetics. Integrity is a special characteristic of Catholic education preparing students not only to become successful leaders in knowledge and the professions but going further to prepare them with transcendental values for an everlasting life with the Almighty (Newman 1996).

As early as the beginning of the twentieth century, Rev. Dominic Pozzoni (1905–1924), when he was vicar apostolic of Hong Kong, invited the Irish Jesuits to Hong Kong to set up a liberal arts college. The Hong Kong government only recognized Hong Kong University which aimed at training young Chinese with language proficiency and administrative skill to help the British to govern Hong Kong. Furthermore the Hong Kong government did not see the need for a liberal arts college at a time when Hong Kong had not yet become a densely populated, thriving, international city.

When the group of qualified Irish Jesuits arrived in Hong Kong in 1924, the plan of initiating liberal arts education was thwarted by the government. To pacify the frustrated Irish Jesuits, the Hong Kong government offered them a permanent wardenship in Hong Kong University's residential hall—the Ricci Hall. They were also asked to run secondary school education. Hong Kong Wah Yan College, founded by a Catholic layman in 1919, was taken over by Jesuits in 1924. Then a second Wah Yan College was set up in Kowloon in the same year. When the Jesuit University professors were assigned to teach in secondary schools, it was no surprise that they had outstanding teaching results with eminent socio-economic and political leaders as their educational products. The first Chinese member of Hong Kong's Queen's Council, a reputed Catholic

barrister and noted trial and appellate lawyer of the city, Patrick Yu, was an alumnus of Wah Yan College. In his memoir *A Seventh Child and the Law*, he wrote of his warm memory of the Jesuits there. The book not only attracted readers by his narration of how he won legal cases with eloquent arguments, but also readers and critics were much moved by Chap. 3 of that book describing how he looked up to the Jesuits of Wah Yan College as models of life and how he was influenced by this community of learned and holy priests (Yu 2000).

A further effort was made by a Hong Kong Catholic prelate, Bishop Francis Hsu Cheng-pin*, a graduate from Oxford University, who had become a professor of English in the National Central University of Nanjing before he was ordained a priest in 1959. When he led the Hong Kong Catholic Church (1968–1973), he knew of the foundation of the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1963; hence, he tried to launch a Catholic liberal arts college for the diocese. However, in spite of planning for many years and contacting many high officials in the Hong Kong government who had been his schoolmates at Oxford, his plan was eventually abandoned (Fang 1977). The Hong Kong British government which favored elite education preferred a university allowing Chinese language as the medium of instruction to complement the tertiary education offered by the University of Hong Kong where the medium of instruction was English.

Just before Hong Kong was returned to Chinese rule in 1997, suggestions were raised to amalgamate three Catholic postsecondary colleges, the College of Holy Spirit Seminary, Francis Hsu College and Caritas Nursing School into a Catholic university. The Catholic Diocesan Council considered the proposal very carefully, but was afraid that the economic implications of a private university were beyond the scope of the diocese. Instead it financed a Catholic Studies Centre in the Department of Religion and Philosophy, Chinese University of Hong Kong, to engage in research in Catholic subjects.³

By 2013, the Chinese Province of the Society of Jesus had been planning a proposed Jesuit Liberal Arts College (JLAC) for more than two years. It had established partnerships for the JLAC with 25 Jesuit universities around the world and had been lobbying the government for some time to secure the use of the Queen's Hill site in the New Territories, Hong Kong. As it waited for the government to issue the long-anticipated tender document for the site, progress was made toward meeting the eligibility requirements for the land grant. In January 2013, the JLAC received a positive final report from the accreditation agency, the Hong Kong Council for Accreditation of Academic and Vocational Qualifications.

The plans for a JLAC in Hong Kong reached a new level on January 28, 2013, with the convening of a two-day inaugural College Board of Trustees meeting. The 24 international trustees gathered in Hong Kong to discuss the academic and strategic planning of the JLAC and visited the Queen's Hill site where the Jesuits hoped to locate the university. They wanted to inform the people of Hong Kong about how Jesuit educational institutions have a mission to serve the poor, and to understand how providing access to higher education could combat poverty and enhance social mobility.

The seminar featured keynote speakers from two well-known Jesuit universities in the United States—Dr. John J. DeGioia, President of Georgetown University, and Fr. Michael Engh SJ, President of Santa Clara University. The seminar was followed by discussion among the trustee members and other educators in Hong Kong.

Father Engh was quoted in a Hong Kong daily, the *South China Morning Post*, saying that all his students would take part in experiential learning for social justice, a course which would include visits to the poor, the homeless and the abused. “The idea is to educate the mind but also to change the heart. It’s the Jesuit education philosophy to have direct contact with people in need” (Jesuit University proposed in Hong Kong 23 Feb. 2013).

The Board comprised 15 international and 9 local trustees, 14 of whom were Jesuits. The others included Professor Lui Tai Lok (University of Hong Kong), Professor Francis Lui (Hong Kong University of Science and Technology), Fr. Jose Morales Orozco SJ (President/Rector Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico City), Fr. Nicolas Standaert SJ (Leuven University), Ms. Ada Wong (School Supervisor of the HKICC Lee Shau Kee School of Creativity) and Fr. Chow Sau-yan. They all agreed that the proposed JLAC would confer immense value both on Hong Kong society and on China and should be established in spite of the arduousness of the project and its uncertainties.

The proposed university would offer three streams of study—social studies, humanities and mathematics and the natural sciences. It would also offer theology classes, like other Jesuit universities, not only to teach Catholicism but also to help students understand other religions, ethics and their personal spiritual lives by pondering questions such as the meaning of evil and what it means to be human (Jesuit University 2013).

The project needed HK\$400 million to get started, and fund-raising had been ongoing for well over six months, according to a representative from the Jesuits. They were approaching alumni from the two Jesuit-run high schools in Hong Kong, as well as local and overseas funding agencies and foundations to raise the necessary funds (Saum 2013).

However, on May 7, 2015, the preparatory task force for the college suddenly announced that the proposal to start the JLAC would not go ahead because the Father General of the Society of Jesus had decided to drop the project. “The decision was made after [the father general] consulted on a macro scale, which included our feasibility report, and weighed the pros and cons of different options and models”, Fr. Stephen Chow Sau-yan, chairman of the task force, posted on Facebook (Zhao 2015).

According to those who are familiar with China politics and the current political mood of Beijing, mainlandization of Hong Kong had been launched after its return to Chinese rule in 1997 with a special flavor in which it is a policy of the Hong Kong government to make Hong Kong politically more dependent on Beijing, economically more reliant on the Mainland’s support, socially more patriotic toward China and legally more reliant on the interpretation of the Basic Law as laid down by the PRC National People’s Congress (Lo 2007, 179–231). In the eyes of Beijing leaders, the orientation of this proposed Jesuit University might develop in opposition to the policy of mainlandization. With such close American links to a few outstanding Jesuit universities as Georgetown, Holy Cross, Santa Clara and Marquette as its supporters, the future possible opposition might be too much for China to handle if the university did not follow Beijing’s policy. To nip the project in the bud was the mechanism Beijing operated. Thus it indirectly approached the General of the Society of Jesus in Rome to reveal its decision. Furthermore, Hong Kong people themselves were sophisticated enough to realize that a university has to be large in scale and of high quality in its staffing in order to produce the quality of graduates needed for a global, postindustrial city like Hong Kong, added to which there was awareness that the Catholic “university” in Macao had not been a great success.

CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATION IN MACAU

As early as 1549, foreign missionaries in Macau set up the first western university, San Paulo College, to train western missionaries who came to East Asia for evangelization. This was a service of the Portuguese under

the Padroado treaty. Its academic program came to include core disciplines such as theology, philosophy, mathematics, geography, astronomy, Latin, Portuguese and Chinese, including also a school of music and art.

It had immense influence on the learning of Eastern languages and culture when it housed the first western sinologists: Matteo Ricci, Johann Adam Schall von Bell* and Ferdinand Verbiest*, among many other famous scholars of the time.

From 1597 until 1762, Jesuit priests entering China would come first to Macau where, at St. Paul's College, they learned to speak Chinese together and study other areas of Chinese knowledge; it was the largest seminary in East Asia at that time and the first western-style university in the Far East. Jesuits had to abandon it in 1762 when they were expelled by the Portuguese authorities during the suppression of the Society of Jesus.⁴

After the departure of the Jesuits from Macau in 1762, Catholic higher education there experienced a halt until 1995. A few years before Macau's return to China in 1999, it was stipulated in the Agreement on the Future of Macau that, when the Portuguese handed over Macau to China, it would leave a cultural institute behind as a heritage.

The Institute of Inter-University of Macau (IIUM) (later renamed St. Joseph's University) a Catholic tertiary education institute was established in 1995 by the Foundation of Macau Catholic Tertiary Education under the governance of the Catholic University of Portugal. The supervisor of the Catholic University of Portugal is also the concurrent supervisor of St. Joseph's.⁵ As stipulated in its constitution, St. Joseph's is a private university under the supervision of the Catholic University of Portugal.⁶ However, before the handover, the university received a handsome subsidy of MOP\$4 billion from a government funding agent, the Macau Foundation, enabling it to remain a liberal arts educational institute in nature with the humanities and social sciences as the mainstream of academic training to promote Portuguese culture as stipulated in the Sino-Portuguese Agreement.

The academic management of St. Joseph's operates according to Portuguese style, and the power to appoint its rector rests with the Chancellor of the Portuguese Catholic University.⁷ The Portuguese profile is prominent both in the leadership and in the academic management. Later, in 2000, at the suggestion of Liu Bainian*, the Vice-President and Secretary General of the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association in Beijing and the Chief Executive of the Macau

SAR government, Ho Hau Wah*, a School of Religious Studies was established. In 2006 a program of Catholic Theology was launched to replace the Program of Christian Studies, aimed at providing Catholic theological studies to church personnel in the nearby area, including that of China.⁸ Furthermore, Liu Bainian informed some international reporters that in the future he would send priests and seminarians to Macau for training without their having to go to Hong Kong. It was a measure to dwarf the position of the Hong Kong Catholic Church whose nonconformist behavior was “unacceptable” to Beijing.⁹

In the context of the clash of authority between China and the Vatican, the theological program of Macau becomes a battlefield for the Chinese to infiltrate their political line into Catholic institutes while putting church orthodoxy at stake. It is possible because the Portuguese academic management of St. Joseph’s together with the Catholic authorities in Macau is heavily weighted toward accommodation with Beijing (Leung 2010). They fail to see the importance of church orthodoxy in this issue but rather choose to open up opportunities for future cooperation with China by appointing two CCP members as senior staff in exchange for Beijing’s financial assistance.¹⁰

The undermining of church orthodoxy can be confirmed by the remarks of a senior priest in Macau who expressed an opinion that the Macau diocese purposely avoids direct relations with the Vatican in the matter of the theology program, aiming to be accountable only to the Catholic University of Portugal.¹¹

The reluctance to accept Vatican supervision of the theology program reveals the possibility that it had never obtained church recognition but simply opened an opportunity for Beijing to influence the Institute politically.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN TAIWAN: THE ONLY CATHOLIC TERTIARY INSTITUTES IN THE GREATER CHINA REGION

After analyzing the difficulties in Catholic higher education in the Mainland, Hong Kong and Macau, Taiwan will be the focus of our discussion. It is because Taiwan is the only place in the Greater China Region which provides authentic Catholic tertiary education with its contributions to its counterparts in the Chinese-speaking world. The starting point of the time frame is from the 1950s, after the Nationalist government moved from Nanjing to Taiwan (1949), and reveals how it has gradually assumed its role as the leading figure in Catholic tertiary education in the Greater China Region.

After the Nationalist government moved to Taipei, the government needed to promote education in order to train sufficient personnel for national development. Thus in the 1960s, the first priority of national planning was to encourage the launching of tertiary education to ensure rapid economic development. Therefore National Cheng Chi University, Jiao Tong University, private Soochow University and Fu Jen Catholic University, among other postsecondary educational institutes, mushroomed to cater to the needs of the economic and industrial development which required an immense amount of manpower including skilled and semiskilled laborers (Wang 2008). The Taiwan Catholic Church is the only church in the Greater China Region to provide Catholic education through its tertiary educational institutes (three universities and three professional institutes).

Taiwan Catholic tertiary education has been challenged by globalization, sandwiched as it is between Catholic values in education and the demands from contemporary society. Contemporary relativism, individualism and consumerism do not comply with Christian social teaching. National educational policy tends to promote the value of industry, highlighting the economy and business rather than education in its authentic sense.

In the opinion of Taiwanese society, the three Catholic universities manifest their own characteristics or salient points. For example, Fu Jen University is well-known for academic disciplines in Philosophy and Management Studies, Providence University has the reputation for providing an excellent program in Food Science and Nutrition Studies and Voluntary Service, and Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages has a long tradition of excellence in language teaching and holistic education.¹²

FU JEN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY'S MEDICAL SCHOOL AND EDUCATION IN MEDICAL ETHICS

In the 1990s, when Taiwan was experiencing keen competition in tertiary education, Fu Jen's major concern was how to restructure its learning program to meet the needs of society with its emphasis on economic and political development. To found a medical school was not in the vision of its top administrators who were practical enough to evaluate the current situation in terms of manpower and financial resources. However, in 1992, the President, Rev. Fr. Gabriel Ly Chenying* who had succeeded Archbishop Lokuang* as the third president of Fu Jen Catholic University, on meeting Pope John Paul II in the Vatican, was entrusted by him to build a bridge between the Mainland and Taiwan. Father Gabriel Ly

probed further into the papal message and learned that the Pope wanted Fu Jen Catholic University to inaugurate medical education in the spirit of Catholic moral teaching.¹³ To begin medical education in a university is a very serious matter because it incurs both very heavy financial burdens and manpower resources. In Taiwan there were five private universities that wanted to develop medical education while realizing that their resources were not comparable with those of a state-sponsored university.¹⁴ The papal invitation was born out of the Pope's plan for the China mission given the prevailing practice in the Mainland of abortion, contraception, cloning, surrogate motherhood and euthanasia. No one was questioning the moral implications and Christian principles involved in these medical issues. The Pope hoped that medical education oriented toward Catholic principles would have a demonstrable effect on medical ethics.

Fu Jen University was chosen to be the bridge to transmit Catholic ethics to the Mainland because it was the most comprehensive Catholic university in the Greater China Region. The scale of its curriculum would enable it to play the role of the bridging endeavor (Leung 2000; Leung and Kuo 2014),¹⁵ and fulfill the mission of teaching medical ethics in terms of respecting human life and complying with the moral teaching of the Church.

Father Gabriel Ly brought the papal message to the Board of Trustees of Fu Jen Catholic University, the majority of whose members were the bishops of the seven dioceses of Taiwan plus a few laymen. Most felt that the financial implications were too great for Fu Jen, and the suggestion was swept under the carpet but without its being totally rejected. It was Cardinal Paul Shan SJ*, as Chairperson of the Board of Trustees, who courageously took up the responsibility to found the Medical School.¹⁶

In the process of the establishment of the Faculty of Medicine in Fu Jen University, Fr. Simon Chu SJ* played an important role. Father Chu recalled that from the first day of the refunctioning of Fu Jen in Taipei, Archbishop Yupin had hoped that the university in Taiwan would have ten faculties developed from three basic academic colleges, but not including a College of Medicine. However 14 years later, when Bishop Lokuang was the president of Fu Jen, Msgr. Yao Zongjian*, the director of the Catholic Cardinal Tien Hospital, led the seven Catholic medical institutes to request the setting up of a Faculty of Medicine not only to provide medical personnel for their medical institutes but also to promote medical ethics. However, the Taiwan Medical Association did not support the idea for the reasons of its own, perhaps to protect the market or employment opportunities for its own member physicians.

When Fu Jen eventually decided to begin the training of Catholic medical personnel, it opened a Department of Nursing and a Department of Public Hygiene as its point of departure. With the support of the Board of Trustees, tedious negotiations with the Ministry of Education got underway, and the two medical-related departments began to operate even though the Faculty of Medicine had not yet been established.¹⁷ As far as the finance was concerned, two thirds of the expenses of construction for the faculty building came from donations, and one-third came from a bank loan. After eight years of hesitation and preparation, the School of Medicine in Fu Jen Catholic University was launched in 2000. It is committed to cultivating future physicians as true professionals with medical knowledge and clinical expertise to complement the core values of Catholic belief: love, compassion and dedication to others. At that time, the establishment of the School of Medicine in Fu Jen University allowed the university to become the fourth comprehensive university in Taiwan to provide medical education, following National Taiwan University, National Cheng Kung University and National Yang Ming University.

At the same time, the Ministry of Education requested Fu Jen to build a hospital with no fewer than 500 beds to be attached to the Faculty of Medicine. However, in the surrounding area, there were already enough hospitals. Linkou had Chang Gung Memorial Hospital, while in Taipei there were Provincial Taipei Hospital, Taipei County Hospital and East Asia Hospital, among others. However, Fr. Simon Chu took up the task of preparation and, after a long period of discernment, the Board of Trustees approved the building plan. In January 2010, the Ministry of Education approved the plan for a hospital attached to the School of Medicine to become a teaching hospital.

From an interview with a former professor of the Medical Department of Fu Jen University who had gone through the process of the establishment of a fully fledged medical school, a valuable insight emerged. He claimed that Fu Jen medical education could only implement Catholic morality when teaching medical ethics to students if it had its own hospital. Of course, the theory of Catholic ethics could be taught, but the teaching could not be implemented unless there was a teaching hospital directly under the administration of the medical school, sharing the same mission and vision of the medical school which emphasized medical ethics. After more than 25 years of launching medical education, the development of the Medical School of Fu Jen has gradually gained momentum, and the new hospital is under



Fig. 7.1 The Opening Ceremony of the Fu Jen University Hospital 29 September 2017. Picture cited from http://www.pro.fju.edu.tw/press_show.asp?press_id=2785

construction next to the school. Its influence in China will be a matter of time if and when it attracts exchange medical students and other personnel from the Mainland.

In the past year, the development of medical education within Fu Jen University has slowed down. Resources have had to be curtailed; formerly, too much had been drafted to medical education at the expense of other disciplines. Inevitably, without the support of the whole university, the process of development of medical education has been affected. Eventually the attached hospital of Fu Jen was opened on 29 September 2017, making the establishment of medical education of Fu Jen Catholic University a completed project according to the will of the Holy Father (Fig. VI, Chap. 7).

PROVIDENCE UNIVERSITY

In 1932, Sr. Marie Gratia Luking* (1885–1964) established the Providence High School for Girls in Kaifeng, Henan Province, China. Immediately after she arrived in Taiwan in 1948, she worked hard to resume her high school program gaining, in 1956, the approval of the Ministry of Education to do so in Taichung. In 1963 the school was upgraded into Providence

College of Arts and Sciences for Women. In 1989 this college was raised to the status of a university called Providence University for Women, and in 1993 it was renamed as Providence University so as to offer coeducation. The founding principal of the high school in Taiwan was Professor Ho Jing-An*, a prominent woman educator. Reverend Kung Shih-rong, PhD*, served as the principal of the language school in 1957, and Reverend Mark Tsai, PhD*, succeeded him as the third principal in 1959, while Msgr. Kuo Fan* was the president of the college in 1971. Beginning from 1994, Providence University has had its leadership in the hands of Catholic laymen, all distinguished scholars.

Providence University is located in the central part of Taiwan so its recruitment strategy focuses on students from the central region to meet local needs in industrial and commercial development. In accordance with the university's objectives "Holistic Formation and Professional Guidance", Providence University aims at educating students to realize the value of life with truth, goodness, beauty and ethics; to expand their global vision and communication ability; to foster the desire for seeking knowledge and solving problems; and to acquire specialized knowledge with proper use of technology. The core competencies illustrated above define student employability before graduation and are integrated into all courses offered.

In other words, Providence University consistently strives to foster students' abilities with a focus on long-term career development in specialized fields, which can also be transferred into different professional areas. In recent years, the practice of service learning has become the core value of the university to promote campus culture which emphasizes teaching, research, humanity, morality and service.

It is noteworthy that Naughton and Bausch stress the idea that the existence of Catholic higher education is not only for religious faith alone but for cooperation with local culture. Even official documents on Catholic education switch their focus from concern for life in the next world to progress in this world (Naughton and Bausch 1996). They do not deny the importance of supernatural life and transcendental values but have to be concerned for practical life in this world. Therefore Providence University in 2000 launched a program of "Service-Learning" which, in nature, has voluntary service as the core value of the campus culture. Some 70 staff members have been assigned to lead the program, while 80 non-profit institutes in central Taiwan cooperate with the program to train students to learn through service. It offers training courses for voluntary workers among students while promoting the "Service-Learning" program

on the university level hoping students will become armed with the spirit of service as a means to unfold their sense of social responsibility.

