

Cultivation of Christian leadership in a Confucian context:
A study of the preparation of pastors for ministry
in Taiwan Lutheran Church
1948-1987

by

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Presented as partial fulfillment of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Theology

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2005

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Tekstopsett og sideombrekking: Gustav Steensland

Trykk og innbinding: Netprint Prosesen, Klepp

School of Mission and Theology

Dissertation Series Nr. 4

ISSN 0809-8999

Misjonshøgskolens forlag

Stavanger

2007

Preface and acknowledgements

My interest in this topic emerged when I served as a missionary pastor in Taiwan between 1981 and 1988. I was sent by Norwegian Missionary Society (NMS), working with Taiwan Lutheran Church. My ministry was located in the Taichung area, at the student center and congregation in Hsi-t'un and in the Chi-tu t'ang (Christ Church).

After returning to Norway in 1988, I completed a study of the history of Norwegian Missionary Society in Taiwan. On the basis of this historical research and my own experience in Taiwan Lutheran Church, I became convinced that cultivation of leadership is at the heart of ministry in church and mission. It can also be argued that it is necessary to increase awareness of the cultural and theological issues involved in Christian leadership formation.

Since 1991 I have worked as assistant professor in the department of practical theology at the School of Mission and Theology. In the mid 1990s it was suggested that I embark on a project towards a doctoral degree.

The present study is a contribution to the fields of missiology and practical theology. It is my hope that this study will expand the knowledge of the history of Taiwan Lutheran Church, contribute to the understanding of cultivation of Christian leadership, and provide insights for the improvement of methodology and strategy in the Church in its cross-cultural missionary outreach.

Without the insights, assistance and encouragement from several individuals and institutions this study would not have been possible to accomplish. First and foremost I will thank my advisor and mentor, professor Jan-Martin Berentsen. I am also grateful for the contribution and help from faculty, librarians, archivists and staff during my work and visits at the following institutions:

- School of Mission and Theology, Stavanger, Norway
- Norwegian Missionary Society Archives, Stavanger, Norway
- Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology, Oslo, Norway
- University of Stavanger, Norway
- Danish Missionary Society, Copenhagen, Denmark
- Taiwan Lutheran Church
- China Lutheran Seminary, Hsinchu, Taiwan
- Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong
- Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, USA
- ELCA Region 3 Archives, St. Paul, Minnesota, USA

Numerous others, both individuals and institutions, have shared time and efforts in conversations and interviews, in search for information, and in written communication.

A substantial grant from Areopagos (formerly the Nordic Christian Mission to Buddhists) gave inspiration and financial help at an early stage of my project.

It goes without saying that my wife, Torunn, has been and is the primary source for motivation, encouragement and assistance, for which I will be for ever grateful.

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Romanization and spelling of Chinese names and terms, etc.

This thesis uses a slightly modified Wade-Giles romanization, which is the most common in studies concerning the Republic of China in Taiwan. Chinese terms will be written with traditional Chinese characters, followed by romanization in italics and English translation in parenthesis.

Chinese personal names are dealt with in the following manners:

- The romanized version of the name is placed first, followed by Chinese traditional characters (if available) the first time the person is mentioned in this study.
- The romanization is according to the preference of the actual person or the usage in publications and documents quoted in this study. Otherwise, the modified Wade-Giles romanization is used.
- The surname is usually placed first, followed by the given name(s). Examples: Peng Fu, Lin Yu-tang.
- For the sake of consistency, hyphenation is normally used between two given names, regardless of the preference of the actual person. This rule does not apply to names appearing in quotations.
- If a Chinese person's English given name is available, this name is usually placed last, in parenthesis. Example: Yu Chi-ping (Thomas).
- Surnames are placed last when the actual person normally uses the English given name in addition to the Chinese name. Example: Jonathan T'ien-en Chao.
- If an expatriate's Chinese name is available, this name is placed after the English name the first time the person is mentioned in this study and with Chinese traditional characters only. This rule is usually applied to persons mentioned in the main text.

Other remarks:

- For persons regarded as significant, available years of birth and/or death are put in parenthesis after the name the first time the person is mentioned in this study. This rule does not apply to authors of cited publications.
- Unless otherwise specified I am responsible for the English translation of quotations from sources in other languages (such as Chinese, Norwegian, and Danish). Yeung Kwok-leung and Yeung Sing-ying, missionaries at the Stavanger Fellowship of the Scandinavian Chinese Christian Church, have given valuable help with the comprehension and translation of a few parts of tape recordings and some sections of one handwritten document in Chinese.
- My own omissions of parts of texts are marked with [...].
- Bible quotations are taken from *The Holy Bible : New International Version* (for details, see bibliography).

List of abbreviations

ALC	American Lutheran Church
Augustana	Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church
BDiv	Bachelor of Divinity degree
BTh	Bachelor of Theology degree
CAC	China Advisory Committee
CACC	China Area Coordinating Committee
CELC	China Evangelical Lutheran Church
CLGC	China Lutheran Gospel Church

CLB	Church of the Lutheran Brethren
CLBC	Chinese Lutheran Brethren Church
CLCAT	Chinese Lutheran Churches' Association in Taiwan
CLS	China Lutheran Seminary
CTS	Concordia Theological Seminary (in Chiayi, Taiwan)
DMS	Danish Missionary Society
ELC	Evangelical Lutheran Church
ELCA	Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
ELFCN	Evangelical Lutheran Free Church of Norway
FLS	Federated Lutheran Seminary (in Taiwan)
FMS	Finnish Missionary Society
IMC	International Missionary Council
KMT	Kuomintang
KTS	Kingchow Theological Seminary
LBC	Lutheran Brethren Church
LBI	Lutheran Bible Institute
LCA	Lutheran Church in America
LCC	Lutheran Church of China
LCMS	The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod
LCRC	The Lutheran Church of the Republic of China
LCT	Lutheran Church of Taiwan
LTS	Lutheran Theological Seminary (in Hong Kong)
LUM	Lutheran United Mission
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MA	Master of Arts degree
MDiv	Master of Divinity degree
MF	Menighetsfakultetet (Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology)
MHS	Misjonshøgskolen (School of Mission and Theology)
MTh	Master of Theology degree
NLM	Norwegian Lutheran Mission
NMS	Norwegian Missionary Society
OMF	Overseas Missionary Fellowship
PCT	The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy degree
SKM	Svenska Kyrkans Mission [Church of Sweden Mission]
TEF	Theological Education Fund
TLC	Taiwan Lutheran Church
TLM	Taiwan Lutheran Mission
TLMA	Taiwan Lutheran Missionary Association
TLS	Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary
TTC	Tainan Theological College
TTCS	Tainan Theological College and Seminary
ULCA	United Lutheran Church in America
WCC	World Council of Churches

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1 Introduction

Cultivation of Christian leadership involves critical interaction with the context in which the cultivation takes place and from which the candidates are recruited. Since leadership is an inherent aspect of the ministry of pastors, the preparation of candidates for such ministry is an example of cultivation of Christian leadership. Because cultivation of Christian leadership always is conducted in a specific cultural context it is imperative that both cultivators and candidates have an adequate and comprehensive understanding of the elements influencing the cultivation process.

Among the modes of cultivation of leadership in Chinese culture the Confucian tradition represents a distinguishable approach, combining various forms of education and self-cultivation. To a large extent Confucianism has influenced the values, aims and means related to leadership development among the Chinese. Although there are diversities within the Confucian tradition regarding cultivation of leadership, there is also some degree of consensus. Despite social and ideological changes throughout the history of Chinese culture, including that in Taiwan, the Confucian tradition has had and still has implications for the cultivation of leadership. Those who are involved in cultivation of Christian leadership in a Confucian context must consider similarities and differences between basic perspectives of Christian faith and those of the Confucian tradition.

1.1 Objective

The objective of this study is to provide insights regarding cultivation of Christian leadership in a setting influenced by Confucianism by describing and exploring the preparation of Chinese pastors for ministry in Taiwan Lutheran Church (TLC) from 1948 until 1987. My aim is not to develop a theory of cultivation of Christian leadership in a local context, but rather to see how critical interaction with the local context came about in the preparation of pastors during a certain period. This aim has to do with the implementation of a church-related task, namely the training of some of the church leaders. I am, in other words, reviewing a part of praxis in a church, and praxis is the combination of actions and the reflection that goes with them and sustains them.¹

¹ For a discussion of the term “praxis” in relation to theological education, see Robert J. Banks, *Reenvisioning theological education : exploring a missional alternative to current models* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1999), 159-160.

With this concentration on praxis my study can be classified as a practical-theological study. Having its focus on the training of pastors, performed in a Chinese setting by both Chinese and western teachers and textbooks, however, this study also sheds light on doctrinal and cross-cultural aspects, which involve ecclesiology, the understanding of pastoral ministry, and the balancing of Christian and Confucian perspectives. As such my project is relevant for the theology and practice of Christian mission. It belongs, therefore, just as much to the field of mission studies or theology of mission. It is a practical-theological and missiological project.

1.2 Method

I am approaching the aim of my study by investigating historical and empirical data in a particular church. This procedure calls for a method that fits my material. There are no particular methods that are exclusively used within the fields of practical theology and missiology. Its researchers and writers have made use of the classical methods of theology, namely the literary, historical and systematic methods. Especially since the first half of the 20th century, however, the role of empiricism in theology has been widely discussed, and a particular empirical method has been introduced in the field of practical theology.² In my understanding an empirical approach will also be beneficial for missiological studies. The use of this and the three other methods, either separately or in various combinations, involves fundamental epistemological and hermeneutical considerations.

How and to what extent is it possible to establish reliable and verifiable knowledge about a process such as cultivation of leadership? What kind of source material will yield the desired results? And, what is a useful definition and understanding of the context, which in this study is labeled Confucian? Hermeneutical considerations include both the interpretation of sources and developments, and the motivations and purposes of the research itself. Knowledge and interpretations as a product of research can, if communicated to relevant communities and their leaders, be a possible source of change and transformation. Current practices can be challenged and new strategies can be developed. Such consequences of

² Johannes A. van der Ven, *Practical theology : an empirical approach*, trans. Barbara Schultz (Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1993), 77. See also a summarized version of his methodological approach in Johannes A. van der Ven, "An empirical approach in practical theology," in *Practical theology : international perspectives*, ed. Friedrich Schweitzer and Johannes A. van der Ven, *Erfahrung und Theologie: Schriften zur Praktischen Theologie* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1999).

research and scientific studies will occur regardless of the selection of method (literary, historical, systematic, and/or empirical).

Five elements in a methodology based on an empirical approach have been identified by Johannes A. van der Ven: a) development of problem and goal; b) induction; c) deduction; d) testing; e) evaluation.³ As an instrument of research these five elements can also form an “empirical-theological cycle” in the sense that the evaluation in many cases will lead to a renewed development of problem and goal. New or restructured problem and goal call for another round of investigation and research. Such investigation and research is not only of academic interest. Practical theology should have a close link to practice and situations in churches and their relationship to society,⁴ and as I see it this expectation also applies to missiology.

Within an empirical-theological approach as laid out by Ven the main interest is usually directed towards current practices and situations. His focus is on two aspects: how people are dealing with and reflecting faith in God, and how they come to terms with the task of communicating and applying their faith in a particular context. My proposal is that the basic elements of the empirical-theological cycle proposed by Ven can be applied even to a missiological study regarding developments in the past. In other words, I am approaching my topic from a historical point of view, with tools originally designed for empirical studies. I will now attempt to show how the abovementioned five methodological elements can serve as useful steps in my study.

1.2.1 Development of problem and goal

The development of the problem in a study based on an empirical approach is informed and influenced by the researcher’s presuppositions, readings, fieldwork, and in some cases also related experiences and participant observation. My presuppositions include my Christian faith and conviction that the unique gospel of Jesus Christ is to be proclaimed to all people for

³ Ven, *Practical theology : an empirical approach*, 114.

⁴ Don S. Browning’s has presented an overview of seven worldwide trends in practical theology. Two of his observations are: “First, there is the widespread belief that all of theology, including what is traditionally called practical theology, should begin with the analysis of practice and situations. Second, many believe that practical theology should concentrate on the church’s practice in the world (the public paradigm) as well as the ordering of the internal life of congregations (the clerical and ecclesial paradigms).” Don S. Browning, “The idea of the International Academy of Practical Theology,” in *Practical theology : international perspectives*, ed. Friedrich Schweitzer and Johannes A. van der Ven, *Erfahrung und Theologie: Schriften zur Praktischen Theologie* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1999), 158.

their conversion and salvation. Literary sources and commentaries of the Christian and Confucian traditions have been studied alongside interpretations of the ecclesial, social and cultural setting in Taiwan. Publications and documents about developments in TLC have been gathered and investigated. To my work experience as a missionary in TLC in the 1980s has been added a short period of field studies in Taiwan and Hong Kong in 1997, concentrating on interviews with selected informants. Against a backdrop showing developments in the history and setting of the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC, and a condensed presentation of the Confucian setting in Taiwan, the problem is clarified. As will be argued in chapter two (section 2.3.1) the *problem* is this: There is not sufficient knowledge about whether or how the Confucian approach to leadership, learning, and self-cultivation did influence the cultivation of pastoral leadership in the seminary training, evangelist ministry, and ordination of TLC pastors between 1947 and 1987.

The goal of research is closely related to the choice of an appropriate research form. According to Ven research operates along a continuum between two poles. The first pole is the “descriptive” research form and the other pole is “hypothesis-testing.”⁵ In between the two poles is the “explorative” type of research; whereas “description” primarily presents and lays out relevant facts, “exploration” seeks to identify “relations of the research object to other factors.”⁶ From the knowledge established by these two research forms hypotheses can be derived and then be subjected to “verification or falsification.”⁷ As I see it the problem of my study calls for a combination of descriptive and explorative research forms and my *goal* is, therefore, to describe and explore. My overview of empirical and historical literature in chapter three (section 3.1.2) makes clear that the existing knowledge about the topic of my study is fairly small and rather fragmented. I have, therefore, done my best to find and describe selected sources related to the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC during a certain historical period. The explorative aspect of my study seeks to illuminate the relationship between my research object, namely the preparation of TLC pastors, and Christian and Confucian perspectives regarding cultivation of leadership. When and if further examples of preparation of pastors in a Confucian context are described and explored it will be possible to present and test hypotheses about cultivation of Christian leadership in this particular context. Such testing goes beyond the scope of this study.

⁵ Ven, *Practical theology : an empirical approach*, 126.

⁶ *ibid.*, 125.

⁷ *ibid.*

1.2.2 Induction

A general meaning of induction is “the observation, directed by reflection, of phenomena in the empirical reality. This involves the discovery and naming of classes of phenomena, the discovery of patterns in the phenomena, and the uncovering of comparative, correlative and causal relationships between the phenomena.”⁸ Ven suggests four steps in the induction phase when it is applied in practical-theological research: a) theological perception, b) theological reflection, c) formulation of the theological question, and d) empirical-theological research design.⁹

The qualification of these four steps as “theological” underlines the conviction that in all research there will always be considerable influence from certain preconceptions. Theologians gather facts and interpret them according to a hermeneutical frame of reference that should be presented as clearly as possible. My frame of reference was indicated in connection with what I said above concerning the development of problem and goal. Cultivation of Christian leadership in a given environment requires insights in theological and cross-cultural challenges and a willingness to implement necessary changes in current practices for instance in the preparation of pastors for ministry. One of my hermeneutical assumptions is that it is possible and important to distinguish between Christian and non-Christian concepts and values. The treatment and interpretation of concepts and values should be as respectful, unbiased and objective as possible. It is helpful to make a distinction between normative and descriptive aspects of concepts and values. The normative aspect has to do with what is generally regarded as a decisive guideline. Whereas for example a Christian would make references to the Bible and ecumenical and denominational confessions and statements of faith, a Confucianist is likely to quote from the Chinese classics and well established commentaries. The descriptive aspect has to do with concepts and values that are currently reflected and communicated in the writings, oral presentations, and practice of people in the actual communities.

I now turn to a clarification of the four steps of the induction phase in order to show how they serve the purpose of my study. *Theological perception* has several dimensions with internal distinctions. Such perception can be random or systematic, non-participatory or participatory, overt or covert, indirect or direct, and related to one’s perception of others or perception of

⁸ *ibid.*, 115.

⁹ *ibid.*, 120-128.

self.¹⁰ In the early stages of my research I collected material and made my observations quite randomly, without a fixed system of categories related to cultivation of leadership and the Confucian context. During the course of my work more specific categories have been developed. My collection of observations has been systematized according to material related to seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination. As I have not contributed to the preparation for ministry of the pastors in the specific functions covered in this study, in a strict sense my perception should be characterized as non-participatory. In a wider sense, however, my perception is influenced by my participation in the work of the TLC in the 1980s. The aim and motivation of my project has been openly introduced to all pastors and congregations in TLC.¹¹ There have not been any attempts on my part to gather information in a covert manner. All observations about the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC have been made indirectly. Retrospective interviews have been made with already ordained pastors, seminary teachers and missionaries, and all written source material related to seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination has been gathered (long) after the actual events took place. Some of the sources, however, were put in writing at the time of or shortly after the processes covered in this study, either by the participants themselves or outside observers. My perception of TLC pastors and those who helped to cultivate them as leaders is shaped in part by my own ministry as ordained pastor and missionary in the same church. Extensive search and reading of historical material about TLC has furthermore influenced my opinions and attitudes. At several occasions during my time of research and writing I have become aware of similarities and differences between my own preparation for ministry and that of TLC pastors. The fact that I have gone through a similar development as those I am making an object of research should not be underestimated. My contribution as teacher and instructor at the department of practical theology at my current workplace has also been challenged and influenced along the way. Such self-reflection is thus a part of my theological perception related to the current project.

According to Ven *theological reflection* in a practical-theological research project must first meet two conditions in the form of overviews of two categories of literature, namely, the most

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 121-123.

¹¹ See Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "[Letter in Chinese from the China Lutheran Seminary president to TLC congregations, introducing research project and visit to Taiwan by Gustav Steensland in March 1997], 26 September 1996," (Hsinchu: Gustav Steensland collection, 1996).

important theoretical and empirical literature.¹² Such overviews will make it possible to relate a study to previous research in the field. My presentation of theoretical literature will deal mainly with theological, missiological, anthropological and sociological studies. In my search for literature no examples of what might be called purely empirical studies have been found. As will be noted, however, empirical methods such as interviews and gathering of statistics have been a part of the research strategy of some of the contributors of historical monographs. Such methods are also commonly used in church growth studies, which often combine reviews of the past with a description of the current situation and projections for the future. For the purpose of my study I have, therefore, expanded the second category of literature and called it an overview of empirical and historical literature. In this study the theological reflection will have to consider issues such as world-view, cultural values, ideology, understanding and patterns of leadership, and forms and means of cultivation.

One of the aims of the theological reflection is the *formulation of the theological question*, which can serve as a guideline for the research. Three criteria influence the framing of the theological question: “the scientific relevance, the practical relevance, and the researchability.”¹³ Since this study attempts to explore and describe the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC in the past, the *scientific relevance* has to do with the documentation and expanded knowledge about elements in this preparation, which have had to do with cultivation of leadership. The findings presented in this thesis will hopefully provide useful material for further theological and scientific work related to Christian leadership development in a Chinese context. As far as the *practical relevance* is concerned the TLC, as well as several other churches in Taiwan, are in the process of shaping the future preparation of pastors for ministry. Attempts are being made in redesigning the road to pastoral ministry, and leadership development is a never-ending concern. Increased awareness of how the theological and ideological issues related to cultivation of leadership were handled during the era of the first generations of TLC pastors will probably be of help in the current situation. The final criterion, namely, *researchability*, must also be met. Cultivation of leadership has been singled out as the focus of interest in this study of the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC. One of the parables of Jesus may serve as an illustration of the point to be made here. In the parable of the growing seed the man who scatters seed on the ground “does not know

¹² Ven, *Practical theology : an empirical approach*, 164.

¹³ *ibid.*, 169.

how” the seed “sprouts and grows” (Mark 4:27). As a farmer he still performs the tasks needed for the process of growth to take place, such as sowing, watering and pulling of weeds. There are most likely aspects of cultivation of leadership that we cannot know in full. Based on experience and tradition certain tasks have, nevertheless, been performed in order to cultivate leadership in candidates for pastoral ministry in TLC. For this study I have selected tasks connected to seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination. Sources related to these tasks and the ways in which they have been performed are researchable and form the material for my research.

Based on the theological reflection it is possible to form the theological research question. As will be further introduced in chapter three (section 3.1.3.1) *my research question* is this: What understanding of pastoral leadership was conveyed and what forms of cultivation of such leadership were implemented in the seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination of TLC pastors between 1947 and 1987, in light of the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation?

Empirical-theological research design can be of several types. According to Ven there are two commonly used types: “the survey method and the quasi-experimental design.”¹⁴ By asking people questions about one or more issues in a systematic manner the *survey method* aims at “establishing a descriptive and explanatory inventory.”¹⁵ The purpose of the *quasi-experimental design* is to “describe and explain the effect of interventions in a given situation.”¹⁶ Researchers activate some kind of procedure or engage in planned actions in a community with the aim of determining the effect of their interventions. Since the variables in such experiments cannot be exactly controlled this research design is labeled quasi-experimental. The next two methods mentioned are “content analysis” and “field research.”¹⁷ *Content analysis* seeks to describe and explain “the contents of written communications such as official documents, autobiographies, newspapers, protocols of interaction processes etc. [...]”¹⁸ *Field research* “generally involves case studies in which situations and processes are studied through participatory perception and qualitative methods (sometimes combined with

¹⁴ *ibid.*, 127.

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 128.

quantitative methods) of investigation [...].”¹⁹ Finally, he also refers to a new kind of design called “policy analysis” or “policy research.”²⁰ According to Ven *policy analysis* “has not yet been used in any empirical-theological research projects.”²¹

In order to select a fitting research design for the purpose of this thesis a few comments must be added regarding the possible use of the above types of research in my project. The first two research types, surveys and quasi-experiments, are used about current issues and situations and do not function well in my project, which is of historical nature. Field research in its regular sense is also ruled out, since I have not performed planned participatory observations in the seminary training, evangelist ministry, and ordination of TLC pastors during the period investigated in my study. Some sort of field studies such as qualitative interviews have, nevertheless, been undertaken.

The methods associated with content analysis must be considered. My project relies heavily on written sources, and I am partly searching for the use and interpretation of certain concepts in teaching, mentoring and guidance of candidates for pastoral ministry. There are, however, two important requirements usually attached to content analysis, namely, that it is a form of quantitative research²² and that it makes use of an a priori design.²³ Although it might be of some interest in my project to count and comment the occurrence in textbooks and teaching material of terms such as Confucianism, filial piety, cultivation, and human nature, I have concluded that content analysis as a quantitative approach will not provide the results I am looking for. Neither am I able to fulfill the requirement about a priori design. My project design has been developed and revised in a gradual manner as I have investigated my sources and uncovered new material along the way.

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ *ibid.*

²² Content analysis has been defined as “the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics. It includes the careful examination of human interactions; the analysis of character portrayals in TV commercials, films, and novels; the computer-driven investigation of word usage in news releases and political speeches; and so much more.” Kimberley A. Neuendorf, *The content analysis guidebook* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 2002), 1.

²³ “Too often, a so-called content analysis report describes a study in which variables were chosen and ‘measured’ *after* the messages were observed. This wholly inductive approach violates the guidelines of scientific endeavor. All decisions on variables, their measurement, and coding rules must be made before the observations begin.” *ibid.*, 11 (Neuendorf’s italics).

Finally, there is policy analysis, which is used for example in studies about “formulation, implementation, and evaluation of education policy.”²⁴ Elements of my project have to do with the policy for the training of pastors in TLC. Seminary teachers, textbooks and candidates will in some cases refer to rules, regulations and other governing documents which reveal important intentions and supporting arguments for the preparation of pastors for ministry and the understanding of pastoral leadership. My project, however, has a wider scope than just the policy of education for TLC pastors. I will not, therefore, make a separate investigation of this policy.

With none of the above research designs offering a perfect fit, my choice of research design must be some sort of modification. As I see it I make combined use of modified versions of content analysis and field research. My type of *content analysis* is qualitative rather than quantitative. My search for relevant written sources has been guided by a set of terms and concepts related to cultivation of pastoral leadership in a Confucian context. The description and exploration of these sources will focus on understanding of pastoral leadership, forms of cultivation of such leadership, and interaction with key Confucian values. My material for this investigation is found in seminary textbooks and teaching material, and in publications and documents reflecting the life and work of teachers, mentors, and candidates for ministry. The rendering and analysis of interviews and my own observations and experience are two aspects of a modified *field research*. I have conducted qualitative interviews with selected informants, some of whom were directly involved in the preparation of pastors for TLC. In order to clarify the concepts and strategies that are involved in my research design, the process of deduction is the topic of the following section.

1.2.3 Deduction

The general meaning of deduction is “the deriving of a conclusion by reasoning.”²⁵ Three aspects of the phase of theological deduction have been identified by Ven: a) theological conceptualization, b) determination of the theological-conceptual model, and c) theological operationalization.²⁶ In the following I will comment on these aspects and how they will

²⁴ American Educational Research Association, *Educational evaluation and policy analysis : statement of purpose* [Website] (2003, accessed 10 October); available from <http://www.aera.net/pubs/eepa/purpose.htm>.

²⁵ Frederick C. Mish, ed., *Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary* (Springfield, Massachusetts: Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 2001), 300. This dictionary also adds a specific use of the term deduction, namely, “inference in which the conclusion about particulars follow necessarily from general or universal premises.”

²⁶ Ven, *Practical theology : an empirical approach*, 128-139.

function in this study. It is important to keep in mind that I have chosen a research design based on modified types of empirical research. This choice allows some freedom in the application of the aspects suggested by Ven.

In Ven's framework theological *conceptualization* as a part of deduction consists of two aspects as it "calls for solid theory formation and conceptualization of the terms used in the research question."²⁷ As I understand his approach the formation of a theory is especially necessary when "hypothesis-testing" has been chosen as the form of research.²⁸ With description and exploration as the goal of my study I will concentrate on the second and always necessary aspect, namely, the conceptualization of the terms in the research question. In my above formulation of this question there is a combination of common vocabulary and more theologically laden terms. I will have to qualify what is meant by the various terms in common English usage and in the field of (practical) theology. To some extent I will also relate them to their equivalents in a Chinese linguistic environment because some of my sources are in this language. The presentation and discussion of these terms is found in the section about theological conceptualization in chapter three (section 3.2.1).

The next aspect has to do with the development of a theological-conceptual *model*. In empirical research this model serves as a guideline for the operational method and the analytical technique to be used in the further steps of the research. In order to have a workable model three components must be included: "concepts or variables, relationships between the concepts or variables, and the research units."²⁹ When the model is applied to the empirical facts the main issue is to what degree the model corresponds to or deviates from these facts. The way in which this correspondence or deviation can be measured depends on the operationalization, which will be introduced below after a few comments on the use and development of the model in my study.

Although I am not conducting regular empirical research I think that a model will be useful also in my study. A model helps me to identify and sort out the most important elements in the source material and facilitates description, exploration and analysis. Following the application of the model to my selection of historical and empirical facts it will

²⁷ *ibid.*, 128.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 125-126.