Students through service develop their capacity of self-awareness and listening skill to assist others while they themselves develop their ability for self-reflection and evaluation. In short, the objective of the “Service-Learning” program aims at broadening the students’ international horizon regarding judgment and compassion for others while learning to be merciful to the underprivileged.

WENZAO URSULINE UNIVERSITY OF LANGUAGES

Wenzao is known for its commitment to excellence in foreign languages teaching and research while it has a core program to develop a holistic personality.

In 1966, Sr. Marie de Lourdes Simons OSU (1898–1981) responded to the invitation of Archbishop Joseph Cheng, OP of Kaohsiung, to found a language school to meet the need for foreign language education at a time when Kaohsiung was developing industrially and commercially. To begin with, admission was open only to female students. Wenzao first opened its doors to male students in 1980. In 1999, Wenzao Ursuline Junior College of Modern Languages was officially restructured to become Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages with the addition of a two-year college course. From 2002, four-year degree programs were inaugurated with extension and postgraduate courses and, in 2013, the institution was renamed as Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages. The University has begun to teach a more diverse group of students since then. The leadership of Wenzao from its establishment was in the hands of the Ursuline Sisters but from 1992, until today, Catholic laypersons have been entrusted to lead the college as its presidents.

Wenzao has the reputation for offering excellent foreign language training to students. As a Catholic tertiary educational institute led by a religious congregation with more than 300 years of experience in education, it has not been difficult for the Ursuline Sisters to insert a strong spiritual dimension into their curriculum inherited from the foundress of the congregation. From the very foundation of the college, a special program was designed emphasizing individual personal development and global awareness in accordance with the heritage of Ursuline education.¹⁸ In other words, this foundation program of personal formation was launched because Ursuline educators believe each person is created in the

image of God. The program is designed to unfold and strengthen the inward strength and beauty of the students' character. It is the first step in their development before they enter into the core of the holistic education program designed to help them handle with wisdom and understanding the complexities of life.

In 1999, Wenzao launched a major program for Life Education named "Holistic Education" based on the heritage of Ursuline education. It aims at exploring the relationship of the students with the reality around them. They have Almighty God above and the material world around them in which they cultivate relationships with their fellow human beings, far and near, as groups and as individuals. Nor is the encounter of an individual with his inner self neglected. Thus eight areas of studies were created for students to achieve these aims: Respect for Human Life, the Ultimate Concern of Man, Plans for Career Development, Thinking and Choosing, Relationships Between Man and Woman, Professional Ethics, International Personality, Social Justice and Peace, Faith and Life. In 2002, the eight areas were streamlined into four categories: Life Ethics, Family and Marriage, Cultivation of International Personality, and Faith and Life.

The contents of the program in Wenzao serve the purpose of the development of the physical, intellectual and spiritual life of an individual. It can be interpreted as a kind of formation process which leads students toward the realization of their potential, deepening their understanding of life's values, internalizing their value system and integrating the cognitive and emotional aspects of life.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TAIWAN'S CATHOLIC UNIVERSITIES

Taiwan's universities are privately run with minimal government financial aid, and their Catholic student number is very low given that Catholics comprise only 1% of the general population. In terms of financial support, scale of curriculum and population of students, Catholic universities can hardly be compared with the state-run universities. However, being a transnational organization, the Catholic Church can transfer resources round the world to any place in need. Thus, the three Catholic universities brought along new educational concepts, new equipment and new educational personnel from foreign countries making the 1960s the "golden period" of Catholic higher education in Taiwan. They now make their own contribution to the special field of studies which is not found in state universities in

the Greater China Region. These Catholic universities offer learning programs which reflect Catholic values in their own way. Hong Kong and Macau Catholic educators on all levels like to visit Taiwan's Catholic universities to learn the content and teaching methodology of "Life Education" because Taiwan is the place in the Chinese-speaking world to initiate fully fledged "Life Education" with transcendental values.

PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF TAIWAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITIES

However, it has to be said that among these three universities, a lack of the spirit of cooperation and coordination is often evident although there could be many areas of common interest among them in research and teaching as well as development. There is little in the way of focused studies concerning their common problems such as maintaining Catholic values on campus and the conflict between Catholic faith and academic excellence.

In the study of the humanities and social sciences, the conflict between religion and excellence is rare. However in some areas conflict exists. Due to the Catholic faith, entry to some areas of research is not encouraged. For example, non-Catholic scientists are free to work toward academic excellence in research on cloning of human beings, but the Catholic faith teaches that creation is in the hand of God, not in the hand of man, so research on cloning of human beings is not an option. Tension is also experienced when the transfer of top leadership from religious to lay leaders in Catholic tertiary institutes comes about.¹⁹

However, they do have special characteristic to offer to tertiary education, not only in Taiwan but also in Hong Kong, Macau and Mainland China. These are medical ethics in Fu Jen Catholic University, Holistic Development in general education in Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages and the Service-Learning program in Providence University. Each of these universities with their individual trends in the learning program generates Catholic values. Take Life Education for an example. In 2012, Hong Kong and Macau after their handover to China experienced a need for civic education. The proposal to introduce it was rejected by 14 educational institutes in a rally of hundreds and thousands of citizens, because it was interpreted as a means of brainwashing (Ucanews 2012). Thus both primary and secondary schools sponsored by religious bodies suggested Life Education to replace civic education. Since then

many Catholic education personnel have come to Taiwan to learn how to launch holistic or life education programs as well as service learning. They specially choose Taiwan Catholic institutes to acquire this expertise. As to “whole person” education, even public universities in Taiwan, under special grant of the Ministry of Education, are launching such programs.

Consequently, the most prominent contribution of Taiwan’s Catholic education seems to be the Life Education program that Hong Kong, Macau and China do not have. Yet, at the same time, non-Catholic universities in Taiwan are also developing versions of Life Education (LE). If, to other areas of the Greater China Region, LE is Taiwan Catholic institutions’ contribution, those non-Catholic higher education institutes in Taiwan too are contributing. However, the dimensions of Catholic and non-Catholic view on life are greatly different. The transcendental aspect of Catholic life opens more space than the temporal life issues raised by nonreligious teaching.

The characteristics of Catholic life education with its contribution are, firstly, that the orientation and the programming of Taiwan’s Catholic life education are geared to “ultimate concerns”. The transcendental aspect of life education is paramount compared with that of some non-Christian educational institutes. Even when the latter do claim to promote a form of spiritual education, Catholic life education is unique. Secondly, it is true that, as with other ideologies, spirituality can be found in non-Christian education. However religious sponsored education focuses more on systematic training in spirituality or morality which society needs. Thus Catholic tertiary institutes with life education make their own unique contribution which cannot be found elsewhere because of the transcendental aspect of life education. However, after more than 50 years, Catholic higher education in Taiwan begins to experience a diminution of professed religious personnel in its leadership due to a decrease of Catholic religious vocations following the Second Vatican Council. Lay Catholic scholars now take up the leadership in higher Catholic education giving rise to the inevitable question: “Does religious faith interfere with academic freedom?” Furthermore, faculty members pose another question: “Is religious orientation on the correct path in the hands of lay leaders?”

The recruitment of new teaching staff poses yet another problem regarding the preservation of Catholic values in higher education. When an emphasis on professional excellence rather than religious values per se prevails in Taiwan’s tertiary education, Catholic educational institutes which are privately run are inclined to follow in the footsteps of secular

universities and to create projects in tune with government policy in exchange for much-needed government subsidies. The reason, of course, is because Catholic higher education institutes have very limited financial resources depending in large part on tuition fees and little private endowment.

Additionally, during the 1970s, when Taiwan accomplished an economic miracle, church donations from abroad decreased accordingly. Consequently, a new major concern was added to those already faced by Catholic higher education institutes, namely how to continue Catholic education with limited local resources when foreign aid had drastically decreased.

SPIRITUAL ATMOSPHERE ON A CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY CAMPUS

In general, Catholic educators believe that spirituality in general and Christianity in particular enrich the liberal arts experience in its ideal of educating the whole person. At a Catholic university, prayer and liturgy are a meaningful part of the student's experience. Spiritual questions arise in all academic disciplines. A religious atmosphere is particularly important when Catholic educators address life's most fundamental questions, which are increasingly set aside in nonreligious institutions of higher learning. Religion is also an ideal means to bring to the liberal arts curriculum a strong existential component. At a Catholic university, students study history and the classics in order to learn not simply about the past but also from the past (Roche 2003). Christian culture stemming from Catholicism is the backbone of Western culture from its origins. On a Catholic university campus, the spiritual element cannot be lacking, not only in academic studies but also in campus life. Mark Roche, a Catholic educator, suggested that a broad sense of religion or spirituality can widen the dimension of Holistic Education. In the Catholic educational institute, prayer and liturgy can play an important role in university life.

Although enforcement of religious belief and coercive practice of religion are not allowed on campus by law, yet the religious charism and morality of staff can exemplify the Gospel message of love as means of evangelization. Fundamental problems of human existence cannot be properly explored and revealed unless educators and students have recourse to God and approach the Absolute from a transcendental angle.²⁰ The non-Christian teaching staff members of Taiwan Catholic universities

agree that while they are often not willing to discuss Catholic faith explicitly, they are willing to identify themselves with some Catholic values and the Gospel message as well as with the spirituality of the founder of the religious order to which the university belongs.

Moreover, at present, Taiwan Catholic tertiary education institutes have similar problems of transferring leadership to the Catholic laity from professed religious personnel. This transference also causes some tension among the faculty members (Gallin 1999). However, the transfer of leadership may also generate an opportunity for change in Catholic educational orientation. Since the transference has not yet taken root, it is an important area for Taiwan Catholic higher education to follow closely in research and investigation in order to chart its future path of development.

CONCLUSION

Christian missionaries made a major contribution to Chinese society changing the economic-political order and the social landscape. This was the western type of education with western curriculum and pedagogy in higher education while remaining aware that in the Chinese tradition, higher education has always had an irreplaceable position in the heart of the Chinese.

The difference between Catholic higher education and secular higher education is the presence of the transcendental dimension guiding students through Biblical teaching to form their spiritual development toward a fully developed personality. The success of Taiwan's Catholic higher education cannot be sufficiently evaluated unless it is compared with that in Hong Kong, Macau and Mainland China. The comparison illustrates that Taiwan's Catholic tertiary education makes its unique contribution to Catholic education in this region. In Hong Kong's colonial period and in that of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), Catholic higher education has not yet been well established. In Macau, The Institute of Inter-University of Macau (IIUM) (later renamed St. Joseph's University) established in 1995 is a Catholic tertiary institute in name but managed under the influence of the Chinese Communist Party whose members staff the top management of the university. In Mainland China all Catholic higher educational institutes were confiscated immediately after the 1949 Civil War, Taiwan is fortunate enough to have three Catholic universities to witness to a Catholic presence in Taiwan's higher education. These Catholic universities have their distinctive characteristics

demonstrating certain aspects of Catholicism. Finally, the decrease in Taiwan's birthrate is giving rise to ferocious competition for students among Taiwan's tertiary educational institutes. What Catholic educational institutes can and will do, faced with this phenomenon, might be a useful topic for further research in the field.

NOTES

1. As early as in 1948 the Nationalist government launched the "Law of Universities of Taiwan" with 33 Articles to promote the development and the governance of tertiary education in Taiwan. http://host.cc.ntu.edu.tw/sec/All_Law/1/1-01.html
2. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China (1954).
3. For the Catholic Studies Centre, Chinese University of Hong Kong. <http://catholic.crs.cuhk.edu.hk/indexe.html> (retrieved on September 12, 2015).
4. St. Paul's College, San Paulo, with the attached church, was burned down in 1835, and the building was destroyed. Only the front wall of the church remains as the "Ruin of San Paulo" and is an outstanding landmark in modern Macau.
5. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_Saint_Joseph
6. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_Saint_Joseph Artigo. 9: O chanceler do IIUM e' o Magno Chanceler da Universidade Cato'lica Portuguesa ANEXO Estatutos do Instituto Inter-Universita'rio de Macau.
7. Artigo. 12: Reito. Anexo, "Estatutos do Instituto Inter-Universita'rio de Macau".
8. As was proclaimed by the current rector Professor Ruben Cabral and confirmed by a senior clergy member of the Macau Diocese.
9. As reported by an informant in the Hong Kong Diocese and confirmed by Cardinal Zen in March 2007.
10. One of the authors knows the two CCP members by name, from when she was working in Macau from 2006 to 2014.
11. These are the remarks of a senior priest in Macau when he was interviewed in September 2007.
12. Both Fu Jen University and Providence University also provide holistic education. However, their programs and resources in holistic education cannot be compared to those of Wenzao.
13. It was revealed by Professor Bernard Li, who accompanied Gabriel Ly to visit Rome to meet the Pope. Bernard Li was interviewed on May 20, 2015.
14. It was revealed by Professor Bernard Li, who accompanied Gabriel Ly to visit Rome to meet the Pope. Bernard Li was interviewed on May 20, 2015.

15. The Bridging endeavor has been a popular topic in Sino-Vatican relations.
16. It was revealed by Professor Bernard Li. Bernard Li was interviewed on May 20, 2015.
17. <http://www.rdo.fju.edu.tw/sect/100/11.pdf>
18. Wenzao was founded by the Ursulines of the Roman Union which has schools, educational institutes in 30 countries round the world. Cf. the heritage of Ursuline education in Wenzao <http://www.wzu.edu.tw/front/bin/home.phtml>
19. It was reviewed by one of the former lay presidents of a Taiwan Catholic University, when he was interviewed by the authors in February 2016 in Taipei.
20. Ibid.

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The Focolare Movement in Taiwan: Global Vision, Local Context

Brian K. Reynolds

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will recount the history of the Focolare in Taiwan within the broader framework of the development of the Movement worldwide. The ecclesial movements first began to emerge as a significant phenomenon in the Catholic Church in the early decades of the twentieth century, with the foundation of groups such as Schoenstatt and the Legion of Mary,¹ and greatly expanded in the years following the Second Vatican Council (1962–65), so that the Pontifical Council for the Laity now includes 122 organizations in its directory of Associations and Movements (Pontifical Council 2005).² The Focolare is among the earliest and largest of these movements that have arisen in the Catholic Church. It was also one of the earliest to arrive in Taiwan and has been among the most active in the Church, although other movements, such as Cursillos, Communion and Liberation and the Neocatechumenal Way, have been expanding considerably in recent years. As such, while acknowledging the great variety

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between the movements, whether in spirituality, structure, goals and diffusion, the experience of the Focolare in Taiwan provides a useful case study of the relationship between the charismatic and hierarchical dimensions of the Church at a local level.

When Pope St. John Paul II met with the “ecclesial movements and new communities” in St. Peter’s Square at Pentecost 1998, he emphasized that the institutional and charismatic aspects are coessential to the Church (John Paul II 1999, 4) and spoke of how the latter have brought “an unexpected newness which is sometimes even disruptive” (6). He went on to underline how each charism, in order to guarantee its authenticity, must submit to the discernment of the Pastors of the Church (8). This same emphasis on the necessity for a harmonious relationship that nevertheless gives space for the “messiness” of the Holy Spirit, as Pope Francis might put it, is very much present in the recently issued *Iuvenescit Ecclesia*, a thorough exposition on the role of the movements in the Church from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Applying these principles at a local level is an important and somewhat delicate task. While diocesan bishops are responsible for a particular geographical area and therefore must always be conscious of the needs of their own flock, which will reflect local culture as well as a specific social, economic and political context, they are also called upon to be an expression of the universal, apostolic dimension of the Church. It is precisely this universal dimension that can help local pastors to understand the role of the movements. The ecclesial movements, on the other hand, are not local. They bring something new to the local Church through their charisms,³ and by their very nature, they have a global vision. However, they need to find a way to incarnate or inculcate themselves within the local Church and learn how to work harmoniously with it. In their complementary roles, the ministerial-sacramental and the charismatic expressions of the Church may be of benefit to each other, both at a universal and local level, although the relationship requires great sensitivity on both sides.⁴

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FOCOLARE

The birth of the Focolare Movement may be dated to December 7, 1943, when a 23-year-old Chiara Lubich made a private act of consecration to God.⁵ At that moment, her intention was not to found anything, and she had no inkling that she would be followed by countless thousands. Lubich

simply wanted to give her life entirely to God and follow him. Very soon, however, a group of young women gathered around her, attracted by her joy and her words of light in the midst of the darkness of war. Since the city of Trent was being fiercely bombarded by the Allies at this time, life could come to an end from one moment to the next. With Lubich, this initial group understood that only God, who is Love (1 Jn 4:8), could provide an answer to the hatred of the war that was destroying their city, their hopes and their dreams, so they chose him as the only ideal that would not pass away. But how could they discover what God wanted of them, how could they love him? They sought for the answer in the Gospels.

As time went on, some passages of the Gospel shone out with a particular light for them. “Love one another as I have loved you” (Jn 13:34) was their primary inspiration. Living like this, they discovered the significance of “For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them” (Mt 18:20), for as a result of their mutual love, they truly experienced the fire of Jesus’ presence among them. It was this fire that caused the people of Trent to give them the nickname *focolarini* (bearers of fire) and their group the Focolare (hearth).⁶ One day, in an air raid shelter, they read together Jesus’ last prayer and testament, “May they all be one, just as, Father, you are in me and I am in you” (Jn 17:21), and immediately they understood that it was for this that they had been born, to contribute toward fulfilling this prayer for unity, though they were not yet aware exactly what this meant. In January 1944, through a chance remark by a priest, Lubich understood what she termed “the key to unity.” The priest asked, “Do you know when Jesus suffered the most?” They replied, as was commonly believed at the time, “In the Garden of Gethsemane.” But he said, no, the moment of Jesus’ greatest suffering was when he cried out, “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” (Mt. 27:46). Lubich immediately thought that if this was the moment when Jesus had suffered the most, it was also when he loved the most, and he, therefore, should be the ideal of their life. As she wrote in 1948: “The book of light that the Lord is writing in my soul has two sides, one a shining page of mysterious love, unity, the other a luminous page of mysterious suffering, Jesus forsaken. They are two sides of the one medal” (Lubich 1984, 66–67).

In the meantime, the life that was being generated around Lubich and her first companions could not fail to come to the attention of the bishop who invited them to give an account of themselves. Despite her trepidation,

Lubich was utterly confident that whatever he said would be the will of God. In any case, he declared that God's hand was evident in what they were doing. In the 1950s, however, they understood what it was to feel forsakenness because of the prolonged investigation that the Holy Office carried out, which, as Lubich put it, caused them to "sweat blood," though she never wavered in her belief in the Church (Lubich 2001, 71). Nevertheless, she was always willing to abandon everything and bring the Movement to an end at the word of the Church authorities, even at the cost of great personal suffering, trusting that God spoke through the hierarchy. This respect for the hierarchy is something that has characterized the Movement wherever it has gone, and which is particularly striking in the case of Taiwan, as we shall see. Paradoxically, during these years of trial the Focolare experienced an extraordinary growth. Each summer, in the early years of the Movement, the community of the Focolare would come together in the Dolomites, just as Lubich and her first companions had done in that light-filled summer of 1949, in a gathering that they now called the Mariapolis, the purpose of this temporary "city of Mary" being to generate the presence of Jesus among its participants through their practice of mutual love. By the end of the decade, the numbers participating had become so vast (12,000 from 40 countries in 1959) that from then on, different countries had their own Mariapolis, a practice that continues to this day, with over 190 taking place around the world each year.

In the decades that followed approval—the decree was issued by Pope John XXIII on March 23, 1962—the Focolare continued to spread, reaching all five continents and further developed its structures. The Movement also began to attract people of other Christian denominations, such as Lutherans, Anglicans and Orthodox. In 1977 a new phase of outreach began when Lubich was awarded the prestigious Templeton Prize for Religion, which allowed her to make contact with prominent figures in a number of world religions, leading to important relationships with organizations such as the Buddhist *Risshō Kōsei Kai* in Japan, the Hindu *Shanti Ashram* in India, as well as a variety of Muslim and Jewish groups. Through the 1980s, 1990s and into the new millennium, the growth of the Focolare continued, and it also developed its outreach into the nonreligious world, especially through its dialogue with contemporary culture, crowned by the foundation of the Sophia University Institute, which was officially approved by the Holy See on December 7, 2007, 64 years after Lubich's vow of consecration to God and mere months before her death.

AN OUTLINE OF THE FOCOLARE MOVEMENT

The Focolare, or Work of Mary as it is officially denominated by the Catholic Church in its statutes, today counts approximately 150,000 members in over 180 countries and about 4.5 million associates who are “involved more broadly” in the Movement.⁷ It is not easy to provide a clear picture of the Focolare structure and life without a lengthy explanation. Canonically, it is a “private universal association [...] of Pontifical Right,” but this tells us little (*Statutes 2008*, vii). In fact, the Catholic Church has yet to come up with a proper category for the Focolare (and others of the new movements), as it is a new reality that does not fit the definition of a pious association such as the Legion of Mary, nor that of a religious order. It embraces people of all kinds, from Catholics to other Christian denominations, as well as followers of other religions and those of no particular religious conviction, while its members include lay people, the consecrated and clergy, reflecting its specific goal, which is to contribute to the fulfillment of Christ’s prayer “That all may be one” (Jn 17:21) through a living out of the Gospel message of mutual love.

To those who ask what the Focolare Movement does, perhaps the best answer is that of St. Theresa of Calcutta who, according to Lubich, would often say to her, “You do what I cannot do. I do what you cannot do” (Lubich 1997b). In other words, whereas the Missionaries of Charity are dedicated primarily to practical acts of Christian charity, the Focolare, although it does have many concrete projects, concentrates more on changing hearts and minds. Thus, inspired by Vatican II (especially *Nostra aetate*), it engages in five dialogues, firstly within the Catholic Church, secondly with Christians of other denominations, thirdly with other religions, then with those of no particular religious affiliation, and finally with “modern day culture and human realities” (*Statutes 2008*, art. 6). These dialogues are carried out at a personal level not only through a daily living out of the “golden rule” of love but also through broader initiatives and actions, whether in the social, economic, intellectual or religious realms, all with the aim of building greater understanding, fraternity and unity.

The Focolare has a complex organization with multiple branches (20 at present) and numerous broader initiatives. At the core of the Movement are the *focolarini*,⁸ consecrated men and women, some of whom live in community and take private vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, others of whom are married and make three corresponding promises. Although some work full time for the Movement, most have regular jobs

while dedicating themselves as fully as possible to the spread of the spirituality and the formation of members (*Statutes* 2008, art. 12). Alongside these consecrated members are the Volunteers, who commit themselves freely to live the spirituality of the Movement, meeting in small groups, usually on a weekly basis, and who are particularly called upon to bring the life of the Focolare into the social, cultural and economic fields through personal and collective initiatives. Priests, men and women religious, young people and children all have their own branches. All have in common a commitment to live the “communitarian spirituality” (John Paul II 2000, 43–45) of the Focolare, meeting regularly in small groups to share their lives and for formation based primarily on twelve points.⁹ In addition, there is a branch of bishops, who freely associate with the Movement.

Around these more committed members are large numbers of associates who participate more loosely in the life of the Focolare. Many join monthly “Word of Life” meetings, where they share how they have lived out the particular sentence of the Scripture which the whole Movement is concentrating on for that month (the number of leaflets currently distributed is around 4000). Others join the so-called mass movements within the broader Movement, which concentrate on bringing the spirituality into specific fields, such as New Humanity (society and economy), New Families, the Parish Movement and Youth for a United World. These broader movements may take initiatives at a local level, for instance, in a particular parish (where priest and parishioners agree) or nationally (e.g., in Italy, New Humanity recently joined with environmental groups in promoting Earth Day, an initiative that attracted the attention of Pope Francis) (Francis 2016). There are also big international events such as Genfest, a rally for young people in favor of peace and fraternity (the next one involving over 20,000 young people is planned for Manila in 2018).

As to its governance, according to its statutes, the Focolare is headed by a President who must be a celibate woman *focolarina*, flanked by a *focolarino* who must be a priest, reflecting the lay nature of the Movement but also its unity with the hierarchical Church. At a local level the Movement is led by male and female regional directors, who must be celibate *focolarini*. Ultimately, they are responsible for all the branches of the Movement in their region, each of which has its own leaders, and they act as a bridge to the President, co-President and the Coordinating Council of the Movement, which is based in Rome.

THE STORY OF THE FOCOLARE IN TAIWAN

The story of the Focolare in Taiwan (and the broader Chinese-speaking world) begins approximately 70 years ago, in the 1950s. Among the international attendants, on more than one occasion, at the summer Mariapolis, was the Archbishop of Nanjing (later Cardinal), Yupin, together with Monsignor Tou, Secretary General at the Urbaniana University, who was to be appointed Bishop of Hsinchu in 1961.¹⁰ Other participants in the activities of the Movement in these years were Monsignor Kia, who later became Bishop of Chiayi, then Hualien and finally Archbishop of Taipei; Monsignor Lokuang, later Bishop of Tainan, Archbishop of Taipei and President of Fu Jen Catholic University; and Fr. Andrew Tsien, later Bishop of Hualien. All would later give great encouragement to the Focolare and participate in its meetings in Taiwan. Although it was not unusual for clergy to participate in events of the Movement in these early years, it is unique in the annals of the Focolare that five men who were later to work together in the episcopate should take an interest in the spirituality at such an early point. Even more remarkable is the fact that a man of the stature of Archbishop Yupin, known throughout the Catholic world as an advocate for the Chinese Church, should endorse a lay Movement, led, what is more, by a woman and under investigation by the Holy Office.

Interviewed in 1959 by *Città Nuova*, the magazine of the Focolare Movement, Archbishop Yupin speaks about the rapid expansion of the Church in Taiwan, which had seen numbers rise from around 10,000 in 1945 to more than 170,000, both as a result of Catholics fleeing from China and numerous of baptisms.¹¹ He perceives the action of the Holy Spirit in the large number of converts and especially in the interest that young students of university age had for the Catholic Church (he had just been given the responsibility of overseeing the refoundation of Fu Jen Catholic University in Taipei) and declares that these young Chinese need “a great ideal that can comfort them in moments of discouragement and abandonment, an ideal that will also give them the strength to evangelize mainland China when the moment is right.” What is needed, he goes on to say, is something “fresh, lively, that is, evangelical,” and it is for this reason that he greatly desires that the Focolare Movement can open a center, especially for young people, in Taipei. He concludes by saying that he believes that the ideal of the Focolare “can penetrate widely in those environments” (Yupin 1959).



Fig. 8.1 Photo of Paul Cardinal Yupin (1901–1978)

It was to take another 20 years before the first Focolare center opened in Taiwan, but Cardinal Yupin continued to support the Movement and maintained a close personal relationship with Chiara Lubich up to his death.¹² In 1966, the first *focolarini and focolarine* arrived in Asia to open Focolare centers in the Philippines. According to Silvio Daneo, who together with Guido Mirti opened the men's Focolare center in Manila and who later became co-responsible for the Movement in the Chinese-speaking area, Lubich had considered choosing Taiwan as the first location for a center because of Archbishop Yupin's requests, but ultimately decided that the need was more urgent in the Philippines.¹³ However, by no means was Taiwan forgotten. In 1967, Marilen Holzhauser, one of Lubich's first companions, came to Taipei and visited Archbishop Yupin, who received

her with great warmth, and again requested a Focolare for Taiwan, declaring, “If I were not old, I would like to begin [one], with you, because this is what is needed for Formosa.”¹⁴ The following year, Mirti also visited the archbishop, who repeated his invitation and also introduced him to some bishops, priests and seminarians. Daneo visited Taiwan regularly in these years and provided the following testimony regarding Cardinal Yupin (who received the red hat in 1969):

Once, possibly in 1976, in one of my visits to Cardinal Yu-Pin, not only did he welcome me warmly but he urged me to open the Focolare community in Taipei as soon as possible for he felt that the spirituality of the Focolare was just what was needed by the Chinese in general. Indeed, he also explained the reasons:

*Many think Chinese people are reserved and closed, apparently insensitive to love and affection. It is not so! The Chinese are very sensitive when they receive love and affection. The Focolare does not spread only a “spiritual” love, but also a human expression of it, exactly like the love that Jesus brought: human and divine! I am confident that many Chinese will be touched by the spirituality of the Movement precisely because of this element which is so needed and important!*¹⁵

Maddalena Cariolato, co-responsible in Hong Kong in those years, confirms this testimony, noting that Cardinal Yupin told her to “bring the spirit of the focolare which is the spirit of the family to the Chinese; in this way you will win over the Chinese people,” words which she says were an important guide to her during her 26 years in the Chinese-speaking world.¹⁶

Both Cariolato and Daneo continued to make regular visits to Taiwan throughout the 1970s, encouraging those who had already met the spirituality of the Focolare and introducing it to new people where and whenever they got the chance. In this, they were greatly supported by the Jesuit community in Taiwan, especially by Fr. Elias Cerezo, who had been designated by his superior to look after them at the request of Archbishop Lokuang. Daneo testifies to how invaluable the support of Fr. Cerezo and his fellow Jesuits was in these early years, both in introducing these pioneers of the Focolare to many new people and in vouching for their legitimacy, something very important for a new and foreign group that could easily have aroused suspicion. Asked why he was so generous in his support for the Focolare, Fr. Cerezo said after some thought that he saw in the *focolarini* two things that really struck him: firstly, they spoke constantly

of love, and what is more they lived it, something that at that time in the Church was not so common! Secondly, they had an extraordinary love for the Church, especially for the hierarchy, and were always ready to do whatever the bishops asked of them.¹⁷

One of the first fruits of these visits was that a group of people went to the Mariapolis in Hong Kong in 1976, several of whom became actively involved in the Movement afterward. Then, in 1978, the first Mariapolis was held in Fu Jen University with the presence of about 100 people, including Archbishop Lokuang. Visits from Hong Kong now began to intensify. In 1979, after the Mariapolis, which was again held in Fu Jen, Daneo stayed on together two others to find an apartment for the men's Focolare center, which opened later that year. Once the two had found somewhere to live—Archbishop Lokuang acted as guarantor and also found them jobs—they began to set about building up a relationship with those who had met the Movement in the previous years and began to hold regular meetings. They also began to travel outside Taipei to the major cities. In 1981, the women's Focolare also opened in Taipei. Initially, there were just two members, who also received great support from the local Church in finding an apartment and work—Archbishop Matthew Kia requested that one of them work in his office.¹⁸

One of the potential limitations of the *focolarini* was their internationality and complete lack of familiarity with the local situation. Only one of them, Hu Kung-tze, who had met the Movement in 1976 while studying in Switzerland, was from Taiwan, a couple were from Hong Kong and the rest were from the Philippines or Western countries. They had to learn Mandarin, and they knew little of Taiwan, its history and culture and virtually nothing about the local Church either. They were largely unaware, for instance, of the differences within the Church between the hierarchy, who at this time were all from China, as were many of the priests, and the laity, who were a much more mixed bunch, with indigenous peoples, Taiwanese who were of Chinese ethnicity, and Chinese who had arrived after the triumph of Mao. Nor were they entirely acquainted with the massive expansion that had taken place in the Church in the 1950s and 1960s and the issues that arose from this, especially in terms of catechesis. But the very fact that they were not involved in these questions also gave them a freedom to launch themselves into evangelizing with an enthusiasm that was appealing to many. Besides, the very internationality of the Movement could also be a point of attraction: seeing people of different cultures living together in an atmosphere of mutual love could be inspiring, and

the life and experiences that they brought could help people to have a broader vision of the Church outside the local context. Gradually, the enthusiasm of these young men and women paid off, and more and more people came to the meetings of the Focolare, especially the Mariapolis, which at its height had close to 400 participants, many of them young people. Indeed, in these years the young people of the Movement took a very active part in the life of the Church, helping out, for instance, at the National Youth Day and performing concerts in the Jesuit Tien Center in Taipei, supported by young members from Hong Kong who arrived for the occasion.

Over the next two decades, numbers participating in the various activities of the Focolare continued to grow, though not at the same rate as in those early years, when the novelty of the Movement attracted the curiosity of many. “Word of Life” groups were established in the main cities. Gradually, the different branches of the Movement began to emerge, especially the young people, the Volunteers, the priests and religious.¹⁹ The formation of families also began, with regular meetings and yearly weekends for couples. Children too had their own activities and formation, from toddlers right up to school-leaving age. Gradually, the style in which formation was done had to be adapted to local culture while not losing its originality. For instance, since communion is at the heart of the spirituality, it took time to understand how this might work in a culture where people are not so used to talking about themselves in front of others. Gradually, the *focolarini* understood that it was extremely important first to build up personal relationships between the members of a group before expecting them to share deeply.²⁰ Likewise, most Catholics in Taiwan were more used to more traditional activities that involved prayer and ceremonies, which the Focolare did not emphasize so much in its meetings, so this too had to be taken into account. However, as the spirit of Vatican II began to penetrate more and more into the Church in Taiwan, these issues became less important, besides which, as more and more local people joined the Movement, it became more inculturated.

Regarding the relationship with the local Church, one important figure for the priests and men religious in these years was Fr. Wang, Jo-Shi who had met the spirituality of the Focolare in Brazil, where he had grown up, though he was Chinese-born. Arriving in Taiwan in 1986, he soon took up the position of spiritual director of the major seminary in Taipei. Although he never imposed himself on anybody, and even less tried to get his charges to join the Movement, he nevertheless communicated, above

all through his life, something of the spirituality to a whole generation of priests, including several future bishops. Meanwhile, the relationship of the hierarchy with the Focolare continued to grow. Archbishop Lokuang was always very warm toward the Focolare, which he had come to know during his long years in Rome. He attended the Mariapolis several times and also took part in meetings of the bishops, Friends of the Movement in Rome, as did Bishop Tou.²¹ In addition, he provided several recorded lessons on Taoism for the Focolare's School for Oriental Religions, based in their center in Tagaytay, Philippines. In the mid-1970s during a trip to Germany, the then Bishop of Chiayi (later Archbishop of Taipei) Ti-Kang met Bishop Klaus Hemmerle of Aachen, whom Lubich considered as a cofounder because of his theological and philosophical contribution to the Focolare. Although he gave great support to the Movement both when he was in Chiayi and later in Taipei, attending not just the Mariapolis but many other meetings including those for the families and young people, Ti-Kang says that it was only around the death of Hemmerle, in 1993, that he truly began to take on board the spirituality. He has continued to participate very actively in the life of the Movement since his retirement as archbishop in 2004 and has been a focal point for both bishops and priests. An important milestone for the relationship of the bishops in Taiwan with Lubich was in 1982, when she met with Asian bishops who were close to the Movement during a visit to Tagaytay. Another important highlight of these years was the visit of Cardinal Vlk of Prague, convenor of the Bishops, Friends of the Movement, in 1998, who held a meeting over four days with eight local bishops who were interested in deepening the spirituality of the Focolare. Today, several of the bishops of Taiwan continue to maintain a contact with the Movement, meeting together occasionally, and also come to support larger meetings such as the Mariapolis.

In these years, a lot of life was generated in Fu Jen, just as Cardinal Yupin had hoped. Archbishop Lokuang was very happy to support the employment of the *focolarini* in Fu Jen, where possible, and also of other members of the Movement, since he was convinced that they would bear a strong Christian witness to everyone, especially the students by their mutual love (John 13:35). One of the high points of Fu Jen's association with the Movement came in January 1997, when Chiara Lubich visited Taiwan at the invitation of the Episcopal Conference and Fu Jen, which conferred her with an honorary doctorate in theology. More than 1000 people attended Lubich's two appointments in Taipei, the conferral ceremony in Fu Jen in January 25 and a further meeting with the wider

community the next day in Kuang Jen High School. Also present were six bishops and representatives of different religions, including Buddhists from Fo Guang Shan and Dharma Drum Mountain. This, indeed, was the launching pad for dialogue with the Buddhists, a dialogue that has continued to bear fruits, as we shall see presently. Absent was Archbishop Lokuang, who was seriously ill in hospital, where Chiara went to visit him and thank him for his long and precious support of the Movement. He was to die just a month after Lubich's visit. In his introduction, the President of the University, Peter Yang Tuen-ho, said these words regarding Lubich and the spirituality that originated from her, which once again confirm how well her message of love accords with those of Chinese culture: "The central idea of her thought is in deep agreement with the essence of Chinese culture: 'to love people and respect nature.' She is a wonderful witness to the mission of this university, to develop the spirit of goodwill, to proceed towards universal brotherhood, and promote dialogue, communion, and interreligious collaboration" (Yang 2016, 103).

Lubich herself seems to have realized the particular resonance that her message of love had in this environment, as we learn from the testimony of Manfred Kögler and Maddalena Cariolato, then co-responsible for the Focolare in the Chinese-speaking area.²² They recall how Lubich decided at the last minute to change her talk at Kuang Jen High School because she felt that what she had prepared was too abstract and not suited to the local culture, whose warmth in welcoming her had made a deep impression. And so, she stayed up until 3 am revising her speech, so that it would center on love. Thus was born Lubich's idea of the "art of loving," which has gone on to have a lasting impact throughout the world, not only on individuals but in areas as different as education, business and interreligious dialogue.²³ Lubich began by listing the following characteristics of the "art of loving":

It is necessary to love everyone.

It is necessary to be the first to love

It is necessary to "make oneself one" with the other.²⁴

It is necessary to love one's enemy.

It is necessary to love in such a way that the other will also learn how to love and mutual love will emerge.

It is necessary to love to the point of sacrificing one's own strength and energy. Whoever does not sacrifice things understands neither religion nor life. (Lubich 1997a)

Later, she moves on to talk at some length about the dialogues in which the Movement is engaged, with those of different Christian denominations, with world religions and with people of nonreligious convictions, all the time emphasizing the centrality of love, of “the golden rule,” common to all religions, which is not to do to others what you would not wish done to yourself. This is a dialogue that goes beyond mere respect for those who hold different beliefs to oneself, rather it entails loving others just as they are, entering into them, discovering love in them too, a love that extends beyond the two parties that are in dialogue and goes out into the world:

Now, we Christians bring our love, charity, what I have talked to you about, the others bring benevolence, compassion, non-violence, or the observance of this principle that is in the golden rule, and we put all this love together, in the way in which each heart expresses it, and we travel through the world winning over many people to the love of God.

Lubich concluded by saying that if we are all faithful to the love she has talked about, we will see a more livable world, a more united world. Replying to Lubich’s speech on behalf of the Episcopal Conference, Archbishop (soon to be Cardinal) Paul Shan emphasized what a gift she had brought to the Church in Taiwan, whose mission of evangelization was flagging in the face of secularization and consumerism, with her conviction and testimony that love could conquer the world. He added the conviction of the Focolare Movement that we can “truly be one, be children of God, and build the family of God,” chimed very well with how the aim of the local Church, whose Episcopal Conference were preparing a meeting on the theme of evangelization, entitled “Building a Family of God Filled with Love.”²⁵

In the decade following Lubich’s visit, the Focolare continued its activities, taking deeper root in the local areas where it was most firmly established and continuing to make contact with new people. As time went on, however, new challenges began to present themselves which put to the test the resilience of the Movement and its members. Numbers of new members, especially young people, joining the Movement began to slow, while attendance at bigger activities, such as the Mariapolis, also stopped growing. Then, in 2008, for strategic reasons that were not directly related to Taiwan, the decision was made temporarily to close the men’s Focolare in Taipei and redeploy the *focolarini* who were there to other parts of the Chinese-speaking area. For the same reason, the women’s Focolare in Kaohsiung was

also closed. A variety of reasons may be posited for this apparent hiatus in the life of the Focolare. Firstly, the Movement was not immune to the trends in society that Cardinal Shan had identified as a challenge for the Church as a whole. Another factor may have been that in the early years, the message of love that the Focolare brought and its style of conducting meetings seemed quite novel, but as the spirit of Vatican II began to pervade the local Church, it did not seem so exceptional. Moreover, many people who came to large Focolare gatherings over the years felt that they had already understood the message sufficiently and so did not feel the necessity to go deeper into the spirituality.²⁶ Reasons may also be found within the Movement itself. Undoubtedly, mistakes were made in the initial period, with evangelical zeal sometimes papering over fault lines such as a lack of strategic planning, insufficiencies in formation and catechesis, an overcentralized structure and a dispersion of resources in too many directions instead of a concentration in specific areas. Moreover, with the death of the foundress, the Movement entered a new phase of consolidation, necessary after decades of continuous outreach and expansion.

However, it would be a mistake to view this period of retrenchment in purely negative terms. In the longer term and sometimes in unexpected ways, the seeds that Lubich had sown during her visit in 1997 began to grow and bear fruit.²⁷ With the closing of the two Focolare centers, local members of the Movement took over many responsibilities with the result that communities in the different cities of Taiwan (primarily Taipei, Taichung and Kaohsiung) have become far more proactive, with numbers taking part in a variety of activities now on the rise again. Meanwhile, individual members of the Movement have become involved in many projects such as prisoner rehabilitation, “economy of communion” initiatives (Bruni 2010), parish activities, interreligious dialogue and so on, all of which are quietly spreading the message and lifestyle of the Focolare. The participation of young people in the Movement was given a major boost by the tour of the international performing arts group of the Focolare, Gen Verde, in 2016, whose performances and workshops in Hualien, Kaohsiung, Taichung and Taipei attracted approximately 3000 mainly young people. Because of this, new initiatives have been launched in Taipei and Kaohsiung to promote the idea of a united world through bringing together young people of different cultural backgrounds. One immediate result of this was the “Run for Unity” in Taipei, an annual worldwide youth event that promotes the message of peace, dialogue and fraternity among nations and peoples, which attracted the participation of the Vice President of Taiwan in May 2016.