²⁹ *ibid.*, 131.

become clear to what extent the model served the purpose of my study. Now, I will present the components of my model, beginning with the identification of the research units.

First, the *research units* must be described. They are of various kinds and Ven suggests they can be sorted according to different levels: the "micro-level," the "meso-level," and the "macro-level."³⁰ In a study about the preparation of pastors for ministry the following are relevant units on the micro-level: seminary teachers, seminary textbooks, and candidates for ministry (as seminary students, evangelists, and ordinands). Institutions such as theological seminaries, local parishes, and synods are examples of units on the meso-level. As far as the macro-level is concerned Confucianism and Lutheranism can be mentioned as possible systems to be investigated. From my point of view a particular research model is needed for each level of research units. A comprehensive study might include research units at all three levels with corresponding models. For the aim of my study, however, I think I am best served by focusing the attention on the units at the micro-level. These units will provide close contact with thoughts, reflections and experiences of those involved in the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC.

Second, the *concepts* or *variables* must be clarified. Leadership and its cultivation are universal phenomena. When looking for relevant concepts or variables it is helpful, on the one hand, to strive for approaches that can be applied in more than one context and possibly in cross-cultural situations. On the other hand, one should also find examples related to the particular context in which the cultivation takes place. Cultivation usually makes sense only when it is directed towards some kind of goal or expected result. If leadership is a desired result one must also have some ideas and opinions of what leadership is.

In Ven's approach variables "may be considered as characteristics of the research units which may take on two or more values," and the concepts "can be understood as the theoretical, definitional explication of the variables."³¹ His choice of words here indicates that the development of a model must be flexible and strive for clarity and simplicity. It is also evident in his further explanation that some characteristics of the research units are "empirical" variables and that concepts function as "theoretical" variables.³² In my opinion a model with a given type of variables should not be forced upon the research material but only allow a degree of complexity that suits the aim of a the project.

³⁰ *ibid.*, 132.

³¹ *ibid.*

³² *ibid.*

My research question has the following major components: understanding of pastoral leadership, cultivation of such leadership, and the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning and self-cultivation. These components are the variables in my model.

Then the type of variables must be identified. This identification can be illustrated here in relation to seminary teachers as one of my research units. If understanding of pastoral leadership is taken as an empirical variable one might for example find out whether or not a seminary teacher has an understanding of pastoral leadership. In this case the variable has two values: present or not present. It is not likely, however, that a seminary teacher is without some form of understanding of pastoral leadership. More interesting then is to use understanding of pastoral leadership as a theoretical variable. I will also treat the two other components in my research question as theoretical variables. Compared to empirical variables this type of variable opens up for a wider spectrum of meanings and interpretations.

The theoretical variables take on a set of values, which can be sorted out as distinguishable types, modes, forms, or approaches of or to each variable. In order to sort out these values I will make use of insights from leadership studies in general, theology, and interpretations of the Confucian tradition. The full-scale development of my model is found in chapter three (section 3.2.2).

Third, some comments should be made regarding the possible *relationships between the variables*. Again, I refer to Ven who has pointed to the common distinction between four groups of variables in today's empirical theological research: "dependent and independent variables [x influences y], intervening variables [x influences y, y influences z], moderator variables [A influences the causal relationship between x and y], experimental and control variables [x₁ influences y₁, x₂ influences y₂; x₁ is the experimental and x₂ is the control variable]." ³³ For the development of a model in my study I find the third type to be the most relevant. In this type one or more separate variables help to moderate or determine the relation between the independent and dependent variables.

In this study I will try to indicate what understanding of pastoral leadership the various cultivators conveyed and what forms they and the candidates emphasized in the cultivation process. My suggestion is that the understanding of pastoral leadership influences the cultivation of such leadership. Thus understanding of pastoral leadership is the independent variable and the cultivation of pastoral leadership is the dependent variable. Then comes the role of the moderator variables, which will be identified through my analysis of the

³³ *ibid.*

Confucian context in chapter two (section 2.2). As will be shown there three variables have been selected, namely, leadership, learning, and self-cultivation, as conceived of in the Confucian tradition. The view of human nature and the precept of filial piety are thought to shape the three concepts in a Confucian environment. My task is to investigate the seminary training, evangelist ministry, and ordination of pastors for ministry in TLC in order to trace the influence of the moderator variables. According to Ven's above distinction between types of variables, my model should, strictly speaking, only focus on the causal relationship between understanding of pastoral leadership and its cultivation. I will, however, also allow comments on the influence of the moderator variables on the understanding of pastoral leadership and on the cultivation process.

Theological *operationalization* forms the bridge between the theological concepts or variables and the empirical reality to be investigated.³⁴ This bridge is made up of elements rather than one single piece. The selection of elements and the task of combining them are necessary to reach 'the other side'. Theological concepts must be given a form which includes "a description of the operations by which one can determine whether the phenomena to which the concepts refer occur in the empirical reality as well as, possibly, the quality of this occurrence."³⁵ In his presentation of the empirical approach Ven underlines a necessary limitation at this point. Not all concepts and all aspects of meaning connected to a concept can or should be operationalized. A scientific approach aiming at complete operationalization is a form of operationalism characterized by Ven as a "rigid, inflexible, closed system."³⁶ His reminder seems all the more relevant when the research involves cross-cultural perspectives. In this study selected Chinese concepts are translated into English and introduced as variables in order to reach a useful level of operationalization. In this translation and use of the concepts there will probably be a larger "surplus meaning of concepts" than would be the case in a mono-cultural setting.³⁷

In this study the operationalization will be closely related to the variables in my model. For each of the research units (seminary teachers, seminary textbooks, and candidates for ministry) some background information will be necessary. Then each unit will be

³⁴ *ibid.*, 134.

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ *ibid.*, 135.

³⁷ "The surplus meaning of concepts is part and parcel of the non-conceptual cognitive stream or orientation that underlies the concepts themselves. It is precisely the non-conceptual moment that forms the core of human experience of reality and cognition of reality." *ibid.*

investigated regarding understanding of pastoral leadership, cultivation of pastoral leadership, and the implications of leadership, learning and self-cultivation as conceived of in the Confucian tradition. In some cases explicit statements and opinions can be found but I will also have to infer from remarks and comments that occur in relation to other issues than the selected variables.

1.2.4 Testing

In what sense does testing make sense in this study? Compared to an empirical investigation of current situations and living informants in an actual process the use of historical source material represents several limitations. At some points important questions will be without relevant answers. Uneven quality or amount of related sources, partly due to restrictions in my own imagination or research, will also cause difficulties in establishing valid knowledge and interpretations. Whereas follow-up questions can be asked and further clarification can be obtained from living informants, this will not be possible when one is confined to a certain amount of historical material. It is also obvious that retrospective comments from informants must be used with caution.

Still, I find it constructive to apply Ven's guidelines for the testing phase to this study of developments in the past. His guidelines center around three tasks: a) data collection, b) the preparation of the data set, and c) empirical-theological data analysis.³⁸ By following the various steps in each of these operations several aspects are clarified and defined. These steps, however, must be adapted to the explorative-descriptive goal of this study.

In Ven's methodology *data collection* is closely linked to the questions coming out as results of the theological operationalization. The data are supposed to provide a variety of answers to these questions. Taken together the interpretation of these data also form the basis for suggesting answer(s) to the research question. In an empirical approach the identification of the group of people one wishes to study is an unavoidable issue. This issue has two aspects, namely what is the "population" to be studied, and what "sample" will be drawn from this unit as a whole.³⁹

Given the limitation that this study will focus on the preparation of pastors in the past I will have to identify those involved in the training and ordaining of TLC pastors during a certain period as the relevant population. My population includes both cultivators and those

³⁸ *ibid.*, 140-151.

³⁹ *ibid.*, 140.

who were cultivated. Due to the role of textbooks in theological education I have also decided to regard (authors of) such books as being among the cultivators.

Within this larger group a sample must be drawn. Among the different kinds of samples Ven discusses two kinds in more detail: the “probability sample” and the “nonprobability sample.”⁴⁰ A probability sample is selected so that every element of the population has a fair chance of being included and the aim will be to establish reliable generalizations concerning the population as a whole. If a nonprobability sample is selected the aim is not a generalized knowledge and interpretation but rather to obtain insights and understanding regarding the issue under investigation.

In this study the issue under investigation has two levels. The wider issue of cultivation of Christian leadership in a Confucian context is at the higher level, and at the lower level the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC has been chosen as a case in point. A nonprobability sample can sufficiently serve my aim regarding the wider issue, and the results of this study should hopefully become a resource for further investigation and studies that will contribute to a more generalized understanding, perhaps even beyond a Confucian context. Concerning the issue at the lower level of this study I will also draw a nonprobability sample. Although my study concentrates on teachers, textbooks and students at the three theological schools that have educated the majority of TLC pastors, the size and selection of my sample does not allow generalizations about cultivation of leadership with regard to pastors in this church.

Having determined the sample the task of collection of data is the next step. As far as data related to the cultivators (including the textbooks at the training institutions) are concerned a lot of efforts have been made due to the variety of the sample. The selected teachers and authors of textbooks represent Chinese, North American and Norwegian cultures and theological traditions. Pastors prepared for ministry in TLC represent the other part of the sample, and data related to these individuals and their response to the cultivation process will also be presented and analyzed.

Material has been found in libraries and archives mainly in Taiwan, Hong Kong, United States, Denmark and Norway. Several informants have also been interviewed and some have provided information in writing. Source material in Chinese has not been gathered in the same amount and on the same basis as that in English and Scandinavian languages. This limitation is partly due to lack of available time to locate and investigate certain

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

publications and sources in Taiwan, some of which I learned about at a late stage in my project. The main restriction, however, has to do with the extra time needed for my search and review of material in Chinese compared to that in the other mentioned languages.

Preparation of the data set in an empirical approach has to do with securing a reliable way of calculation and analysis of the data. In regular empirical research the use of well-established codes for assigning values to the various types of variables in the data computers can be of great help.

In this study, however, the data set is simply my own presentation of the various research units, namely, seminary teachers, textbooks, and students. When I write my presentation of for example a seminary teacher data relevant information is found in lecture manuscripts, textbooks, teaching material, articles in journals and magazines, written sermons, reports, minutes, correspondence, and information and comments given in oral interviews.

The layout and contents of the above-mentioned presentations of the research units do not fit any form of calculation. It is rather a matter of sorting out and classification of elements such as viewpoints, interpretations, opinions, recommendations, and arguments relevant to the components in my research question.

The final operation in the testing is the empirical-theological *data analysis*. Although this study is not of the survey research type, Ven's identification of the five phases of the analysis within that type should be noted here. These phases are: "(a) description of the research population, (b) construction of theological and other attitudinal scales, (c) determination of the holders of theological attitudes, (d) determination of the context of theological attitudes, (e) explanation of the theological attitudes."⁴¹

The *research population* (i.e. the sample) of this study is very small both in terms of the cultivators and those who were cultivated (i.e. the pastors prepared for ministry). A description of the research population based on selected background variables will still be of interest.

The last four phases must be applied with some limitations to my modified research type, which has exploration and description as the major aims. Instead of making *attitudinal scales* in the second phase I will sort out the various views of and approaches towards

⁴¹ *ibid.*, 144.

understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership according to the elements of the theological-conceptual model arrived at in the deduction in chapter three. The third phase about *holders of theological attitudes* will be based on my own interpretation and understanding of how the selected variables take on different values or levels of importance among those who were involved in the process.

By entering phase four of the analytic process the *context* of the various approaches is considered. Questions can be asked about the role of the Confucian context but a participant's background context will also be of interest. Teachers at seminaries, for example, bring with them a combination of thought patterns, ideologies, theological systems and ecclesial traditions from their original context and they will also adapt and incorporate elements from the actual context in their teaching and forming of students. In phase four one must look for possible correlation between certain variables. There might be a relationship between the context and theological attitudes or approaches.

The last phase of the analytic process usually seeks *explanation* of the findings. Such explanation involves a determination of the "underlying cause and effect relations."⁴² In his presentation Ven voices several concerns and difficulties related to attempts at causal explanation. Whereas in phase four the task is to possibly identify certain correlations, in phase five one would seek to indicate directions of influence between variables. In this study, however, exploration and description are the major aims and explanation in the sense of establishing such cause and effect relations will not be attempted. I will have to limit myself to suggesting possible relationships between variables and leave the task of explanation to further research and contributions to this field of study.

1.2.5 Evaluation

According to Ven three aspects are included in the evaluation: a) theological interpretation, b) theological reflection, and c) theological-methodological reflection.⁴³ These aspects will be applied in my study as the findings and observations are summed up and reviewed. The overall task is to display the results of the testing up against the backdrop of the problem and goals from which the study started.

In my *theological interpretation* I return to the theological question and aim at presenting an answer with reference to the theological problem and the theological goal of this study. Again the theological conceptualization takes on importance because it clarified

⁴² *ibid.*, 148.

⁴³ *ibid.*, 152.

the terms of the theological question. By bringing together the results of the testing and the theoretical assumptions theological interpretation can be made.

The *theological reflection* is based on the results of the theological interpretation. What meaning and relevance can be found? It is clear that there is no final end to this process. Once the empirical (either historical or actual) facts have been assigned meaning within a certain hermeneutic context, new questions arise or other possible meanings may be suggested. There may also be asked questions about current practices in the related area, in this case about the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC or other churches in Confucian contexts.

According to Ven *theological-methodological reflection* “consists in a critical discussion about [...] the adequacy of the structure and execution of the empirical-theological study that has yielded these results.”⁴⁴ All the above presented phases and sub phases of the empirical-theological cycle and their adaptation to the current study can be subjected to scrutiny and even critical revision. One should ask at least two questions. How far has the current study brought us in terms of insight in the cultivation of Christian leadership in a Confucian context? And, how well has the choice of method served the aim of this study? Open-minded and self-critical answers to such questions are parts of research and invite further study.

1.3 Plan of presentation

The presentation of this thesis has been designed according to the methodological approach. Following this introduction chapter two will clarify the problem and goal in light of the relevant history and the chosen context. A brief look will be taken at developments in the preparation of Lutheran pastors for ministry in China before 1949. Then the main course of events in the training and ordination of TLC pastors will be highlighted with some references to general trends in churches in Taiwan. The outline of the Confucian tradition will begin with an overview of important trends, followed by main aspects of developments in Taiwan, and a presentation of issues with relevance to cultivation of leadership.

In chapter three the induction and deduction phases will be dealt with. My own observations, reflections and impressions up to the formal start of my doctoral degree project provide material for the theological perception. Then previous research is brought to attention in the form of a review of relevant theoretical, empirical, and historical literature. This review

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

paves the way for the formulation of the theological question and the presentation of the research design. In the deduction phase the first task will be to take a look at the major terms in the theological question, concentrating on cultivation and leadership, with special reference to basic Confucian perspectives. Then follows the development of the theological-conceptual model, which will be the basis of the theological operationalization.

Chapters four, five and six will contain the material for the testing phase in which the various operations as defined in chapter three will be conducted. Chapter four will describe four seminary teachers, chapter five three seminary textbooks, and chapter six will present three candidates for ministry. Each chapter will focus on useful background information, characteristics of the approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership, and interpretation of the approach in light of the selected Confucian concepts.

The data analysis and evaluation will be presented in chapter seven, with theological interpretation, theological reflection and theological-methodological reflection. The chapter ends with some concluding remarks concerning the whole study.

2 The history and context of the preparation of TLC pastors

The task in this chapter is to lay the history and context out that will provide the background for the development of the problem and goal of this study. When presenting the history and the context both parts will have a similar design, starting with the broader picture and then coming closer to more specific aspects. To some extent developments in Mainland China and Hong Kong will be mentioned as parts of the broader picture, but the focus on specific aspects will mainly refer to the setting in Taiwan.

2.1 The preparation of TLC pastors in a historical perspective

In this part of chapter two the aim is to place the preparation of TLC pastors in a historical perspective. I have chosen to cover the preparation of pastors ordained for ministry in TLC until the year 1987. This means that I will follow developments in their theological education up to about 1985. A small number graduated from seminaries in China and Hong Kong, and one got his training in the United States. Since the majority of TLC pastors have been trained and ordained in Taiwan I will give most attention to developments there.

In order to place the preparation of TLC pastors in a broader picture I will first refer to main points in the introduction and expansion of Christianity in Taiwan. Then some aspects of the history of the TLC will be highlighted. The overview of the historical setting ends with a presentation of trends in the theological education in Taiwan in general and of the preparation of pastors within TLC in particular.

2.1.1 Introduction and expansion of Christianity in Taiwan

The earliest documented Christian influence on the island occurred in connection with the Spanish and Dutch invasions in the 17th century.⁴⁵ This meant that both Roman Catholic and Protestant Christianity were introduced, not in the form of isolated missionary enterprises, but in connection with the colonial settlements. As the Spanish established their short-lived stronghold in Northern Taiwan, they allowed some Roman Catholic Dominicans to come over from the Philippines in 1621. Some of the local inhabitants were probably converted to Christian faith, but there were not established local congregations. After only three years, the

⁴⁵ Unless otherwise specified the information in this section is based on the historical overview regarding Taiwan in Theodore Bachmann and Mercia Brenne Bachmann, *Lutheran churches in the world : a handbook* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1989).

Section 2.1 The preparation of TLC pastors in a historical perspective

Dutch occupied the southern part, gradually gaining control over the whole island. By 1642 the Spanish had to leave. The Dutch take-over in 1624 also resulted in the suppressing of the work of the Roman Catholics. It was not until the 19th century that Roman Catholics resumed efforts, counting 8000 members by 1945 and 275000 members 40 years later.

The Dutch occupation also implied opportunities for conscious missionary efforts. This was the first Protestant contact with China. Missionaries came from Holland, and they found the tribal population more receptive to their message than the Chinese. By the time the Chinese ousted the Dutch in 1662 about 6000 tribal aborigines had been converted. Tragically, they were killed along with the missionaries in the take-over.

Two centuries later, British and Canadian Presbyterians came (in 1865 and 1872 respectively) and founded what is now the largest and strongest Protestant church, namely, the Taiwan Presbyterian Church. This church experienced the Japanese annexation of Taiwan in 1895, as well as all the developments during the first years after World War II, resulting in its conspicuous character as a supporter of political freedom and independence from any kind of suppressing regime. The number of members was doubled between 1955 and 1965, and as of 1989 the total was more than 160000.

There are also examples of church founding initiatives unrelated to the western missions. During the Japanese colonization 1895-1945 some Japanese Christians started ministry on the island and established Taiwan Holiness Church in 1929.⁴⁶ From 1946 onwards members from the Chinese church founded by Watchman Nee in 1926 came over from the mainland.⁴⁷ Commonly known as the "Assembly Hall", it has become the largest of the churches in Taiwan founded without contribution by expatriates and as of 1985 it ranked third in size after the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian churches.⁴⁸

The influx of Chinese from the mainland in 1949 also brought many additional Protestant denominations to the island. Chinese Christians and foreign missionaries that had

⁴⁶ Dorothy A. Raber, *Protestantism in changing Taiwan : a call to creative response* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1978), 215.

⁴⁷ Allen J. Swanson, *The church in Taiwan : profile 1980 : a review of the past, a projection for the future* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1981), 73-76. According to Yu Chi-ping (Thomas) the writings of Watchman Nee have had a considerable influence on the theology and ministry of pastors and members in many of the mainline churches in Taiwan. See Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "Interview in Hsinchu by Gustav Steensland 11 March 1997, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997). A sign of this influence is the doctoral thesis by a former TLC pastor. See Liao Yuan-wei, "Watchman Nee's theology of victory : an examination and critique from a Lutheran perspective" (ThD, Luther Seminary, 1997).

⁴⁸ Allen J. Swanson, *Mending the nets : Taiwan church growth and loss in the 1980's* (Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1986), 40.

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been active in the many parts of China took part in the new church planting. Almost all of the newly arrived denominations focused their initial ministry on the mainland refugees, but gradually they also included the original residents as targets for their outreach. After a time of growth and expansion during the first decade, most of the churches established in the 1950s, including TLC, have remained small fragments of the Christian church in Taiwan.

2.1.2 Trends in Taiwan Lutheran Church

Chinese Lutherans in Taiwan and their foreign partners had shared common ground on the Chinese mainland as members of the Lutheran Church of China (LCC).⁴⁹ The early developments of TLC are closely related to the arrival in Taiwan of mainland refugees escaping the civil war and Communist takeover in the late 1940s. In addition to the Chinese themselves, however, missionaries from the Lutheran missions based in North America and Scandinavia contributed to the founding of Lutheran congregations and special ministries.⁵⁰ During the two first decades the majority of the missionaries had previous experience from the mainland. A graph showing the trend among the Norwegian Missionary Society missionaries from 1949-1985 can serve as an illustration.

⁴⁹ “The Lutheran Church of China, founded in 1920, was as a loose association of missions and synods. It included the Augustana Synod Mission, the Finnish Missionary Society, the Lutheran United Mission, the Norwegian Missionary Society and the Church of Sweden Mission. By degrees, the organization expanded and in 1924, the Lutheran Board of Missions and the Schleswig-Holstein Mission joined, followed by the American Lutheran Mission, the Berlin Missionary Society and the Danish Missionary Society, four years later in 1928. Another two synods and missions, the Norwegian Lutheran Mission and the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission became members in 1944. Thereby, the church comprised twelve synods scattered throughout the country, with different histories, languages and traditions, but united by a common confession and by institutions such as the theological seminary in Shekow, the Lutheran Board of Publication and the Lutheran Missions Home & Agency in Hankow.” Jonas Jonson, *Lutheran missions in a time of revolution : the China experience 1944-1951*, Studia missionalia Upsaliensia, vol. 18 (Uppsala: Tvåvåga Förlags AB, 1972), 8. The Church of Sweden Mission, the Schleswig-Holstein Mission, and the Berlin Missionary Society did not join the efforts in Taiwan.

⁵⁰ See Ethel Akins and Clara J. Jones, eds., *Ten years in Taiwan : the Lutheran story : the story of how the word of God has worked through the Lutheran witness over a period of ten years 1951-1961* (Taichung: Taiwan Lutheran Mission, 1962).

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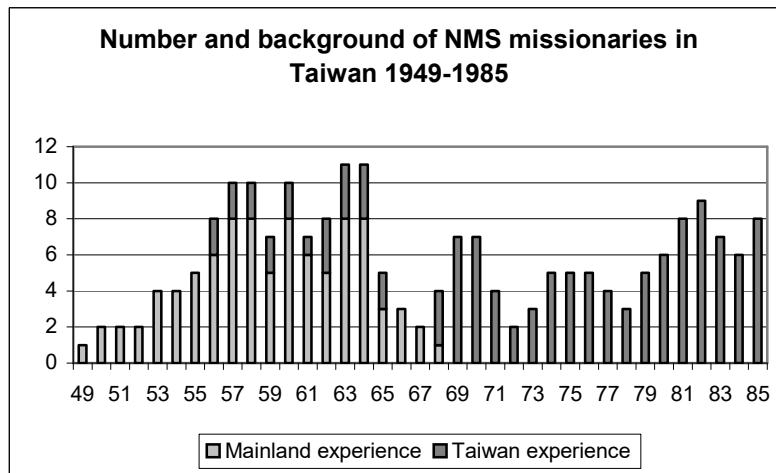


Table 1

In order to facilitate cooperation and joint efforts Taiwan Lutheran Mission (TLM) was established 22-24 September 1952, with a combination of full and associate member organizations.⁵¹ Through its annual conferences and elected officers TLM served as the link between the mission organizations and the emerging Lutheran church. In 1967 TLM was reorganized into Taiwan Lutheran Missionary Association (TLMA), a contact forum for the missionaries, and TLC was from then on dealing more directly with its foreign partners.⁵²

Eight congregations had been established in time to send their delegates to the assembly founding the TLC 10 November 1954. According to its synodal polity there was a need for leaders in congregations, at several administrative and governing levels, as well as in various church-wide committees with designated tasks. Within this wide challenge for the recruitment and development of leaders, the selection, training and appointment of candidates who could provide leadership as pastors were some of the major tasks from the very beginning.

One way to give an overview of developments in TLC is to illustrate the demand for pastors to serve in local congregations and in institutions and special ministries. A total of 38 congregations had been founded between 1951 and 1987. The numbers of congregations founded during the three first decades are as follows: 1950s - seventeen, 1960s - ten, 1970s - nine. From 1980-1987 two congregations were founded. In addition five special ministries

⁵¹ See Lars Bjørsvik, "The sending missions and the Chinese church," in *Ten years in Taiwan : The Lutheran story; the story of how the word of God has worked through the Lutheran witness over a period of ten years 1951-1961*, ed. Ethel Akins and Clara J. Jones (Taichung: Taiwan Lutheran Mission, 1962), 21.

⁵² See Gustav Steensland, "Taiwan," in *I tro og tjeneste : Det Norske Misjonsselskap 1842-1992 [In faith and ministry : The Norwegian Missionary Society 1842-1992]*, ed. Torstein Jørgensen (Stavanger: Misjonshøgskolens Forlag, 1992), 322.

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employing one or more full-time pastors have been established: Taipei Lutheran Student Center (1952), Tainan Lutheran Student Center (1954), Chiayi Christian Hospital (1958), Taichung Lutheran Student Center (1966) and Kaohsiung Christian Hospital (1967).⁵³ By 1961 TLC had approximately 4900 members and the reported number by 1987 was about 6000. The majority of the congregations have served the Mandarin-speaking community in the larger cities. From the early 1960s some local churches and chapels have been built in order to focus their ministry on the Taiwanese, especially in the southwest.⁵⁴

TLC has recruited its Chinese workers both among the mainland immigrants, the local Taiwanese population and to a very small extent among overseas Chinese. In the 40-year anniversary publication there is a list of all pastors and evangelists from 1952 to 1994.⁵⁵ Reference has been made to their 'native place' (籍貫 *chi-kuan*), that is, to that of their parents. Those born in Taiwan of mainland immigrants are consequently listed as mainlanders. The list is arranged according to each worker's first year of employment in the church, and for the pastors this includes their evangelist ministry before ordination. Female evangelists are listed with the title 教士 *chiao-shih*, whereas the male evangelists have the title 教師 *chiao-shih*. The following table shows the gender and geographical origin of evangelists and pastors covered in the above-mentioned list. The length of their employment is not specified in the table. They are counted per decade according to the first year of employment. All of the women served as evangelists.

⁵³ See Taiwan Lutheran Church, "Chi-tu chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i hui : ti erh-shih chü tsung i-hui pao kao shu [Taiwan Lutheran Church : reports to the 20th General Synod]," (Taipei: 1984), 125.

⁵⁴ See Allen J. Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth : a study in contrasts* (Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1970), 128.

⁵⁵ See Chuang Tung-chieh, ed., *Shih wan-min tso chu men-t'u : chi-tu-chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i hui ch'eng-li ssu-shih chou nien chi-nien t'e-k'an [Make all nations disciples of the Lord : the special publication at the 40 year anniversary of the Taiwan Lutheran Church]* (Taipei: Tao Sheng Publishing House, 1994), 118-126.