But perhaps the most notable and unexpected area of development in the Movement has been in the realm of academia. As we have seen, from the time of Cardinal Yupin onward, the bishop-chancellors of Fu Jen have all expressed their desire for a presence of the Focolare in the university, and more generally in the world of Catholic education. Initially, this simply meant the presence of members of the Movement in Fu Jen, but with time, faculty in the other Catholic third-level institutions (Providence University and the Ursuline College—now a university) came to know the spirit of the Movement. The signing of the agreement between the Vatican and the Government of Taiwan on education in 2011 ushered in a new phase in the Focolare's role with respect to third-level education in Taiwan (Bottoni and Tirabassi 2013, 520–26). Since the Vatican Congregation for Catholic Education had recently been involved in the approval process of the Sophia University Institute, a postgraduate research university of the Focolare Movement based in Italy, on one of his visits to Taiwan, Cardinal Zenon Grocholewski, Prefect of the Congregation, expressed a desire to meet with educators of the Movement to see how they could contribute to the mission of the Catholic universities on the island. Present at this meeting were about 15 professors, including the President of Providence, Tang Chuan-Yi. What emerged was a necessity for more cooperation in order to promote the universities' Christian spirit and mission of evangelization. Partly as a result of this, the Focolare Movement decided to organize a major academic conference on the thought of Chiara Lubich for the fifth anniversary of her death in 2013, with the active support and participation of all three Catholic third-level institutions in Taiwan, Wenzao, Providence and Fu Jen. Present were the presidents of Fu Jen, Providence and Sophia and the Vice President of Wenzao, while professors from the Buddhist Dharma Drum University also contributed. The conference was opened by Cardinal João Braz de Aviz, Prefect of the Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life, who has been involved in the Focolare for many years (and who was, incidentally, formed in the spirituality of the Focolare by Fr. Wang when he was still in Brazil). The five panels of the conference were dedicated to theology, education, economy of communion, interreligious dialogue and the culture of unity in an interdisciplinary context. The fruits of this conference were manifold. In the first place, it led to a much greater awareness, both within the Movement and in the local Church of the depth and breadth of the spirituality of unity, which some had assumed just involved the sharing of experiences on the living out of the Scriptures. Secondly, it

led to the publication of a number of important articles on the culture of unity within the context of Taiwan, including a special issue of the prestigious journal *Philosophy and Cultural Studies Monthly Zhexue yu wenhua yukan (Journal of Philosophy and Culture) (Universitas)*. Thirdly, it led to twinning agreements between Sophia and two of the universities present, Providence and Dharma Drum (in August 2016, Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages in Kaohsiung also signed a twinning agreement). As a result of these twinings, there have already been a number of academic exchanges, including visits to Sophia by the two presidents, visiting lecturers in Taiwan, and further initiatives are in the pipeline, among which are courses on the economy of communion and the opening of a regional hub of Sophia in Manila, with the involvement of professors and students from Taiwan. A major Buddhist-Christian Symposium to be held at Dharma Drum in 2017 also involves Sophia, Providence and Fu Jen, thereby bringing together academia and dialogue. This will be the latest in a series of symposia that the Focolare has organized in various countries, with participants from a number of Buddhist traditions and from a variety of countries, including Thailand, Sri Lanka and Japan.

CONCLUSION

What success has the Focolare Movement had in spreading its spirituality in Taiwan, how has it integrated into local culture and society, and what has it contributed to the local Church? Given that the Focolare emphasizes the lived, spiritual dimension more than tangible actions, it is not so easy to give a precise answer to these questions, but there can be no doubt that the Movement has brought new life to the Church in Taiwan and that in return, it has been greatly enriched. This mutual enrichment is perhaps most striking in the Movement's exceptionally close and harmonious relationship with the hierarchy, a living example in many respects of what *Iuvenescit Ecclesia* envisions. Moreover, the fact that so many bishops, clergy and religious have welcomed and embraced the spirituality of the Focolare has undoubtedly had an impact on the life of the local Church beyond the confines of the Movement itself. At the same time, the support of the local Church has helped the Movement to integrate and inculturate more effectively. Indirectly, the experience of the Focolare may also well have helped to prepare the path for the arrival of other Movements on the island. More recently, the Focolare has had an increasing incidence in the realms of Catholic academia, as we have seen, and has been making a significant contribution to interreligious

dialogue, both of which are the fruit of many years of quiet work and building of relationships. But apart from these more visible initiatives, which are important milestones in the Movement's mission, the story of the Focolare in Taiwan is above all about the continuing transformation of the lives of thousands of people as they have come in contact with its spirituality and have begun to put it into practice in their everyday lives. In so doing, they join together with vast numbers of people of every age and creed and walks of life throughout the world who have committed themselves to the ideal of unity that is the "sign of the times," in this globalized yet divided world, as Lubich frequently affirmed with charismatic confidence (Lubich 2003).

NOTES

1. Schoenstatt, for instance, was founded in 1914, while in 1921 it was the turn of the Legion of Mary, which has had a central role in the life of the Church in China (particularly Shanghai) and in Taiwan.
2. There are relatively few studies on the phenomenon of the movements, precisely because they are so new. Probably the most useful and comprehensive is Leahy (2011), on which I draw extensively in these pages. For a historical context, see Melloni (2003). Also useful is Durand (2003).
3. On the meaning of the term "charism," which derives from the Greek *charisma* (generous gift) and first appears in the Pauline letters, see section 4 of *Iuvenescit*.
4. As Joseph Ratzinger argues, throughout the history of the Church, "movements" have arisen through the stirrings of the Spirit which have a universal dimension and may thus help to renew the local churches and assist their bishops, in their role as successors to the apostles, of transcending their local ecclesial ministry and expressing the universality of Christ's mission (1999, 39). See also *Lumen Gentium* 2.12.
5. Much of what is summarized here was recounted by Lubich herself in Fu Jen University in 1997 (Lubich 2016, 104–07). For the many versions of the story of the birth of the Movement recounted by Lubich over the years, see the appendix, "Liste delle storie dell'Ideale scritte o raccontate o da Chiara Lubich," in Vandeleene 2009, 369–75. For a biography of Lubich and a history of the development of the Movement since its birth, see Torno (2012).
6. The official name of the Movement as approved in 1963 is the Work of Mary; however, it is more generally known as the Focolare, while its consecrated members are known as *focolarini* (male) and *focolarine* (female).
7. See the entry for the "Work of Mary," the official name for the Focolare Movement in *Directory*.

8. The term, for which no English equivalent exists, literally means “bearers of fire” and was originally given as a nickname to the first group of people who began living the spirituality by the people of Trent, who were struck by the fire of their love.
9. God-Love; God’s Will; The Word; Love of Neighbor; Mutual Love; Eucharist; The Gift of Unity; Jesus Forsaken; Mary; The Church-Communion; The Holy Spirit; Jesus in the Midst.
10. There is some uncertainty regarding these early years. Professor Bennie Callebaut of the Sophia University Institute, Loppiano, Florence, who has carried out work in the early archives of the Movement, told me in a conversation in June 2016 that he came across mentions of Chinese priests having contact with the Movement as early as 1949. According to the testimony of the then Archbishop of Taipei, Ti-Kang, in the introductory address that he gave on the occasion of the awarding of an honorary doctorate to Lubich by Fu Jen University in 1997, Archbishop Yupin participated twice in the Mariapolis, in 1956 and 1957 (Lubich 2016, 97). However, the fact that he was interviewed by the magazine of the Movement, *Città Nuova*, in 1959 (see below), may suggest that he was present in this year. The personal testimony of Silvio Daneo and Maddalena Cariolato would suggest that the other clerics mentioned were present on more than one occasion.
11. See Chap. 28 of Chabonnier (2007) for a brief outline of the history of the Catholic Church in postwar Taiwan. Chabonnier gives a figure of 12 priests for 1949, expanding to over 400, both Chinese and foreign in the 1950s, and notes that numbers of Catholics rose from barely 10,000 at the end of the war to 170,000 in 1959, expanding to 240,000 just by 1963, most being recent converts (483–84).
12. Although it still remains private, there was a regular correspondence between the Cardinal and Lubich according to the archivists of the Chiara Lubich Center in Rome, whom I interviewed during a visit there in June 2016.
13. Interview with Daneo, March 24, 2016. Daneo has recently published a book on his life, including details of his years in Asia (2015). All interviews were carried out by the author, in person or on Skype.
14. Report written by Holzhauser in 1969, held in the Chiara Lubich Center Archive, Rome.
15. Email to author, Daneo, April 14, 2016.
16. Email to author, Cariolato, March 19, 2016.
17. Interview, Fr. Elias Cerezo, April 13, 2016.
18. Interview, Dimar Ho, April 4, 2016.
19. Interview, Eddie Hsueh, May 4, 2016.

20. Dimar Ho, Eddie Hsueh and Hu Kung-tze all made similar points in this regard.
21. On the participation of the “Bishops, Friends of the Movement” in the life of the Focolare, see *Statutes* 2008, 29.
22. Interview, Manfred Kögler (April 10, 2016) and Cariolato (June 30, 2016).
23. For a fully elaborated explanation, see Lubich (2010). See also James, Masters and Uelman, ed. (2010), which provides many instances of how the “art of loving” may be applied in the classroom as an effective pedagogical approach. For a more theoretical approach, see Ramer et al. (2014).
24. In other words, love the other as they would like to be loved by identifying ourselves completely with them, as St. Paul says: “To the weak I became weak, to win over the weak. I have become all things to all, to save at least some” (1 Cor 9:22).
25. It is interesting that Chiara, both on this occasion and also when she went to Hong Kong in 1982, spoke primarily of love. Her stimulus in Hong Kong was the words of Pope Paul VI during his visit in 1970, which she said could be summarized in the words “love, love, love” (Lubich 1982).
26. Father Cerezo suggested both of these as reasons.
27. These are points made by Santina Chan, for many years responsible for the women’s center in Taipei, interview, June 24, 2016.

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Wanjin's Basilica: Church Evangelization Encountering Government's Tourism

Chiao-li Wang

INTRODUCTION

Wanjin Basilica of the Immaculate Conception has surfaced as an iconic Catholic church in Taiwan since the Dominicans of the Chinese Province were given the charge of it from the Spanish Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary after 2011. The transfer marked 150 years of evangelization of the mission, the church and the introduction of tourism promoting the heritage site. The acknowledgment of its being a heritage site by the Ministry of the Interior, ROC, in 1985 did not immediately bring in floods of tourists. The public's attention began to be roused from 2011 when the supervising local agent—Pingtung County government—coordinated the Wanjin Christmas Season right after a full-scale religious celebration for the basilica's 150th anniversary. Over the five years, the celebratory two-week gala has attracted half a million visitors and elevated the Wanjin church as outstanding among the 412 Catholic churches in Taiwan (Handbook of Roman Catholicism in Taiwan 2014).

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Promotions made by the public sector and news media generate a great deal of publicity hype. Pingtung County government advertised the Christmas Season (Pingtung County Government 2015, December 11) in a variety of publicity channels and opened an official website for the event in 2015. Major newspapers, for example, the *Liberty Times* (Xu 2015, December 13) and the *United Daily News* (Lin 2015, December 9), printed schedules of the event, with television reporting news footage, feature programs (Taiwan Public Television Service PTS 2015), and in travel magazines, for example, a neighboring city's monthly magazine (Zhang 2015).

This research presents the tourism phenomenon affecting Wanjin Basilica during the five years, from 2011 to 2015. On the one hand, concern is whether the peace and religious spirit of Wanjin Basilica will be affected by commercialism and secularism arising from the escalating demands of tourism. On the other hand, the inquiry delves into the intertwining relations between tourism and religious mega events as being an opportunity or a crisis for the local Catholic community.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Cultural travel is the second major purpose of a journey in this golden age of global tourism (The World Tourism Organization 2015). Statistics for 1950 to 2014 show an increasing number of tourists and spending on tourism in the past 65 years. Tourist numbers have escalated from 25 million people to 1133 million and spending on tourism from US\$1245 billion to US\$2 billion. Tourism is on the rise as a fashion of life for many people, including those in Taiwan. From a spiritual point of view, such growth in tourism could present opportunities to learn a great deal about Christianity.

Pilgrimage, as an old form of travel, is not limited to the practitioners of a specific faith because travel itself often engages in some religious activities (Stausberg 2011). Scholars suggest a close relationship between tourism and religious travel. Some studies propose an increase of spiritual visitors (Jackowski 2000; San Filippo 2001), and the sacred places are marked as having heritage or cultural contents that are to be experienced (Timothy and Boyd 2003). Vukonic (1996) believes tourism has an impact on religion since many people make trips to visit spiritual places and practice religious acts. For example, only 5.18% of the 30,000 pilgrims for El Camino de Santiago, Spain, traveled for nonreligious reasons

(Camino de Santiago, Large Camino Community 2013). The inscription as a UNESCO World Heritage Site from 2005 has attracted even more tourists for the Ruins of the Church of the Mother of God, in Macau, China. Moreover, Fourie and Santana-Gallego (2013) specify religion as a major indicator for international journeys. Pilgrimage as “a rite of passage” similar to tourism begins with withdrawal from daily community life and norms; it is arranged within a period of time, constitutes unique social relations and ends with strong feelings either joyful or sensational (Burns 1999). This may be the reason why pilgrimage and tourism are sometimes seen within a single range rather than two separate activities (Adler 1989).

Be they spiritual or secular, the Spanish and Portuguese priests in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries endeavored to incorporate these two humane needs into one setting by building missions in Asia, the Americas and Africa. A mission is a self-sustained unit wherein the parish owns lands and its inhabitants are Catholics. The early Dominicans who came to Taiwan adopted the mission model from those in Xiamen, Fujian province, China, as a major evangelical strategy (Ku 1998; Pan 2014). Liang (2010) described a religious site in China as having five features: it was a small community of less than 2000 villagers; a majority of its members were Catholic; the church was the center of the neighboring area; work, routines and social activities were spent in the community and religious leaders served as heads of the community. The low lodging expense guaranteed pilgrims in groups or in large numbers, as well as sustaining more efficiently a sanctifying way of life. Female lay people played a vital role in education and the instruction of catechism since they practiced faith by their diligence, quietude, calmness and virginity (Sanroman 2015). Father Herce, in an 1865 work report, commented that Wanjin parish was “a beautiful, blessed land” (Fernandez 1991, 56). The mission was initially a frontier mission for the indigenous peoples and later became “the most flourishing of all Catholics in Formosa from the 1860s to the 1950s” (Oliveir et al. 2004, 68). Like its counterpart in China, it was composed of extended families based on the native villagers’ model (Huang 2006).

Currently, Wanjin church is similar to many missions around the globe which have been transformed into cultural destinations not only for spiritual visitors but also for tourists with cultural interest who are one of the sources of revenue for the local residents. This similarity of development can be found in the 300-year-old San Antonio mission in Texas, USA, that was recently recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It offers its domestic and international visitors both religious and cultural experience

(San Antonio Celebrates World Heritage Designation in Style 2016). Although a remote village in Pingtung is in no way similar to such an international metropolis, the sudden influx of tourists during Christmas time was noticed by government agents as fortunate for the locals. The San Antonio mission generates full-blown tourism revenue after transferring its management rights to the National Park Service, yet at the same time, the influx of visitors poses an invasion of privacy, interruption in spiritual services and the distractions of secularism (Bremer 2004). While the Mission of San Antonio attracts millions of visitors, either for religion or sight-seeing every year, Wanjin can certainly learn a good deal from similar crises and opportunities to spread the faith.

In 2015, Taiwan welcomed a record-breaking ten million tourists (Dai 2015) and was nominated by the National Geographic Traveler as one of the best trips for the New Year's "must see" places (Best Trips 2015). To draw the attention of international travelers, Taiwan adopts a tourism economic boosting program from Korea called "temple stay." Thus, the Ministry of the Interior promotes in-depth religious tourism which replaces "shallow carnivals simply featuring food, lighting, bright colors, and cacophonous sound features" (Ministry of Interior, ROC 2013, 4). With these initiatives, three Catholic churches were nominated for the title of Top 100 Religious Attractions in Taiwan. Wanjin was the only one selected for recognition of its patronal event—the Procession honoring the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary—rather than for the physical structure of its buildings (National Religion Information Network 2016).

Tourists travel to cultural events searching for specific satisfaction. While it is essential for them to experience something genuine in the original places (Redfoot 1984; Olsen 2002), their further engagement and interaction with the event is also important (Manning 1983). In the planning of tourism activities, Bauman (1999) highlights the role of the community and elevates cultural events as one of the most recognized structures in a community. It consists of four components: a preset plan, a beginning and ending schedule, a temporary or permanent space and a program for procedures (Bauman 1999). Furthermore, Sofield (2003) claims it becomes an empowering tool when the organizers carefully engage in step-by-step planning. In contemplating and experiencing the event, the "coordinated public" is deeply involved and enters into a "heightened" state of consciousness (Bauman 1999, 46). After a decade of successful tourism events marketing a Daoism-mix temple festival, the

Donglong Temple, the Pingtung government was eager to find a second site to double the number of tourists. Wanjin church was a fitting spot for the local government choice. It stood out as a perfect option.

METHOD

A case study of Wanjin church and its recent tourism activities 2010–2015 was conducted. The focus was the interaction between the Department of Tourism and Communication, Pingtung (DTCP) and Wanjin Basilica from the viewpoint of evangelization and tourism. The time frame of cooperation matched the first five years after the management transition from the Spanish Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary to that of the Chinese Dominican Province in Taiwan. The investigation comprised three perspectives: first, to understand the magnitude and trends of the tourist forces in Wanjin, particularly during the Christmas season; second, to investigate the responses, changes and threats to the mission church in providing Catholic faith and services to believers both inside and outside the parish; third, to describe the intervention from government and non-Catholic groups in tourism activities during the Christmas Season; and, finally, to examine the effect of tourism on community development and aesthetic outcomes.

The data include interview transcripts and participatory and nonparticipatory field observation notes. Five in-depth interviews were made with the pastor, a Wanjin-born priest, the parish secretary, the manager of Wanjin village, the leader of the parish tour guide group and a focus group of four core members of the parish. The participants were selected because they were key persons able to offer significant insights when answering the research questions. The duration of the interviews was about 100 minutes for each one. The participants spoke about their impression of and identity with the parish, their assessment and understanding of the governmental forces and influence over the parish, and whether tourist promotion created a threat or an opportunity to the development of the parish and the community. The on-site material included four participatory observations and field observations of two Sunday congregations, some weekdays in the “off season” time and one on the basilica’s patronal Feast of the Immaculate Conception.

Documents from different sources were collected to investigate the phenomenon from a variety of viewpoints to maintain the trustworthiness of the study. They included i-Pingtung (I Love Pingtung), the local

government's website; Christmas Season 2015, the official website operated by the DTCP; Facebook of the DTCP; and the official website of Wanjin Basilica; popularly visited video clips both of the diocese and the island-wide Catholic weekly journals were also used. To gather tourists' impressions, clues from YouTube websites were analyzed. From these virtual resources, topics for discussion, channels of communication and the influence of social networking were examined according to the research agenda. Another approach to guarantee reliability was by triangulation of the analysis by transcribing, coding (see Notes 2 for code naming and their sources), and cross-examination of multiple sources. Initial findings were critically reviewed by several different readers followed by verification and clarification. This author is both a member of the Church and a field researcher so possible bias might create limitations on research conclusions.

THE CONTEXT

The Wanjin parish includes inhabitants of two villages: Wanjin and Chishan, both consisting of a majority of the indigenous Pingpu people who are Catholics. Taiwu and the neighboring Paiwan tribes are not included in the parish discussion but are taken into account in the government's tourism programs.

I. Rising Tourism

The expenditure on tourism in Taiwan has been booming (see Table 9.1) in the past decade (Tourism Bureau 2011). The consumption patterns vary according to each of three types of tourists, the top four categories being transportation, shopping, food and beverages and lodging. The tourism-related professions reached a peak in 1999 and shrank in the following years after which they expanded exponentially from 2010 to 2011.