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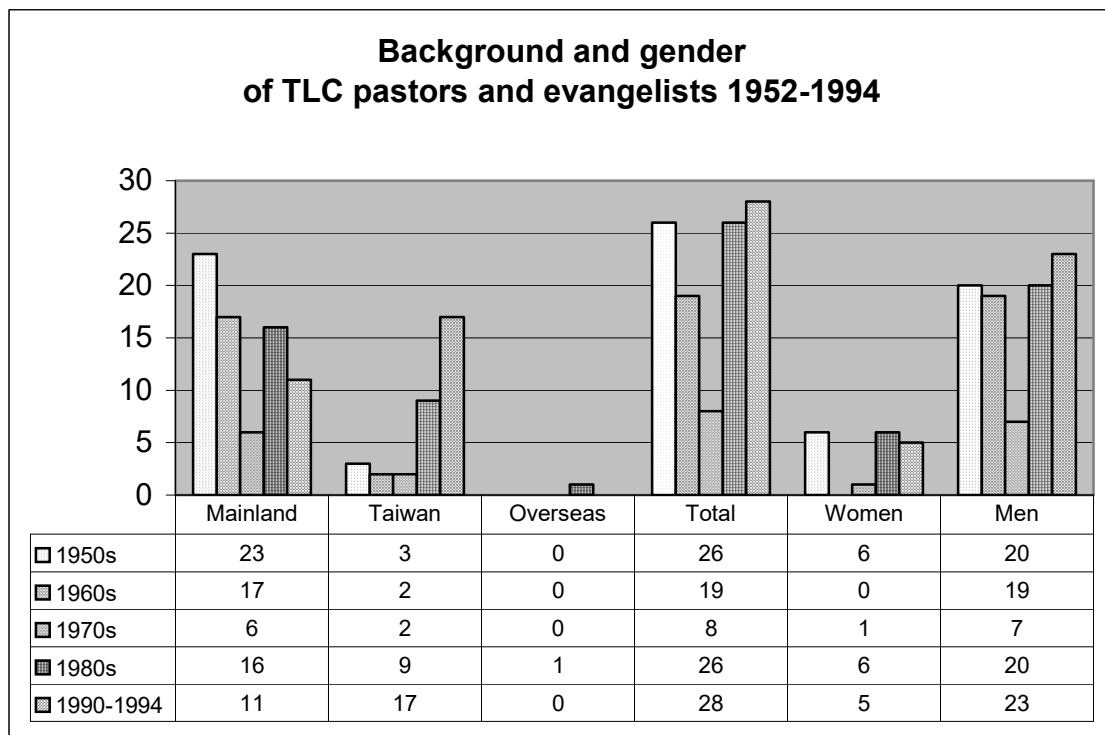


Table 2

Although from the early years a small number of workers have had Taiwanese background the table shows that TLC's shift from being a predominantly immigrant church to a church taking root in Taiwan can be seen from the 1980s onwards. The distribution between women and men in the TLC workforce has been fairly constant in the period covered by the above table.

2.1.3 Trends in theological education in Taiwan

A case study by Jonathan Tien-en Chao on foreign missions and theological education in Taiwan describes the development of Protestant theological schools until 1971, distinguishing between three periods.⁵⁶

In period I (pre-1951) the Protestants were predominantly Presbyterians, belonging to the mainly agricultural Taiwanese population. Since the last part of the 19th century, only four theological schools had been started, of which the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) was responsible for three. One seminary belonged to the Holiness Church.⁵⁷ An overview of

⁵⁶ Jonathan T'ien-en Chao, "Foreign missions and theological education : Taiwan, a case study," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, no. Fall (1972): 2-5.

⁵⁷ "In 1949, the Taiwan Bible Seminary [of the Taiwan Holiness Church] began in Hsinchu, which following a merger, became the Central Taiwan Theological College under the sponsorship of the

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this period is also found in the Anderson-Smith Report, especially in the “Supplementary Reports” on Hong Kong and Formosa.⁵⁸

Period II (1951-1961) became the decade of the many new schools, mainly due to the large influx of mission agencies coming out of mainland China. A total of nineteen theological schools were started during these years. Seventeen of these had their origin among evangelical churches: eleven were established by denominations, two by mission societies and four by individual missionaries. Thus the demarcation lines along the denominations and missionary societies could be seen quite clearly in the training patterns and training institutions for pastoral ministry. Most of the seminaries were dependent on economic and personnel resources from the foreign missions, as had been the rule in the pre-1949 mainland years. In general, the students admitted to the seminaries were junior high and senior high school graduates.

The ecclesial environment changed markedly during period III (1962-1971). In a time of many social and economic changes, appearing at an accelerated pace, almost all the churches experienced decline in membership and in the number of converts. This could also be seen in the drop in enrollment at the theological schools. Another typical tendency during these years was the quest for union of theological schools. By 1960 the Methodists and the Episcopalians had joined the Presbyterians, making Tainan Theological College (TTC) their main seminary.⁵⁹ Another example is the establishment of China Evangelical Seminary (CES) in 1970, which was the result of the combined efforts of a few free local churches and several

Oriental Missionary Society. Work has continued to the present assisted by the O.M.S.” Raber, *Protestantism in changing Taiwan : a call to creative response*, 215.

⁵⁸ Sidney R. Anderson and C. Stanley Smith, *The Anderson-Smith report on theological education in Southeast Asia, especially as it relates to the training of Chinese for the Christian ministry : the report of a survey commission 1951-1952* (New York: Board of Founders, Nanking Theological Seminary, 1952), 65-77. For comments regarding the visit of Anderson and Smith to LTS, see John Gary LeMond, “A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong, 1913 - 1993: from isolation to ecumenicity” (Doctor of Philosophy, Princeton University, 1996), 124-132.

⁵⁹ The current name of this school is *Tainan Theological College and Seminary (TTCS)*. It was founded in 1876 by English Presbyterian missionaries. See “Theological education in Taiwan 1949-1959,” in *Taiwan Christian Yearbook 1960: a survey of the Christian movement in Taiwan during 1959 with special attention to the ten years from 1949 to 1959*, ed. Donald E. MacInnis et al. ([Taipei]: Taiwan Missionary Fellowship, 1960), 51.

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foreign missions.⁶⁰ By the early 1970s, twenty-six of the original thirty-nine seminaries and Bible schools were in operation.⁶¹

Chao concludes his analysis and evaluation by calling for “the removal of fragmented denominational institutions.”⁶² The following one and half decades did not fulfill his wish. The denominational pattern did not change, but gradually the Chinese churches themselves have become the main sponsors of the seminaries. The number of Chinese staff has increased, forming the major part of the faculty in most seminaries. As far as the academic standard is concerned, a growing portion of the graduates has college degrees before entering the seminary. In 1986 it was estimated that 43% of the Chinese pastors had a Master of Divinity degree, and 26% were Bachelors of Theology.⁶³

Therefore, it may be said that the general trend in theological education until the mid 1980s has been a reflection of the model taken from the foreign missions. Young graduates from high schools and colleges have been admitted to seminaries, given a theological training according to the doctrinal basis of each school, and finally granted an academic degree. Academic standards have risen, especially during the last years of the period.

2.1.4 Trends in the preparation of pastors for ministry in Taiwan Lutheran Church

The overall need for qualified leadership was one of the items expressed in article 3 in the first TLC synod constitution. “This synod, in accordance with the Holy Scriptures, purposes [...] to train leaders [...]”⁶⁴ The training and ordaining of pastors for TLC represented a continued effort of cultivating leadership in a Chinese context.

Although the role of evangelist ministry and ordination procedures should not be underestimated, seminary training has been the major element in the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC. Three theological schools stand out among those who provided candidates for ordination until 1987: Lutheran Theological Seminary (LTS), Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary (TLS), and China Evangelical Seminary (CES). A small number of

⁶⁰ According to its first president, James Hudson Taylor, III, they intended that CES should be “an interdenominational school of theology.” Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Protestant community on modern Taiwan : mission, seminary and church*, An East Gate Book (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991), 98.

⁶¹ See Chao, "Foreign missions and theological education : Taiwan, a case study," 5.

⁶² *ibid.*: 16.

⁶³ Swanson, *Mending the nets*, 82. In a similar investigation at the end of the 1970s, he found that 57% of the pastors had a BTh level of education, and 23% came from a seminary graduate school. Swanson, *The church in Taiwan : profile 1980*, 138.

⁶⁴ Taiwan Lutheran Church, "Constitution of the Taiwan Lutheran Church (English translation)," (Taipei: Taiwan Lutheran Church / TLM Archives, TLC office. Document III A 1, [1954?]), 1.

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pastors ordained until 1987 were trained at other Lutheran or non-Lutheran schools of theology in Taiwan, Mainland China and the United States.

Before ordination the majority of TLC candidates have had their scheduled evangelist ministry in Lutheran congregations. Included in the TLC requirements for ordination are both written and oral tests, focusing on the candidate's understanding and handling of Lutheran doctrine and church polity. Since the early 1980s TLC candidates at CES have taken extra-curricular courses in Lutheran theology and history,⁶⁵ taught by Wendell P. Friest 傅立德 (b. 1936)⁶⁶ and from the 1990s also by Yang Ning-yea (Peter) 揚寧亞 (b. 1952).⁶⁷ All TLC pastors in the period under investigation have in common some degree of exposure to Lutheranism up to the time of their ordination. The variations in their preparation have primarily to do with the theological and denominational character of the seminaries they have attended.

I find it reasonable, therefore, to distinguish between two different settings in which the pastors were prepared for their ministry: the *exclusive* Lutheran setting and the *non-*

⁶⁵ In addition to a Chinese edition of the Book of Concord the main textbooks have been as follows: Paul Althaus, *The theology of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther's world of thought* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), George W. Forell, *Faith active in love: an investigation of the principles underlying Luther's social ethics* (New York: American Press, 1954), A. Skevington Wood, *Captive to the word* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969). See Wendell P. Friest, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 11 July, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 2002). As of 1984 the courses were listed as: "1) Luther's theology; 2) Lutheran church history; 3) Lutheran liturgics; and 4) Theology of the Lutheran confessions." See the report of the TLC committee for theological education, in Taiwan Lutheran Church, "Chi-tu chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i hui : ti erh-shih chü tsung i-hui pao kao shu [Taiwan Lutheran Church : reports to the 20th General Synod]," 25.

⁶⁶ Friest has served as ALC (later ELCA) missionary pastor in TLC since 1966. His main ministry has been as pastor and counseling director at the student center and Truth Church in Taipei. At CES he was responsible for courses in psychology and Christian counseling from 1979 until about 1990. His academic credentials is listed as follows: "University of Nebraska: B.M.E. (1957), Luther Theological Seminary: B.D. (1966), College of St. Thomas: (M.A. (1972), Purdue University: Ph.D. (1978)." See China Evangelical Seminary, *Chung-hua fu-yin shen-hsüeh yüan - China Evangelical Seminary 1995-1997*, Seminary catalogue; Chinese ed. (Taipei: 1995), 28. His doctoral degree is in the field of education. See Wendell P. Friest, "An analysis of the differential treatment effects of a marriage enrichment handbook" (PhD, Purdue University, 1978).

⁶⁷ China Evangelical Seminary, *Chung-hua fu-yin shen-hsüeh yüan - China Evangelical Seminary 1995-1997*, 28. Following his graduation from CES in 1978 Yang has served as TLC pastor. He has also pursued graduate studies in the United States. See Yang Ning-yea (Peter), "Let church be church : Luther on community and authority in the nascent Lutheran church" (Master of Theology, Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary, 1986). One of his recent concerns has been a reorientation of the preparation of pastors for ministry. See Yang Ning-yea (Peter), "Yi ti-fang t'ang-hui wei chung-hsin te shen-hsüeh chiao-yü mo-shih [A model of theological education centered on local congregations]," *T'ai-wan hsin-i hui hui-hsün = Taiwan Lutheran Church Newsletter*, 15 May 1996.

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exclusive Lutheran setting. By the first setting I mean that seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination have taken place in a Lutheran context, whereas the second setting includes seminary training at a non-Lutheran denominational or non-denominational seminary. Below is an outline of the theological schools and the number of graduates within the two settings.

2.1.4.1 TLC pastors prepared in an exclusive Lutheran setting

The story of theological education for Chinese Lutherans is first and foremost the story of the Lutheran Theological Seminary (LTS), established in Shekow 1913 and from 1948 relocated to Hong Kong.⁶⁸ For the recruitment of TLC pastors in the early phase and until the founding of TLS in 1957 this seminary was the primary and natural source. Later on LTS has played a minor role in the preparation of TLC pastors.

As far as faculty is concerned, for several decades the majority of the teachers and instructors were from the western mission agencies. During the years 1948-1958 there were twelve western and eight Chinese faculty members. Gradually Chinese personnel have taken over the leadership and larger part of the teaching duties at LTS.

The below table shows the graduation years of the ten TLC candidates ordained within the period covered by this study.

Number of LTS graduates ordained in TLC until 1987							
Graduation year	1949	1951	1953	1954	1958	1981	1984
Number of graduates	1	1	1	1	4	1	1

Table 3

Russell E. Nelson⁶⁹ served as president of LTS 1952-1954. In an annual report he comments on the recruitment of students from TLC.

⁶⁸ A short presentation of the establishment of the seminary is found in Central China Union Lutheran Theological Seminary, ed., *Dedication : the Central China Union Lutheran Theological Seminary, October 19th, 1913* (Shekow, Hupeh: The Central China Union Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1913). The further developments of LTS are described in Gustav Carlberg, *The changing China scene : the story of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in its church and political setting over a period of forty-five years 1913-1958* (Hong Kong: Lutheran Literature Society, 1959). A thorough and illuminating study of the seminary from an ecumenical perspective is found in LeMond, "A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong".

⁶⁹ Nelson is portrayed in chapter four, section 4.1.1.

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We note with satisfaction that among the 12 new students accepted for the first year class was Dr. C. A. Chin from Kaohsiung, Formosa. Dr. Chin is the first student from the Lutheran Church in Formosa who has enrolled in our school. Since Dr. Chin found it possible to secure the necessary travel documents to come to Hongkong, we believe that it should be possible for other students of the Lutheran Church in Formosa to come to Hongkong to secure their theological training here. A wise arrangement for the present seems to be that the standards of the Lutheran Bible School in Formosa be raised sufficiently to give one or two years of seminary instruction there, and that such students be then sent to Hongkong to complete their theological training.⁷⁰

The Bible school referred to in the above quotation is the Lutheran Bible Institute (LBI) in Kaohsiung, which was in operation from 1952 to 1960. This school had obviously not been an option for Chin Chung-an (John)⁷¹ himself, who had served there both as teacher and vice-president.⁷² LBI became the key source for recruitment of evangelists and seminary students in TLC.⁷³ Especially in the early years quite a few of the LBI graduates were women and their option was to be called by local congregations to serve as evangelists and Bible-women.⁷⁴ The suggested upgrading of the LBI to offer the first years of seminary in a joint program with LTS was never implemented. For seminary training for pastors the TLC was led in an alternative direction.

⁷⁰ Russell E. Nelson, "President's annual report," in *The Lutheran Theological Seminary 1954* (Hong Kong: The Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1954), 23-24.

⁷¹ Chin is portrayed in chapter four, section 4.1.2.

⁷² He served as one of the teachers the opening year (1952-53); see Herman W. Bly, "Taiwan Lutheran Bible Institute observes tenth anniversary," *The Missionary*, January 1963, 16. In 1952 he became vice-president of the school; see Ma Ming-hsin, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui san-shih nien te ching-kuo [The course of thirty years of the Ch'ien-chen church]," in *Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui ch'ing-chu san-shih chou nien chi-nien t'e-k'an [The special publication at the 30 year anniversary of Ch'ien-chen Church]*, ed. Wang Piao-jan (Kaohsiung: Ch'ien-chen Church, 1981).

⁷³ A vivid documentation of this recruitment is related to Kung Yun-p'eng (Otto) 龔雲鵬. His path toward Christian ministry after he arrived as refugee in Taiwan around 1949 is the theme of a film, which has several scenes from LBI. See Alton C. O. Halverson and Jan Sadlo, *Formosan hour* (Minneapolis, Minnesota / St. Paul, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, Films Department / ELCA Region 3 Archives), 16mm film. Kung worked as an evangelist in TLC until his death in a motorcycle accident a few years after graduation from TLS in 1961. For unknown reasons he is not mentioned among the co-workers of the TLC. See Chuang Tung-chieh, ed., *Shih wan-min tso chu men-t'u*, 118-126. One LBI graduate was even ordained without having attended seminary. Chow Ching-chow 周景周 (b. 1923), worked for several years as evangelist in TLC. He wanted to become a pastor. See Friest, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 11 July, notes." Chow received a call from the congregation he had served since 1960, and in 1977 he was ordained. See Chuang Tung-chieh, ed., *Shih wan-min tso chu men-t'u*, 188.

⁷⁴ See Gerda Bech, "Kvindearbejdet på Taiwan [Women ministry in Taiwan]," *Dansk Missionsblad*, 7 February 1964, 46.

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Although LTS had the ambition to train pastors also for the TLC, overseas travel restrictions issued by the authorities in Taiwan created difficulties.⁷⁵ One of the NMS missionaries expressed his concern in 1956 that the TLC stood at a crucial point in its development.

As Christian missionaries our task is to develop an indigenous church. We want a complete church. This means a church which can function without foreign staff. There are men and women with spiritual gifts in the congregations on Taiwan. It is our responsibility to discover and develop this potential leadership. We dare not hinder it. [...] Developing leadership involves training. A church needs ordained leaders. Where can the Taiwan Lutheran Church turn for pastors? [...] We want to help our sister church to build a seminary.⁷⁶

The indicated need for a seminary must be seen in the light of another Lutheran initiative. Backed by the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod (LCMS) the China Evangelical Lutheran Church (CELC) had established its own training center in Chiayi in 1951, namely, Concordia Theological Seminary (CTS).⁷⁷ Anders B. Hanson 韓安德 (b. 1917)⁷⁸ recalls the deliberations that took place before the TLC and TLM had decided to go ahead and form the TLS in 1957 as the second Lutheran seminary in Taiwan.

We were, back and forth, negotiating and trying to establish a theological program in Taiwan, and in our thinking we wanted to include Missouri. And the response we got was: 'Oh, if you want your Chinese workers trained, just send them to our school. We'll take care of them.' Well, that didn't get very far, either.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Chin Chung-an (John) had been in the favorable position of being way beyond "military age." For most of those in that age group the Nationalist government "closed the door" for overseas travel. This made the Hong Kong seminary option almost impossible for many years. See Anders B. Hanson, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 28 November 1999, hand-written transcript of tape-recording," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997).

⁷⁶ Jan Haugland, "Theological training in the Taiwan Lutheran Church," in *Taiwan : Five year anniversary edition of the Taiwan Lutheran Church and Mission*, ed. Anders B. Hanson, Jan Haugland, and Donald Lee (Taiwan Lutheran Church / Taiwan Lutheran Mission, 1956).

⁷⁷ "Up to 1966 a total of 23 students were graduated: 18 pastors (11 in 1959, 1 in 1960, 5 in 1964, 1 in 1965) and 6 evangelists (1966). After 1966 Concordia Theological Seminary ceased offering any degree program." Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "The development of joint Lutheran theological education in Taiwan : its vision and challenges in the 1990's," *Theology & Life* 13, 14 Combined Issue (1991): 82.

⁷⁸ Hanson, born in Honan, is the son of Rev. and Mrs. Mauritz B. Hanson, Augustana missionaries to China 1912-1950. He served in China and Hong Kong from 1944-1951, before coming to Taiwan in 1952. See Hjalmar S. Swanson, *Foundation for tomorrow : a century of progress in Augustana world missions* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Board of Foreign Missions, Augustana Lutheran Church, 1960), 335.

⁷⁹ Hanson, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 28 November 1999."

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Towards the end of 1957 TLS admitted its first students and classes began in rented quarters in Taipei. In January 1960 seminary buildings were ready on a new campus in Taichung.⁸⁰

The theological training was designed to take place under the following guidelines:

The purpose of this seminary shall be to educate and train future pastors, evangelists, teachers, and other leaders for the church through instruction which shall be based upon the Word of God and the Lutheran Confessions founded upon the same.⁸¹

In spite of this wide purpose all the admitted students were men, and the majority were aiming at a future ministry as pastors.⁸² Throughout its history the TLS was staffed with a majority of full time teachers representing the cooperating western missions. Only a third of this category faculty was Chinese. In addition came the part-time instructors and most of these were Chinese.

The lifetime of TLS did not last more than approximately nine years. Tension and strife both in the church and at the seminary contributed to the closure of the school. Among the attempts to describe and interpret the developments at TLS I will mention three contributions. Although these contributions only shed a limited light on a complicated picture, they indicate some of the crucial issues. In his study of church growth patterns in Taiwan Allen J. Swanson⁸³ also analyzes TLC. His book was published only a few years after the events took place. When commenting on the training of personnel for the church he refers to TLS.

Admission of unqualified students plus the need to academically upgrade the program led to plans for a phasing out of the initial curriculum and the introduction of a new, advanced program. This, coupled with internal weaknesses both in the seminary program and the church gave the seminary a short-lived history that rendered it unable to renew itself.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ See Lars Bjørsvik, "The Lutheran Theological Seminary," in *Ten years in Taiwan : The Lutheran story; the story of how the word of God has worked through the Lutheran witness over a period of ten years 1951-1961*, ed. Ethel Akins and Clara J. Jones (Taichung: Taiwan Lutheran Mission, 1962).

⁸¹ Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary, "Constitution and by-laws of the Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary," (Taichung / Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1957), 3.

⁸² An action taken by the Board of Directors in 1962 requested "the Seminary faculty to make a detailed study of the problem of admitting women students to the Seminary and submit their practical recommendations for consideration by the Board at a later date." Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary, "Board of Directors, Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary, 16 August 1962," ed. Anders B. Hanson (Taipei / Stavanger: TLM Archives, TLC office / Gustav Steensland collection, 1962). In February 1964 the Seminary Faculty Meeting made the decision that "we accept women students, who have residence in Taichung City, for the Evangelist Advanced Course. In the future an Advanced Course will be held for Bible women from all Taiwan." Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary, "Seminary faculty meeting 20 February 1964," ed. Jørgen Hansen (Taipei / Stavanger: TLM Archives, TLC office / Gustav Steensland collection, 1964).

⁸³ Swanson is portrayed in chapter four, section 4.2.2.

⁸⁴ Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 126.

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Another TLC observer, Yu Chi-ping (Thomas) 俞繼斌 (b. 1941), presented some reflections about twenty years later in an article about Lutheran theological education in Taiwan. Regarding the closure of TLS he focuses his attention on organizational and personal relationships. The first is the relationship between the church and its western partners. The other relationship is that between Chinese and western faculty at TLS. Yu sees the seminary as a crucial arena for the struggles that developed in the church.

Unfortunately a few years after the birth of the TLS a serious conflict broke out between the leader of the Taiwan Lutheran Church and the chairman of the Lutheran missionary association. Both of them were teaching in the TLS. As a result, the spirit of cooperation in theological education was greatly dampened. Finally, TLS was closed after the graduation of the third class in June, 1965. This suspension of the TLS was tragic. Since then the Taiwan Lutheran Church has had no theological training of its own for a quarter of a century.⁸⁵

The TLC leader referred to was Chin Chung-an (John), who served as president of the church 1962-1966 and on the TLS faculty 1959-1966. His main opponent in the conflict was Lars Bjørsvik⁸⁶ who had been at teacher at TLS since the beginning and in the early 1960s served as TLM chairman. Partly due to the intervention and decisions made by the Lutheran mission leaders in the China Advisory Committee (CAC) regarding a solution of the conflict, Bjørsvik was led to leave Taiwan in 1965 for a teaching post at LTS. Chin finished his term as TLC president in 1966 and was succeeded by Tung Shang-yung (Stanley).⁸⁷ In his short historical overview of TLC published in 1994 Tung comments very cautiously on the conflict. His starting point is the time when Chin took over as president of TLS after Russell Nelson in 1961.

Regretfully, at that time a conflict developed in Taiwan Lutheran Church, the main reason being that the Chinese and foreign coworkers in the area of theological education were unable to reach unanimity. Due to subjective and objective reasons several professors from the European and American missions were unable to resume their teaching duties at the seminary after their furloughs in their home countries, the recruitment of students was difficult, and the financial situation was also troublesome. Therefore, the Lutheran seminary had to face the fate of being closed “temporarily” in 1966.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "The development of joint Lutheran theological education in Taiwan," 81-82.

⁸⁶ Bjørsvik is portrayed in chapter four, section 4.2.1.

⁸⁷ Tung is portrayed in chapter six, section 6.1.

⁸⁸ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Fu lin pao-tao [The gospel comes to treasure island]," in *Shih wan-min tso chu men-t'u : chi-tu-chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i hui ch'eng-li ssu-shih chou nien chi-nien t'e-k'an* [Make all nations disciples of the Lord : the special publication at the 40 year anniversary of the

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By 1969 the majority of the TLC-affiliated graduates had been ordained after shorter or longer periods as evangelists in local congregations. The below table shows only the number of TLS graduates who were ordained to serve as pastors in TLC congregations.⁸⁹

Number of TLS graduates ordained in TLC until 1987					
Graduation year	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Number of graduates	6	2	3	2	7
Table 4					

Following the closure of TLS two TLC pastors got their training at other Lutheran seminaries. China Lutheran Seminary (CLS) was established in 1966 and located in the city of Hsinchu. For the first eleven years the following missions operated the school: the Lutheran Brethren China Mission (LBCM), the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM), the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church of Norway (ELFCN), and the Norwegian Lutheran Mission (NLM). The four national synods related to these missions joined the board of directors in 1977.⁹⁰ As of 1987 only one CLS candidate had come to serve as pastor in TLC,⁹¹ namely, Chang Tao-

Taiwan Lutheran Church], ed. Chuang Tung Chieh (Taipei: Tao Sheng Publishing House, 1994), 55.

⁸⁹ The information is mainly based on the following sources: Niu Hsi-erh, ed., *Chi-tu chih p'u : t'ai-wan chi-tu chiao hsin-i shen-hsüeh yüan pi-yeh t'e-k'an = Servants of Christ : Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary graduating class annual* (Taichung: Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1961), Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary, *Yü-jen : chi-tu-chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i shen-hsüeh-yüan te san chü pi-yeh t'e-k'an, May 19, 1963 [Fishermen : the annual of the third graduating class of Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary]* (Taichung: 1963), Jørgen Hansen, "Taiwan 1964-65," in *Det Danske Missionselskab : årbog for 1964-65* (København: Det Danske Missionselskab, 1965). In addition to those belonging to TLC the seminary trained approximately ten candidates from other churches. See Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 126.

⁹⁰ See Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "The development of joint Lutheran theological education in Taiwan."

⁹¹ Several reasons may be mentioned for this low contribution of CLS towards the training of TLC candidates in the period covered by this study. The reasons related to church affiliations, educational standards, and TLC priorities are probably the most important. By 1966 the four missions supporting CLS did not have a close relationship to TLC and TLM. These missions had chosen to establish separate Lutheran synods in Taiwan. For a long time the educational standards at CLS were also lower compared to those of the other seminaries considered by TLC candidates. CLS did not begin offering a BTh degree until 1978, and a MDiv program was introduced in 1991. Rather than joining CLS, TLC pursued other alternatives for theological education after the closure of TLS. From 1986, however, TLC have taken part in efforts to establish a united program for Lutheran theological education in Taiwan. In 1989 TLC together with four other Lutheran churches signed the Agreement for the Enlarged Cooperation in China Lutheran Seminary. *ibid.*: 82. Cf. also the historical sketch by CLS in China Lutheran Seminary, "Self evaluation report prepared for ATA visiting evaluation team October 3-4, 1994," (Hsinchu: 1994), 1.