II. The Modest Yet Significant Role of Catholic Churches

According to the National Religion Information Network, the Catholic Church is a minority group among Taiwan's 21 registered religions consisting of a total of 11,633 temples and churches (National Religion Information Network 2016). Pingtung has the third highest number of places of worship in Taiwan although only 14 (1.2%) of them belong to

Table 9.1 Tourism expenditure in Taiwan

	1999	2009	2010	2011
Total	\$420.3	\$582.7	\$708.6	\$827.6
Inbound tourism (by international travelers)	\$196.1	\$205.7	\$246.6	\$390.3
Domestic tourism (by citizens)	\$138.3	\$265.5	\$333.1	\$312.7
Tourism adds to GDP	n/a	n/a	n/a	\$324.2
Ratio to total GDP	4.36%	4.69%	5.19%	2.34%
Tourism-related employment (persons)	301,867	273,112	301,091	401,899
Total lodging organized by religious institutions (times)	n/a	n/a	n/a	321,590

Billions in New Taiwan dollar

Roman Catholics. Nevertheless, the rising number of cultural and spiritual tourists attracted attention to Wanjin Basilica because of its heritage. Thirteen Catholic churches, including Wanjin's, were nominated as candidates among the 412 places of worship competing for the top 100 religious attractions (Top 100 Religious Attractions 2013). Wanjin Basilica was the only Christian site among the initial 18 runners-up and also won highest votes (3103) in Pingtung County during the first phase of county nominations. In the second phase of the entitlement, it took second place after Holy Rosary Cathedral Minor Basilica in Kaohsiung among all the Catholic sites.

III. Wanjin Basilica: A Bright Spot for Pingtung

Wanjin Basilica is a gem in the eyes of Christmas tourists in Taiwan. The estimated number of visitors during the two-week event was about 70,000 in 2011 (YT_wj_C_D)¹ or half a million (The Village Renovation Program of Wanjin Community, Wanluan, Pingtung 2012). Soon after the inauguration of its official administration, the DTCP realized the church's potential in generating tourism revenue so raised its status adding it to the departmental year-round tourism programs for the month of December. The first-time ever Christmas Season event overlapped with the mega scale celebration of 150 years of the church's foundation. In this way, the Catholic Church gained its national fame for Christmas celebrations.

Table 9.2 Common keyword searching on YouTube

	<i>Wanjin (in Chinese)</i>	<i>Wanjin church (in Chinese)</i>	<i>Wanjin</i>	<i>Wanjin Basilica</i>
Total clips	40,900	15,600	1700	41
Total hits for the related top 3 videos	382,928	212,349	n/a	n/a

Searches on YouTube channel, the popular website for visual information, disclosed the church's popularity (see Note 1 for YouTube videos). Table 9.2 shows the number of composed videos and views by a four common keyword search. As the serving priest agreed, "This (tourism) is the trend that no one acts against" (I_fx_t_p1_38).²

WANJIN: A CONTEMPORARY LIVING MISSION

In many ways, Wanjin parish has maintained its heritage and religious practices from its beginnings till the present time. It has "tens of acres of land (W_wjweb_n_p2)"³ including an historic building and a parish cemetery. The parish groups are well connected and efficient. They are versatile and have partaken in comprehensive spiritual service many times in engaging and creative ways.

I. The Site: An Impressive and Complete Complex

The aesthetic and memorable experience begins with Wanjin's physical main buildings and surrounding constructions. The vast tract of land bought by the Spanish Dominicans once offering economic and spiritual refuge has now become the heritage center of the community. The basilica that resembles a Spanish castle standing in the center of the parish area is of unique architecture seldom seen in Taiwan. The church's area provides multifunctional open space. It has an altar on the basketball court at the back of the main building for outdoor congregations; the Immaculate Conception Dominican Residence on its right side was inaugurated in 1991 for the priests. The two-story activity center sits next to the basilica for pilgrimages and was opened in 1994 with lodging for 55 persons, 5 conference rooms and 1 dining hall. There is a quiet garden with a statue of the Blessed Virgin on the basilica's left side providing shade and breeze for a moment of peace. Across the other side of the church main building,

a lawn paves a green carpet for the county-recognized 100-year-old *Plumeria obtusa* (Pagoda tree or white frangipani). When visitors enter the main gate of the basilica complex, two mighty trees welcome them with shade and seating to encourage a dialogue of mind with the 154-year-old Basilica sitting at the foothills of the elevated Dawu Mountains.

In addition to spiritual repose, material assets offer practical help. Wanjin Basilica is among the dozen churches on the island that provide lodging for pilgrims, religious retreats and meeting spaces which have been built neither for commercial purposes nor for the general public. Furthermore, the mission considers itself “a hyper (linked) parish for all catholic faith practitioners (W_h_1)”⁴ utilizing the complete infrastructure in the basilica complex to “serve as yeast (W_b_154th_p2)”⁵ for evangelization. The newly installed Art Works of Salvation (including the Stations of the Cross, the Resurrection of Jesus and the Bust of Saint Dominic) in 2014 have made the witness of the Bible more complete. Father Xu Qing-xian, the pastor, envisions more arts, crafts and scenes from the Bible to be created and displayed in future years and would like them collected into a Catholic museum on the site (I_fx_t_p3).⁶

Financial support for the church's renovation was also allocated from the local government aiming for the Christmas event. Some improvements are criticized as disregarding historical relics. In particular, after the first-year laser show depicted the tattered, torn surface of the front wall of the basilica, it was repainted in 2013 into a smooth and silky color ideally used as the screen board to reflect better pictures. Other activities were thought to add to the church's cultural value. For instance, in the first year of the laser show, the South Taiwan Symphony Orchestra held a live, outdoor performance on the church site, truly an historic musical event in Taiwan (YT_sts_2013).⁷

II. Families, Aging and Returning Parishioners and Versatile Parish Groups

In contrast to parishes in Taiwan, Wanjin has strong connections with three local Pan families. Among them, a majority have multi-relationships as friends, classmates, next-door neighbors, relatives and parish group members connecting them in many areas of life. Father Pan Qiong-hui, the first Wanjin-born priest from a first-generation Catholic family, commented, “All members of the extended families are parishioners who live in the neighborhood. For this reason we are bonded to each other in organizing celebrations, passing on the faith, and making extra effort for

service (I_fp_t_p3_23-25).”⁸ He believed that the parishioners are so strongly identified with the parish that organizing Christmas celebrations seems like planning weddings for the family. In addition, about 70–80% of residents in Wanjin village are Catholics. Although they no longer rely on the church for economic needs, the majority of the villagers still practice their religion and enjoy the closeness of social life. For them it is more like living in a small town serving as the foundation for a comprehensive parish life. For instance, a single family organized a family pilgrimage with three dozen of its extended members (J_cw_2015_0705_p21).⁹ This Pan family has generated three chairpersons of the parish council, one parish secretary and an organizer for volunteers.

Young people go away to work in the cities leaving Wanjin church with an aging population resembling an aged society (I_fg_n_2_p6).¹⁰ However, the return of former villagers who are experienced and local-born Catholics serves as new blood to the parish in transition. Chen Xing-lin, the current chair of the parish council, the volunteer guide Pan Ren-Shi (Mitchell), and the manager of the village were all born in Wanjin, retiring from their previous professional work in nearby cities. Mitchell, a former teacher, operates a tourist farm featuring local history and heritage. He is also a core member in a local resort farming association. Chen Xing-Lin has moved back to his hometown and serves the parish with his wife.

Wanjin has parish groups to provide dynamic services and interparish connections. Father Xu describes them as “all closely connected and operating effectively (I_fx_t_p5_5).”¹¹ The Legion of Mary organized in 1956, Dominican Tertiaries in 1981, the Women’s Council in 1992, Working Adults Club in 1993, the Youth Club in 1976, classes for children’s religious education (CCE) and annual summer and winter camps for 20 and more years serve over 200 young students annually. The parish has three choirs which offer musical services during its eight masses a week in Taiwanese, plus in-parish and out-of-parish activities and events. One change the new local priest has initiated and takes pride in is to train children to participate in the celebration of Mass by reading the scriptural passages and the responsorial psalm and taking part in bringing up the bread and wine at the Offertory.

According to Father Xu, his primary goal is making liturgy the center of parish life. He considers some parishioners focus more on forms and human relationships than on liturgy:

On the big day of our church's celebration of the Immaculate Conception, following Mass in the morning, we have the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament and Benediction. In the morning about fifty to sixty people attend... In the afternoon's Eucharistic celebration over a hundred turn out... Because the parishioners work in the daytime, we have Stations of the Cross on weekday nights. For the weekday Mass, there may be only forty to fifty people. After the Mass ends at 8:30 p.m., two to three hundred parishioners all cram in for the Stations of the Cross....It is because they do not know the liturgy of the Church well enough..., but Mass is more important. (I_fx_t_p2, 24-32)¹²

Wanjin is a highly technologically oriented parish. It employs projectors in congregational services (FN_0823) and provides considerable material on its official website regarding parish groups, activities and liturgy. Sixteen categories of content are included on its official website, for example, Introduction to Catholicism, History of the Basilica, History of the Basilica (in English), External Catholic Links, Prayers and Breviary, Activity Center, Announcements, Briefing for the Basilica's Renovation Schedule and Survival Tips for Disasters and Emergency, among others. Other than the earliest documents, the internet-available information covers events from 2002 to 2010 (N_wjweb_p2-4).¹³ The historical documents of the basilica are well used and are increased by an accumulation of updated written materials, audios, videos and photo formats. For example, the Youth Club organized a hiking fund-raising event on February 2, 2012, and the Children's Catechism Education (CCE) had a friendship prayer activity with nearby child parishioners and with children of a parish from Kaohsiung in 2011 (N_wjweb_p1).¹⁴

The church's comprehensive records demonstrate systematically the diversity and vitality of the parish. While the services and practices comprise religious and social activities for the most part, the parish also engages in social services to the local community, for example, on legal issues for women's rights and hospice care education (N_wjweb_p2).¹⁵

III. A Self-Sustained Parish and Its Extensive Status

The first move of indigenization after the Spanish Dominicans' transfer of the parish to the Chinese Dominicans was the appointment of a Hakka priest, born in the nearby Hakka village. Pan Shi-Hua (Joseph), secretary

of the parish, growing up and working in the parish over 20 years has witnessed the changes in the parish over time. He commented, “The priest from a local community is very different from the Spanish priest (I_sj_p1).”¹⁶ Mr. Pan welcomes this policy for he believes Taiwan-born priests understand better local customs, such as applying for the recognition of a heritage site in Taiwan (I_fp_t_p4_30).¹⁷

Established by Dominican missionaries, the Kaohsiung 2014 diocesan data indicate that Wanjin Basilica ranked the third largest parish with 3421 registered parishioners. Kaohsiung is the birth site of Catholic evangelization in Taiwan. While 12 of the over 100-year-old Catholic churches in Taiwan were established by the 800-year-old Dominican missionaries, three of them are under the supervision of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Kaohsiung. According to *Shepherd’s Evangelization Journal* (Parishioners Headcount 2015), the top and the second highest number of registered parishioners were 4150 and 3667 (J_e_2015_0510_p. 4).¹⁸ Table 9.3 presents the services provided by the parish in comparison with different sizes of some parishes in the diocese.

Wanjin is not merely an ordinary parish in Kaohsiung diocese. It also serves as a platform for the diocese and all Catholic parishes. Lately, Wanjin has taken less of a role as an educational and training center for Catholics in Taiwan and more as a mega event organizer. There are three reasons for the changes. First, Mount of Beatitudes, a new multifunctional complex in Kaohsiung was inaugurated in 2011, specifically built for lodging and conferences within the Church community. Second, soaring

Table 9.3 Liturgy services provided in selected parishes

<i>2013/2014 Parish headcount</i>	<i>Baptism</i>	<i>Confirmation</i>	<i>Sacrament of marriage for baptism</i>	<i>Instruction</i>	<i>Catechist (volunteer)</i>	<i>First communion</i>
Wanjin 3430/3421	35	19	20	8	8	12
Taiwu 4123/4150	65	20	13	34	6	20
Mother of Good Counsel 457/461	7	31		9	n/a	n/a
St. Vincent 748/739	7	3	3	7	(paid:1)	8

tourist numbers for the Christmas celebration acknowledge the parish's competence and resources to conduct and organize mega events. Third, the diocese apparently values Wanjin's heritage as well. The current bishop,¹⁹ Peter Liu Cheng-chung, has hosted the parish annual celebrations for the last 5 years since its 150th anniversary celebration. The annual gala is a living and impressive demonstration of Catholic beliefs: crowding for the open-air Mass, lining up for the Sacrament of Reconciliation with ten priests ministering from morning to afternoon, following the footsteps of the Blessed Virgin Mary during the procession in her honor and so on (FN_1206). In addition to this special day of full-scale activities, a variety of similar activities have been carried out in recent years. Specifically, the diocese uses Wanjin as a focal point for welcome or outreach services for a large number of the faithful island-wide. In 2010, the diocese organized a hiking pilgrimage between the two basilicas as one of a series of Taiwan's centennial celebrations (N_wcweb_p2-4).²⁰ The 30-mile walk from Kaohsiung to Pingtung was a kind of physical and mental engagement to contemplate the Catholic faith and to follow the road taken by the early Dominicans. Coordinating with the county tourism agents, a biking pilgrimage along the same route was then carried out in the following year. At the beginning of 2016, it was an over the New Year's Eve hiking pilgrimage from Wanluan, a neighboring town church to Wanjin. The diocese drew 400 pilgrims and ended the hike with a Mass at the first hour of New Year's Day. It also highlighted the historical significance of the two basilicas in the two southern cities (*Journal of Evangelization*, January 24, 2016).

Welcome and outreach activities add extra responsibility to Wanjin. This new take is stressing out the parish. Father Xu reflected the comments of some of the parishioners, "Never did we receive any phone calls from the bishop of the diocese or priests of other churches to say thanks (I_fx_t_p_3_21)." One female member admitted, "It has been as though we were exploited (I_fg_n_2_p4)." The author's field notes observed the administrators in the parish being overused and overwhelmed. Jose, as a coordinating duty secretary, was constantly ordered around for work, interrupted for other activities and required to travel abroad to buy cheaper religious statues (FN_0718_p5; FN_0823). The managing priest reflected on a possible solution, "if by this event (the Christmas Season) we could make them think...that is, Catholics not in this parish think, that they could also team up with our parish for any large event. The connection needs to be initiated from external links, not from me (I_fx_t_p3_23to24)."

By practicing its tradition and at the same time hosting spiritual and cultural visitors, Wanjin follows an “opening every day” policy that few Catholic churches in Taiwan follow. Wanjin greets its visitors every day, from morning till late evening. In addition to early morning Mass held in the chapel of the neighboring Dominican contemplative nuns, the church itself offers weekday masses in the evenings for its parishioners to attend after work. However, it appeared that the open door policy generates visitors’ management issues, for example, noise made by the visitors, while a seemingly homeless young man begs from visitors in the church (FN_0824), and street artists perform their shows in the front yard for gratuities (FN_0718).²¹

PINGTUNG COUNTY AND WANJIN COMMUNITY

I. Fully Invested Event Planning to Set Up a New Phase

Pingtung County has invested substantial resources in Wanjin. Wanjin is one of the four thematic videos that the DTCP first produced (D_1pt_web).²² For a county that has a high density of Buddhist and Daoist places of worship, the investment is rather unusual and noteworthy. From 2011–2015, over a third of the DTCP Facebook posted articles (27:67) referred to Wanjin Basilica (see Table 9.4). The Pingtung government

Table 9.4 i-Pingtung Facebook

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Total posts per year	67	80	95	79	80
Total posts related to Wanjin	26	6	13	3	3
Christmas Season	From Dec. 3	Dec. 1	Nov. 30		
Theme of the year	First Christmas Season	Wings of Fortune and Promises of Peace	Rosary Christmas: Love Prevails in Wanjin	Promises of Love	Christmas Season: The Centennial Bell of Fortune
Total likes	730	10,416	6288	7676	1511
Total share	966	817	1909	490	627
Total comments	44	132	1254	242	43
Total responses	1740	11,365	9451	8408	2181

website and the DCTC website do not list Wanjin as a “tourist attraction.” Nevertheless, they use Wanjin church as the background picture on the department director’s page; they released four announcements in December, the equivalent attention to Donglong Temple Season, a popular mixed folk-religious event during 2015. In i-Pingtung, another official electronic channel for tourism promotion, the DTCP includes a variety of substantial information on Wanjin church. For instance, in the multimedia subcategory, three of Wanjin Basilica were filmed as the theme of the clips out of 43 videos. The basilica’s laser show is posted in first place; the remaining two clips are bird’s-eye views of Wanjin dubbed with sacred music, 2014 edition (D_wvl_2015_1).²³

The official site of the social network also indicates extensive effort to market Wanjin. The i-Pingtung Facebook released a total of 401 posts from its opening in 2011 to 2015, with 51 Wanjin related posts (see Table 9.4).

II. A Heritage to Participate in and Illustrate in an Attractive Laser Display

Building on Wanjin Basilica’s religious tradition and cultural heritage, the DTCP has effectively attracted tourists’ participation in Christmas-time activities for the past five years. Collaboration between the DTCP and the parish was initiated when government agents requested the church to participate in celebrations for the ROC’s 100th National Day. In the same way, Wanjin parish invited the government’s participation in its 150th mega celebration. Thus, during the first year of the teaming, the DTCP publicized the heritage site by inviting tourists to join religious events. Neither the government nor the church has provided data on the composition of the visitors. However, as it is situated in a remote village, only a small number of international travelers were noted. On the one hand, celebration of Christmas, to non-Catholic practitioners, is more of a party-oriented event for the younger generations to experience a “foreign” cultural event. On the other, to visit a heritage site can be a family activity and, in fact, extended family members are often seen on the site.

The following four years led to integration with the promotion of business in Pingtung as well as defining the Christmas Season as a carnival. The strategy was to schedule programs during the night time with the climax on Christmas Eve. The outcome was a “3D laser display” to create an artistic experience. Wanjin parish cooperated with the government agents showing hospitality to visitors and displaying its heritage and religion to all comers. It requested no financial profit, but demanded that

at least some of the contents should reflect the Catholic faith. “At least three of the ten minutes of the laser show needs to be contents from the Bible (I_fx_t_p4).”²⁴ As a result, the other two-thirds of the contents promoted the joyfulness of the season with a show of varied patterns and icons and local culture of other areas in Pingtung.

An examination of the video site, as in Table 9.5, shows that most people cared more about the tourist content than the religious content. The three common website search words in Chinese show that the Wanjin village titled group is 2.62 times greater than the Wanjin church group and 1.79 times greater than the Wanjin Immaculate Conception basilica group. In English, the Wanjin group is 3.28 times greater than Wanjin church group and 41.46 times greater than Wanjin Basilica of the Immaculate Conception group. There is an overrepresentation in the laser display of activities depicting the Christmas Season, with focus on the lighting of the Christmas tree, the crowds and issues relating to tourism (see Note 1). Total viewers for the top three videos are 383,000 hits for the keyword “Wanjin,” 212,000 hits for “Wanjin church” and 210,000 hits for “Wanjin Basilica of the Immaculate Conception.”

A more complete keyword relating to the church, on the contrary, generated less viewing. There are only 327 hits for “Wanjin Basilica of the Immaculate Conception” on the top three clips on page one of the search results (see Note 1, YT_wbc_C_3), even though it guaranteed more diverse materials concerning religious practices than the search results by the other two keywords. Half of the content of the 20 videos on the first page were beyond the “3D laser displays” and included five clips about the Procession in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the church’s patronal day, welcoming the Holy Infant, receiving the Eucharist in the Mass, two about the basilica’s architecture and one showing the nearby Taiwu mountain scenery.

Table 9.5 Keyword search results on YouTube

	<i>Wanjin (Chinese)</i>	<i>Wanjin church (Chinese)</i>	<i>Wanjin Conception Basilica (Chinese)</i>	<i>Wanjin</i>	<i>Wanjin church</i>	<i>Wanjin Basilica</i>
Total clips	40,900	15,600	22,900	1700	517	41
Total hits for the related top 3 videos	382,928	212,349	210,170	n/a		n/a

The Procession in Honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary has been a spectacular tradition for over 150 years in Wanjin and involves an overwhelming crowd of participants. During the procession, worshippers sing, pray and contemplate with their bodies and minds as marking their faith in this Catholic practice. Parishioners mostly come in groups from different parts of the island for this spiritual journey (FN_1206_2015).²⁵ It needs all the villagers to comprehend and share the common burden carrying the heavy statue of the Virgin Mary while other parishioners walk into all corners of the two villages to convey the blessing of the Holy Mother of God. Recitation of the Rosary and hymns are sung joyfully accompanied by the crackling sound of fireworks. For the bystanders who are often visitors from outside the parish, the enthusiastic reverberation excites them to engage in the religious content and connects them with the coming of the Christmas celebration as well.

III. Development and Integration of New Communities

When the Church in Wanjin was transferred from the care of the Spanish Dominican province to that of the Chinese Dominican province, those responsible became aware of the need to create a new policy on indigenization and take a leading role for ethnic accord in the region. Mitchell reviewed the history and pointed out the significance, “Our Hakka neighbors constantly looted and savaged our parish a long time ago. After so many years of efforts in spreading the Good News, it turns out now that many Hakkas adopt the Faith (I_vp_t_p1_16-17).”²⁶

With the village’s population indicating a high percentage of Catholics, Wanjin Basilica of the Immaculate Conception is the cultural, historical and social center of the Wanjin and Chishan villages. “The elementary school regularly asks about our CCE summer camp so they can plan their summer programs for the students accordingly (I_fg_n3_p3).”²⁷

Additionally, Father Xu pointed out:

The villagers always consult the church for public affairs and take the parish viewpoint significantly. They are all parishioners. When I first came here, the manager of the village was not a Catholic. However, the key persons in the community always consult with me. They approach me, to understand the parish’s standpoint. Or, if we have some resources or suggestions, we pass them to the community to get resources. (I_fx_t_p4_25-28)²⁸

In recent years, at least three non-Catholic groups have assisted in the renovation and integration of the local community. The first one originates from the government. To satisfy seasonal tourists, the DTCP launches new activities. Examples are the 2012–2015 annual laser shows of different lengths, including live symphony performances with laser lighting in 2013, a nonreligious group wedding in the plaza of the church in 2015, setting up a tourists' craft workshop and extending cultural trips to the neighboring tribes, local businesses and tourist farms.

Wanjin's influence on local arts extends beyond both its geographical and cultural communities. On the one hand, the three musical groups, the Chinese Musical Instrument Band, the Ancient Hymn Prayer Group and the Christmas cribs created in every village all nurture the cultural growth of the community. The parish members also create numerous cultural productions, for example, Wulaluzi Rock Fair (I_fg_n2_p5),²⁹ Pop Dance Club in the high school in the neighborhood (I_fg_n1_p2),³⁰ the Indigenous Culture Club in a medical college in a nearby city (D_A),³¹ skit for an environmentally friendly home (I_fg_n3_p3)³² and the children's Christmas skit (I_fx_t_p1).³³ On the other hand, the reputation of the church has drawn some nonlocal artists to increase its heritage, for example, pictures on the walls of the Basilica drawn by Xing Zhen-Huang (I_vp_t_p3)³⁴ and the residence fencing wall used as a canvas to draw Bible stories by Shi Zao-Xiao (YT_HN_2013 and YT_t1001_e3_2014).³⁵ The secretary of the church believed:

The pouring of artwork into our village has uplifted our minds. We received funds for the infrastructure of the village to utilize public land. So, the roads were paved. We had financial aid from the local environmental administration,...from the funding for upgrading local community amenities. (I_sj_p2)³⁶

The second development for the community is tourist farms. Mitchell pointed out that only two of the 80 tourist farm associations are developed in the south of Taiwan, both in Pingtung. Serving as a member of the council in the Association of Wanjin Sub-Mountain Tourist Farming, Mitchell suggested connecting farm and cultural tourism with evangelization. This new form of tourism with religion sometimes emerges on the site. Observation on the church site showed a woman of an indigenous ethnic group guiding a group of her tourist farm guests, consisting of a

dozen children and their mothers (FN_0718_p1).³⁷ In the future, Wanjin church is looking forward to extending reserved guide services by training more youth parish members (I_sj_p2).³⁸

The third development is the Society for Wanjin Community Development. Both Mitchell and the manager agreed that, as well as Wanjin Basilica, the Society plays a vital role in empowering the local population. It has received funds from the government's "Village Renovation Program of Wanjin Community" to increase substantial infrastructure for the community. As a result, local people in Wanjin and Chishan take a greater pride in their community and develop a stronger identity with their home village.

Wanjin community's local identification is focused on its heritage and religion. Neither the basilica nor the village community has much interest in food promotion, a commonly adopted marketing strategy in Taiwan to boost tourism. Examples of local mature businesses are the factory for the carving of statues to promote Catholic devotion and a small number of food stores creating Supper for Jesus and Coffee for the Holy Mother of God from ideas in the Bible.

Potential threats pose concerns about the sustainability of the heritage site because tourism has introduced both revenues and destruction. The high influx of tourists within a short period of time during the Christmas month has generated mess and traffic jams, expensive charges and overcrowding. As the data shows, the attention of the tourists is on superficial content not pertaining to the church and the community. Some villagers urge the government to take care of only three issues during the Christmas Season: traffic, garbage and the litter that visiting strollers leave behind. Mitchell advised the DTCP to follow the leadership of the parish, presenting authentic heritage and religion and allow the community its own voice when itemizing local farming products (I_mv_n_p2). News media that describe the Christmas celebration as a carnival, reporting it as "shows, drama and romantic moods" (YT_wc_C_E) have constituted a mismatch with "reality." The information for the public produced and filtered by official agents, target only tourism and also fail to communicate the spirit of the celebration of Christmas as well as the heritage of Wanjin Basilica of the Immaculate Conception. Looking ahead to a further 150 years, some members of the community are worried:

“What if the business conglomerates buy up the land? (I_fg_n2_p7)” “The real issue is not about tourism but about faith, not only for the Catholic Church, but for religion as a whole- we are losing young souls. (I_fg_n4_p6)”

DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS

This chapter presents the phenomenon of a Catholic parish in Taiwan managing tourism events with the public sector. Over the past five years, this teaming has given the impression of presenting a local festival attracting pleasure seeking, playful groups of visitors since neither the parish nor the Taiwan Church community has taken a leading role in the partnership. In order to set the footsteps of these tourists on a spiritual and religious journey, the Church community could take a more dominant responsibility demonstrating through the activities the true value of what the Church stands for. This would involve adopting a new perspective and the integration of professionals, planning and resources beyond the present capacity of the prestigious basilica.

With its heritage and increasing fame, Wanjin has produced fruits both in evangelization and tourism. It provides meaningful services, a versatile Catholic website which bears witness to a living parish. Wanjin church spreads goodwill and peace to millions of visitors both inside and outside the Catholic Church. Its new trend of tourism presents a significant opportunity in recruiting new spiritual followers. Considering the basilica's heritage and status, it is trustworthy as well as competent, to take up the demands of this new mission. However, the obstacles of all kinds facing the parish are considerable. The laser show is an example to illustrate that the religious spirit has lost out by providing minor content concerning Wanjin Basilica's spiritual heritage. The laser show does not pay adequate attention to the uniqueness of the spiritual quality of the religious season. It tends to entertain with irrelevant content seemingly an integration of marketing, for example, the history of Pingtung, the promotion of local farming products and the fanciness of visual effects. It indicates that secularization or commercialism dominates the Wanjin events, perhaps due to lack of independent funding, professional event organizers, reasonable-size management teams or persistent negotiation with the government agencies. As a result, the religious atmosphere has not been accentuated in this overwhelmingly well-attended event but rather blanked out by secular playfulness.

To keep up with the demanding dual role, the Basilica needs comprehensive support from both the government and the higher-supervisory Catholic Church. While the government limits its role to providing administrative funding and services, for example, traffic control, garbage cleaning and food and commercial stands' regulations, the Church set up a special task team for the estimated half-million tourists to present to them authentic church heritage. The team is composed of interparish, diocesan and island-wide spiritual leaders and professionals who are capable of foreseeing the demands of tourism and optimizing this new evangelical enterprise. Wanjin needs more resources and more full-time professional staff specialized in management of hospitality services and event organizers to plan for versatile tourists' spiritual programs. Cooperation and mobilization of Catholics should be made more often and beforehand for the estimated half-million tourists who visit Wanjin during the Christmas season.

Under these proactive strategies, possible changes might be to connect with new groups of tourists and potential parishioners—families with school-age children, youth and young adults—plus, on the basilica's website, to organize a more visitor-friendly virtual parish by adding captions to the videos, prayer songs and photos in different languages including simplified Chinese, Vietnamese and Indonesian, among others, and hyperlinks to the website visitor's local parish. Perhaps a public accessible interactive social network could be established for efficiency in effective communication and in finance. Innovative editing could go beyond Christmas events to reach the core values of the Catholic Church, such as the meaning of a Catholic cemetery to introduce the afterlife and occasions for experiencing God's saving presence for the visitors. For the on-site visitors, new approaches include updated stopover and move-over plans for the non-Catholic visitors. The spiritual stay-over programs comprise one to three days' lodging in the activity center, retreat center or homestay in a Catholic local family, experiencing and learning the values and the practices of the Church.

None of these new tasks can be done by the parish standing as an isolated unit. When the Catholic community in Taiwan walks together with Wanjin Basilica of the Immaculate Conception, crossing this new frontier of tourism, the tiny basilica will sustain its vision as "a hyper (link) parish for the island" for another 150 years.

APPENDIX A TITLE SEARCH ON YOUTUBE

<p>Wanjin (in Chinese) (Code:YT_w_C_) Total clips: 40,900</p>	<p>1. 2015 Wanjin 3D laser show (complete)/9:27/112,968 hits https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=17cf6VpB34Y</p> <p>2. 2014 Wanjin 3D laser show (complete)/17:39/239,300 hits</p> <p>3. 2015 Wanjin 3D laser show (concise)/3:02/30,660</p>	<p>18 clips</p> <p>A. 2 bird's-eye view clips with holy background music</p> <p>B. 10 clips of the laser show</p> <p>C. 6 clips of media report on problems of events, e.g. garbage and crowds (by news media)</p>
<p>Wanjin church (in Chinese) (Code: YT_wj_C) Total clips: 15,600</p>	<p>1. 2015 first day: lighting show/9:56/2495 hits</p> <p>2. 2013 3D laser show recorded on-site/8:29/96,886 hits https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IjAF9f6FPHE</p> <p>3. Code:YT_w_C_1</p>	<p>A. Doubts on fees by local markets/1:33/TVBS/359 hits</p> <p>B. 2015.12.1: Press Conference/TTV/1:21/used terms in drama, e.g. script and scene to describe Mary and the birth of Jesus</p> <p>C. Aerial images of the Catholic Church of Wanchin 2015/Commercials of Skyline Vision Studio/2:06/Grand orchestra music/1840 hits</p> <p>D. YT_wc_C_D: villagers prepare for the advent of Christmas/TVBS/2:03/setting up nativities, the 3D rosary map and the first-ever 2 million 3D laser show</p> <p>E. Spots news from the news conference of DTCP on the activities of celebration/1:20/ETtoday</p>

<p>Wanjin Conception Basilica (in Chinese) (Code:YT_wjb_C_) Total clips: 22,900</p>	<p>1. Code:YT_w_C_1 2. YT_wc_C_2 3. 20,151,206 Wanjin Church Patron's Day Virgin's Procession: setting out/34:20/327 hits</p>	<p>A. The 3rd: 146th year photo videos/316 hits/ celebration in 2007/3:06 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wx2uX3Xc0VI</p>
<p>Wanjin (Code:YT_w_E_) Total clips: 1700</p>	<p>n/a</p>	<p>2 related clips A. 12th: Wanjin Basilica laser show, 2013 (commercial for the production of the show)/5:51/further linked with more recent laser show depicting the world B. 19th: 2014.12.7 time-lapse photography Catholic Church of Wanjin/2:52 (soft background music)</p>
<p>Wanjin Basilica (Code:YT_wbc_E_) Total clips: 41</p>	<p>1. YT_w_E_A 2. YT_wbc_E_B 3. Popular video clips: Basilica and the Immaculate Conception (200 video links)/2012.12.24</p>	<p>4 related clips A. YT_w_E_A B. Blessed Virgin Mary returning to Wanjin Holy Mother Basilica (in Taiwan)/4:09/on-site video and audio/123 hits C. 12th: 2009 Thanksgiving Pilgrim for 150 years/ photo videos to the Holy See and Spain/8:27/ music with Wanchin chorus D. Church Chinese band chanting ancient Taiwanese prayers and aborigine chorus p.s. the other 16 clips are (a) basilicas around the world, (b) the architecture, (c) laser shows and Christmas</p>

APPENDIX B CODE NAMES FOR DATA

<i>Code name</i>	<i>Title and content</i>	<i>Format and contents</i>	<i>Source</i>
D_A	Document A Book of the indigenous culture club in a medical college in a nearby city	Articles in a book	A book given by Mitchell's wife. She is the counseling teacher for the student club
D_apt_fb_n_p...	i-Pingtung Facebook posting from 2011 to 2015	Posting, photos, video clips	Notes on https://www.facebook.com/ipingtung
D_apt_web	i-Pingtung, the official tourism website, DTCP	Articles, announcements, photos, video clips	Notes on http://i-pingtung.com/
D_wbv_2014	2014 pre-event night bird's-eye view video	3:03 bird's-eye view with marching band music	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G_XgEuU_KAA
D_wvl_2015_1	2015 Wanjin 3D laser show concise version	3:18 video clips	http://i-pingtung.com/zh-tw/Multimedia/FilmCategory?page=3#media/0/
FN_0718_p	Field note of July 18, in the church on one Saturday in the summer	The opening day of the children's summer camp, 2015	3 pages of notes
FN_0721	Field note of Tuesday, July 21.	Interview to the secretary	Notes
FN_082	Field note of Sunday Mass	Before, during and after Sunday Mass service	Notes
FN_0824	Field note of Monday, August 24, in the church	The parish secretary was off	Notes
FN_1206_p1	Field note of December 6, the church's patron feast day	Including the open-air congregation in the morning, Reconciliation Sacraments and the beginning of the Procession in honor of the Virgin Mary	Notes

L_fg_n... (e.g. L_fg_n2_p6, n2=Malta, page 6)	Interview with focus group of four female members	1. Chuen Mei, former chairperson 2. Malta, parish member 3. Xu Yan, CDC volunteer teacher 4. Me Ling, CDC volunteer teacher 5 pages, transcribed and coded by pages and lines	Interview notes
L_fp_t_p...	Interview with Father Pan Qiong-Hui	5 pages, transcribed and coded by pages and lines	Transcript
L_fx_t_p... (e.g. L_fx_t_p1_38, p=page 1, 38=Line 38)	Interview with Father Xu Qing-Xian	5 pages, transcribed and coded by pages and lines	Transcript
L_mv_n	Interview with manager of Wanjin village	1-page post-interview field note	Interview notes
L_sj_p...	Interview of secretary Pan Shi-Hua (Joseph)	3 pages after-interview field note	Interview notes
L_vp_t_p...	Interview with volunteer guide, Pan Ren-Shi (Mitchell)	6 pages, transcribed and coded by pages and lines	Transcript
J_cw_2015_...	<i>Catholic Weekly</i> , a 24-page, weekly journal of Catholics' news managed by Catholic Archdiocese of Taipei, reporting the targeting readers/users affiliated with Church in Taiwan/paper and electronic edition	1. 0705: A Note on Pan, Pin Sheng's family pilgrim, p. 21, 2015 2. 1129: The Dominicans celebrate their 800th birthday, p. 1, 2015	
J_e_2015_...	<i>Journal of Evangelization</i> , a 4-page weekly journal of	1. 0510: p. 3 headcount of the parishes, 2014	article
J_e_2016_...	Catholic news in Kaohsiung Diocese	2. 0510: p. 4 parish services, 2014 3. 0124-p. 1, come follow me! The countdown overnight hiking pilgrimage, 2016	

(continued)

(continued)

<i>Code name</i>	<i>Title and content</i>	<i>Format and contents</i>	<i>Source</i>
W_b_154th_...	The 154th celebration of the parish's Saint's Day	A 44-page book for the celebration ceremony of 154th Immaculate Conception Basilica in Wanjin	Wanjin church
W_h_1_...	Introduction of Wanjin Church Activity Center	Threefold A4 size color handout with pictures	Wanjin church
W_wjweb_	Contents of Wanjin Basilica's official website	Subcategories: n=News and Announcement i=Introduction to Catholicism h=History of the Basilica h_e=History of Basilica in English p=Parish Groups and Clubs rp=Renovation Plan rs=Renovation Schedules, hc=Headcount of Parishioners p_b=Prayers and Breviary ws=Weekly Services ac=Activity Center, i_e=Information on Events p_t= Public Transportation lr_ the liturgical readings for Sunday Mass s=Survival Tips for Disaster and Emergencies	http://www.catholic.org.tw/bankin/
YT_bv_2014	2014 bird's-eye view shot		https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XPt5T2WgN5g

YT_bv_2015	2015 bird's-eye view shot	4:13 video with holy background music	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4vF58YS1gkg
YT_HN_2013	A news clip titled "Path of the Shepherd" featuring the wall artwork of Wanjin village on Bible stories	1:36 video in Hakka dialect spot news aired November 13, 2013	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-RUIFAVux9zU
YT-sts_2013	Southern Taiwan Pops Orchestra for laser show, 2013	10:29 video shot live for performance of the orchestra with laser show on half of the footage	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OfBwWivFs4
YT_t1001_e3_2014	2014 video: Taiwu 1001 stories, 100 years of Catholics in Wanjin	10:47 featured news programs on Wanjin, including a traveling artist, local business using Bible story/by ET today network	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lktd4O4kyC4

NOTES

1. Video search result on YouTube website, using “Wanjin” in Chinese as keyword.
2. Interview with Father Xu, showed in transcript, p. 1, l. 38.
3. Official website of Wanjin Basilica Church, showed in the “News” section, p. 2.
4. The handout of Wanjing Church Activity Center, p. 1.
5. The brochure of the 154 Anniversary Book, p. 2.
6. Interview with Father Xu, showed in transcript, p. 3.
7. Video search result on YouTube website, using “South Taiwan Symphony” as keyword.
8. Interview with Father Pan, showed in transcript, p. 3, li. 23–25.
9. Quoted from p. 21, July 5, 2015, the *Catholic Weekly*.
10. Interview with the focus group, commented by person #2, showed in notes, p. 6.
11. Interview with Father Xu, showed in transcript, p. 5, l. 5.
12. Interview with Father Xu, showed in transcript, p. 2, l. 24–32.
13. Official website of Wanjin Basilica Church, News section, pp. 2–4.
14. Official website of Wanjin Basilica Church, News section, p. 1.
15. Official website of Wanjin Basilica Church, News section, p. 2.
16. Transcript of the interview with the church secretary, p. 1.
17. Transcript of the interview with Father Pan, p. 4, l.30.
18. May 10, 2015, *Journal of Evangelization*, p. 4.
19. The Catholics in Taiwan are governed by the Chinese Regional Bishops’ Conference (CRBC). There are seven diocesan bishops, each considered as the highest spiritual leaders of the diocese they govern. While every parish has its patron’s celebration once a year, the bishop does not always attend and host it. There are 59 parishes listed in the *Handbook of Kaohsiung Catholic Diocese, 2014*.
20. From the author’s notes, pages 2 to 4 on the official website of Wanjin church.
21. From field notes, July 18.
22. “i-Pingtung,” the official website of Pingtung government for tourism promotion.
23. Video clip posted on “i-Pingtung.”
24. Interview with Father Xu, p. 4.
25. Field note of December 6.
26. Interview with Father Pan, p. 1, ll. 16–17.
27. Focus group discussion, person 3, p. 3.
28. Interview with Father Xu, p. 4, ll. 25–28.
29. Focus group, person 2, p. 5.

30. Focus group, person 1, p. 2.
31. Document A is a book of the Indigenous Culture Club in a medical college in a nearby city.
32. Focus group, person 3, p. 3.
33. Interview with Father Xu, p. 1.
34. Interview with volunteer guide of Wanjin church, p. 1.
35. Both videos provide descriptions of the Bible story artworks painted or illustrated with mosaic tiles on the walls of Wanjin village to attract tourists and visitors.
36. Interview with Joseph, secretary of the church, p. 2.
37. Observational field note, July 18, p. 1.
38. Interview with Joseph, secretary of the church.

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The New Triangular Relations Among the Vatican, Taiwan and China in the Tsai Ing-wen Administration

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INTRODUCTION

Recently it was reported that the Argentinian Pope Francis was determined to push for a breakthrough with China and to re-activate the nearly three decades' long hiatus in Sino-Vatican relationships (1987–2016) (Jucca et al. 14 July 2016). At approximately the same time, in Taiwan, President Tsai Ing-wen replaced Ma Ying-Jeow having won the presidential election in January 2016. Apparently Tsai has a different approach to Cross-Strait relationships. With the new momentum of the Sino-Vatican negotiations since 2015, a revived development of the triangular relations among the Vatican, Taiwan and Beijing looms on the horizon.

This author wishes to give special thanks to Archbishop Paul Russell the former Charge d' Affaires of the Apostolic Nunciature in China (Taiwan) (2008–2015) who explained the diplomacy of the Holy See.

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This chapter aims at discussing the process of the development to date of these new triangular relations in Tsai's administration. It is necessary to define the diplomacy of the Vatican and its deliberations regarding Taiwan and Mainland China before the new development in the Sino-Vatican negotiations and their implications for Taiwan can be discussed from a fresh perspective.

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE VATICAN

The Holy See, like all sovereign entities, deals with other sovereign entities in various ways. The Holy See's equivalent to an Ambassador is an Apostolic Nuncio (sometimes commonly referred to as "Papal Nuncio"), who is sent by the Pope and accredited to the receiving state in the same way as an Ambassador. When there are tensions, difficulties or special problems between states, the Embassy will be led by a *Charge d' Affaires ad interim*.¹

THE VATICAN'S UNOFFICIAL CONTACT

On the next level, the Holy See may engage with a state directly. This may take several forms. The Holy See and the state may decide to send and receive unofficial, semi-official or official delegations. These delegations may be "one-off" or "once-only" events.