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hsueh 張導學 (b. 1926) who graduated in 1968. He was ordained in 1976 for ministry in China Lutheran Gospel Church (CLGC) and began as a TLC pastor in 1985.⁹²

One pastor got his basic theological education in a non-Chinese context. The above-mentioned Yu Chi-ping (Thomas) came in contact with the TLC ministry at Taipei Lutheran Student Center and he was baptized at Truth Church on Christmas Day 1961.⁹³ By the time he had made up his mind in the late 1960s to seek theological education, TLS was already closed. As a graduate from National Taiwan University he was looking for a theological school with a program designed for college graduates. Rather than applying for admission at the Presbyterian Tainan Theological College, Yu decided to look for opportunities in the United States.⁹⁴ Following a year at the Concordia Teachers' College at River Forest, Illinois, he was admitted to Luther Theological Seminary⁹⁵ in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1970. With an MDiv degree he returned to Taiwan in 1973 and his ordination took place in 1975.⁹⁶

⁹² See Harald Gilje and Du Sheng-en, "Interview in Stavanger by Gustav Steensland 17 September 2002, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 2002). The CLGC, founded in 1973, is a fruit of the ELFCN ministry in Taiwan. The year of Chang's transfer to TLC is based on Chuang Tung-chieh, ed., *Shih wan-min tso chu men-t'u*, 123.

⁹³ See Clara J. Jones, *Christ calls the Chinese : the Taiwan story* (Taipei: The Lutheran Student Center, 1980), 103. The student center in Taipei has become the major source for the recruitment of church workers for the TLC, including candidates for pastoral ministry. See for example Clara J. Jones, "Training future leaders at student center in Taiwan," *Lutheran Literature Society for the Chinese Bulletin*, March 1983.

⁹⁴ See Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "Interview in Hsinchu by Gustav Steensland 21 March 1997, typed transcript of tape-recording," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997), 2.

⁹⁵ This school is rooted in Norwegian-American Lutheranism. For a brief introduction to the historical developments, teaching and piety of this institution, see Roy A. Harrisville, "Luther Theological Seminary, 1876-1976," in *Thanksgiving and hope. A collection of essays chronicling 125 years of the people, events and movements in the antecedent schools that have formed Luther Seminary*, ed. Frederick H. Gonnerman (St. Paul, Minnesota: Luther Seminary, 1998). Andrew Burgess, professor of Missions and World Religions 1947-1968, helped to establish an Institute for Churchmen from Africa and Asia at the seminary. It "was enormously important, for it trained leaders for Third World churches which were rapidly moving away from the traditionally missionary leadership toward national leadership. Many of these students are today teachers, pastors and bishops in their own church bodies around the world." Ansgar Sovik, "In grateful tribute to Dr. Andrew S. Burgess," *Lutheran Literature Society for the Chinese Bulletin*, September 1988.

⁹⁶ After a few years as TLC pastor Yu went to the United States for graduate studies. See Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety : implications for pastoral care in the Chinese church in Taiwan" (Doctor of Theology, Boston University, 1984). Later on he has taught practical theology at LTS and CES, and served as president of CLS.

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2.1.4.2 TLC pastors prepared in a non-exclusive Lutheran setting

Until 1987 fourteen TLC pastors of the category dealt with in this section have attended six different Protestant schools of theology. One graduated from a school in Mainland China, one attended a college in Hong Kong, and the others have come from institutions in Taiwan.

The one trained in Mainland China was Tu Chang-wu 涂常五 (1892-1961). Although he did not have his basic theological training at a Lutheran seminary he was well acquainted with the Lutheran tradition before he came to serve in TLC.⁹⁷ Born in Hupeh province he got to know the Lutheran Brethren Mission there in his childhood. Later he came in contact with the Covenant Mission in Siangyang and was sent to Kingchow Theological Seminary (KTS).⁹⁸ Following his graduation in 1917 he worked as an evangelist in Shihpai. Upon call from a congregation there he was ordained in 1927 and served as their pastor until 1942. Later developments led him to renewed relations with the Lutheran Brethren. From 1948-1952 he studied at their school in Fergus Falls, Minnesota, until the call came to join the Lutheran work in Taiwan. In 1954 he was elected the first President of the TLC, serving in that office for one year.⁹⁹

Three TLC pastors ordained before 1987 were bible schools graduates. Among these is the one trained in Hong Kong, namely, Pan Shu-jen 潘樹人 (b. 1930, ordained 1970) who attended the Alliance Bible College. The other two attended schools in Taiwan: Wang Hsin-cheng 王新成 (b. 1926, ordained 1971) who attended Kaohsiung Bible College, and Fan Chung-yi 范忠義 (b. 1926, ordained 1974) who attended Hsinchu Presbyterian Bible Institute.

A joint Lutheran attempt of preparation of pastors in a non-exclusive Lutheran setting was initiated by TLC and a sister church in Taiwan. As mentioned above both TLC and the China Evangelical Lutheran Church (CELC) had seen their own seminaries close. In order to

⁹⁷ See Alyce Eleanor S. Anderson, "Tu Chang-Wu," *The Missionary*, January 1955, 7-8.

⁹⁸ KTS, located in Hupeh province, was founded in 1909 and operated by Svenska Missionsförbundet (Swedish Covenant Mission) and Swedish Evangelical Mission of America. See J. E. Lundahl, "Sveriges yttre mission [Foreign missions of Sweden]," in *Nordisk Missionshistoria*, ed. K. B. Westman et al. (Stockholm: Missionsförbundets Förlag, 1949), 56.

⁹⁹ See Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Ssz-shih erh pu huo : t'ai-wan hsin-i hui chien shih [Forty, but not bewildered : a brief history of Taiwan Lutheran Church]," in *Shih wan-min tso chu men-t'u : chi-tu-chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i hui ch'eng-li ssu-shih chou nien chi-nien t'e-k'an [Make all nations disciples of the Lord : the special publication at the 40 year anniversary of the Taiwan Lutheran Church]*, ed. Chuang Tung Chieh (Taipei: Tao Sheng Publishing House, 1994), 42. When Tu died 12 November 1961 he had been bedridden for about four years from a stroke. See Solveig Nelson, "Information about Rev. Tu Chang-wu," (Lutheran Brethren World Mission / Gustav Steensland collection, 2002).

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continue a confessional program of theological education and preparation of church workers plans were made for a joint seminary.¹⁰⁰ As the two churches considered their options, however, there came an invitation from Tunghai University in Taichung, a Christian institution.¹⁰¹ In the capacity of chairman of TLMA Ernest M. Caltvedt 高爾立 (b. 1933) wrote a letter to Herman W. Bly 柏維廉 (1900-1985) in 1969.¹⁰² Here he commented on the invitation from Tunghai and gave his opinions about the preparation of Lutheran pastors for ministry in Taiwan.

There is no news on the seminary [FLS] for fall. Rev. Halamka, the president, has not yet returned to Taiwan. He is not expected now until late August or September. Only he and Marlin Wogstad have been called as professors. Thus, we envision no opening this year. If the seminary does operate in some way as a seminary, it will probably be as an in-service training center for pastors and evangelists. More exiting is the possibility of affiliating with Tung Hai. We have been invited by Tung Hai to participate in a school of theology as part of Tung Hai. In this case, perhaps the Presbyterians and others would come also. Tunghai [*sic*] has the campus, library, and some profs to make this a rather simple place to begin such a program. This fits my goal for theological education in Taiwan. If we do participate, the Lutherans could have a good chance to place men where we would like. Dogmatics could still be taught separately for our students. But I fear that many in the TLC and CELC are not open to such a program. They would not have absolute control. There may be ‘contamination’ of theology; we could not produce pastors fast enough if we had to rely on university graduates to apply. So go the arguments. CELC expects just an enlargements [*sic*] of what they had before. In that case, I am sorry that we ever began discussions because we will just perpetuate the same kind of ministry we now have: poorly trained and poorly motivated, and poorly respected by the rest of the society. The seminary is priority number one, or should be,

¹⁰⁰ A TLS faculty meeting gave the following recommendation as early as 14 December 1964: “4. MSC That the reason for cooperation between the Concordia Seminary and this Seminary are the following: a. A united Lutheran witness to the non-Christian community. b. A common confessional basis already exists between the two seminaries. c. Good stewardship of personnel and money. d. A united seminary will be a stronger seminary. e. Eventual self-support can best be obtained with one institution. f. A larger student body makes possible a stronger Christian fellowship.” Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary, "Seminary faculty meeting 14 December 1964," ed. Jørgen Hansen (Taipei / Stavanger: TLM Archives, TLC office / Gustav Steensland collection, 1964). Formalized contacts between the two churches regarding joint efforts in theological education began in 1967. See Taiwan Lutheran Church and China Evangelical Lutheran Church, "Joint seminary planning : Minutes and reports compiled by Jørgen Hansen," (Copenhagen: Jørgen Hansen collection, 1968).

¹⁰¹ Several denominations and educators had pooled resources to establish this university in 1953 as some form of continuation of the thirteen Christian universities established in mainland China until 1949. See Tunghai University, "Tunghai University Bulletin : Catalog Number 1959-1960," (Taichung / Copenhagen: Jørgen Hansen collection, 1959).

¹⁰² Bly, who retired from missionary service in China and Taiwan in 1967, had previously been chairman of TLM, head of LBI in Kaohsiung and a member of the TLS Board of Directors. It is understandable, therefore, that Caltvedt would communicate with his ALC colleague regarding theological education.

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but all is quiet on the surface here. Underneath of course, are the unsolved questions like work for Dr. Chin and Rev. Kung. How long can one rest?¹⁰³

TLC and CELC held on, however, to their vision for a joint seminary, and the Federated Lutheran Seminary (FLS) was established. It began admitting students in 1970. With very few teachers available and a low number of students, however, the curriculum at FLS was run “in conjunction with Tainan Theological College.”¹⁰⁴ The FLS Board’s proposal to cooperate with this Presbyterian school (TTC) was made in confidence that it “affords a well-qualified faculty and the best theological library on Taiwan, and that we can implement a Lutheran curriculum on their campus.”¹⁰⁵ The two teachers mentioned in the above quotation were Ronald F. Halamka (b. 1934), affiliated with CELC, and Marlin D. Wogstad 吳默倫 (b. 1927), affiliated with TLC. In addition Merle Metcalf (b. 1934), also affiliated with TLC, was among the Lutheran faculty teaching at FLS/TTC.¹⁰⁶ The Lutheran faculty offered courses for the general curriculum at TTC as well as special classes for the Lutheran students. In 1974, after only four years, the FLS was no longer in function and no candidates from TLC had graduated with a degree in theology to qualify for ordination.¹⁰⁷ According to Wendell Friest, the most likely reason why FLS did not attract prospective TLC candidates had to do with the theology represented by the some of the Lutheran faculty. Inspired partly by German theologians like Bultmann their views did not suit the students, who had received strong impulses from theologically conservative organizations like Campus Evangelical Fellowship at universities and colleges in Taiwan.¹⁰⁸

Apart from the joint program with FLS two TLC pastors have been trained at TTC, namely, Chao Ching-nien 趙慶年 (b. 1930), and Sung Chen-ming 孫振明 (b. 1954).

¹⁰³ Ernest M. Caltvedt, "Letter to Herman W. Bly, 17 July 1969," (Taipei: Taiwan Lutheran Missionary Association / TLMA archives, TLC office, 1969). Chin Chung-an and Kung Tien-min were two of the full-time Chinese faculty members at TLS.

¹⁰⁴ Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "The development of joint Lutheran theological education in Taiwan," 82.

¹⁰⁵ Ronald F. Halamka and Marlin D. Wogstad, "A report on the Federated Lutheran Seminary," (Taichung / Taipei: TLC Archives, 1971), 3.

¹⁰⁶ See Ronald F. Halamka, "1971 annual report on the Federated Lutheran Seminary," (Taichung / Taipei: TLC Archives, 1972). I have not found any documents indicating that Chinese Lutheran teachers were invited to join the faculty at FLS.

¹⁰⁷ A report mentions plans for 1972 to “supervise the five students’ summer field work”, but the students’ church affiliation is not specified. The same report also describes that FLS also offered various in-service courses and programs for continuing education for workers in CELC and TLC. See *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Wendell P. Friest, "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 17 March 1997, tape-recording," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997).

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From the very beginning CES aimed at having a majority of Chinese faculty, although its first president was a Westerner, namely James Hudson Taylor III 戴紹曾.¹⁰⁹ CES began attracting TLC candidates already four years after its founding in 1970. Yu Chi-ping (Thomas) gives the following explanation:

After 1974, the Taiwan Lutheran Church ceased to send their students to Tainan Theological College, cooperating instead with the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong, and with the inter-denominational China Evangelical Seminary. Partly due to the geographical distance of the LTS in Hong Kong, but mainly due to the CES' admission requirement of a college degree for its M.Div. program and its aggressive emphasis on evangelism, the CES has been far more appealing to the TLC students than the LTS in Hong Kong.¹¹⁰

Admittance to the MDiv program was based on graduation from university or college. In 1978 Yang Ning-yea (Peter) was the first from TLC to graduate from CES, and since then several TLC candidates have followed in his footsteps at this seminary. A new feature in the development of theological education in TLC has been the admittance of women at CES. Without guaranteed prospects for ordination in TLC some of these women have graduated with MDiv degrees since the 1980s. A number of these women, some of them spouses of TLC pastors, have served in various capacities in the church, especially in local congregations. Following the approval by the TLC ministerium of ordination of women in 1997 the first such ordination in TLC took place in 1999.¹¹¹

Number of CES graduates ordained in TLC until 1987					
Graduation year	1978	1979	1983	1984	1985
Number of graduates	1	1	1	3	2
Table 5					

¹⁰⁹ In the first years after the founding CES had a faculty consisting of five Chinese and two Westerners. As of 1983 the combined number of all types of faculty was twenty-eight and nineteen of these were Chinese. See Rubinstein, *The Protestant community on modern Taiwan*, 98,103.

¹¹⁰ Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "The development of joint Lutheran theological education in Taiwan," 82. In my interview with him six years after he wrote the article Yu told me that he now is of the opinion that CES has become a nondenominational institution. See Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "Interview in Hsinchu by Gustav Steensland 21 March 1997," 8.

¹¹¹ The first candidate recalls the event of her ordination in a report. Her new status had qualified her to attend a conference for female Lutheran pastors in Asia. See Hsieh Feng-ching, "Yin-tu chi-hsing [Report from a trip to India]," *T'ai-wan hsin-i hui hui-hsün = Taiwan Lutheran Church Newsletter*, 10 May 1999.

*Section 2.1 The preparation of TLC pastors in a historical perspective***2.1.5 Summary of the historical overview**

The establishment of TLC in the early 1950s fits into the picture of the expanding Protestant community in Taiwan in the same period. In the same manner as other churches TLC was able to recruit and train the majority of its pastors in a denominational setting until the mid 1960s. A major shift towards a nonexclusive Lutheran preparation of pastors took place when an increasing portion of TLC candidates from 1974 onwards has attended CES for their seminary training. Since 1986 TLC has been involved in the process for a joint Lutheran theological education in Taiwan, based at CLS. An assessment of this involvement, however, falls outside the scope of this study.

Although a number of women have received various forms of theological education at bible schools and seminaries, the first ordination of a woman in TLC did not take place until twelve years after the period covered by this study.

As far as the cultural context of the theological education is concerned only one pastor got his pre-ordination theological education in a non-Chinese environment. Based on the year of graduation the other pastors ordained until 1987 were trained at theological schools in the following places during the five actual periods:

Number of TLC pastors trained in various Chinese contexts until 1985					
Place/period	Before 1950	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980-1985
Hupei	1				
Hong Kong	1	7	1		2
Taiwan			≥ 22	4	7

Table 6

The above table displays that from the 1960s Taiwan has become the training ground for almost all TLC pastors. With acceptable educational opportunities available it is likely that most candidates have preferred to receive their preparation for ministry in surroundings that were familiar and considered relevant for their future ministry as pastors in local churches in Taiwan.

2.2 An outline of the Confucian context

In the first section below some general trends in the Confucian tradition will be highlighted. Since the majority of TLC pastors have been trained in Taiwan the outline of the Confucian

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context in the second section will focus on developments there. Section three deals with issues related to cultivation of leadership.

2.2.1 Trends in the Confucian tradition

Confucianism has had profound influence on the worldview, ethics and social patterns among the Chinese regardless of place of residence and variations in the social and political environments. Tu Wei-ming, who describes Confucianism as “one of the richest and longest spiritual traditions in human history,” is also convinced that Confucian thought has been “a predominant intellectual force in China.”¹¹²

The historical foundations of the Confucian tradition are, of course, related to the Sage himself, although he saw himself as a transmitter and proponent of earlier wisdom and learning. Confucius 孔子 *K'ung tzu* (551-479 BC) emerged as a teacher who attracted considerable following and at times he also held official administrative positions in local states. Although his authorship is limited,¹¹³ his pupils compiled his conversations and his advice to rulers in the *Analects* and also in other Chinese Classics. Through the careful study and interpretation of his sayings and by persistent teaching his followers contributed to the survival and dissemination of the master's doctrines, far beyond the accomplishments in his own lifetime. His followers are commonly called Confucianists in English, whereas the Chinese do not refer to them using the name of Confucius. Among the Chinese they are called 儒家 *ju chia* (the school of the learned), and Confucianism is termed 儒家思想 *ju chia ssu-hsiang* (the way of thinking of the school of the learned).

The transmission and interpretation of the written sources of the tradition developed in two directions during the first epoch, which lasted until the tenth century AD.¹¹⁴ According to

¹¹² Tu Wei-ming, *Humanity and self-cultivation : essays in Confucian thought* (Berkeley, California: Asian Humanities Press, 1979), xvii, xviii.

¹¹³ Wing-tsit Chan concludes that it is likely that Confucius wrote the *Spring and autumn annals*, and at least one of the ten commentaries to the *Book of changes*. See Wing-tsit Chan, "Confucian thought : foundations of the tradition," in *The encyclopedia of religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), 16.

¹¹⁴ There are various opinions about epochs in the Confucian tradition. I follow here the division into three epochs suggested by Tu Wei-ming in his overview of Confucian humanism” in Tu Wei-ming, "Towards a third epoch of Confucian humanism," in *Way, learning, and politics : essays on the Confucian intellectual*, ed. Tu Wei-ming (Singapore: Federal Publications, 1993). See Wing-tsit Chan, who for his presentation of developments in “Chinese philosophy” has an outline with four periods: the ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary periods; see Wing-tsit Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, Source books in Asian philosophy (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963).

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Mencius 孟子 *Meng tzu* (c. 372-c. 289 BC), man is born with an originally good nature, and all people have the knowledge and ability to do good deeds. Mencius was sharply criticized by Hsün-tzu 荀子 (c. 300-c. 230 BC), who held the view that the rites and rules of propriety implied external restraint and social control. Laws were necessary to regulate human life, since human nature is originally evil. One of his pupils, Han Fei 韓非 (d. 233 BC), became the most important scholar in what is labeled the Legalist school (法家 *fa chia*, “the school of law”).¹¹⁵ Later on Han Yü 韓愈 (768-824) underlined the prominence of the *Doctrine of the mean* and the *Great learning*, two of the Chinese classics dating from the early generations after Confucius, and placed Mencius in the line of Confucian orthodoxy. This was a decisive move. An optimistic view of the capabilities of human beings has been characteristic of mainstream Confucianism.

The second epoch, which came to an end in the middle of the nineteenth century, is characterized by Neo-Confucianism, which originated in the Sung Dynasty (960-1279). The Neo-Confucianists confirmed the status of Mencius as the “second sage,” next to Confucius.¹¹⁶ They reinterpreted the Confucian tradition, partly as a response to Buddhist and Taoist impulses on Chinese culture and society,¹¹⁷ and developed elaborate philosophical and ethical systems.¹¹⁸ Whereas the western designation Neo-Confucianism puts the emphasis on the movement’s “departure from traditional Confucian learning,” the Chinese generally call it “learning of nature and principle (*hsing-li-hsüeh*),” or just “learning of principle (*li-hsüeh*).”¹¹⁹ By focusing on 理 *li* (principle) as the basic concept in their metaphysical and ethical systems, the Neo-Confucianists attempted to develop a “universal principle or law of being.”¹²⁰ It was during this second epoch that Confucianism was spread to Korea, Japan, and Vietnam. “Prior to the impact of the West, East Asian polity, society, and, to a great extent,

¹¹⁵ See Chan, "Confucian thought : foundations of the tradition," 20.

¹¹⁶ See *ibid.*, 20-21.

¹¹⁷ See *ibid.*, 23. Tu Wei-ming especially underlines the role of Buddhism: “Undoubtedly, without the rise of Buddhism in China and the Chinese transformation of Buddhism, the second epoch of Confucian humanism could not have come about.” Tu Wei-ming, "Towards a third epoch of Confucian humanism," 148.

¹¹⁸ See Wing-tsit Chan, "Confucian thought : Neo-Confucianism," in *The encyclopedia of religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), 24.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*

¹²⁰ *ibid.*

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psychology, were shaped by Confucian values. The language and, indeed, the grammar of action of the East Asian people was [*sic*] distinctively Confucian.”¹²¹

Even though some Westerners had made themselves known in the region for a long time, encounters between Chinese and Westerners in the third epoch, from the middle of the nineteenth century to the present, are major factors in the transformation of Confucian China.¹²² One of these encounters took place during the weakened Manchu rule, which was not able to withstand western imperialism and internal rebellions,¹²³ and Confucianism began to lose favor as the official ideology.¹²⁴ Some of the Neo-Confucianists felt compelled to think differently about the classic Chinese response to cultural and ideological impulses from abroad. Attempts to compromise Confucian views of man and society with western technology had failed,¹²⁵ and in 1905 a western educational system replaced the civil service examinations. The establishment of the Republic in 1912 brought an end to the state cult with its official sacrifices to Confucius and Heaven.¹²⁶

To some this ideological change was more than they could accept. Based on the Confucian scholar K’ang Yu-wei’s initiatives, president Yüan Shih-k’ai made a serious, but short-lived attempt in 1914 to revive the state cult. Unable to hide his own imperial aspirations, he instigated widespread anti-Confucian feelings.¹²⁷ The following years this wave of criticism gained momentum.

During the years 1915-1927, the so-called May Fourth Movement, which had begun as a student protest in Peking against both western imperialism and the Chinese government’s weak stance toward Japan, “subsequently turned into a relentless attack on the citadel of

¹²¹ Tu Wei-ming, "Towards a third epoch of Confucian humanism," 150.

¹²² *ibid.*

¹²³ “The Opium War of the 1840s and the Taiping Rebellion of the 1850s signaled a perpetual pattern of ‘domestic trouble and foreign invasion’ in modern Chinese history.” *ibid.*

¹²⁴ Chan, "Confucian thought : Neo-Confucianism," 33.

¹²⁵ “By the time of the Reform Movement in 1898, Wei Yüan’s (1794-1857) recommendation, ‘Learn their superior technology in order to control them’, made more than half a century previously, had been tried, it was thought, and had failed.” Tu Wei-ming, "Towards a third epoch of Confucian humanism," 150-151.

¹²⁶ See Chan, "Confucian thought : Neo-Confucianism," 33.

¹²⁷ “The most serious damage to the public image of Confucianism did not come from the frontal attack organized by the liberals, anarchists, socialists, and other Westernizers. It came from the extreme right, especially from the warlords and collaborating traditionalists who used Confucian ethics to stabilize their control.” Yüan’s attempt must be understood in this context. See Tu Wei-ming, "Towards a third epoch of Confucian humanism," 154.

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Confucian traditionalism” all over China.¹²⁸ The Chinese Communist Party not only inherited but also embraced “the May Fourth Movement’s anti-imperialistic and iconoclastic spirit.”¹²⁹ The Nationalists, however, took an ambivalent position toward the May Fourth Movement. They had no serious objections to its anti-imperialism, but they criticized the iconoclastic thrust. “Generally speaking, they were conservatives and thus proponents of Confucianism.”¹³⁰ In the early 1940s Chiang Kai-shek wrote *China’s destiny*, in which he said that “after the May 4th Movement, the ideas of liberalism and communism spread throughout the country. But those that advocated these ideas had no real knowledge of the enduring qualities of Chinese culture; they were simply looking for something new.”¹³¹

From another point of view, however, the May Fourth Movement may, paradoxically, be regarded as a benefit to Chinese Confucianism. Those who committed themselves to keep Confucianism alive were compelled to “introduce fresh perspectives in their chosen tradition.”¹³² On both sides of the Taiwan Strait Confucian studies have continued,¹³³ and during the last decades a significant new initiative has been taken. In Chinese cultural and intellectual life outside Communist China a movement called New Confucianism represents the hope and vision of those who are working for a renewed relevance of Confucian humanism.¹³⁴ Science and democracy have raised questions that must be dealt with, not only

¹²⁸ “The movement soon spread all over China. Western philosophies such as Darwinism, empiricism, utilitarianism, individualism, pragmatism, and Marxism were then introduced to the Chinese public, particularly to the youth on campuses. Western ideas were employed both as ideals and as fuel for attacking Confucianism and the traditional Chinese institutions.” Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), “Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety”, 106-107.

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, 111.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, 112.

¹³¹ Quoted according to a translation of the 1943 edition, as found in *ibid.* The same passage in Lin Yutang’s translation of the revised 1944 edition more specifically blames the academics for the spreading of these ideas: “After the Student Movement of May the Fourth, 1919, two currents of thought, ultra-individualistic liberalism and class-struggle communism, found their way into Chinese academic circles, and later became widespread in the country. On the whole, Chinese academic circles desired to effect a change in our culture, forgetting that it had certain elements which are immutable.” Chiang Kai-shek, *China’s destiny (with an introduction by Lin Yutang)*, trans. Wang Chung-hui (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), 81.

¹³² Tu Wei-ming, “Towards a third epoch of Confucian humanism,” 154.

¹³³ In the PRC “scholars never suspended their study of Confucianism; along with members of China’s political hierarchy, they have continued to discuss the historical significance and relevancy of Confucianism.” Chan, “Confucian thought : foundations of the tradition,” 34. For the developments in Taiwan, see below, section 2.2.2.

¹³⁴ See Tu Wei-ming, “Towards a third epoch of Confucian humanism,” 141.

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among the Chinese. The possible contribution of a revived Confucianism to world-wide issues and human problems is being considered.¹³⁵

2.2.2 Confucianism in Taiwan

The Chinese in Taiwan can be regarded as a group of people deeply influenced by Confucian ideals and ethics.¹³⁶ Very few people in Taiwan seem to look upon themselves as belonging to Confucianism as a kind of religion.¹³⁷ It is most likely as one of the sources of “cultural principles” that Confucianism has set its stamp on the society on the island.¹³⁸

The politically motivated support and promotion of Confucian traditions should, nevertheless, not be underestimated.¹³⁹ In the case of Taiwan, the major impact of Chinese culture did not start until the Ch’ing dynasty (1644-1911), which was controlled by the Manchus.¹⁴⁰ This non-Han ethnic group, however, became increasingly sinicized and continued the implementation of Chinese culture also in Taiwan throughout the next two centuries.¹⁴¹ During the first part of its reign the influx of Chinese immigrants from the provinces across the Taiwan Strait was increasing. A prominent figure among these was, however, a leading Ming dynasty loyalist. Early in 1662 Cheng Ch’eng-kung (1623-1663),

¹³⁵ Representatives of New Confucianism "are aware that concern for the survival of the Confucian tradition and for the continuity of traditional Chinese culture must be subsumed under a broader concern for the future of humankind." *ibid.*, 158.

¹³⁶ “Confucian traditions, institutions, and moral standards have always held significance in the lives of the Chinese residing in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the overseas communities.” Chan, "Confucian thought : Neo-Confucianism," 34.

¹³⁷ A sociological study done in 1970 by a Roman Catholic missionary priest indicates that only 1% of the total population identified themselves as Confucianist when asked about their religious affiliation. See Wolfgang L. Grichting, *The value system in Taiwan : a preliminary report* (Taipei, Taiwan: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1971), 52.

¹³⁸ In a study of the anthropology of Taiwanese society some social scientists focus their attention on “behavior associated with attempts to conform to cultural principles that are linked or can easily be linked to the Chinese past.” Emily Martin Ahern and Hill Gates, eds., *The anthropology of Taiwanese society* (Stanford, California: 1981), 8. Other contributors to the study emphasize that the shaping of social relations not necessarily is connected with tradition. Their interpretation does not, however, rule out the importance of the Confucian tradition among the Chinese in Taiwan.

¹³⁹ “Since its institutionalization as the state ideology in the second century B.C., the Confucian orthodoxy has been the foundation of Chinese society.” Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), “Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety”, 104.

¹⁴⁰ It is not known exactly when the Chinese began to settle on the island, but the first group to arrive was the Hakkas, a Chinese minority group driven from their native home in Honan province. By 1000 AD some of them had probably established a settlement in southern Taiwan. A fairly large number of immigrants from Fukien province crossed the Taiwan strait during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). See Daniel P. Reid, *Insight guides : Taiwan* (Singapore: APA Publications, 1984), 31.

¹⁴¹ Thomas B. Gold, *State and society in the Taiwan miracle*, ed. Douglas Merwin, East Gate Books (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1986), 25.

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also known as Koxinga, drove out the Dutch, who had occupied parts of the island since 1624. His son soon succeeded Cheng, and the Chengs may be credited with having established “the institutional, social, and cultural foundations of Chinese civilization on the frontier island.”¹⁴² The Chengs were defeated by the Ch’ing dynasty in 1683. By the mid-nineteenth century Confucian scholar gentry had emerged on the island, and several signs of traditional Chinese culture could be found.¹⁴³ Mandarins from the mainland staffed the prefectural capitals, and “locally supported temples and academies dutifully trained the children of the wealthy and the elite in the Confucian classics.”¹⁴⁴ In 1885 Taiwan was formally declared a province of China, with Liu Ming-ch’uan as the first governor.¹⁴⁵ “Liu was determined that whilst Formosa must learn from the West the latest methods in the economic development of the island and its defenses, she must remain loyal to her basic Confucian way of life.”¹⁴⁶ As a token of his determination he enlarged and renovated the Confucian temples throughout Taiwan, and he promoted education based on the Confucian philosophy.¹⁴⁷

Between 1895 and 1945 Taiwan was colonized by Japan. The new rulers pursued a conscious policy of introducing Japanese religion and civilization to the local people.¹⁴⁸ Since this civilization also included Confucianism,¹⁴⁹ the Chinese style Buddhism, Taoism, and folk

¹⁴² *ibid.* For an overview of the role of this family in the history of Taiwan, see the chapter on “The House of Cheng,” in W. G. Goddard, *Formosa : a study in Chinese history* (London: Macmillan, 1966), 63-91.

¹⁴³ See Rubinstein, *The Protestant community on modern Taiwan*, 15-16.

¹⁴⁴ Michael Saso, “Taiwan : old gods and modern society,” in *Religions and societies : Asia and the Middle East*, ed. Carlo Caldarola, Religion and society (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1982), 16.

¹⁴⁵ He is called the “Master Builder” of Taiwan in Goddard, *Formosa : a study in Chinese history*, 124-139.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 134.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 133.

¹⁴⁸ Shinto shrines were built, as well as Japanese-style Buddhist sanctuaries. See Rubinstein, *The Protestant community on modern Taiwan*, 40.

¹⁴⁹ In the Imperial Rescript on Education issued in 1890 the Confucian teachings on loyalty and filial piety had been introduced into the standard curriculum in Japan. See Samuel Hideo Yamashita, “Confucianism and the Japanese state, 1904-1945,” in *Confucian tradition in East Asian modernity : moral education and economic culture in Japan and the four Mini-Dragons*, ed. Tu Wei-ming (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), 132. Confucianism was also a part of the Japanese imperialist strategy in Korea (from 1910), Manchuria (from 1932) and North China (from 1937), and the militarist rulers in these territories held the view that Confucian teachings could serve the purpose of sustaining a common cultural heritage in East Asia. See Peter Nosco, “Confucianism in Japan,” in *The encyclopedia of religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), 9.

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religious traditions were more likely targets in the transformation process.¹⁵⁰ The Japanese felt that their adaptation of Confucian civilization not only was superior to the civilization of western countries but that Japan represented “the primary form of civilization in East Asia.”¹⁵¹ This sense of superiority on the part of the Japanese, as well as the harsh regime, created considerable opposition among the local inhabitants in Taiwan. Generally speaking, however, Chinese social customs were tolerated, and in fact, the Japanese rule, to some degree, sheltered the island from the “intellectual and social revolution which the Chinese mainland was undergoing” in the same period.¹⁵² It seems fair to conclude that the colonial period rather sustained than changed the Confucian tradition in Taiwan.¹⁵³

In 1945 Taiwan was returned to China, and the continued role of Confucianism in the Nationalist political ideology has been apparent since the establishment of the KMT government in Taiwan in 1949.¹⁵⁴ The Nationalist party, alongside its aim to modernize the country, has consistently claimed that its ideology is in line with the Confucian tradition.

The Kuomintang, as we have shown, has never foresworn its heritage of Chinese tradition. From the very beginning, Sun Yat-sen stressed the need to selectively incorporate Chinese tradition in the restructuring of the Chinese political and economic system. And throughout his life, Chiang Kai-shek was consistent in institutionalizing basic old ethos in a modernizing China. He had the insight that fundamental Confucian ethos do not inhibit, but actually facilitate, modernization. Because Chiang had explicitly championed the causes of both modernization and Chinese ethos, the latter has been deliberately tailored to assist the former and thus plays a constructive role in Taiwan's modernization.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ During the final years (1937-1945) of the Japanese occupation, the transformation process was intensified. Carried on by its “movement toward ultranationalism,” the Japanese government “suppressed indigenous religion.” This also affected Christian churches and institutions. See Rubinstein, *The Protestant community on modern Taiwan*, 26-27.

¹⁵¹ Nosco, “Confucianism in Japan,” 9.

¹⁵² Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), “Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety”, 128.

¹⁵³ “The Japanese period, though harsh and restrictive to the Taiwanese people, was blessed at least by the recognition of the Chinese tradition.” Saso, “Taiwan : old gods and modern society,” 16. See also the comment by Yu, who says that “because of the close affinity between the Chinese and Japanese cultures, the Chinese, though under Japanese rule, continued to live by their cultural values and in the traditional Chinese way of life.” Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), “Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety”, 128-129.

¹⁵⁴ “During fifty years of rule, the Japanese did not intentionally alter Chinese customs and social relations; subsequently, the Kuomintang government actively promoted adherence to Confucian ideals of social order.” Ahern and Gates, eds., *The anthropology of Taiwanese society*, 8.

¹⁵⁵ Alan P. L. Liu, *Phoenix and the lame lion : modernization in Taiwan and mainland China, 1950-1980*, Hoover Press Publication, vol. 358 (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1987), 158. See also the comment by Yu: “After they [the Nationalists] were expelled from China, Taiwan became the experimental ground for a new and rather successful collaboration of Confucianism and Western capitalism.” Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), “Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety”, 112-113. In a booklet providing information about the Republic of China,

The political authorities signaled that Confucianism would be used as an instrument in the ideological battle against Communism, as well as in the plan for national reconstruction.¹⁵⁶ In 1967 the Nationalist government sponsored a Chinese Culture Renaissance Movement, which had two main objectives: to serve as a “counter-reaction to the destruction of the Chinese antiquities during the Red Guard Movement (1966-1969) in China,” but also to “counter the adverse effect of modernization upon the Chinese society in Taiwan.”¹⁵⁷ One of the major means to this end was a strengthening of the influence upon students at all levels in the educational system.¹⁵⁸

This influence can be seen in various ways. “Training in respect for authority is a part of school life at all levels,” and “the claim to moral leadership is an essential aspect of authority.”¹⁵⁹ Leaders are vested with authority inasmuch as they exemplify the “group values,”¹⁶⁰ and the ideal is congruence between styles of authority in “primary groups” and those at higher levels.¹⁶¹ Such congruence facilitates the expected behavior of both leaders and subordinates, since both parties will be familiar with the ‘rules of the game.’ In a study about problems affecting the educational task of churches in with a Chinese-language ministry in Taiwan and Hong Kong the Confucian influence is underlined.

There is no doubt that the old system of government-administered literary degree examinations still have [sic] a deep influence on the educational system in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Similarly, although many schools in this area stress moral, intellectual, physical, social, and esthetic education, the difficult entrance examinations of secondary

it is said that “regardless of religious affiliation or lack of it, all Chinese may be considered Confucianists.” Q & A: Questions and answers about the Republic of China, 2 ed. (Taipei: Kwang Hwa Publishing Company, 1982), 30. According to Marc J. Cohen this publication represents the view of the KMT. See Marc J. Cohen, *Taiwan at the crossroads : human rights, political development and social change on the beautiful island* (Washington, D.C.: Asia Resource Center, 1988), 184.

¹⁵⁶ See Jørgen Hansen, "Konfucianismen på Taiwan [Confucianism in Taiwan]," *Dansk Missionsblad*, 7 October 1961, 386.

¹⁵⁷ Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), “Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety”, 134.

¹⁵⁸ “Students from elementary school to the first year in college were required to take the Kuo-wen courses (the Chinese Studies) for a basic understanding and appreciation of the Chinese cultural heritage.” *ibid.*, 134 (Yu's underlining).

¹⁵⁹ Richard W. Wilson, *Learning to be Chinese : the political socialization of children in Taiwan* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1970), 74,107.

¹⁶⁰ “But there are, I think, in addition [to the leader-focused educational philosophy in Taiwan], deep-rooted values in Chinese group life, consciously reinforced by educational policy, which assign to the leader a highlighted responsibility for exemplifying group values.” *ibid.*, 80.

¹⁶¹ “In Taiwan considerable effort has successfully been extended through the educational system to reinforce a congruence between styles of authority in primary groups and those that exist between citizens and political leaders.” *ibid.*, 146.

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schools and colleges in Taiwan and the government school-leaving examinations in Hong Kong force students--and even teachers--to be concerned only about the intellectual aspects of education. The rest is something like an appendix. [...] The Confucian saying, "Seek high office after you have excellent learning," together with the system of examinations in education, prompts many Chinese to labor under wrong motivations for learning. Undoubtedly even today there are many Chinese who seek learning for its own sake or who learn simply in order to pass examinations. For others, learning is a means of becoming more powerful.¹⁶²

In academic institutions and intellectual circles the situation has been changing over the years since 1949. During the 1950s and 1960s "the intellectual atmosphere was not congenial to Confucian learning," due to domination by refugee scholars from Peking University at the most prestigious institute of higher learning in Taiwan.¹⁶³ Two Confucian scholars, Mou Tsung-san and Hsü Fu-kuan, however, were influential in this period, partly at Tunghai University, the private Christian institution in Taichung.¹⁶⁴ Since the 1970s there has been an increased interest in Confucian studies in Taiwan, but according to Tu Wei-ming this development "has been complicated by a lack of differentiation between official ideology, which promotes Confucianism as an anti-Communist weapon, and genuine scholarly pursuit."¹⁶⁵

Another conspicuous feature of the role and status of Confucianism in Taiwan has been the publicly sponsored revival of the cult in the honor of Confucius. Since 1949 additional Confucius temples have been built, and each year on 28 September, Confucius' birthday is celebrated with ceremonies in these temples.¹⁶⁶ High-ranking public figures, such as city mayors, officiate at the ceremonies on this official national holiday, which deliberately has been called "Teacher's Day."¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Andrew Ch'iu, "Special problems affecting the educational task of the churches with a Chinese-language ministry," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 41, no. 1 (1970): 41-42.

¹⁶³ Tu Wei-ming, "Towards a third epoch of Confucian humanism," 157.

¹⁶⁴ See *ibid.* The role of Mou Tsung-san is reflected by a Lutheran missionary observer in Hansen, "Konfucianismen på Taiwan [Confucianism in Taiwan]."

¹⁶⁵ Tu Wei-ming, "Towards a third epoch of Confucian humanism," 158.

¹⁶⁶ "Elaborate traditional ceremonies are held every year on this day at 6 a.m. [...], complete with ancient musical instruments, formal court attire, ritual dances, and other Confucian rites as old as the sage himself." Reid, *Insight guides : Taiwan*, 320.

¹⁶⁷ There is no doubt that the government has placed on teachers an important part of the responsibility to build the nation. See the comment by Chiang Kai-shek: "Officials may be considered as engineers in national reconstruction, and teachers should do their best to train workers qualified for the task. Therefore officials and teachers, more than any others, should carry a greater share of the responsibility of bettering our social and political life." Chiang Kai-shek, *China's destiny (with an introduction by Lin Yutang)*, 201.

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After the death in 1988 of president Chiang Ching-kuo (son of Chiang Kai-shek), vice-president Lee Teng-hui took over. The democratization process which had become a major factor in Taiwan politics and public life during the 1980s, led to his becoming the first elected president of any Chinese-speaking nation in 1996.¹⁶⁸ In an interview shortly before his inauguration he advocated a kind of Confucianism characterized by human values as against a paternalistic and authoritarian one.¹⁶⁹ By expressing himself in this way he illustrated the change of attitude towards authority and the new frame of reference for leaders and followers at all levels in the society.¹⁷⁰ It may be that an implementation of the “Confucian intention to moralize politics” will subdue or replace “the politicization of Confucian values for ideological control.”¹⁷¹

The economic performance and “culturally specific development strategies” of Taiwan and other East Asian countries have focused the attention on the relationship between “Confucian ethics and the East Asian entrepreneurial spirit.”¹⁷² Some sociologists contend that Taiwan is among the “post-Confucian states,” and they have used concepts like “modern capitalism” and “second modernity” in their interpretation.¹⁷³ The “post-Confucian hypothesis” presupposes the continued importance of the Confucian tradition, but takes into consideration that this tradition is not a carbon copy of the Confucianism of the Mandarin

¹⁶⁸ See Tony Emerson, "Making of a Democrat : Lee Teng-hui will be inaugurated next week as Taiwan's first elected president. A look at his political odyssey," *Newsweek*, 20 May 1996, 12-13.

¹⁶⁹ In his reply to the question, “What if China [i.e. the PRC] becomes stronger while staying authoritarian?” he said: “Paternalism is very powerful: you must listen to your father, to the emperor. This is the biggest problem in China. This is not Confucianism. Confucianism has been distorted by politicians.” To some extent he also included the previous rule of his own party (KMT) in this criticism. “I realized we had to find a democratic way.” Maynard Parker, "Building a 'New Culture': in an exclusive interview, Lee talks about China and 'Asian values'," *ibid.*, 19.

¹⁷⁰ In an interview by the author, the acting president at CES commented on the developments in Taiwan since 1988: “Previously the [ROC] government relied on Confucianism to legitimize their government. Now, new trends are coming in the society.” Peter K. Chow, "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997). For an overview of the political and social background of these trends, see Cohen, *Taiwan at the crossroads : human rights, political development and social change on the beautiful island*.

¹⁷¹ Tu Wei-ming, "Towards a third epoch of Confucian humanism," 158.

¹⁷² *ibid.*, 144.

¹⁷³ Peter L. Berger, Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, and other sociologists analyzed the relationship between Confucian ethics and the economic performance in what they labeled the “post-Confucian states,” namely Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore. See Peter L. Berger and Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, eds., *In search of an East Asian development model*, Third printing 1993 ed. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1988). Cf. also Tu Wei-ming, "Towards a third epoch of Confucian humanism," 144-145.

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elite in former times.¹⁷⁴ According to Tu Wei-ming, the hypothesis underlines the continued influence of Confucianism on several aspects of Chinese society.¹⁷⁵ One example is the educational system in Taiwan, which has been modernized in recent years. There is still, however, a “Confucian continuum” influencing the curriculum and teaching methods.¹⁷⁶

In a chapter on “Modernization and the Loss of Chineseness” Michael Harris Bond reflects on how Chinese people come to terms with “strong traditional values” and “modern values.”¹⁷⁷ There seems to be some evidence supporting the view that modernization can take place without the loss of valued elements of the Oriental tradition.¹⁷⁸ In the 1990s Taiwan has been in the midst of transition. According to Michael Hsin-Huang Confucianism is about to take on a new role as one of the factors that will determine the basic aims, values, and means

¹⁷⁴ “For several years now the so-called post-Confucian hypothesis has enjoyed a certain vogue. It is essentially simple: both Japan and the newly industrialized countries of East Asia belong to the broad area of influence of Sinitic civilization, and there can be no doubt that Confucianism has been a very powerful force in all of them. The hypothesis is that a key variable in explaining the economic performance of these countries is Confucian ethics—or post-Confucian ethics, in the sense that the moral values in question are now relatively detached from the Confucian tradition proper and have become more widely diffused. Historical evidence on the spread of Confucian education and ideology is very relevant to this hypothesis, but equally important is empirical research into the sway of Confucian-derived values in the lives of ordinary people, many of whom have never read a Confucian classic and have had little education, Confucian or other. Robert Bellah has coined the happy phrase ‘bourgeois Confucianism’ to distinguish this from the ‘high’ Confucianism of the Mandarin elite of traditional China.” Peter L. Berger, “An East Asian development model?,” in *In search of an East Asian development model*, ed. Peter L. Berger and Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1988), 7.

¹⁷⁵ According to Tu the hypothesis undermines the arguments of the sinologist Joseph L. Levenson, who saw an “incongruity between Confucian traditionalism and rational, scientific modernism.” In his 1968 study of Confucianism in China, Levenson “found virtually no evidence of the originality and creativity required for Confucianism to become a living tradition either in the active participation of articulate Westernizers or in the contemplative reflection of erudite classicists.” Tu Wei-ming, “Towards a third epoch of Confucian humanism,” 143-145.

¹⁷⁶ In a study on educational modernization in Taiwan, the role of Confucianism is underlined: “When one discusses the history of Chinese education, it is impossible not to envision Confucianism as so woven into the fabric of educational philosophy and pedagogy that the two - an intellectual model for proper and ethical behaviour and an active process of teaching and learning - have become essentially synonymous.” Douglas C. Smith, ed., *The Confucian continuum : educational modernization in Taiwan* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991), 7.

¹⁷⁷ See Michael Harris Bond, *Beyond the Chinese face : insights from psychology* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1994), 114.

¹⁷⁸ “Yang Kuo-shu’s studies on the modernity of Taiwanese people show that traditional and modern attitudes do not exist in opposition to one another. Those who are modern are not necessarily non-traditional. [...] Again, an Oriental culture appears to be producing a marked variation in the profile of a modern person from that one would find in a Western culture.” *ibid.* Yang’s studies (*Chinese people’s psychology*, and *Chinese people’s view of management*) referred to in this quotation were published in Taiwan (in Chinese) in 1988. See the “Selected reading list” in Bond, *Beyond the Chinese face : insights from psychology*, 122.

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of leadership among the Chinese people on the island.¹⁷⁹ When looking at the contemporary situation it may be helpful to follow Hsin-Huang's suggestion to distinguish between "intellectual and practical Confucianism."¹⁸⁰ Commenting on the situation in Taiwan in the 1990s he describes aspects of the "practical" version:

Common people don't have to read the Great Learning in order to practice Confucian behaviour. At home you don't say: I'm your father so you have to respect me according to Confucianism. Every day you practice some of the core values. You don't have to name it Confucianism. It has become a part of the Chinese way of life.¹⁸¹

Both "practical" and "intellectual" Confucianism will, at all times, emerge as a blend of old and new elements. Behind the current cultural transformation process in Taiwan, two forces have been identified, namely "stability and change."¹⁸² These two forces can be said to correspond to tradition and modernity.¹⁸³ If the dynamics between stability and change is understood as a dialectic process, "a new kind of culture emerges to replace the old in order to create new relations."¹⁸⁴ According to Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), one indicator of these new relations is the "increasing ambivalence of the Chinese in Taiwan toward the value of filial piety."¹⁸⁵ Having analyzed this ambivalence he concludes that the sentiment of filial piety among the Chinese seems to have remained unchanged. "But because of rapid social changes in the last hundred years, the ways of fulfilling filial responsibilities need to be modified to meet the reality of modern life in Taiwan."¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁹ See the article "Taiwan in transition: modeling a new culture," which is based on an interview with Michael Hsin-Huang, at the time professor at Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei. He says that "during the process of erosion of the past, a new kind of culture emerges to replace the old in order to create new relations." He is convinced, however, that Confucianism "has become a part of the Chinese way of life," and that some "Chinese cultural forces are still hanging over the Chinese people even on both sides of the Taiwan strait." Anders Kjær, "Taiwan in transition : modeling a new culture," *Nias nytt = Nordic Newsletter of Asian Studies*, no. 4 (1993): 6.

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*

¹⁸² *ibid.*

¹⁸³ "Obviously, modernity and tradition are contending forces, each of which seeks to influence and shape the outlook of contemporary life in Taiwan." Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety", 134.

¹⁸⁴ Kjær, "Taiwan in transition : modeling a new culture," 6.

¹⁸⁵ Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety", 135.

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 142. Robert H. Silin made a similar judgment in his study on the relationship between leadership and values in Taiwan in the early 1970s: "While contemporary attitudes have changed, there has been considerable continuity in respect to basic value premises; it is largely only the manner in which these are expressed that has undergone change." Robert H. Silin, *Leadership and values : the organization of large-scale Taiwanese enterprises*, Harvard East Asian monographs, vol. 62 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1976), 35.

2.2.3 Issues related to cultivation of leadership

In the beginning of chapter one I said that those who are involved in cultivation of Christian leadership in a Confucian context must consider similarities and differences between basic perspectives of Christian faith and those of the Confucian tradition. The aim of this section is to highlight what I consider to be the most important perspectives of the Confucian tradition in regard to cultivation of leadership. I do not see it as my task to offer new interpretations of the various perspectives. My intention is to present a selection of references to primary sources and some of the main interpretations in scholarly treatments of them. I make use of a combination of texts. On the one hand I refer to editions and translations¹⁸⁷ of the Chinese classics named the *Four Books* (the *Analects*, the *Book of Mencius*, the *Doctrine of the mean*, and the *Great learning*) and the *Classic of filial piety*. On the other hand I have consulted commentaries on these and other classics and also studies on topics related to cultivation of leadership in a Chinese Confucian context.

Images and designations of leadership serve as aims for the task of cultivation. The first of the below sections deals with basic elements in the understanding of leadership and the second section presents corresponding forms of cultivation.

2.2.3.1 Understanding of leadership

The main thrust of Confucius was to establish a social order maintained by reasonable and sensible leaders who would care for the well-being of members at all levels in society. Subordinates were supposed to behave according to their proper position in the prescribed interpersonal relationships, both within the family and in the public sphere.¹⁸⁸ From a Confucian point of view a leader is, therefore, first and foremost a master and model of proper social behavior. As a master the leader has the task of teaching and instructing subordinates. As a model the leader is expected to demonstrate and exemplify important virtues. Various

¹⁸⁷ My primary reference for English translation of the *Four Books* is James Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics : in seven volumes* (Hongkong: 1861-1872). In some cases I also make additional use of other translations such as Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*. For quotations from the *Classic of filial piety* I use the translation by Mary Leila Makra in Paul K.T. Sih, ed., *The Hsiao Ching (translated by Mary Leila Makra)*, Asian Institute Translations, no. 2 (New York: St. John's University Press, 1961).

¹⁸⁸ “His primary concern was a good society based on good government and harmonious human relations. To this end he advocated a good government that rules by virtue and moral example rather than by punishment or force. For the family, he particularly stressed filial piety and for the society in general, proper conduct or *li* [禮] (propriety, rites).” Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 15.

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examples of virtues are found in the *Four Books*, and aspects of development and exercise of leadership are brought to the readers' attention several times.

Two issues seem to be prominent in the understanding of leadership in a Confucian perspective, namely, the view of human nature and the precept of filial piety. Generally speaking, the view of human nature is a part of the worldview, which includes "the basic assumptions of reality which lie behind the beliefs and behavior of a culture."¹⁸⁹ In the Confucian worldview the set of beliefs is primarily directed towards the support of moral behavior, and cultivation of such behavior is the fundament of leadership. Basics elements of moral behavior are inculcated and practiced in the family setting, and in this setting filial piety plays a key role. Filial piety, however, is not only confined to the family circle but it shapes the aims and values of relationships at all levels in society. In the following I will present in more detail the various issues related to view of human nature and filial piety and their connection to the understanding of leadership.

Leadership and its corresponding virtues are closely related to the Confucian *view of human nature*. The origin of life and virtues goes beyond human domains. There is among most Chinese a notion of a Great Ultimate, which generates all things, even the fundamental principles of human life. A key source for the Confucian adaptation of this notion is the many references to 天 *t'ien* (Heaven) throughout the *Four Books*. In Confucianism the notion of Heaven is seen to be relevant, however, to the extent it has bearing on life of human beings in this world. One of the major aims in a lifetime is to know 天命 *t'ien-ming* (the mandate of Heaven).¹⁹⁰

Confucius and the tradition he launched have emphasized human and social issues more than those related to religion.¹⁹¹ For leadership this emphasis means that it is developed and

¹⁸⁹ Paul G. Hiebert, *Anthropological insights for missionaries* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1985), 45.

¹⁹⁰ *Analects*, 2:4, in Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 22. Legge's translation is "the decrees of Heaven"; see James Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 1: Confucian analects / The great learning / The doctrine of the mean*, The Chinese classics: in seven volumes / with a translation, critical and exegetical notes, prolegomena, and copious indexes (Hong Kong: 1861), 11.