As engagement further progresses, the Holy See and the state may decide to form a "Joint Working Group" whose members are stable and which has a regular, fixed schedule of meetings and a mutually agreed agenda. The Holy See and Vietnam have established a Joint Working Group. At this stage, the Vatican and the PRC are negotiating in a Joint Working Group on the issue of bishops but only as pre-negotiation dialogue.

In the absence of diplomatic relations, in the past and currently, the Holy See often employs an Apostolic Delegation. An Apostolic Delegation is a permanent, official papal mission sent to be the liaison between the Holy See and the Catholic Church in the country, though not accredited to that country's government (Papal diplomacy). In a few dioceses in the PRC, Apostolic Delegates were appointed from priests to arrange local religious issues.

In the absence of official diplomatic relations, if there is an already-existing Apostolic Delegation, the Delegation is upgraded to an Apostolic Nunciature.

If the Holy See and the government of a state judge it necessary to formalize Church-State relations, they will enter into a treaty, known as a concordat. A concordat may be signed at the time of the establishment of diplomatic relations, as in the case of the State of Israel, or after the establishment of diplomatic relations. Through bitter experience, the Holy See has learned not to establish diplomatic relations with countries where there are significant and troubling Church-State issues without previously resolving those same issues.

On the lowest level, the Holy See can ask a friendly third state to serve as an intermediary or to pass messages to a state with which the Holy See does not have diplomatic relations. Before 1987, when negotiations between the PRC and the Vatican began, the Vatican contacted China through a third-party intermediary.

SINO-VATICAN RAPPROCHEMENT ON THE HORIZON

The basic Catholic problems in China which have been put on the negotiation table for discussion and bargaining are several.² These complex religious problems need to be studied and resolved with good will, mutual understanding and tolerance. At present, the questions of nomination and rehabilitation of bishops are imminent problems to be resolved. The question of the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association—a government organization—is also a hard nut to crack, because its nature according to Pope Benedict XVI is “incompatible with Catholic doctrine.” The question of boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdictions will follow because the diocesan boundaries which were demarcated in the pre-1949 period have to be relocated according to the PRC system.

At the present stage, only the difficult question of the appointment of bishops will be discussed as agreed by the Vatican and Beijing because it is, first and foremost, the important question related to the apostolic succession, one of the basic doctrines of the Catholic Church. The problem of the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association has not yet been discussed, nor the political issue of the severing of Taiwan-Vatican relations, nor the establishment of PRC-Vatican diplomatic relations, all of which have to be resolved, one after the other, according to priority.

The Holy See’s main concern or first priority in foreign policy when dealing with religious questions is helping the local church to function as a church. In the long years of the Vatican’s dealings with China, the vocal Shanghai-born Cardinal Joseph Zen has asked the Holy See “not at any

cost to conclude an agreement” without “real guarantees for freedom of operation and organization within the Church in China.” He has his valid reasons most based on religious freedom in China, (Leung, 2005) but it seems that the Holy Father has not fully adopted Zen’s suggestion as his own policy in dealing with China after the reign of Pope Benedict XVI (2005–2013).³

THE IDEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE OF CHINA: CONDUCTIVE FOR SINO-VATICAN RECONCILIATION?

When Xi Jinping came to power in China on 6 May 2014, he launched a Blue Paper on National Security under the title: “Zhongguo guojia anquan yanjiu baogao” (Chinese National Security Intelligence Report 2014) (Liu Wei 2014). It revealed that in China, orthodox ideology is now facing a serious threat so he suggested having tighter control over religion (Guoan lanpishu 2014, 2–5). This document pointed out that ideological security included security measures on guiding ideology, on political adherence and moral order because guiding ideology is crucial for a nation’s survival and development. It further argued that security in political adherence is essential for the foundation of the ruling authority (Liu Wei 2014, 74–75). The central theme of the Blue Paper is focused on the assurance of ideological safety which has much direct connection with religion (Guoan lanpishu 2014, 2–5). In other words the main orientation of the document is raising ideological security, including religious security, to the national security level. In fact during the reign of Xi, the harsh treatment of the blind, human rights lawyer, Chen Guangcheng*, and the Nobel Prize winner Liu Xiaobo*, with little sensitivity to international criticism, was a sign that tightening up ideological control was more important than national image in the international arena. In 2013, more than 1,000 crosses were demolished from the top of Christian institutes in Zhejiang Province. In 2015, the demolition was carried out as reported in “Christian persecution in Zhejiang more severe than first thought” (*UCAN news*, April 22, 2015). These issues were the tip of the iceberg to reveal Xi’s ideological control to assure socio-political security.

On 22–23 April 2016, in a meeting for high-ranking cadres on religious affairs, Xi pointed out that religious questions were related to national security and national unity. For him, the primary importance was to block the infiltration of foreign power because religion is closely related to national security and national unity (Ai 2016). When the religious question

has been raised to the level of national security, there is little possibility to relax the state control of religion including Catholicism and of honoring the Sino-Vatican Agreement if there was one (Lam 13 Nov. 2016).

In the same meeting, Xi further reminded his listeners that religion had to support the CCP leadership, to yield to the national interest and the socialist system, to be integrated with Chinese culture, to observe the national law, to accept the governance of the nation, to involve itself in the modernization of the socialist regime and offer itself to fulfill the Chinese dream of the revival of China (Ai 2016). The editorial of the *People's Daily* on 24 April 2016 reiterated the need for the state supervision of religion, the safeguarding of the Chinese characteristic of religious management and to practice accommodation to the policy of the state (Ai 2016). The agenda of the meeting of the Chinese Bishops' Conference and the Patriotic Association held in July 2016 was to evaluate the teaching material of the seminaries, whether it complied with the teaching of the state as remarked by Jia Ruohan in 2016 "China's Church is being poisoned by the Party's meddling" (UCAN, 26 August 2016).

Recently, in January 2016, China charged seven detained human rights lawyers who were advocates taking on sensitive religious, political cases; they faced lengthy jail terms as reported in "China charges seven detained human rights lawyers" *UCAN news*, 13 January 2016 ([http://UCAN News—www.ucanews.com](http://UCANNews—www.ucanews.com)).

A leading women's rights group, Beijing Zhongze Women's Legal Counselling and Service Center, announced that it will close down after 20 years as China tightens its grip on civil society. The apolitical NGO workers were taken by surprise and believed that it was highly likely the authorities ordered it to shut down as reported in Hong Kong in "Leading woman's rights group to shut down as China tightens squeeze on civil society" in the *South China Morning Post*, 30 January 2016.

Sino-Vatican Relations in the Pre-Tsai Ing-wen Administration

After 28 years of Sino-Vatican interactions (1987–2015), the political role of the Vatican of pushing Taiwan nearer to Beijing had been increasingly diminished especially during the administration of Ma Ying-jeow.

On the other hand, a reputed sociologist in the region, Rodney Stark, in his book *A Star in the East: The Rise of Christianity in China*, revealed that the rapid growth of Christianity in China has been continuing, estimated at the impressive rate of 7%. Most of the conversions are from the

better educated, who are experiencing “cultural incongruity” between traditional Asian culture and industrial-technological modernity, resulting in a spiritual deprivation which Christianity is able to fill (Bunderson 2015, 18). For the CCP, which is struggling with religion as the norm of teaching authority, it is against its wish to see Christianity on the upper side of the scale.

The Sino-Vatican dispute not only involves the ideological conflict between atheism and religion regarding human rights but also the administrative conflicts between two sovereign powers. The Vatican’s claim to universal religious authority is challenged by the PRC’s insistence on the national autonomy of the officially sponsored government-monitored church with its bishops appointed separately forming apostolic succession (Yahuda 1992, xv). Thus, conflicts between sovereign powers and national security have been embedded in the whole process of interactions between the Vatican and the PRC. This is the main difficulty of both parties in the negotiations (Leung and Wang 2016, 467–482).

However, for the national interest, China can make concessions in sovereign rights. For example, it promised the USA that to refrain from using force to liberate Taiwan was against the wish of Mao. Mao suspended part of his sovereign rights over Taiwan (not to get it by force) but treated China’s own territory according to the will of the USA, a foreign power.

Beijing’s negotiation with the British on the return of Hong Kong to Chinese rule is another example where China could make very big concessions at the expense of its sovereign power. These were the adoption of the “one country two systems” and the implementation of the Basic Law. They showed that China can exchange sovereign rights for the national interest (Leung and Wang 2016), but not exchange sovereign rights and the interest of the Party for religion. Michael Sainsbury, a China watcher, argued in “What’s in the Vatican negotiation for China?” in the *Hong Kong Sunday Examiner*, 8 October 2016, that China’s deal with the Vatican is a breakthrough by the world’s most populated country with one of the world’s largest religions and part of an overarching, multi-faceted program of soft power projection by the CCP. Since Pope Francis is a moral leader of the world, Sainsbury continued to argue that this soft power is now being offered to China by the Pope. It depends on how China handles it.

TAIWAN'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE VATICAN

The Vatican is a sovereign state which embodies divine and secular natures. Many non-Catholic Taiwan officials had difficulties in grasping the nature of Vatican and its diplomacy: when it plays a religious role and when it plays the role of a secular state.

In Tsai Ing-wen's administration, the president learned from previous officials about these difficulties and initiated a change (Strong, 2016). She selected Professor Chen Chien-jen, a non-DDP member, an academic and researcher, as the vice-president. Public mass media described him as a devout Catholic, prudent, extroverted, trustworthy and an expert communicator.⁴ Given Chen's warm relationship with the Catholic leaders in Taiwan, he can deal with complicated Taiwan-Vatican relations through informal channels. For example, when news and rumors ran high on the international level on the reactivation of the dormant Sino-Vatican contact, Chen met Parolin, the Vatican's Secretary of State, twice in the same trip when he visited the Vatican on the occasion of the Canonization of Mother Teresa of Calcutta. Taiwan reporter Zhing Lihua in "Pochu Yaoyan (Getting Rid of Rumors)" *Liberty Times*, 6 September 2016, reported that after he met the Vatican's officials, he confirmed that the Joint Working Group was again in action. After his trip to the Vatican, he was able to persuade the Taiwanese bishop, Yeh Sheng-nan*, a retired Vatican diplomat who resides in Kaohsiung, to visit the Vatican and to lobby Yeh's former colleagues on behalf of Taiwan and meet the Holy Father to enquire about the Vatican's policy on Taiwan in October 2016 when the rumor of the Agreement was spreading around the world.⁵

Taiwan's Mainland Affairs Council of the Executive Yuan and the Foreign Service Department began to consult experts in Church-State relations in the disciplines of political science and especially those who were knowledgeable on Vatican politics and Vatican policy toward China and Taiwan. It reflected that the officials are preparing to face the change when they follow closely the new development of the news of the Joint Working Group and the moves of the Vatican from foreign language sources (Heyndrickx 2016a, b).

For Beijing, in the 2000s, the normalization of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations was not the first of its political priorities. Not everyone in the top leadership of Beijing agreed about dialoguing with the Vatican, as revealed by a veteran Church scholar, Father Jeroom Heyndrickx* (23–24 May 2014).

During Ma Ying-Jeow's rule, the Cross-Strait relationship was perceived by Beijing as never having been so harmonious since 1949.⁶ Not only did the volume of Catholic exchange between the Vatican and Taiwan increase dramatically, but also, in 2001, Taiwan allowed Chinese Catholic clergy and religious women from the Mainland for the first time to pursue further studies in Taiwan Fu Jen Catholic University. It is the beginning of interactions among three players: the Vatican, China and Taiwan in the context of the United Front Policy in one project.⁷ The realization of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations would mean the disruption of the Taiwan-Vatican diplomacy. It could be a means from Beijing to pressurize Tsai's administration to accept the Chinese version of the "1992 Consensus."

TAIWAN AND THE VATICAN: EXPERIENCING GOOD RELATIONS

Political theorists Bao Zonghe* and Wu Yushan* (2000, 337–364) employed the Marriage Theory to identify the foreign relations of People Republic of China. They argued that Beijing allows a foreign country to have bilateral relations with China, but cannot have tri-lateral relations, for example, with Taiwan and Beijing at the same time (Bao and Wu 2000, 337–364). Given this view, a "win" for Beijing is a "loss" for Taipei, and a "win" for Taipei is a "loss" for Beijing. In reality the security of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and the Holy See largely depends on the stage of development of PRC-Vatican relations while Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations are under the shadow of PRC-Vatican relations. The Holy See is uncomfortable at being placed in this situation. It sought to break out of the current international framework of competing alliances, in which one or some parties win and one or some parties lose, especially in the case of Sino-Taiwan-Vatican relations. It tries to break out of a sterile win-lose approach and seek solutions which are beneficial to all parties as remarked by Paul Russell, 2015 "Vatican promotes beneficial alliances: envoy to Taiwan" in the *Taipei Times*, March 20. Thus, from the perspective of the Holy See, it remains to be verified whether Taiwan must lose in order for the PRC to win or whether a solution can be found which is positive for Taiwan, the PRC and the Holy See.

The Catholic population in Taiwan has been decreasing in size (290,000 in 2008 and 230,000 in 2014). With only seven dioceses, the Church of Taiwan is small compared with other states where the Holy See

maintains an Apostolic Nunciature and a diplomatic personnel. Since August 2012, the Holy See maintains two diplomats in Taiwan. The Holy See's resources are limited, and thus it would prefer to focus on countries with an increasing Catholic population and a growing Church. Despite its small size and decreasing Church membership, Taiwan enjoys very high levels of interaction with the Vatican.

In recent years, Taiwan-Vatican relations have experienced a high degree of activity, including some events which had never previously occurred during the 73-year diplomatic relationship. On 2 December 2011, the Holy See and the Republic of China signed an education cooperation agreement, which was ratified by both parties and took effect in December 2012. This agreement confirms that titles, diplomas and degrees earned at ecclesiastical universities worldwide will be recognized in Taiwan. Similarly, the titles of Taiwanese universities will be recognized by all worldwide ecclesiastical universities as reported by Bernardo Cervellera in "Historic agreement between the Holy See and Taiwan on the recognition of university degrees" (*Asia News*, 2 December 2011). This is the first-ever international agreement between the Holy See and Taiwan.

In spite of the fact that the Vatican has a close diplomatic relationship with Taiwan, it cannot afford to forget the 1.2 million Catholics in Mainland China who need the political endeavor of the Vatican to negotiate with China for a free Catholic life by allowing the Catholic Church there to function as a church. The Vatican's recently close relationship with Taiwan was a balance countering its plan of wooing China aimed at reactivating the sluggish Sino-Vatican relations (1987–2015). With this move, the gravity of the triangular relationship among China, Taiwan and Vatican moves toward China seeking the establishment of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS OF SINO-VATICAN RELATIONS IN THE TSAI ING-WEN ADMINISTRATION

Tsai Ing-wen won the Taiwan presidential election and assumed office on 20 May 2016. Not long before that, Sino-Vatican relations had experienced some drastic changes in the mid-2015. International news reported that Pope Francis was determined to push forward the Sino-Vatican relationship. In January 2016, a Joint Working Group was set up modeled on the Joint Liaison Group of Sino-British negotiation⁸ to iron out two major

obstacles which blocked the normalization of Sino-Vatican diplomatic relations before the formal negotiations could begin. The two major obstacles were the appointment of new bishops and dispensation for illicit bishops (Jucca et al. 2016).

The Joint Working Group has been represented by six middle-ranking officials from both sides aiming at removing major obstacles in Sino-Vatican negotiations (Jucca et al. 2016). Cardinal Parolin revealed that for the Vatican, the undersecretary for the relations with states, Antonie Camilleri, and the undersecretary of Propaganda Fide (the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples), Tadeusz Wojda, were in the Joint Working Group (Magister 2016). However, after a few sessions of the Joint Working Group, Cardinal Parolin assured the public that in the discussions of the Joint Working Group, there was “no concession with China” (Magister 2016). Later on, the progress of the Joint Working Group was “slow” in progress as remarked by the Holy Father on 3 October 2016 and reported in “Unsavoury realities challenge Vatican-Beijing talks” by *UCAN News* 25 October 2016.

In fact, in August 1999, during the Sino-Vatican negotiations, the appointment of bishops was put on the negotiation table for discussion but failed to arrive at an agreement. The Vatican suggested that both China and the Vatican would take part alternately in the appointment and the verification of bishops in the spirit of a Concordia of co-appointment. This model has been the foundation applied to the ongoing Vietnam-Vatican negotiations. For example, for bishop A, the appointment was made by the Vatican, the verification by China. Then for bishop B, China made the appointment and Vatican the verification. However, Beijing suggested that the selection of all bishops would be by the government with the Vatican validating the government’s unilateral appointment. The 1999 negotiations failed because the Vatican refused Beijing’s suggestion, simply because by doing this, the sovereign power of the Pope would be undermined in the Chinese Catholic Church according to Art. 333, Art. 377.1 and Art. 377.5 of Canon Law which stipulates that only the Holy See has power to appoint local bishops.^{9,10,11} The co-appointment was already a concession from the Vatican.

The Joint Working Group which met in May 2016 tried to hammer out technical solutions to the dispute over the co-appointment of Chinese bishops. Parolin only vaguely revealed that both sides agreed that in the appointment of future Chinese bishops, it will be the pro-Beijing Chinese episcopal conference that proposes the candidates and the Holy Father

gets the veto power, on the condition, however, that they also join the 30 “underground” bishops whom Beijing does not recognize and that the bishops without papal approval be removed (Magister 2016).¹² This gives the impression that it is not a co-appointment with Beijing and the Vatican alternately as in the Vietnamese model, but a unilateral appointment by Beijing. However, it is the key issue which aroused “concern” from every part of the free world. All those who know Chinese politics observe that priests in China could face pressure or be offered inducements to support government-favored candidates given the prevailing political culture of accommodation.

As soon as the reporting on the Agreement was known, immediate responses and comments were aroused from both pro-China groups (Heyndrickx, 4–5 Sept. 2016a) and the free world. The news titled “Taipei and Beijing respond to Vatican’s official speech” in *UCAN Story* 2 September 2016 reported that Bishop Fang Xingyao, the Chairman of the Chinese Patriotic Association, spoke for the government that he strongly supported self-nominated ordination for bishops calling it a must for China and crediting it as being the basis of the recent developments in the Church. “Taipei and Beijing respond to Vatican’s official speech” in *UCAN Story* 2 September reported that questions were raised as to why the Vatican would have faith in China’s promises when in China religious freedom was under assault as talks progress. Scholars from the free world like Parry Chang criticized that the Vatican’s decision about China would be critical. He remarked that should the Vatican decide to compromise with China on its infringement of human rights and religious freedom, it would be sending the worst message to the world, and it would be a mistake as he commented in “Vatican’s decision on China will be critical” in *The Taipei Times* 30 August 2016. Chris Buckley in “Talks to Heal Catholic Rift in China Gain Momentum under Francis” in *New York Times* 26 November 2016 commented that the Pope’s determination to see a rapprochement with Beijing has already caused unease among underground Catholics who are worried that he might give too much away to China. Buckley also reported that the Holy Father is considering more seriously the opposing views from the free world on the “grand compromise with Communist leaders” and the underground sector of the Catholic Church expressed that the deal meant the selling out of the underground Catholics who have suffered and gone to jail for their faith.

The irregular practice of ordination of bishops by the underground church without papal approval was out of fear from the underground sector of the Chinese Church. They heard that the Holy Father condemned this action as stated in “Vatican Condemns Illegitimate Ordinations in China” *UCAN News* 9 November 2016. It was one of several immediate reactions of this group of Catholics toward the Agreement through fear of being betrayed.

The political environment in China with tightening up of ideological control roused the concern of experts in China politics. Take, for example, Willy Lam, a reputed Sinologist in Hong Kong; he argued that given the gradually declining Chinese record in honoring foreign agreements, even if a Sino-Vatican Agreement were signed as a formal agreement, there would be little chance of its being implemented now that religious security under the Xi Jinping administration has been raised to the level of national security. In the context of national interest, the concession from the Vatican would be reduced. At this stage the Vatican should consider whether Chinese Communism is a trustworthy negotiation partner (Lam 2016). Frank Ching in his article “Vatican should tread carefully in China Dealings” in the *Japan Times* 6 December 2016 openly warned that the Vatican should tread carefully in China dealings because the concession allows agents of the Communist Party to obtain total control of the Church to nominate its bishops. At the end of his article, Frank Ching advised the Catholic Church to consider carefully what is at stake before making a decision it may come to regret.

After the Vatican received waves of opinions, it seems that it tried to put a brake on the dialogue, while the Holy Father has been giving more serious consideration to the opinions from the free world, making a temporary halt to the work of the Joint Working Group.