¹⁹¹ A more dedicated interest in metaphysics was developed by the Neo-Confucianists, and for this purpose they made use of and interpreted the relevant passages in the *Four books* and the other Chinese classics. For the Neo-Confucian approach towards human and social affairs, however, metaphysics as such has not played an important role. Their view of the close relationship between Heaven, earth and human beings has served as a motivating force for proper human behavior. See a reference to their interest in metaphysics in a note to chapter 16 of the *Doctrine of the mean* in

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exercised within a predominantly anthropocentric framework.¹⁹² The mandate of Heaven and its role in guiding leadership in human fellowships are made known and learned through the exemplary attitudes and behavior of emperors, kings and sages, primarily as recorded in the classic writings of the Chinese. This focus on attitudes and behavior signifies that the view of human nature and human beings' capability of moral behavior are key elements in the Confucian worldview. The anthropocentric view of man in Confucianism has been combined with an optimistic attitude towards life in this world.¹⁹³

As was mentioned in the above presentation of trends in the Confucian tradition, issues related to human nature were prominent from the very beginning and have been extensively discussed later on. The proponents of the contention that human nature is originally evil became a minority compared to those who represented the opposite view. As Mencius was placed in the line of orthodoxy and then supported by the Neo-Confucianists a positive understanding of human nature has been prevalent in the Confucian tradition.¹⁹⁴

Part two of chapter 17 in the *Analecets* is of importance for the understanding of human nature. "The Master said, 'By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart.'"¹⁹⁵ Chan adds the following comment:

This is the classical Confucian dictum on human nature. Neo-Confucianists like Chu Hsi and Ch'eng I strongly argued that Confucius meant physical nature, which involves elements of evil, for since every man's original nature is good, men must be the *same* and therefore cannot be *alike*. Others, however, think that the word *chin* (near or alike) here has the same meaning as in Mencius' saying, "All things of the same kind are

Ole Bjørn Rongen, ed., *Middelvegen og Den store læra : to klassiske kinesiske tekstar. Frå kinesisk med innleiing og kommentarar* (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1999), 95.

¹⁹² According to a study of the ways of thinking of Eastern peoples this framework is not only a characteristic of Confucianism: "Since ancient times the Chinese have tended to consider all things from an anthropocentric standpoint. They tended to understand even abstract ideas in relation to man." Hajime Nakamura, *Ways of thinking of Eastern peoples : India, China, Tibet, Japan*, Revised English translation edited by Philip P. Wiener ed. (Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, 1969), 233.

¹⁹³ "As a result of the tendency to regard nature or actuality as absolute existence, the Chinese came to adopt the idea of optimism. Thus, they regarded this world as a good place in which to live; they finally came to believe that perfect existence must exist in this world. Here, the idea of the 'Sheng-jen [聖人]' (sage) was established. He was the perfect person such as the Chou King or Confucius. The sage is not a god but a man. However, he is in principle the ideal." *ibid.*, 280-281.

¹⁹⁴ "Mencius is the most important philosopher on the question of human nature, for he is the father of the theory of the original goodness of human nature. In spite of variations and modifications, this has remained the firm belief of the Chinese." Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 54. "Mencius believed that all human beings possessed four natural moral tendencies: the heart of compassion, of shame, of modesty, and of right and wrong." Chuang Tsu-kung, "Communicating the concept of sin in the Chinese context," *Taiwan Mission* 6, no. 1 (1996): 50.

¹⁹⁵ Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 1*, 182.

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similar to one another.” However, on the surface this saying is indisputably neutral, but all of Confucius’ teachings imply the goodness of human nature.¹⁹⁶

As far as the *Book of Mencius* is concerned almost a whole section deals with the question of human nature. A small part of this section illustrates the main point:

Mencius said, “From the feelings [情 *ch’ing*] proper to it, it is constituted for the practice of what is good. This is what I mean in saying that *the nature* [性 *hsing*] is good. If men do what is not good, the blame cannot be imputed to their natural powers [才 *ts’ai*]. The feeling of commiseration belongs to all men; so does that of shame and dislike; and that of reverence and respect; and that of approving and disapproving. The feeling of commiseration *implies the principle of* benevolence [仁 *jen*]; that of shame and dislike, the principle of righteousness [義 *i*]; that of reverence and respect, the principle of propriety [禮 *li*]; that of approving and disapproving, the principle of knowledge [智 *chih*]. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge, are not infused into us from without. We are certainly furnished with them. [...].”¹⁹⁷

In *Doctrine of the mean* it is assumed that human nature is good and the task of man is to cultivate his or her person and follow the mandate of Heaven. The central theme of cultivation in this book is expressed as follows:

It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can give its full development to his nature [盡其性 *chin ch’i hsing*]. Able

¹⁹⁶ Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 45-46. (Chan’s italics).

¹⁹⁷ Book 6:1, chapter 6:5-7 in James Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 2 : The works of Mencius*, The Chinese classics : in seven volumes / with a translation, critical and exegetical notes, prolegomena, and copious indexes (Hong Kong: 1861), 278-279. Legge’s italics indicate the use of words not found in the Chinese text. Chan has this translation: “Mencius said, ‘If you let people follow their feelings (original nature) [情 *ch’ing*], they will be able to do good. This is what is meant by saying that human nature [性 *hsing*] is good. If man does evil, it is not the fault of his natural endowment [才 *ts’ai*]. The feeling of commiseration is found in all men; the feeling of shame and dislike is found in all men; the feeling of respect and reverence is found in all men; and the feeling of right and wrong is found in all men. The feeling of commiseration is what we call humanity [仁 *jen*]; the feeling of shame and dislike is what we called righteousness [義 *i*]; the feeling of respect and reverence is what we called propriety (*li*) [禮]; and the feeling of right and wrong is what we called wisdom [智 *chih*]. Humanity, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom are not drilled into us from outside. We originally have them with us.” Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 54. Chan has also some comments regarding some of the Chinese terms in this passage. Regarding 情 *ch’ing* he says that it “does not mean feelings which are sources of evil desires, as understood by later Confucianists, but feelings proper to the originally good nature of man [...].” The word 才 *ts’ai* “ordinarily meaning ability, is here interchangeable with *ts’ai* meaning raw material.” And, finally, the word 禮 *li* “is not used in its narrow sense of rites and ceremonies but in the broad sense of principle of conduct and the sense of what is proper.” See Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 54.

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to give its full development to his nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the nature of other men, he can give their full development to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of animals and things, he can assist in the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion.¹⁹⁸

Although human nature is assumed to be good, not all people are perfectly sincere and succeed in the task of self-cultivation. Wrongdoings and failures apply to both subordinates and those in positions of authority. Why is it that filial piety in some cases furthers family solidarity, but in other circumstances creates pressure and tension, and thus breeds conflicts and hardships?¹⁹⁹ Somehow the problem of evil must be approached. “It is often pointed out that the ideas of ‘original sin’ and ‘salvation’ were not taught in Confucianism,” and that Mencius found that “the evil mind arises by the temptation of material desires.”²⁰⁰ The checks and balances needed to guard against the excess of evil are primarily seen to be in effect in the dynamic between the individual and the collective.

Confucianism has described this dynamic by focusing on the role of human beings in basic relations. There is a set of major relationships – those of ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, friend and friend.²⁰¹ These are commonly referred to as 五倫 *wu lun*, the “five invariables.”²⁰² These relationships “are not just confined to biological, political or social limitations. They are bound by moral imperatives as well as legal obligations. Despite the centrality of hierarchical order among them, mutual responsibility is the key to their stability.”²⁰³ One particular concept serves as guiding principle for attitudes and behavior in the major social relationships, namely filial piety. I will now present the main dimensions of filial piety and their implications for the understanding and practice of leadership in a Confucian perspective.

The concept of *filial piety* has its roots in early stages of the Chinese civilization, and, according to the *Classic of filial piety*, chapter 7, filial piety is “the first principle of heaven,

¹⁹⁸ Chapter 22 in Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 1*, 279-280. In stead of “ternion” Chan uses the term “trinity” in his translation; see Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 108.

¹⁹⁹ See Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), “Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety”, 51.

²⁰⁰ Nakamura, *Ways of thinking of Eastern peoples*, 242,277.

²⁰¹ The five relations are described for example in the *Book of Mencius* (3A:4) and in the *Doctrine of the mean* (chapter 20); see Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 69, 105.

²⁰² Tu Wei-ming, "On the spiritual development of Confucius' personality," *Thought and Word* 11, no. 3 (1973): 32.

²⁰³ *ibid.*

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the ultimate standard of earth, the norm of conduct for the people.”²⁰⁴ In the 18 brief chapters of this classic one finds a complete layout of how filial piety serves as a foundation and motivation for moral behavior and responsible relationships between all members of society. Filial piety, which basically is to act in fidelity to obligations to parents, is expressed with the character 孝 *hsiao*.²⁰⁵ More than any other aspect the observance of filial piety is seen as evidence of moral character. Filial piety is, therefore, not only a concept but also a precept. It functions as a command or principle, which is intended as a general rule of action. The precept of filial piety can be understood as the principle of spontaneity, solidarity, continuity, and mutuality, and these four dimensions of filial piety are at the very core of Chinese identity and the way of life, both for individuals, families, and society as a whole.²⁰⁶ Given the strong position of parents, however, reverence and obedience are seen as key values.²⁰⁷

In the teaching of Confucius it is expected from leaders that they will be considerate, seeking peace and harmony. Two chapters in the *Classic of filial piety* reveal fundamental aspects of 治 *chih*, a verb that means to rule, govern, administer, and manage. Here some of the central elements in the Confucian understanding of leadership are found. Chapter eight describes 孝治 *hsiao-chih*, ”government by filiality”²⁰⁸ and model examples are taken from ancient times.

The Master said: “Formerly the illustrious kings governed the empire by filiality. They did not dare to neglect ministers of small countries – to say nothing of their own dukes, marquises, earls, counts, and barons! Thus, they gained the readiness of all the countries to server their former kings. The rulers did not dare to insult the widows and widowers – to say nothing of officials and ordinary citizens! Thus, they gained the grateful love of all the people in the service of their former princes. [...] In this way the world was kept in peace and harmony; calamities did not arise, nor disorders occur. Such was the world government by filiality of the former illustrious kings. The Odes say: *They gave an example of virtuous conduct And all the nations submitted*

²⁰⁴ Sih, ed., *The Hsiao Ching (translated by Mary Leila Makra)*, 15.

²⁰⁵ Mary Leila Makra has the following interpretation in a note to her translation of this term in chapter one of the *Classic of filial piety*: “*Hsiao* 孝 ‘filial’ or ‘filiality’ is the character depicting a son bearing an old man; from this physical representation the figurative support was implied. Originally *hsiao* was probably applied to the feeling of the living toward deceased ancestors; later, by extension, it was also applied to the conduct of sons toward living parents. *Hsiao* was esteemed as ‘the foundation of virtue’ and when this foundation had been laid, complete virtue was sure to rise as a superstructure. Filiality was almost taken as a proof of man’s humanity, ‘Among man’s actions nothing is greater than *hsiao*.’” *ibid.*, 45.

²⁰⁶ See Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), “Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety”, 49-50.

²⁰⁷ *ibid.*, 32.

²⁰⁸ Sih, ed., *The Hsiao Ching (translated by Mary Leila Makra)*, 16-17.

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themselves.”²⁰⁹

Chapter nine has its focus on 聖治 *sheng-chih*, the “government of the sage.”²¹⁰ A ruler who knows and practices filial piety has the proper basis for the exercise of leadership.

Tseng Tzu said, “Is there nothing in the virtue of the sage that surpasses filiality?” The Master replied, “Man excels all the beings in heaven and on earth. Of all man’s acts none is greater than filiality. In the practice of filiality, nothing is greater than to reverence one’s father. In reverencing one’s father, nothing is greater than making him a companion of heaven. [...] The sage, because of his example of reverence for his parents, taught love. The teaching of the sage, even though not severe, was efficacious. His rule, without being strict, was effective. All this was brought about because of the foundation laid. The relation between father and son is rooted in nature and develops into the proper relation between prince and ministers. [...]”²¹¹

At times, however, filial piety has been manipulated by rulers and parents alike, creating authoritarian and oppressing structures of leadership.²¹² Filial piety can lead to a requirement of blind obedience and unconditional surrender to the commands of superiors. Confucius opposed dictatorship and despotism. He warned against rulers who pretended to be just but were really driven by their own search for profit and advantage. Although some advocated blind obedience, Confucius himself did not support this.²¹³ In fact, he saw it as an obligation for a child to warn his parents and for subordinates to warn their superiors when something wrong is done, as is evident in his statement found in chapter 15 of the *Classic of filial piety*:

If a father had one son to reason with him, he would not be engulfed in moral wrong. Thus, in the case of contemplated moral wrong, a son must never fail to warn this father against it; nor must a minister fail to perform a like service for his prince. In short, when there is question of moral wrong, there should be correction. How can you say that filiality consists in simply obeying a father?²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 17 (Makra's italics and capitalization).

²¹⁰ *ibid.*, 18-21. Makra says that 聖 *sheng* “designates an integral humanist development of mind and heart and one capable of wisely directing human affairs, especially by the example of their own lives. This inner moral quality in a ruler has a special charismatic function throughout the society. [...]” Sih, ed., *The Hsiao Ching (translated by Mary Leila Makra)*, 55.

²¹¹ Sih, ed., *The Hsiao Ching (translated by Mary Leila Makra)*, 19-21.

²¹² “But this does not necessarily mean that filial piety was something concocted by the ancient rulers to serve their own purposes. Contrastingly, it is this author's contention that filial piety is one of the most basic human sentiments which is to be wisely cultivated, rather than manipulated or discarded, for the well-being of individuals, families, and the Chinese society as a whole.” Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), “Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety”, 26.

²¹³ “Unlike his disciple Tseng-tzu, Confucius never fostered any blind obedience to one’s parents.” *ibid.*, 37.

²¹⁴ Sih, ed., *The Hsiao Ching (translated by Mary Leila Makra)*, 33. In a study of education in a Chinese context it is said that Confucius “advises his disciples that even in their roles as officers they should obey the command of the rulers, but if the ruler's command is against the *tao* [道], they

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Authority has been generally described as "legitimate power to require and receive submission and obedience."²¹⁵ From a Confucian perspective the orientation toward authority is closely related to the precept of filial piety, which is taught from early childhood. This line of thought is also found in the *Hsün Tzu*: "Every man in the street is capable of knowing the righteous relation between father and son at home and the correct relation between ruler and minister outside."²¹⁶ Filial piety implies a legitimization of power in certain prescribed positions in society. Most leaders would expect followers and subordinates to comply with their authority and power. And, for the Confucianists "the most direct and desirable way of honoring their family was the attainment of public office,"²¹⁷ in other words, a position vested with authority.

Given the correlation between leadership and filial piety, seniority becomes an important condition and basis for authority and power even outside the family circle. An example from the *Analects* reveals this expanded use of filial piety: "Young men should be filial when at home and respectful to their elders when away from home."²¹⁸ It seems to have been a general feature among the Chinese that the elders in society were looked upon as the natural leaders, and, in most circumstances, these were the oldest males.²¹⁹ "These were worthy of respect and had gained their authority because of the wisdom, learning, and even prestige which accrue to those who have had many years of life experience."²²⁰ All leaders with great responsibility are supposed to have had long experience as subordinates before they are assigned to their positions. Confucius did not, however, treat young people without respect and confidence in their potential. In *Analects* 9:22 the following statement is recorded.

The Master said, "A youth is to be regarded with respect. How do we know that his

should have the courage to help the ruler follow the right way ([*Analects*] 3:6; 11:17, and 11:24)." Lam Tak-ho, "Education in wisdom tradition : a study in the *Analects* and its implications" (Doctor of Education, Presbyterian School of Christian Education, 1989), 150 (Lam's underlining).

²¹⁵ Manabu Waida, "Authority," in *The encyclopedia of religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), 1.

²¹⁶ Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 134.

²¹⁷ Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety", 45.

²¹⁸ *Analects* 1:6, in Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 20. See also the following interpretation: "Generally speaking, in Confucianism, filial piety not only embraces 'honor your father and mother' in the strict sense, but also includes personal cultivation, government of state and peace of the empire. [...] Thus, filial piety affects all relations and systems of the whole universe." Aloysius Chang, "Filial piety in Confucianism," *Worldmission* 30, no. 3 (1979): 53.

²¹⁹ See John Ky Branner, "Chinese leadership patterns and their relationship to pastoral ministry among Taiwan's urban masses" (Doctor of Missiology Dissertation, School of World Mission, 1983), 68.

²²⁰ *ibid.*

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future will not be equal to our present? If he reach the age of forty or fifty, and has not made himself heard of, then indeed will he not be worth being regarded with respect.”²²¹

Confucian ideas about Heaven, human nature and capability of moral behavior are important preconditions for the cultivation of desired attitudes and conduct. The precept of filial piety suggests ways in which the desired attitudes and conduct can be developed and nurtured. In their further development of filial piety, the “Confucianists saw the teaching of filial piety to be most fundamental in character formation and in preserving the order of society and all human relationships. It was due to this distinct pedagogical orientation toward the value of filial piety that the Chinese began to move and be molded into a characteristically filial culture.”²²² From the point of contact between social order and the responsibility of individuals cultivation of leadership derives its meaning.

2.2.3.2 Forms of cultivation of leadership

The above described worldview and the understanding of filial piety have implications for the Confucian approach to cultivation of leadership. In this paragraph the focus will be on primary forms in this task. The below selection of forms of cultivation is based on two premises. One is that the forms are rooted in key parts in the *Four Books* and in the *Classic of filial piety*, and in their interpretation in the Confucian tradition. The other premise is that they are related to the view of human nature and the precept of filial piety. I will concentrate on two forms and the means that are associated with each of them.

Two forms of cultivation of human beings stand out in the Confucian tradition, namely, 學 *hsüeh* (learning) and 自修 *tzu hsiu* (self-cultivation). They are mentioned in many ways and referred to several times in the *Four Books*, but one of the places where the two forms are mentioned together is in the *Great learning*. This particular section begins with a quote from the *Book of odes*, which is the starting point for many conversations and arguments, not only in the Chinese classics but also later on in Chinese history.²²³ A prominent leader is portrayed and put forward as an example to learn from and follow.

The *Book of Odes* says, “Look at the curve in the Ch’i River. How luxuriant and green are the bamboo trees there! Here is our elegant and accomplished prince. [His personal

²²¹ Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 1*, 87.

²²² Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), “Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety”, 32.

²²³ See Rongen’s comment on the use of such quotes for purposes in political debates in China up to our time, in Ole Bjørn Rongen, ed., *Konfutse : samtalar : frå kinesisk med innleing og kommentarar* (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1988), 74.

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life is cultivated] as a thing is cut and filed and as a thing is carved and polished. How grave and dignified! How majestic and distinguished! Here is our elegant and accomplished prince. We can never forget him!” “As a thing is cut and filed” refers to the pursuit of learning. “As a thing is carved and polished” refers to self-cultivation. “How grave and how dignified” indicates precaution. “How majestic and distinguished” expresses awe-inspiring appearance. “Here is our elegant and accomplished prince. We can never forget him” means that the people cannot forget his eminent character and perfect virtue.²²⁴

With images from two handcrafts, most likely woodwork and stonework, 學 *hsüeh* (learning) and 自修 *tzu hsiu* (self-cultivation) are brought to the reader’s attention. Reference to tools in the hands of a craftsman makes good sense when thinking about what parents, teachers and supervisors can do to a person in terms of shaping of personality, transmitting knowledge and inculcating desired behavior. The same image of handcrafts is also used about self-efforts in learning and self-culture. Individuals are inspired and admonished to work on themselves with appropriate ‘tools’ in order to obtain the best possible ‘look and feel.’ Below I will present the main aspects of the two forms of cultivation.

The central place of *learning* in human development is the grand theme of the *Great learning* as a whole. Right at the beginning of the text the theme is introduced as 大學之道 *ta hsüeh chih tao*, which Legge translates as “the way of the great learning.” He refers to the following explanation of the use of the character *tao* here: “道 being = 修為之方法, ‘the methods of cultivating and practicing it,’ – the Great Learning, that is.”²²⁵ What is, then, the way of the great learning? It is “to illustrate illustrious virtue; to renovate the people; and to rest in the highest excellence.”²²⁶ Chan’s translation is based on a partly different reading: “The Way of

²²⁴ *Great Learning*, chapter 3, in Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 88 (words in square brackets appear in the original). Legge’s translation is: “In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “Look at that winding course of the K’e, with the green bamboos so luxuriant! Here is our elegant and prominent prince! As we cut and then file; as we chisel and then grind: *so has he cultivated himself*. How grave is he and dignified! How majestic and distinguished! Our elegant and accomplished prince never can be forgotten.” *That expression* – “as we cut and then file,” indicates the work of learning. “As we chisel and then grind,” indicates that of self culture. “How grave is he and dignified!” indicates the feeling of cautious reverence. “How commanding and distinguished,” indicates an awe-inspiring deportment. “Our elegant and accomplished prince never can be forgotten,” indicates how, when virtue is complete and excellence extreme, the people cannot forget them.” Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 1*, 227. Legge’s italics indicate the use of words not found in the Chinese text.

²²⁵ Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 1*, 220.

²²⁶ *ibid.*

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learning to be great (or adult education) consists in manifesting the clear character, loving the people, and abiding (*chih* [執]) in the highest good.”²²⁷

One early commentator, Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (127-200), held the view that the *Great learning* should serve as a handbook for rulers, whereas Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200), the famous Neo-Confucian editor of the Chinese classics, found it useful as a guide for all people in the task of cultivating moral human beings.²²⁸ Still, learning comes out as a key element in the preparation of both leaders and subordinates. And, learning takes time and requires patience and perseverance. Learning relies on several elements and prominent among these are the efforts of the student and the role of the teacher.²²⁹ A key statement by Confucius about the conditions of learning is found in *Analects*:

Confucius said, “Those who are born with knowledge [生而智 *sheng erh chih*] are the highest type of men. Those who learn through study [學而知 *hsüeh erh chih*] are the next. Those who learn through hard work [困而學 *k'un erh hsüeh*] are still the next. Those who work hard and still do not learn [困而不學 *k'un erh pu hsüeh*] are really the lowest type.”²³⁰

Confucius, however, humbly said of himself, “I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge; I am one who is fond of antiquity, and earnest in seeking it *there*.”²³¹ As a teacher he thus conveyed to his disciples that he saw himself as a student. In this way he wanted to

²²⁷ Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 86. See also his comment on the title: “The Chinese title, *Ta-hsüeh*, literally means education for the adult. In contrast to the education for the young, which consisted of good manners, daily behavior, etc., education for the adult involves moral cultivation and social order. It means, therefore, education for the good man or the gentleman, or using the word in the sense “great,” education for the great man.” Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 85.

²²⁸ Rongen, ed., *Middelvegen og Den store læra : to klassiske kinesiske tekstar. Frå kinesisk med innleiing og kommentarar*, 129.

²²⁹ In common English usage the primary meaning of the verb learn is “to gain knowledge or understanding of or skill in by study, instruction, or experience.” Mish, ed., *Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary*, 661.

²³⁰ *Analects* 16:9 in Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 45. (Chan’s underlining). Legge, who treated the character 困 *k'un* differently, has this translation: “Confucius said, ‘Those who are born with the possession of knowledge are the highest class of men. Those who learn, and so, readily, get possession of knowledge, are the next. Those who are dull and stupid, and yet compass the learning are another class next to these. And those who are dull and stupid and yet do not learn; -- they are the lowest of the people.’” Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 1*, 176-177.

²³¹ Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 1*, 65.

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inspire them to work hard themselves in order to acquire knowledge. Self-education is emphasized in the Confucian approach to learning.²³²

Cultivation in the form of learning, nevertheless, prepares the ground for the 師 *shih* (teacher). As Confucius had disciples, a teacher has students. The way Confucius taught has set a lasting example for education in Chinese culture. He is frequently referred to as 萬世師表 *wan-shih shih-piao* (a model (or: teacher) of excellence for all generations), and one of his honorary titles is 至聖先師孔子 *chih sheng hsien-shih k'ung-tzu*, “K’ung, the ancient Teacher, the perfect Sage.”²³³ Teachers have been seen as masters, and one of their primary requirements has been a thorough knowledge of the Chinese classics. Via the Chinese examination system, established in full format during the Sung dynasty (960-1279), teachers were able to influence thousands of candidates, who became the main source for political and bureaucratic leaders. For about 600 years this system was a primary tool in the cultivation of leadership for the Chinese empire.²³⁴

As a teacher Confucius emphasized “literature, ways of behavior, loyalty, and faithfulness.”²³⁵ He directed this emphasis both towards himself and his disciples. In the Confucian tradition “the influence of the teacher’s personal character” has been emphasized.²³⁶ Confucius made maximum use of the literature available to him in his own time, as can be seen for example in many quotes from such literature in the *Analects*. Memorization and interpretation of a core selection of the Chinese classics formed the basic curriculum in the Confucian-based examination system. Diligent work with texts, learning by rote, and memorization have been fundamental elements in the Confucian way of learning.

²³² Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 278.

²³³ Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 1*, 91 (prolegomena). According to Legge, this title has been in continuous use since A.D. 657. The two characters 至聖 *chih sheng* literally means “utmost holy”, and it is also common to call Confucius 聖子 *sheng-tzu* (the holy one, literally “the holy son”).

²³⁴ In a novel the author Chang Jung refers to her great-grandfather, who grew up during the last years of the Ching dynasty (1644-1912). “The goal was for him to pass the examinations to become a mandarin, an official, which was the aspiration of most Chinese males at the time. Being an official brought power, and power brought money. Without power or money, no Chinese could feel safe from the depredations of officialdom or random violence. There had never been a proper legal system. Justice was arbitrary, and cruelty was both institutionalized and capricious. An official with power was the law.” Chang Jung, *Wild swans : three daughters of China* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 22.

²³⁵ Chan, “Confucian thought : foundations of the tradition,” 16.

²³⁶ Jonathan T’ien-en Chao, “Crucial issues in leadership training : a Chinese perspective,” in *Mission focus : current issues*, ed. W.R. Shen (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1980), 395.

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There is, however, in the Confucian term “learning” much more involved than reading the classics. It must be understood in a broader sense, which includes finding “meaning in life” and “identity” in oneself.²³⁷ Confucius related the importance of learning to each of the cardinal virtues:

Love of Goodness without love of learning degenerates into silliness. Love of wisdom without love of learning degenerates into utter lack of principle. Love of keeping promises without love of learning degenerates into villainy. Love of uprightness without love of learning degenerates into harshness. Love of courage without love of learning degenerates into turbulence. Love of firmness without love of learning degenerates into mere recklessness.²³⁸

Proper ways of behavior, loyalty and faithfulness were not only inculcated by Confucius and other teachers like him but relied on the student’s practice and experience in the family and other important social relationships. As filial piety was practiced at its various levels in families and friendships it became natural to show a similar respect and obedience towards teachers. Teachers were supposed to treat students accordingly. A combination of family based influence and systematic education has made up the setting for the continued emphasis on learning in the Confucian tradition.

For Confucius himself, important though the family was, it did not constitute the prime focus of his teaching but was only the main context in which to understand the nature of the self, and especially the person, as providing leadership to the group (most notably in the form of the noble man, or *chün-tzu* [君子]). Certainly the basic Neo-Confucian texts, the Four Books (Great Learning, The Mean, Analects, and Mencius), are centrally concerned with self-cultivation of the person as the prospective bearer of leadership responsibilities. And though this capacity was engendered and nourished in both primary and essential respects within the family, in all of the Four Books the process culminates in education or training that goes beyond the home and family, most notably in schools and academies.²³⁹

Studies of the *Analects* reveal that Confucius himself was well aware of the various stages of personality development that he himself had lived through.²⁴⁰ In a frequently quoted statement he mentions six stages in this life-long process, and the first of these is 學 *hsüeh* (learning).

At fifteen, I set my heart upon learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I had no

²³⁷ Tu Wei-ming, "On the spiritual development of Confucius' personality," 152.

²³⁸ *Analects*, 17:8, as quoted in *ibid.*: 153.

²³⁹ William Theodore de Bary, "Confucian education in premodern East Asia," in *Confucian tradition in East Asian modernity: moral education and economic culture in Japan and the four Mini-Dracoms*, ed. Tu Wei-ming (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), 34.

²⁴⁰ See Tu Wei-ming, "On the spiritual development of Confucius' personality," 151.

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delusions. At fifty, I knew the mandate of heaven. At sixty, I heard with docile ear. At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing moral principles.²⁴¹

The key phrases used to describe each stage have triggered a lot of interpretation. According to Tu Wei-ming, a general feature in Confucius' attitude as seen here is his determination to "exert conscious effort to shape his own personality."²⁴² As the first of these efforts learning is the foundation. The fact that learning is said to have taken place during Confucius' adolescent period, underlines the value of setting the course of personality development at an early age. The six stages can be seen as "contributory factors to the formation of a mature personality whose style of life has become the highest model for generations of Confucian scholars throughout Chinese history."²⁴³ It should be noted, however, that this does not imply that "Confucius the person" should be regarded as the one and only manifestation of the way towards true "humanity (*jen* [仁])."²⁴⁴ He did not command his disciples to copy his way of life. He would rather open their eyes to the greatness in themselves, and inspire them to find their own way towards a high degree of integrity. With the conviction of such greatness and the inspiration to reach integrity there is motivation for self-cultivation.

As the second form of cultivation *self-cultivation* puts more responsibility on the individual. According to the above-mentioned images of the handcrafts, however, cultivation of the self also acknowledges the involvement of others. Self-cultivation thus goes alongside the efforts of others to mold the personality and nurture development in a given human being. Self-cultivation involves a conscious and life-long process with the goal to become a responsible human being.²⁴⁵ According to an interpretation of the *Analects* "the goal of knowing is not to memorize information or even to be informed by abstract principles of how to act in every

²⁴¹ *Analects*, 2:4, as quoted in *ibid.*

²⁴² *ibid.*

²⁴³ *ibid.*: 158. When Tu gathered together several of his published essays in one volume, the title indicates his view of self-cultivation as a key element in the Confucian tradition. See Tu Wei-ming, *Humanity and self-cultivation*.

²⁴⁴ Tu Wei-ming, "The Confucian perception of adulthood," in *Adulthood*, ed. Erik H. Erickson (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978), 121.

²⁴⁵ Cf. the expression 做人 *tso jen*, "to get along with other people; to be pleasant in manner or personality" Liang Shih-chiu, ed., *A new practical Chinese-English dictionary* (Taipei: The Far East Book Co., Ltd., 1972), 52.; literally, it means "to make a human being." *Tso jen* is also the Chinese title of the chapter on self-cultivation in Yung Keong-tow, ed., *Confucius says . . . Tzu yüeh*, Taiwan 1985 reprint ed. (Singapore: Federal Publications (S) Pte Ltd, 1982), 1-42.

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situation but to become wise, to creatively respond to each situation properly.”²⁴⁶ From a Confucian perspective self-cultivation does not take place in isolation and solitude, but rather in the community in which one lives. “In other words, a Confucianist always carries out his moral self-cultivation in the social context.”²⁴⁷ Self-cultivation is applied to everybody, no matter of social status.

The line of thought of Confucius was further developed by the Neo-Confucianists. Their key concept of 理 *li* (principle) is used alongside references to Heaven.²⁴⁸ In Neo-Confucianism the task of man can be summed up as to bring “the ways of Heaven and principle into one’s daily life” through proper study, observance of rituals, and conscious self-cultivation.²⁴⁹ In all this Confucius is a model figure.

Neo-Confucian philosophy begins with a religious positivism based on the opening line of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, “What has been mandated from Heaven in man is his nature.” The practice of Neo-Confucianism is to cultivate this nature, which is always morally good; the goal of this cultivation, deemed attainable by all men, is sagehood. For the Neo-Confucians, the sage is the exemplar of the perfected moral nature, a living model for the path one must follow to live one’s life in accord with Heaven.²⁵⁰

One of the most explicit and representative Confucian expositions regarding the issue of self-cultivation is found in the *Great learning*. This exposition is located in the beginning of the book and it refers to the statements about the eight steps. The eight steps are introduced twice, in opposite order. For the second version Legge has this translation:

“Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their

²⁴⁶ Lam Tak-ho, “Education in wisdom tradition : a study in the Analects and its implications”, 229.

²⁴⁷ A comment by Tu Wei-ming, quoted in Sheldon Sawatzky, “Chinese ecclesiology in context,” *Tai-wan shen-hsüeh lun kan = Taiwan journal of theology* 5, no. March (1983): 159. Cf. also Lam Tak-ho, who says that “it should be remarked that the process of learning and cultivating oneself does not occur by detaching oneself from the world of human relations but by making sincere attempts to participate in the human world.” Lam Tak-ho, “Education in wisdom tradition : a study in the Analects and its implications”, 25.

²⁴⁸ Rongen, ed., *Middelvegen og Den store læra : to klassiske kinesiske tekstar. Frå kinesisk med innleiing og kommentarar*, 29.

²⁴⁹ See Chan, “Confucian thought : Neo-Confucianism,” 35. The Chinese word for human nature is 性 *hsing*, which is comprised of two components: “生, *sheng*, translated *natural life*, that inescapable bond that humans share with all other living creatures; and 心, *xin*, the heart or moral mind, that is, the capacity implanted in the nature of each person by Heaven that enables the person to be more than a creature, to have the potentiality for humane or moral conduct.” Chuang Tsu-kung, “Communicating the concept of sin in the Chinese context,” 50-51.

²⁵⁰ Chan, “Confucian thought : Neo-Confucianism,” 35.

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States were rightly governed. Their States being rightly governed, the whole empire was made tranquil and happy.”²⁵¹

Wing-tsit Chan has paraphrased the eight steps as “investigation of things, extension of knowledge, making the will sincere, rectifying the mind, cultivating the person, regulating the family, ordering the state, and bringing peace to the world.”²⁵² He gives the following interpretation:

The first five steps involve the individual, while the last three involve society. They may be said to represent *jen* [仁] in systematic application, emphasizing as they do an absolute connection, expressed as a logical progression, between one’s fundamental inward disposition and one’s life in society. Bringing peace to the world depends on a correct ordering of the state, which in turn relies upon the proper disposition of the family (fathers acting as fathers, sons as sons, etc.), which itself relies on inward cultivation ultimately founded on the “investigation of things.” For, in the words of the *Great Learning*, “If the root (what is fundamental) is in disarray, what issues from it cannot be well ordered.”²⁵³

For Confucius the concept of 仁 *jen* had great significance. The radical in this character is 人 *jen* (man) combined with 二 *erh* (two). 仁 *jen* sets the tone for social relations and in English the common translations are humanity, benevolence, kindness, or human-heartedness. When he taught about acting out 仁 *jen* in daily life Confucius emphasized that people should behave according to 禮 *li*, “the rules of propriety, rituals or norms.”²⁵⁴ Social behavior in Chinese contexts is very much shaped by the implications of *li*. Whatever situation a person has to face in life *li* provides the appropriate conduct. In case of conflict between *li* and the law it happens more often than not that a Chinese will let *li* take precedence. *Li* also encompasses the ritual acts by which a person symbolically expresses correct behavior and morals, such as in the sacrificial rites in the honor of ancestors.

²⁵¹ Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 1*, 222-223.

²⁵² Chan, "Confucian thought : foundations of the tradition," 19.

²⁵³ *ibid.* Differing interpretations of the expression “investigation of things” caused a lasting debate among Neo-Confucianists. “To Chu Hsi (1130-1200), *ko-wu* meant to investigate things, both inductively and deductively, on the premise that principle (*li*), the reason of being, is inherent in things. He believed that only with a clear knowledge of things can one’s will be sincere. [...] Wang Yang-ming (Wang Shou-jen, 1472-1529), on the other hand, believing that principle is inherent in the mind, to *ko* to mean “to correct,” that is, to correct what is wrong in the mind. To him, sincerity of the will, without which no true knowledge is possible, must come before the investigation of things.” Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 84-85.

²⁵⁴ Tu Wei-ming, "On the spiritual development of Confucius' personality," 31.

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Above I made reference to paragraph five in the opening part of the *Great learning*. The fifth of the eight steps there is about “cultivating the person.” In the Chinese text the expression is 脩其身 *hsiu ch'i shen*. In this expression the character 脩 *hsiu* carries the same meaning as 修 *hsiu*, which is used in chapter sixteen of the *Classic of filial piety*²⁵⁵ as well as in today's common Chinese usage. 修 *hsiu* literally has the meaning “to repair, adorn, prune, cut;” 其 *ch'i* means one's own (his/her, etc.), and 身 *shen* is primarily used about “body, one's own person, oneself.”²⁵⁶ This step of cultivating the person is singled out as fundamental by use of the term 本 *pen* (root) in the next paragraph in the *Great learning*: “From the emperor down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of every thing besides.”²⁵⁷ In the above mentioned chapter of the *Classic of filial piety* the supreme ruler, 天子 *t'ien-tzu* (Son of Heaven), is described as a model also regarding self-cultivation:

Even the Son of Heaven had to have someone to pay reverence to, that is to his father; he had to have someone to defer to, that is to his elder brothers. He sacrificed at the ancestral temple in order to keep his parents in remembrance. He cultivated his character and acted prudently, lest he should disgrace his elders.²⁵⁸

In the Confucian tradition the above mentioned eight steps of “investigation of things, extension of knowledge, making the will sincere, rectifying the mind, cultivating the person, regulating the family, ordering the state, and bringing peace to the world”²⁵⁹ have been carefully followed up. From a Confucian perspective the aspect of the individual and the aspect of the context are closely interwoven. Confucianists underline the importance of

²⁵⁵ Sih, ed., *The Hsiao Ching (translated by Mary Leila Makra)*, 34.

²⁵⁶ Liang Shih-chiu, ed., *A new practical Chinese-English dictionary*, 59,1073.

²⁵⁷ Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 1*, 221. Legge's italics indicate the use of words not found in the Chinese text.

²⁵⁸ Sih, ed., *The Hsiao Ching (translated by Mary Leila Makra)*, 35. In a note Makra adds this explanation: “*Hsiu shen* 修身 ‘to cultivate oneself,’ ‘to practice moral culture’. The modern textbooks by this name combine good form and ethics. The disciples of Master K'ung interpreted him as believing that human nature which is not good in itself must be cultivated by the virtues of *i* ‘righteousness’, *li* ‘propriety,’ *jen* ‘feeling for fellow-men’ and the like; these virtues a man was to learn not by meditating apart from his fellow-men, but precisely in his relations with his family, friends and his rulers and by his individual effort to follow the Way.” Sih, ed., *The Hsiao Ching (translated by Mary Leila Makra)*, 62. Although Makra here differs from the view that the dominant belief in the Confucian tradition is that human nature is originally good, I find that her description of the task of cultivation is to the point. Even if it is believed that human nature is good in itself there is a need for determined and persistent self-cultivation.

²⁵⁹ Chan, “Confucian thought : foundations of the tradition,” 19.

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knowledge about the nature and capacity of human beings. They also try to reach a comprehensive understanding of the context, and for human beings this context encompasses all elements in the universe from the family units to Heaven. For cultivation of leadership this Confucian perspective leads to a conscious and structured strategy for convincing and molding individuals to see their proper position in prescribed social relationships and act accordingly. The basis for this strategy is the dominant belief that human nature is good. Still, there is the challenge of facing wrongdoing and misuse of authority and power.

2.2.4 Summary of the Confucian context

The legacy of Confucius and the core of the Chinese classics known as the *Four books* have established Confucianism as a key element in Chinese culture. A combination of learning and moral development has implications for the function of individuals, families, institutions and government in their prescribed social relationships. The positive view of man in the Confucian tradition is one of the main forces supporting both learning and moral development. Over the centuries various movements and impulses, both within Chinese culture and from outside sources, have led to different interpretations and adaptations of the legacy of Confucius. Still, the main aspects of his legacy have survived and remained as a guiding principle and characteristic feature in Chinese communities. The force of modernity has challenged but not erased Confucianism as a stamp on Chinese culture.

In Taiwan the impact of Confucianism is related to the settlement of Chinese on the island, mainly during the last four centuries. More conscious efforts towards sustaining Confucianism have occurred since 1885 when Taiwan formally became a province of China. The colonization by Japan in the first half of the twentieth century did not disrupt the influence of Confucian values, and the government set up by the Kuomintang in 1949 sustained this influence. A combination of ideological and political motives has led the authorities to emphasize Confucian values in education and public life. From the late 1980s and onwards the democratization process has caused some degree of rethinking of the ways in which Confucianism can be used to legitimize politics and patterns of social life.

References to classic sources and a variety of interpretations of the Confucian tradition have revealed basic issues regarding the cultivation of leadership. A long-ranging perspective characterizes the Confucian approach. There are no quick steps on the ladder of ascension to a leadership position. Leaders have to understand their role and learn their task through a life-long process, which includes diligent learning and persistent self-cultivation. Leaders are supposed to be literate and knowledgeable. The practice of filial piety in the family has

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extensions to respect for leaders in society. Respected leaders are those who have shown filial piety themselves.

Leadership, learning, and self-cultivation as conceived in the Confucian tradition, on the basis of its view of human nature and precept of filial piety, pose a set of challenges to the preparation of leaders in Christian churches in a Chinese environment. These challenges are the starting point for the development of the problem and goal of this study.

2.3 The problem and goal of this study

The above historical overview (section 2.1) and outline of the Confucian context (section 2.2) make up the backdrop against which the development of the problem and goal of this study will be performed. TLC was planted as a Christian seed in a soil partly fertilized by Confucianism. Over the years since the planting TLC has grown, matured and changed in several respects. Confucianism in Taiwan has experienced some degree of adaptation to the forces of modernization in the Chinese society. Still, Confucian values remain as an important influence that must be taken into consideration within Christian communities in Taiwan. This challenge also applies to TLC.

2.3.1 Development of the problem

I said in chapter one that the development of the problem in a study based on an empirical approach is informed and influenced by the researcher's presuppositions, readings, fieldwork, and in some cases also related experiences and participant observation. Here I will add a few more comments about these four aspects.

One of my main presuppositions is my faith in God and the conviction of the uniqueness of Christ and Christian faith in this world with several religions, systems of faith, and world-views. This conviction of uniqueness supports my view of Christian mission, namely, to make Christ known to those who do not recognize his uniqueness, lead them to faith in him and into the fellowship of believers in a local Christian church. Christian mission takes place by preaching of the gospel and administration of the sacraments and by showing unconditional love and care for all people. As Christian mission is based in and flows out from local congregations of Christians, the exercise of leadership in these communities is of great importance for the task of mission. The ministry of pastors in such congregations represents a crucial part of Christian leadership. Both the normative and the historical aspects of the problem of this study are related to my missiological vantage point and my understanding of pastoral leadership. The preparation of pastors for ministry cannot but focus

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on the challenges raised by the encounter between Christian faith and the religious and cultural context.

My readings of source material and literature have strengthened my conviction that the Confucian tradition has represented and still represents a challenge for cultivation of Christian leadership in Chinese communities. This challenge also applies to the preparation of pastors.

Another factor in the development of the problem of this study is that I represent one of the western missions that have cooperated with TLC. The contribution of Westerners in the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC has been quite extensive in the period covered by this study. Although I was not involved in theological education, my years as a missionary in Taiwan in the 1980s opened my eyes to some of the challenges that Westerners face when trying to understand and adapt to a Chinese cultural environment. Such challenges are also relevant in cross-cultural contribution to cultivation of leadership.

During my fieldwork in Taiwan in 1997 I had a short conversation with one of the students at CLS.²⁶⁰ Having been briefly introduced to the aim of my study she commented on my focus on the Confucian context. In her opinion Westerners tend to overemphasize the role of Confucianism in Chinese communities. She held the view that basic human needs can explain most Chinese traits. Interviews during the same stay with TLC pastors and theological educators, however, strengthened my impression that Confucian values to a large extent underpin leadership development in Taiwan, including that in Christian communities.

The interaction between Christian and Confucian values in an approach to cultivation of Christian leadership in a Chinese setting is a general problem related to this study. One could ask how implications of the Confucian approach to leadership, learning and self-cultivation are dealt with by trainers and trainees participating in cultivation of Christian leadership. Some of these implications may be filled with tension, and some may have the potential to represent a creative and productive stimulus.

I have chosen to shed light on a particular case of cultivation of Christian leadership in a Confucian context during a certain period of recent history. Within the surveyed time-span of about forty years candidates were recruited, trained and ordained for ministry as pastors in TLC. All TLC pastors covered in this study have had some amount of seminary training and evangelist ministry before their ordination. The historical overview has shown, however, that the pastors have been trained in two different settings, namely, in an exclusive or a non-exclusive Lutheran setting. With few exceptions TLC pastors ordained until 1987 have been

²⁶⁰ Gustav Steensland, "Conversation with student at China Lutheran Seminary, 16 March 1997, notes," (Gustav Steensland collection, 1997).

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trained either at denominational seminaries (mainly LTS and TLS) or at an interdenominational seminary (CES). Regardless of the type of setting quite a few elements have been fairly constant. The constitutions and rules of the church and the requirements for preparatory evangelist ministry and ordination have not changed very much. Candidates for ordination have had fairly similar working conditions during their participation in local church ministry.

The problem of this study can, therefore, be stated as follows: There is not sufficient knowledge about how the Confucian approach to leadership, learning, and self-cultivation did influence the cultivation of pastoral leadership in the seminary training, evangelist ministry, and ordination of TLC pastors between 1947 and 1987.

2.3.2 Development of the goal

I presented very briefly in chapter one²⁶¹ my arguments regarding the goal for this study. The prior knowledge about the problem of this study is very limited. My goal is, therefore, to describe and explore the preparation of TLC candidates for pastoral leadership, and the focus is on the interaction between Christian and Confucian values. On the basis of the historical and contextual overview here in chapter two it is now possible to qualify some aspects of the goal.

The *descriptive aspect* of the goal implies that I have tried to gather the best possible collection of relevant source material and give an account of historical developments and theological views and experiences. Primary parts of the material are specifically related to TLC and its western partners, namely, material related to a reasonable selection of those involved, including both trainers and trainees. Other parts of the material are of more general nature and contain presentations and interpretations of historical developments and theological and contextual issues.

The *explorative aspect* of the goal implies that I will investigate and analyze the source material to see how it can yield results towards addressing the problem of this study. In my investigation and analysis I will give more attention to the role of seminary education than to that of evangelist ministry and ordination. This choice of emphasis is not only due to the availability of relevant source material. It has also to do with the larger amount of conscious reflection and discussion in teaching and textbooks at the seminaries.

²⁶¹ See section 1.2.1.

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Without extensive knowledge it is not possible to derive and test one or more hypotheses. Beyond the goal of this study there are options for further studies. Hopefully, I will provide relevant material and expanded insights that can benefit not only research but also improved cultivation of Christian leadership in a Confucian context.

2.4 Summary of chapter 2

In the current chapter the preparation of Chinese pastors for ministry in TLC has been put in a historical and contextual perspective. Lutheran Christians coming from the China mainland after 1949, formed congregations in Taiwan, assisted by western missionary partners. Even before the formal establishment of TLC in 1954 measures were taken to recruit Chinese pastors for ministry in local congregations. Since 1957 all but a few of the TLC pastors have been trained in Taiwan. Through theological education, evangelist ministry and ordination pastors have been prepared for their leadership duties. Both Chinese and western teachers, mentors and ordinators have contributed to this preparation. Since the 1970s a shift from an exclusive to a non-exclusive Lutheran setting for this preparation has taken place.

Throughout the period covered by this study (1948-1987) Confucianism has been an important aspect of the social and cultural context in which TLC pastors have been prepared. Values derived from the view of human nature and the implementation of the precept of filial piety in the Confucian tradition serve as important guidelines for cultivation of leadership in Chinese communities. The encounter between these values and those of the Christian tradition has represented a challenge for both trainers and trainees in the preparation of TLC pastors.

On the basis of this challenge the problem and goal for this study have been laid out. In order to come closer to how the proposed problem and goal are related to concrete experiences and theological reflection the following chapter about my research strategy will make use of both induction and deduction. The inductive approach will pave the way for a research design that can possibly address more specifically the problem and reach the goal presented here in chapter two. Then, by means of deduction, the research design will be developed, with concepts and a model suitable for the task of operationalization.

3 Previous research and choice of method for this study

In this chapter I will present what I regard as relevant research and an appropriate method for my chosen topic. By combining an explanation of my own research strategy with an account of other contributors' research and theological reflection the ground will be prepared for the subsequent chapters of this study. Here in chapter three, which is based on the induction and deduction phases of my study, my objectives are to formulate a specific research question, clarify the terms of this question, and lay out my choice of operations that are supposed to lead to answers to the question. In the first section I outline the induction phase, which shows how I became aware of the problem of my study, how this problem is dealt with in selected literature, and how I have designed my own research. The second section contains the elements of the deduction, where I discuss terminology, establish a conceptual model, and select the elements of the operationalization. The chapter ends with a summary.

3.1 The aspects of induction

As mentioned in chapter one²⁶² induction combines observation and reflection about phenomena in the empirical reality. The phenomena of interest for the induction phase in this study are those related to particular elements in the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC. In this section I will refer to the material that has been the source of my theological perception, present reviews of relevant theoretical, empirical and historical literature, formulate the theological question and develop the research design.

3.1.1 The elements of my theological perception

In general usage perception is the result of perceiving, that is, to become aware of something through the senses. Such awareness can also include expanded understanding of the phenomenon or case in point. Theological perception, therefore, is to bring together results of a variety of observations and see how they can contribute to a deeper understanding of doctrinal and practical issues in a community of believers.

The origin of this study is related to my observations as a missionary in TLC in the 1980s. Then, in connection with my writing of the history of NMS in Taiwan,²⁶³ my study of literature and also documents in church and mission archives further underlined the importance of leadership development in Christian ministry and mission work. My perception

²⁶² Section 1.2.2.

²⁶³ Steensland, "Taiwan."

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regarding the current topic became more focused as I in the early 1990s was encouraged by the School of Mission and Theology to write a doctoral thesis as a part of my position as assistant professor of practical theology since 1991. Following some deliberations and planning I formally embarked on the doctoral degree program in August 1996. The below presentation of my theological perception will recapture some of my observations and reflections up to the start of the degree program.

3.1.1.1 Observations during missionary work in the 1980s

My ability to identify elements in the Confucian context in Taiwan was gradually developed as I studied Mandarin Chinese at the Taichung Branch of Taipei Language Institute from 1981 and onwards. Key vocabulary and texts related to ancient and contemporary Chinese culture were parts of the curriculum. Quotations and excerpts from the Chinese classics were included in the textbooks. The teachers and staff at the language school emphasized the importance of Confucius as a model teacher, especially in connection with the annual celebration of Teachers' Day on Confucius' birthday 28 September. In the Confucius temple in Taichung the large wooden carving with golden characters caught my attention: 萬世師表 *wan-shih shih-piao* (a model (or: teacher) of excellence for all generations). Through press reports I understood that some Confucianists in Taiwan disliked the established Chinese term for Christmas 聖誕節 *sheng-tan chieh* (the holy birth festival). In their opinion only Confucius is 聖子 *sheng-tzu* (the holy one), and they argued that Christmas should be called 耶誕節 *yeh-tan chieh* (the birth festival of Jesus), according the transliteration of Jesus' name into 耶穌 *yeh-su*.

During my five years in Taiwan (1981-1984, 1987-1988) I served in TLC in two congregations and at a student center in Taichung. In this setting I became acquainted with pastors and coworkers in the area. I also had a chance to visit other districts and attend Sunday worship services and other meetings in several local congregations of TLC. As far as seminary training is concerned I did not get a chance to make observations of teaching and lectures attended by TLC candidates, neither in Taiwan nor in Hong Kong. Their ministry practice in local congregations alongside their studies, as well as their work as evangelists after graduation also evaded my attention as none of them were placed in the Taichung area during my years there. Somehow I did not attend any of the ordinations of LTS and CES candidates held in TLC between 1981 and 1988. My initial observations and reflections

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regarding the role of the Confucian context in the cultivation of Christian leadership and the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC are, therefore, related to practices in local congregations and youth fellowships. Below are two examples.

In sermons held by TLC pastors I did not notice so much about the relationship between Christian faith and the major religious and philosophical elements in the Chinese tradition. The main focus of the preaching was exposition of texts from the Bible and the use of stories and illustrations from everyday life. Now and then there were references to Confucian sayings and other quotes from the *Chinese classics* but most frequently one or more of the Chinese 成語 *ch'eng-yü* (idioms) were used to make a point.²⁶⁴

As far as exercise of pastoral leadership is concerned I noticed the higher status of senior pastors compared to that of the younger ones. Older pastors were often preferred in elections to church offices and as leaders of committees. This difference in status between seniors and juniors was evident not only in various church related settings but also in general social relationships.

3.1.1.2 Reflections in connection with NMS history project

In my above-mentioned research about the history of NMS in Taiwan I made use of written sources in archives of NMS, TLM, TLMA and TLC. During the study of periodicals, minutes, correspondence and reports I noticed that the issue of leadership development in TLC was mentioned several times. Particularly the recruitment and preparation of Chinese pastors and evangelists for ministry seemed to be a major concern among both missionaries and TLC workers. A couple of examples can illustrate this concern. In 1952 the first TLM conference discussed and decided upon a series of issues regarding the Lutheran mission work on the island. An appendix to the conference minutes is a plan document which states that TLM “shall be especially interested in the recruitment and training of Chinese leadership for the church here and on the mainland.”²⁶⁵ Ten years later Lars Bjørsvik said in the 1962 annual report to the home board of NMS that “a lack of trained workers has been and is one of our biggest problems in our work.”²⁶⁶ The concern for leadership development in TLC was also

²⁶⁴ Several of these idioms are taken from ancient stories in the Chinese tradition. “It has been estimated that an educated Chinese uses up to 1,000 *ch'eng-yü* in everyday speech, expanding or contracting his repertory to meet the educational level of his listeners.” William M. Bueler, *Chinese sayings* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1972), 7.

²⁶⁵ Leslie F. Brandt, “Taiwan Lutheran Mission conference,” (Taipei: Taiwan Lutheran Mission / TLM Archives, TLC office, 1952).

²⁶⁶ Norwegian Missionary Society (Taiwan), “Misjonærmøtereferater og svarskriv,” (1958-1963).

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reflected in three of the books I used in my research, written by my missionary colleague in TLC Allen J. Swanson 史文森.²⁶⁷ In the early years the TLC experienced “a desperate problem of inadequate personnel,”²⁶⁸ and in Swanson’s opinion some of the TLS graduates in the early 1960s “were not psychologically prepared for the duties of the ministry.”²⁶⁹ He is convinced that “strong leadership is imperative if a church is to grow and mature,” and he goes on to ask if there would be “more Christians if the pastors were of even higher quality?”²⁷⁰ These and other comments in these books about the cultivation of pastoral leadership in TLC and other churches in Taiwan made me reflect upon my own observations regarding the same issue during my years on the island.²⁷¹

3.1.1.3 Interviews and impressions in the early 1990s

In this section I will briefly mention a few factors that helped to shape my project proposal. These factors are mainly related to meetings with persons knowledgeable about church and mission work among the Chinese.