Discussions in the Joint Working Group had also touched on the issue of the eight illegitimate bishops as well as the mechanism of appointment of new bishops (Jucca et al. 2016).

The eight illegitimate bishops are Ma Yinglin*, Zhan Silu*, Liu Xinhong*, Lei Shiyin*, Huang Bingzhang*, Tu Shihua* (died on 4 January 2017, before Vatican recognition), Yue Fusheng* and Guo Jincai*. They were not only illegitimate but also excommunicated (Magister 2016). In theory, with a papal dispensation, they can be readmitted to the Church as Catholics. In the Joint Working Group, difficult discussions had continued in the hope of arriving at a compromise that they could retain the title of bishops but be assigned to other tasks and not lead their own dioceses.

However, it is not easy for the eight problematic bishops with their complicated cases to receive the dispensation which Pope Francis is thought to have foreshadowed. China demanded that the Vatican should pardon all eight illicit bishops and give them the right and authority to rule a diocese (Jucca et al. 2016; *UCAN News* 2016). In September 2016, Cardinal Parolin released to the public the news that all eight bishops had asked the Holy See for absolution. Later, on 25 October 2016, in “Unsavoury realities challenge Vatican-Beijing talks” *UCAN* news revealed that four out of the eight received a pardon from the Holy Father. They were Ma Yinlin, Guo Jincui, Yue Fusheng and Tu Shihua. The other four remained problematic including Lei Shiyin and Liu Xinhong who allegedly have concubines and children. Parolin confirmed that canonical sanctions would follow toward the two excommunicated bishops who had families (Magister 2016).

There is another complex question which Parolin at this stage has not released to the public. That is how to deal with Ma Yinglin who is the current president of the Chinese Regional Bishops’ Conference (CRBC)¹³ and Guo Jincui who is the current Deputy Secretary General of the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CCPA). Ma Yinglin has been regarded as an icon by the Chinese government on its Catholic policy to administer the Chinese Catholic Church independently from the Holy See.¹⁴ If Ma Yinglin and Guo Jincui were removed from their current leadership in the CRBC and CCPA respectively, it would be an important sign to show that Beijing had the sincerity to remove some of obstacles paving the way for formal Sino-Vatican negotiation as they told the press three months ago (Jucca et al. 2016).

However, news from Beijing is that it is not happy with the Holy Father’s reconsideration of the Agreement after receiving comments from the free world.

It was reported that China’s displeasure was demonstrated in two issues. First the excommunicated bishop Lei Shiyin of Leshan was sent to officiate at the ordinations of Bishop Tang Yuange* in Chengdu* on 30 November and the ordination in Xichang* of Bishop Lei Jiawei*. This confuses the Chinese Catholics on the question of the illegitimacy of apostolic succession. The local government officials of Chengdu informed the clergy in Chengdu that Lei Shiyin’s participation was at the order of the higher state authorities with the purpose of telling the Vatican that deciding who does what in the Church in China is the prerogative of Beijing. It was reported in a featured article “A Reminder of who is in Charge” which appeared in the *Hong Kong Sunday Examiner* 10 December 2016.

Secondly, China announced the Ninth National Assembly of Catholic Representatives which would be called at the end of 2016 (Valente 2016). Apparently the call of the Vatican which disapproved the Ninth Assembly of the Catholic Representatives further indicated that the dialogue between the Vatican and China was meeting shipwreck. The two issues were a deliberate reminder of Beijing's informing the whole world about who is in charge of the Catholic Church in China in "A Reminder of who is in Charge."

If the bishops' problems could be resolved, then the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association and the demarcation of dioceses and other technical questions would follow in formal Sino-Vatican negotiations and probably present less difficulty after the bishops' questions were resolved with compromise, tolerance and accommodation. While the bishops' questions are hanging in the air, there is a very long way to go before complex problems can be resolved for the rapprochement of Sino-Vatican relations.

THE VATICAN'S PROBLEMS IN DEALING WITH CHINA

All the reported news reveal that the Vatican initiated the reactivation of the dormant Sino-Vatican negotiation once the Argentinian Pope Francis took St. Peter's Chair. First he showed his good will and friendship to Xi Jinping, and the response was good even when China was tightening up ideological control. Actually he wished to meet Xi Jinping when they both visited the USA at the same time, but the hope failed, maybe a sign that China did not want to deal with Catholic Church problems at that stage.

Moreover, the Vatican has a special problem when dealing with China. A major challenge is on whom it can rely for expertise on the People's Republic of China and to whom it can listen as the true voice of China's Catholics. Within the Vatican, there are many individuals with both personal experience and negotiating experience in the former Soviet bloc and the policies and prejudices of Communist states in dealing with religious believers and Catholics in particular. However, at the present stage, the Vatican lacks real China expertise in its bureaucracy of the sort that the USA and the UK had with Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington who could successfully handle very sensitive and difficult issues in difficult negotiations (for the USA in the 1970s on Sino-US relations and for Britain in the 1980s on the future of Hong Kong). For this reason, the role of Cardinal Zen is of considerable interest. He had some personal experience of the Catholic Church and its problems on the Mainland

through his teaching assignments in state-recognized training institutions for Catholic clergy (i.e., seminaries) there. He also had personal contacts with government officials in his native city of Shanghai. However, China considers him an archenemy because he opposed Beijing on several religious issues, notably concerning Hong Kong and China itself. First, he helped the underground Church on the Mainland. Secondly he opposed the unilateral consecration of bishops by the government (Zen 2017).

However, in the current negotiation with China under the lead of Cardinal Parolin, Zen, a Cardinal who had been following the Vatican's policy with China for many years, was put outside the picture. In the formation of the Joint Working Group and the process of the pre-negotiation discussion of the Group, he was not informed (Zen 2017).

The Vatican's Commission on China Affairs which was established during Benedict XVI's era included well-informed experts on China affairs with progressive and conservative views. It has, however, remained dormant since Pope Francis came to power. While the Vatican has been busy attempting reconciliation with China, it has been unable to effect reconciliation within its bureaucracy. The hard-liner Cardinal Zen was not even informed about the pre-negotiation meeting of the Joint Working Group not to mention his not being involved in it. Cardinal Zen's own blog shows his concern over the China-Holy See dialogue in the Joint Working Group and the agreement and repercussions on the Chinese Church (Joseph Zen 2016). He doubts whether the Vatican has enough preparation and accurate information concerning China before it plunges into difficult and sensitive negotiations.

Some experienced sinologists consider China with its political activities as being a heavenly book without words or wordless hieroglyphics (*wuzi tianshu*) which means its political system is operated within a black box where only a few outsiders can grasp its real meaning. The opacity of Chinese political systems, when very little is known about Chinese decision-making processes or even what the political preferences of different Chinese leaders are, may indeed affect final opinions on the national policy (Yahuda 2013, 446–459).

Archbishop Savio Hon was appointed as the undersecretary of Propaganda Fide on 23 December 2010 by Pope Benedict XVI. He was the only Vatican official who could read and write Chinese without translation. However, on 6 June 2016, Archbishop Hon was appointed by Pope Francis to serve as Apostolic Administrator of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Agaña, Guam. The transfer of the only Chinese official

from the Vatican took place when the Vatican began intensive dealings with China. The undersecretary of Propaganda Fide (Tadeusz Wojda) was in the Joint Working Group (Magister 2016). It is indeed disturbing to find that those with knowledge of Chinese have been excluded from the talks. It is also true that the Argentinian Holy Father had no experience of dealing with Asian Church affairs before he came to Rome. Moreover, the Vatican's European officials might fall into the trap of viewing Communism in China through their European lens.

In international Communism there are two branches. The Soviet Union and China adopted Bolshevik Communism which is militant in its orientation. It aims at one-party dictatorship assisted by its own army. Menshevik Communism, on the other hand, was adopted by European states and served as an ordinary political party with socialist ideology in the multi-party system with no army to pursue its political aims. It did not aim at one-party dictatorship as did the Bolsheviks. It is too easy for the Vatican's European officials take China's Bolshevik Communism as the liberal Menshevik type now that China's economy is capitalist in approach and Chinese people are busy making money while paying less attention to ideological matters. Cardinal Zen and Archbishop Hon who know Bolshevik Communism might be regarded as a hindrance for the European officials in the Vatican who do not know the real problems and techniques in dealing with Chinese Communists.

Now that China is nearing the status of a superpower, there is an impression that most new popes, sooner or later, must try to reach out to the PRC. With the exception of Saint John Paul II, none appear to have an understanding of communist regimes and their Leninist characteristics. In Latin America there is a history of anti-communists being right wing and a willingness of those with socialist leanings to believe better of communists. Consider the widespread sympathy for Fidel Castro (Ivereich 2016, 6–7). Even the present Pope appears to think that Castro might treat Catholics better because of papal outreach to him.

UNCERTAIN DEVELOPMENT OF VATICAN-CHINA-TAIWAN RELATIONS

The success of the Joint Working Group and later the Sino-Vatican negotiations largely depends on concessions and compromise on both sides. Without real understanding of China and without capable sinologists to

negotiate with experienced China officials in foreign affairs, can the Vatican make appropriate concessions without losing Catholic identity in the Catholic Church in China? Might the Chinese Catholic Church change its nature as church into that of a government bureau? There is time to wait for China's tolerance and concession when reflecting on the pledge of the Vatican.

However, at this stage China is entangled with two major problems, namely, its sovereign rights and its security in its religious (including Catholic) policy (Leung and Wang 2016). For the sake of national security, Xi Jinping has created new measures in tightening up ideological control: this is not in the interest of Sino-Vatican negotiations.

The Joint Working Group has not settled religious issues for formal negotiations after several months of discussion. The Church and State relations between Beijing and the Vatican in the negotiation will take a longer period than expected to arrive at a consensus.

The meeting of the Holy Father and the retired Vatican diplomat from Taiwan sent a message that the Holy Father will never abandon Taiwan.¹⁵ Religiously speaking the Holy Father, as the head of the Church, will never abandon the Taiwan Catholics. Politically, the Pope, as head of the Vatican State, would embrace other considerations by moving the nunciature to Beijing and changing the Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations into socio-cultural relations. Moreover Parolin politely declined the invitation sent by the Taiwan government through Bishop Yeh, the retired Vatican diplomat, to visit Taiwan¹⁶ revealing that the Vatican could not afford to irritate Beijing by allowing the Secretary of State to make such a visit. Thus, the delay in Sino-Vatican dialogue on the question of episcopal appointments creates a longer period for Taiwan to prepare for the future development of Taiwan-Vatican diplomatic relations with new orientations.

DISCUSSION: TAIWAN PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

It is natural to evaluate that sooner or later diplomatic relationships between the Vatican and Beijing have to be established. However, how to move the nunciature from Taipei to Beijing with minimum hurt to Taiwan is a big problem for the Vatican. It is unfortunate that the Taiwan Catholic hierarchy led by the Taiwan bishops does not involve itself much in the issue since the Catholic population only scores 1% of the total population.¹⁷

Taiwan can take advantage of at least two new issues to bargain with the Vatican on the future development of Taiwan-Vatican relations. These are Taiwan's role in the theological formation of Mainland religious personnel and cooperation in youth training.

The Vatican is the only European state among the 20 mini-sized states with which Taiwan has diplomatic relations. In other words, the Chinese embassy to the Holy See which is located in Rome is the springboard to Taiwan for all European states when making informal communication with Taipei. With the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and the Vatican in the Tsai administration, diplomatic relationships between Taiwan and its allies would be replaced by cultural, academic and religious relations. On the part of the Vatican, it is a real headache to suggest a termination of diplomatic relations with a host state when the latter has not erred according to international regulations and to move the Apostolic Nunciature to Beijing, even though to replace diplomatic relationships with cultural, religious and academic relationships might be an opportunity which allows better penetration of Catholicism into Taiwan society.

Since 1970, after the Taiwan government left the United Nations and Sino-US relations were established, many western countries have set up trade and cultural relations with Taiwan while maintaining diplomatic relations with Beijing. They have no embassies in Taiwan, but they do have trade and cultural offices in Taipei. The reputed office of the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) has its function which bears little difference with a US embassy. In cultural and academic relations, Taiwan has recently been playing a very significant role to help the Vatican in the formation of priests and sisters from the Mainland. This program has been ongoing for six years, since 2010. The result is far better than sending candidates to Europe and the USA for formation.

Since the 1980s, when the Church in China was reestablished from its ruins during the Cultural Revolution, a handful of intelligent church personnel were sent to Germany, France, the USA, Rome and Ireland for further training in Theology and Biblical studies. Within 4–5 years, with not much foreign language background and cultural foundation, could these Chinese Catholic candidates properly write their PhD or Master theses in foreign languages to achieve good academic results? Several of them gained the reputation of “returning from overseas” but have failed to demonstrate high academic quality. The Theologate of Fu Jen University in Taipei has been the leading Catholic theological school in the Greater China Region for years. It has bilingual professors with excellent research

and teaching records working toward the indigenization of Catholic theology and with a bicultural academic approach. Thus, it has provided much better religious education for Chinese candidates from the Mainland.

The second issue is youth training. Since young people are the future of the State and the Church, youth training should be a priority of both State and Church. In the coming cultural and religious cooperation between Taiwan and the Vatican, the training of young people could be a possible field of cooperation when both Taiwan and the Catholic Church acknowledge the importance of the personal development of youth. In fact, the momentum of the training of youth has been gaining strength, but the Taiwan government should strengthen the cooperation. Wenzao University of Foreign Languages has one or two candidates accepted by the Vatican as short-term voluntary workers indicating a sign of the initiation of such a program.

Even if the move of the Apostolic Nunciature did take place, the mass media should be reminded to be careful and prudent in the choice of language in reporting the issue. The public should be given the message that “The Taiwan-Vatican relations are changing from diplomatic to cultural, religious and academic relations.” If at all possible, the word “severing” or “cutting the relationship” should not be allowed to appear in the mass media so as not to arouse fear and uneasiness among the people.

Taiwan has long years of experience dealing with nations with which it has no diplomatic relations. This valuable experience should help smooth the passage of informal foreign relations to formal relations with the Holy See. If the Taiwan government finds that it is not easy to grasp the “divine” and “profane” aspects of the Vatican, within the island, there are experts outside the Taiwan Church hierarchy scattered in various academic institutes.¹⁸ These Catholic scholars know the profane and divine natures of the Vatican and the interplay of these two aspects in Vatican politics. If we call Chinese politics heavenly books without written words/no word hieroglyphics (*wuzi tianshu*), the profane and divine nature and the interplay of these roles in Vatican politics are not easy to grasp either.

NOTES

1. This is the case in Taipei and Vatican relations when the nunciature in Taipei is headed by a Charge d' Affaires ad interim.
2. The items and details of negotiation were in Chap. 5 Taiwan-Vatican relations from 1949 to the present.

3. It was explained by a Vatican diplomat who wanted to remain anonymous when he spoke to the author in September 2014.
4. DPP's Tsai picks Chen Chien-jen, *Taiwan Times*. 17 November 2015.
5. This retired Vatican diplomat with the ranking of a bishop after serving the Foreign Service for nearly 40 years retired to Taiwan his hometown. He was interviewed by the author on 7 December 2016 after he returned from the Vatican in October 2016.
6. See opening speech of the Director of Chairman of CPPCC, Cai Qinglin, in the Economic, Trade and Cultural Forum of the Cross Strait held in Manchuria in 28 July 2012. <http://www.cppcc.gov.cn/zxww/2012/07/30/ART11343607876267904.shtml> (retrieved on 29 August 2013).
7. The author interviewed the Archbishop of Taipei John Hung SVD in 2011 and learned that Beijing will send 30 clergy and sisters to Taiwan to further their studies. She met the Mainland sisters and clergy studying at Fu Jen University in May 2013.
8. Joint Liaison Group that Britain and China created to iron out issues of Hong Kong's handover to China in 1997.
9. Can. 333 §1. By virtue of his office, the Roman Pontiff not only possesses power over the universal Church but also obtains the primacy of ordinary power over all particular churches and groups. Moreover, this primacy strengthens and protects the proper, ordinary and immediate power which bishops possess in the particular churches entrusted to their care.
10. Can 377.1: The Supreme Pontiff freely appoints bishops or confirms those legitimately elected.
11. Can. 377.5: In the future, no rights and privileges of election, nomination, presentation or designation of bishops are granted to civil authorities. *Codex Iuris Canonici*. Typis Polyglottis.
12. Sandro Magister "Parolin to the Nuncios: No Concession with China" <http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/articolo/1351379?eng=y> (accessed on 30 September 2016).
13. The Vatican did not acknowledge the authority of this Chinese Bishops' Conference because it excluded 30 underground bishops which the Vatican recognized.
14. It was revealed to the author by a Chinese official on provincial level who deals with Catholic affairs in September 2013.
15. It was reported by the retired Vatican diplomat Bishop Yeh Sheng-nan who was interviewed on 7 December 2016 in Kaohsiung.
16. *Ibid.*
17. It was remarked by Mgrs. Yeh Sheng-nan, because no Taiwan bishop enquired about his trip to the Vatican and the result of his mission. Only Taiwan government officials cared about that, while Hong Kong Catholics were far more concerned about the Sino-Vatican talks and the proposed Agreement.

18. In the Taiwan Church hierarchy, few are trained in theological or biblical studies. The attention of priests and bishops is on pastoral work. On top of it their political orientation leaning toward the Blue (KMT) or the Green (DDP) affects impacts on their understanding of religious affairs in the Mainland. It is difficult for them to have objective and in-depth understanding of Chinese politics. Catholic scholars in academic institutes have been trained in politics and International Relations; they are able to study properly the so-called the heavenly book without written words.

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- Agagianian, Grégoire-Pierre, Cardinal 雅靜安
Bao Zonghe 包宗和
Caprio, Joseph 高理耀
Chen Guangcheng 陳光誠
Cheng Shiguang, Paul 成世光
Cheng, Tien-siang Joseph OP 鄭天祥
Chu, Simon SJ 朱秉欣
Cixi, Dowager Empress 慈禧太后
Congregation of the Disciples of the Lord (CDD) 主徒會
Costantini, Celso, Cardinal 剛恆毅
Cote, Philip SJ 郇軼歐
Dai, Ruiming Raymond 戴瑞明
Deng, (Tang) Yiming, Dominic 鄧以明
Divine Word Missionaries (SVD) 聖言會
Dong Guangqing 董光清
Fang Hao 方豪
Guo Jincai, Joseph 郭金財
Heyndrickx, Jeroom 韓德力
Hon, Savio Daihui 韓大輝
Hsu Cheng-pin, Francis 徐誠斌
Huang Bingzhang 黃炳章
Koxinga 國姓爺(鄭成功)

- Kung Shih-Rong 龔士榮
 Kuo Fan 郭藩
 Kuo, Joseph 郭若石
 Kupfer, William M.M. 蔡文興
 Lei Jiawei 雷家培
 Lei Shiyin 雷世銀
 Li Tianyi 李天一
 Li Zhizao 李之藻
 Liu Bainian 劉栢年
 Liu Hsien-tang 劉獻堂
 Liu Mingchuan 劉銘傳
 Liu Xiaobo 劉曉波
 Liu Xinhong 劉新紅
 Lokuang Stanislaus, Archbishop 羅光
 Ma Yinglin 馬英林
 Maryknoll Missionaries (MM) 瑪利諾會
 Nagasaki 長崎
 Niu, Thomas 牛會卿
 Order of Friars Minor (OFM) 方濟會
 Order of Preachers (OP) 道明會
 Paris Foreign Missions (MEP) 巴黎外方傳教會
 Pingpu clan 平埔族
 Riberi, Antony 黎培理
 Ricci, Matteo SJ 利瑪竇
 Satowaki Asajiro 里脇淺次郎
 Shan, Paul SJ, Cardinal 單國璽
 Shijiazhuang 石家莊
 Shimonoseki Treaty 馬關條約
 Soong Mei-ling 宋美齡
 Su, Candida 許甘弟大
 Ti Kang 狄剛
 Tianjin Treaty 天津條約
 Tien, Ken-sin Thomas 田耕莘
 Tsai, Mark 徐熙光
 Tu Mingzheng 涂敏正
 Tu Pujin 杜寶晉
 Tu Shihua 涂世華
 Van Melckebeke 王守禮

- Verineux, Andre-Jean 費聲遠
Wei Dao-ming 魏道明
Weihaiwei 威海衛
Wu Cheng-chung John B. 胡振中
Wu Ching-hsiung, John 吳經熊
Wu Yushan 吳玉山
Xu Guangqi (Hsu Kuang-ch'i) 徐光啟
Yang Rubin 楊儒賓
Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠
Yao Zongjian 姚宗鑑
Yeh Sheng-nan 葉勝男
Yenan 延安
Yue Fusheng 岳福生
Yuen Wenhua 袁文華
Yupin, Paul, Archbishop 于斌
Zen Ze-kiun Joseph, Cardinal 陳日君
Zhan Silu 詹思祿
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