Yu Chi-ping (Thomas) held two guest lectures at MHS 27 September 1991.²⁷² In the first of these lectures, based on his doctoral thesis from 1984,²⁷³ Yu presented an outline of the challenges represented by filial piety for the work of churches in Taiwan, especially regarding pastoral care. The second lecture was entitled “Obstacles and opportunities in reaching the Chinese with the Gospel.” His emphasis on critical contextualization of the Christian faith and message in any culture, and his systematic presentation of the possibilities and problems for church and mission work among the Chinese was very helpful for my own theological reflection. As he returned to Norway for a LWF meeting in 1993 I was able to discuss with him an early draft of my thesis proposal, which then had the working title “Chinese and Biblical concepts of religious leadership: implications for the development of pastoral ministry in the Taiwan Lutheran Church, with special reference to the methodology

²⁶⁷ Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth.*, Swanson, *The church in Taiwan : profile 1980.* and Swanson, *Mending the nets.*

²⁶⁸ Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 125.

²⁶⁹ *ibid.*, 127.

²⁷⁰ Swanson, *The church in Taiwan : profile 1980*, 135.

²⁷¹ Swanson is portrayed in chapter four, section 4.2.2.

²⁷² Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "Obstacles and opportunities in reaching the Chinese with the gospel," in *Guest lecture* (School of Mission and Theology, Stavanger, Norway: Gustav Steensland collection, 1991), Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "Filial piety," in *Guest lecture* (School of Mission and Theology, Stavanger, Norway: Gustav Steensland collection, 1991).

²⁷³ Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), “Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety”.

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of the cooperating foreign missions.” Yu gave me the advice to limit my scope of Chinese concepts to those of the Confucian tradition. In his view Confucianism is fundamental for the approach to leadership in a Chinese context, in which hierarchical and partly authoritarian structures are prevalent. In his view such structures can also be seen among pastors.

Tony Lambert of the OMF came to visit MHS in the fall of 1993 and he was also shown the draft of my thesis proposal. In my conversation with him he presented his written comments.²⁷⁴ With regard to my reference to a western observer’s statement about a “common thread of authoritarianism” among the Chinese,²⁷⁵ Lambert mentioned that common people in China are also “influenced by a more ‘democratic’/’anti-establishment’ tradition.”²⁷⁶ His reminder about the need to balance characterizations of Chinese culture has been very useful for my study.

During the fall of 1995 my former fellow student at MHS Akio Hashimoto from Japan stayed at our school as a visiting scholar.²⁷⁷ I appreciated his willingness to consider a series of questions I had prepared regarding church leadership and its relation to Confucianism.²⁷⁸ In his opinion Confucianism does not explicitly shape leadership patterns in China, Japan and Korea. It is more a matter of Confucianism being implicitly and unconsciously present in the cultivation and exercise of leadership in these countries. On the one hand leaders in a Confucian context are respected for the office they have, for example in churches. On the other hand their leadership should not be authoritarian. Leaders shaped by Confucian ideals should bring harmony into the work of a community or congregation and not act as commanders. It is expected of leaders that they serve as good moral examples. From his vantage point Hashimoto, nevertheless, thinks that the church in Japan perhaps needs to

²⁷⁴ Tony Lambert, "Comments on manuscript draft by Gustav Steensland of 16 March 1993," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1993).

²⁷⁵ Richard W. Hartzell, *Harmony in conflict : active adaptation to life in present-day Chinese society*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Caves Books, Ltd., 1988), vi.

²⁷⁶ Lambert saw this “other stream/tradition” as rooted in the thoughts of Mencius, who had given people the right to dethrone a bad emperor, and in the doctrine of 天命 *t’ien ming* “Mandate of Heaven.” In Lambert’s view secret societies and peasant rebellions in China are related to this tradition. Lambert, "Comments on manuscript draft by Gustav Steensland of 16 March 1993," (Lambert's underlining).

²⁷⁷ Akio Hashimoto currently serves as principal of Kobe Lutheran Seminary. In 1992 he got his PhD in theology. See Akio Hashimoto, *Theology of the pain of God : an analysis and evaluation of Kazoh Kitamori's (1916-) work in Japanese protestantism* (St. Louis, Missouri: 1992).

²⁷⁸ See Akio Hashimoto, "Interview in Stavanger by Gustav Steensland 29 September 1995, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1995), Akio Hashimoto, "Interview in Stavanger by Gustav Steensland 11 December 1995, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1995). The conversations were held in Norwegian as Akio had become fluent in this language during his studies in Norway.

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strengthen the authority of its leaders. He gave the following reasons: a) Confucian leadership ideals alone are not strong enough to guide leadership in Christian congregations; b) a pastor should not be overly considerate but dare to lead; c) a solid theology of the office of ministry will serve as a good foundation for pastors in a challenging situation; d) for the development of such theology for churches in settings influenced by Confucianism the anthropology of the Confucian tradition must be taken into consideration.

3.1.1.4 Summary of the theological perception

I have presented selected elements in my perception over a period of about 15 years leading up to the time of my formal start in the doctoral degree program in 1996. During my years as a missionary in the 1980s I got a sense of the importance of Confucianism as a key cultural factor in Taiwan. In the churches I noticed social patterns and leadership practices that most likely were based on Confucian values. Among TLC pastors, however, there were few signs of a deliberate and focused discussion and preaching related to the contextualization of the Christian faith in their Confucian environment. My research and writing of the NMS missionary history in Taiwan showed clearly that the recruitment and training of Chinese pastors had been an important concern both among the missionaries and their coworkers in TLC. Through the lectures by Yu Chi-ping (Thomas) and my conversations with him the concept of filial piety and other elements in the Confucian tradition were confirmed as influential in the cultivation and exercise of leadership among the Chinese. Tony Lambert and Akio Hashimoto provided further arguments in the same direction.

3.1.2 Theological reflection based on selected literature

In addition to references to my own perception it is necessary to relate my project to previous research and studies. According to the recommendation of Ven both theoretical and empirical literature should be reviewed in a practical-theological study, and to the second category I have added historical literature. Some limitations apply to my selection of literature. The following two sections deal with publications (primarily monographs and book sections) that have influenced my own study and deliberations with regard to my project. My selection of theoretical literature is taken from the fields of theology and social sciences. As far as the empirical and historical literature is concerned I have chosen to focus mainly on contributions with relevance to cultivation of leadership in TLC in particular and in a Chinese setting in general.

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3.1.2.1 An overview of theoretical literature

With my own theological education in the 1970s as a point of departure four areas of theology have been especially important for my view of cultivation of Christian leadership in general and the preparation of pastors for ministry in particular. Through the study of the New Testament, dogmatics, pastoral theology and missiology a foundation was laid for my ministry as an ordained pastor both as in Taiwan and in my home country. Several of the challenges in my ministry and in my work as a teacher of practical theology have led to my interest in the topic of this thesis and renewed reading of related literature.

New Testament exegesis and theology are basic sources for the understanding of pastoral ministry and leadership. A good example is *The preacher's portrait : some New Testament word studies* by John R.W. Stott.²⁷⁹ Five terms are chosen to illuminate the key aspects of pastoral ministry as a preaching ministry. A preacher is called to serve as steward, herald, witness, father and servant. Rightly understood, carefully cultivated and wisely practiced a preacher's ministry is an important form of leadership in the church. Pastors exercise leadership through their preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ. I find that Stott in his preface to the book has expressed fundamental motives and ideals that also apply to the cultivation and practice of pastoral leadership.

We need, I believe, to gain in the Church today a clearer view of God's revealed ideal for the preacher, what he is and how he is to do his work. So I shall be considering his message and his authority, the character of the proclamation he is called to make, the vital necessity of his own experience of the Gospel, the nature of his motive, the source of his power, and the moral qualities which should characterize him, notably humility, gentleness and love.²⁸⁰

Three textbooks in the field of dogmatics were especially influential in my own theological training. The lectures of Leiv Aalen in the 1960s at the Lutheran School of Theology in Oslo were mimeographed and published as *Dogmatisk grunnriss*,²⁸¹ which is an outline of dogmatics from a confessional Lutheran perspective. In many of his notes he refers to the German original of the *Theology of the Lutheran Confessions*²⁸² by Edmund Schlink. My

²⁷⁹ John R. W. Stott, *The preacher's portrait : some New Testament word studies* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1981). This book was first published in 1961, and although I did not buy my own copy until shortly after my graduation in 1979, we were introduced to the book during my seminary years.

²⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 7.

²⁸¹ Leiv Aalen, *Dogmatisk grunnriss (utg. 1963-64, delvis revidert 1965) [Outline of dogmatics (published 1963-1964, partly revised 1965)]* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1965).

²⁸² Edmund Schlink, *Theology of the Lutheran confessions*, trans. Paul F. Koehneke and Herbert J.A. Bouman (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961).

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major textbook was *Skabelse og genløsning : dogmatik*²⁸³ by the Danish Lutheran theologian Regin Prenter. In some of the same manner as Aalen he tries to define his doctrinal position in the golden mean between a Roman Catholic and a Reformed approach.²⁸⁴ The understanding of pastoral leadership emerging from my reading of these three textbooks is rooted in their definition of the Church and the office of ministry. Although there are some nuances I find it appropriate to give a joint summary. The Church is a personal community in the sense that in faith the believers have fellowship with God in Christ and with each another. This community is, however, founded by God who in Christ also has instituted a ministry with the task of making the means of grace available in and through this community. These means of grace are concentrated in the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments (baptism and the Lord's supper). An ordained pastor has been called and given the task by God through the congregation to have a public responsibility for the reliable function of the means of grace in worship services and elsewhere in the life and ministry of the congregation. The primary task of pastoral leadership is, therefore, to fulfill this responsibility. Cultivation of pastoral leadership involves first and foremost proper education and training of candidates, with emphasis on solid theological knowledge and ability to administer the means of grace.

My introduction to pastoral theology came through the study of works by authors with experience from ordained ministry and preparation of pastors in the Church of Norway in the 19th and 20th centuries. With his book *Den hellige tjeneste : innledning i preste-tjenesten*,²⁸⁵ first published in 1888 and reprinted several times, Gustav Margerth Jensen, for many years a pastor and also teacher of practical theology, reached out even to my generation with an elevated ideal for pastoral ministry from a conservative Lutheran point of view. His vision for living and working congregations is the center of his understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. As a leader the pastor shall contribute to joyful and earnest gatherings in Sunday worship, which is the heartbeat of the Christian community. Although a pastor's leadership is not supposed to take the form of lordship over the congregation Jensen emphasizes the key role of the pastor in and for the local community of believers. Bjarne O. Weider, who served as a pastor, teacher of practical theology and then bishop, wrote a textbook for candidates for

²⁸³ Regin Prenter, *Skabelse og genløsning : dogmatik (5. oplag)* (København: G.E.C. Gads forlag, 1971).

²⁸⁴ He uses terms such as "romersk oppfattelse" (a Roman way of thought) and "Pavekirken" (the Papal church) to indicate the Roman Catholic approach, and "sværmerisk oppfattelse" (a fanatic way of thought) and "Sværmerne" (the Fanatics) to indicate the Reformed approach. See for example *ibid.*, 572-574.

²⁸⁵ Gustav Margerth Jensen, *Den hellige tjeneste : innledning i preste-tjenesten*, (i ny utgave ved Bjarne O. Weider) ed. (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsens Forlag, 1969).

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ordained ministry: *Kallet og tjenesten : pastoralteologiske prinsippsspørsmål*.²⁸⁶ He favors a functional approach to the understanding of pastoral ministry. The essence of the ordained ministry is found in its mission, which is to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments so that God can reach out to people and create in them the justifying faith in Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit. The ministry of all believers presupposes the service and leadership of ordained ministry. Cultivation of pastoral leadership involves several elements which, combine personal and spiritual maturity and theological education. A collection of sermons and essays by Johannes Smemo, who served as bishop 1946-1968, was published as *Kravet og kraften : ordinasjonstaler og andre bidrag til emnet kall og tjeneste / samlet og utgitt av Tore Kopperud*.²⁸⁷ His messages to candidates for ordination reflect his understanding and cultivation of pastoral ministry. This ministry is a spiritual function in the church, consisting of preaching and administration of the sacraments. On behalf of the church, with its authority and in faithfulness to the Word of God and the confession to which the church has pledged its allegiance the pastor performs his ministry and leadership tasks. Preparation for such ministry requires a call from God and solid theological education.

Roland Allen's book *Missionary methods: St. Paul's or ours?*²⁸⁸ was one of my required readings in missiology. Although Allen's missionary experience in North China is an important background he does not, however, go into much detail about the particular challenges in a Chinese context. His aim is to bring forth challenges to the worldwide missionary efforts and missiological thinking. The chapter on "The Training of Candidates for Baptism and Ordination"²⁸⁹ directed my attention towards the theological and methodological issues related to the contextualization of preparation for Christian ministry and leadership. Allen points to four consequences of making intellectual tests the main criterion for the selection and training of candidates for ordained ministry: 1) Congregations have not had sufficient access to the sacraments because too few have been ordained; 2) Most candidates have been young men and their education has taken place without close contacts with their congregations; 3) Elders in the communities have not been recognized as potential and valuable leaders in the congregations; 4) Persons with natural teaching abilities and gifts for

²⁸⁶ Bjarne O. Weider, *Kallet og tjenesten : pastoralteologiske prinsippsspørsmål [The call and the ministry : principle issues in pastoral theology]* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsens Forlag, 1969).

²⁸⁷ Johannes Smemo, *Kravet og kraften : ordinasjonstaler og andre bidrag til emnet kall og tjeneste / samlet og utgitt av Tore Kopperud* (Oslo: Luther Forlag A/S, 1978).

²⁸⁸ Roland Allen, *Missionary methods : St. Paul's or ours?*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1962).

²⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 95-107.

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preaching have not been properly assigned to tasks in the congregations. To some extent these consequences also apply to developments in TLC. Especially the second issue is relevant for my study as it points to the way in which the candidates were trained.

The titles of two of the publications by David J. Hesselgrave point to key tasks related to cross-cultural mission work, namely, *Communicating Christ cross-culturally* and *Planting churches cross-culturally*.²⁹⁰ Communication involves a keen awareness of worldviews, cognitive processes, linguistic forms, behavioral patterns, social structures, media influence and motivational resources. One chapter in the first book²⁹¹ deals with challenges related to communicating Christ into a Chinese worldview, which is characterized mainly by references to the influence from Taoism and Confucianism. When it comes to church planting one of the main issues is leadership. In the part two of the second book, about “The Christian Leader and the Christian Mission,” it is emphasized that the planning and outreach of mission work must focus on “the style of leadership at various levels and stages of development.”²⁹² Part four deals with “The Emerging Church and the Christian Mission.” One section, “The Leaders Consecrated,” is concerned with ways in which qualified leadership for the local church can be developed. Hesselgrave is of the opinion that such leadership is based on three pillars, namely, “the spiritual maturity of all believers in the congregation,” the recognition and selection of “men and women who are spiritually qualified for leadership,” and a church organization that is “scriptural, functional, effective, and expandable.”²⁹³ In my opinion Hesselgrave has identified key issues such as worldview, linguistic forms, social structures and leadership qualities that can play a part in the description, exploration and analysis of my topic. He has also confirmed the importance of Confucianism in the Chinese cultural setting.

In *Christianity in culture : a study in dynamic biblical theologizing in cross-cultural perspective* Charles H. Kraft included the formation of “dynamically equivalent church leadership” as one of his objectives.²⁹⁴ In a short case study he discusses how cultural criteria

²⁹⁰ David J. Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ cross-culturally : an introduction to missionary communication (first published 1978)*, Second ed. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House : Academic and Professional Books, 1991), David J. Hesselgrave, *Planting churches cross-culturally : North America and beyond (first published 1980)*, Second ed. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 2000).

²⁹¹ Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ cross-culturally : an introduction to missionary communication (first published 1978)*, 255-270.

²⁹² Hesselgrave, *Planting churches cross-culturally : North America and beyond (first published 1980)*, 60.

²⁹³ *ibid.*, 254.

²⁹⁴ Charles H. Kraft, *Christianity in culture : a study in dynamic biblical theologizing in cross-cultural perspective* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1979), 323.

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for leadership can be combined with requisites for Christian leadership. He also recommends a five-step analytic procedure “for arriving at the forms to be employed by a dynamically equivalent church.”²⁹⁵ Missionaries or others who attempt to introduce models and forms of leadership to a receptor culture should take care not to introduce “foreign” models and forms but rather assist in the development of a local leadership that is a valid combination of “New Testament models” and those of the local culture. The validity of this combination will in most cases rest upon a “transformation” of at least certain of the “customs” in the local culture.²⁹⁶ Kraft’s approach is helpful in my analysis for example of the seminary teachers who trained the TLC pastors. Did the teachers transmit models and forms of leadership from their home churches or did they work out adaptations to the Confucian context?

Investigation of local leadership patterns and possible use of these in Christian ministry involves what Paul G. Hiebert in his book *Anthropological insights for missionaries* calls “critical contextualization.”²⁹⁷ Hiebert is concerned about who is involved in the contextualization process and how it takes place. “Discerning the areas of life that need to be critiqued is one of the important functions of leadership in the church [...],” and “local church leaders,” “the pastor” and “the missionary” are referred to as key leaders.²⁹⁸ It is crucial that “the church,” “the congregation” and “the people” also take part in deliberations and evaluation of their own culture “in light of their new biblical understandings”.²⁹⁹ The outcome of such evaluation can take many forms. Some “old beliefs and practices” are kept, and some are explicitly rejected, modified, or substituted; in the area of rituals and symbols the local church may add foreign forms and even create new on its own.³⁰⁰ As the gospel is preached, churches are founded and local leaders are recruited and trained the task is to find a valid balance between biblical norms and the counterparts of the local culture. In Hiebert’s framework biblical values serve as normative guidelines in the application of insights from anthropology. He mentions five elements in the contribution of anthropology to missions. Firstly, it furthers understanding of cross-cultural situations; secondly, it provides insights into specific mission tasks such as Bible translation; thirdly, it helps the understanding of the process of conversion and social change when people become Christians; fourthly, it assists in

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 327.

²⁹⁶ *ibid.*, 326.

²⁹⁷ Hiebert, *Anthropological insights for missionaries*, 171-192.

²⁹⁸ *ibid.*, 186.

²⁹⁹ *ibid.*, 187.

³⁰⁰ *ibid.*, 188-189.

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making the gospel relevant to listeners; and fifthly, it strengthens our ability to relate to people in all their cultural diversity.³⁰¹ In my opinion these elements are also of importance in the cross-cultural cultivation of Christian leadership: cultivators should be able to understand the cultural setting, find ways of translating biblical images of leadership, identify areas where social change is required for Christian leaders, help trainees see how the gospel is the basis for the exercise of leadership, and help leaders function in environments with more than one culture. Hiebert has also pointed to a crucial prerequisite for what he sees as a sound development of local churches and their leaders. To the well-known missiological principles of self-propagation, self-support, and self-governance he has added a fourth self, namely, “self-theologizing.”³⁰² Following the planting of a church and the teaching of new Christians comes the challenge of allowing the church and its leaders to take responsibility in the shaping of a theology that can “make the gospel clear”³⁰³ in the local context. Rather than training “followers” missionaries should train national theologians and other “leaders who can wrestle with the theological issues that emerge within their cultural context (2 Tim. 2:2).”³⁰⁴ For my study this distinction between the training of followers and of leaders is a helpful tool in my analysis of the role of the teachers and mentors in the preparation of TLC pastors.

Louis J. Luzbetak’s book *The church and cultures : new perspectives in missionary anthropology*³⁰⁵ does not discuss specifically the contextualization of leadership development. With reference to the models of the church presented by Avery Dulles,³⁰⁶ however, he discusses anthropological applications that are relevant for cultivation and exercise of leadership in Christian communities.³⁰⁷ The relevance of his study for leadership is also evident in his conclusion of the book:

Why should the Church be concerned about cultures? By “Church” we mean, of course, every Christian, but especially those called to a ministry and those in leadership roles. [...] *We are concerned about cultures so that the Church may be as perfect a channel of Grace as possible, as worthy an instrument in the hands of God as possible, as good, wise, and faithful a servant as is humanly possible* – this, and this alone, is our aim and theological justification for a Church-related applied science of culture that we have

³⁰¹ See *ibid.*, 15-16.

³⁰² *ibid.*, 195.

³⁰³ *ibid.*, 216.

³⁰⁴ *ibid.*, 215.

³⁰⁵ Louis J. Luzbetak, *The church and cultures : new perspectives in missiological anthropology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988).

³⁰⁶ Avery Dulles, *Models of the church* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday : Image Books, 1978).

³⁰⁷ See his “Epilogue: Anthropology at the service of Faith” in Luzbetak, *The church and cultures : new perspectives in missiological anthropology*, 374-397.

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called “Missiological Anthropology.”³⁰⁸

Although J. Robert Clinton’s *The making of a leader*³⁰⁹ is not particularly focused on issues related to contextualization, he has made use of studies of the lives of several historical, biblical and contemporary leaders. One of these is Watchman Nee, the founder of the indigenous Chinese “Assembly Hall” church.³¹⁰ In order to assist the development of both professional and nonprofessional Christian leaders Clinton presents a definition of leadership as “a dynamic process in which a man or woman with God-given capacity influences a specific group of God’s people toward His purposes for the group.”³¹¹ According to Clinton leadership development thus includes much more than learning skills. It becomes a life-long spiritual journey, which combines maturing of the personality and openness to God’s guidance. Clinton’s approach to leadership development points to aspects and elements, which deserve attention also in a study of the preparation of pastors for ministry.

In *Home grown leaders*³¹² Edgar J. Elliston argues that the local congregation is the primary place for the development of the majority of Christian leaders. Partly based on his missionary experience in Ethiopia and Kenya he holds the view that although the forms may vary, the key elements in leadership development are applicable to all kinds of cultural environments and ministry contexts. The tasks are to identify, select and develop candidates for leadership and at the same time maintain awareness for the particular challenges raised by the local culture. He defines leadership development as “a wholistic process which addresses both the broad equipping of the leader and his/her status/role within the leadership context.”³¹³ This process thus includes more than training or education. As far as the role of existing leaders in the development of new leaders is concerned the gardener’s cultivation of plants is seen as an illuminating metaphor.³¹⁴ From this follows that the “emergent leader’s

³⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 397. (Luzbetak’s italics).

³⁰⁹ J. Robert Clinton, *The making of a leader* (Colorado Springs, Colorado: Navpress, 1988). The challenges related to the contextualization of leadership development is even less in focus in *The making of a Christian leader* by Ted. W. Engstrom. He “explains that good leadership begins with a clear understanding of tested principles of management and human relations. Then, building on practice and experience in developing skills, the leader cultivates the qualities and personal traits that make good managers.” Ted W. Engstrom, *The making of a Christian leader* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: 1976), back cover.

³¹⁰ Clinton, *The making of a leader*, 41-42, 65.

³¹¹ *ibid.*, 14.

³¹² Edgar J. Elliston, *Home grown leaders* (Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1992).

³¹³ *ibid.*, 2.

³¹⁴ *ibid.*, 109-151.

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role is to mature, grow, and develop in the context of trusting obedience.”³¹⁵ Elliston has presented arguments and definitions, which support my choice of evangelist ministry and ordination as important elements in the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC. His use of the cultivation metaphor and its similar usage in the Chinese context has inspired my choice of title for this study.

An overview of theological, sociological and psychological approaches to the understanding and practice of leadership in Christian congregations is found in *Gemeinde leiten : eine praktisch-theologische Kybernetik*³¹⁶ by Günter Breitenbach. His aim is to establish a practical-theological theory and model that can form the basis for the training, continuing education and ministry of leaders of local churches. He has in mind especially the *Volkskirche* setting in Germany, but his study is also relevant on a more general basis. The introductory historical presentation of how congregational leadership originated and developed as a key topic in the field of practical theology, is also useful for my study. Breitenbach portrays some of the contributors that have been influential in the shaping of theology and practices in European and North-American churches and theological schools.

My overview of theoretical literature has highlighted theological and cultural issues regarding the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. At least a combination of biblical, dogmatic, missiological and practical elements in the field of theology must be taken into consideration. A responsible and conscious approach to cultural elements is also necessary, especially when preparation of pastors for ministry takes place in a cross-cultural setting. Reviews and assessments of experience with such preparation are dealt with in empirical and historical literature, which is the topic of the following section.

3.1.2.2 An overview of empirical and historical literature

In this section I will start with a presentation of studies related to TLC and the seminaries attended by the majority of its pastors. Then follow references to similar studies with some degree of relevance regarding preparation of pastors, primarily for the churches in Taiwan but also for Chinese churches elsewhere.³¹⁷ Apart from a few references to indigenous Chinese churches the church related literature deals with Protestant mainline denominations.³¹⁸

³¹⁵ *ibid.*, 162.

³¹⁶ Günter Breitenbach, *Gemeinde leiten : eine praktisch-theologische Kybernetik* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1994).

³¹⁷ There are also useful studies from other contexts. Here I will draw attention to Johnny Bakke’s study from an East African setting. He concludes that “a greater alertness to the cultural and religious background and its religious leadership roles might serve the church well in its present

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TLC is one of the representative mainline churches portrayed in the book *Taiwan: Mainline versus independent church growth. A study in contrasts*, written by Allen J. Swanson.³¹⁹ This was one of the first books I read following my assignment by NMS to missionary work in Taiwan. Developing “trained personnel” is one of his topics.³²⁰ The mainline churches are said to have “Westernized clergy” with “inferior education.”³²¹ In my historical overview in chapter two (section 2.1.4.1) I referred to his comments about the theological education in TLC and the role of TLS for the preparation of pastors in this church. At this point I will also mention briefly two of his later publications. At a gathering in Taipei in 1981 of missionary colleagues working with TLC he presented a fresh publication: *The church in Taiwan : profile 1980 : a review of the past, a projection for the future*. I recall that Swanson underlined the particular concerns for churches and missions involved in the planting and growth of Christian communities in Taiwan. Based on extensive surveys he and his team of assistants had gathered detailed information and established a database, which included the role of pastors and the theological seminaries. In a discussion of the “cultural context and theological training” he is looking for ways in which the cultural context can “form and inform” the structure of training of pastors.³²² A follow-up volume with an updated assessment of the conditions for the churches in Taiwan, including comments on the development of leadership, is found in his book *Mending the nets : Taiwan church growth and loss in the 1980's*.³²³ The reading of his books renewed my interest for the importance of training and development of leaders in Christian communities in general and in Taiwan in particular.

Murray A. Rubinstein uses developments in TLC and at CES as two of the cases in his historical monograph *The Protestant community on modern Taiwan : mission, seminary and*

situation.” See Johnny Bakke, *Christian ministry : patterns and functions within the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus* (Oslo/New Jersey: Solum Forlag/Humanities Press, 1987), 2. Such alertness is a valid attitude for any church and especially for those who are involved in cultivation of leadership.

³¹⁸ I have not found significant evidence that Roman Catholic approaches to pastoral formation and cultivation of pastoral leadership in Taiwan and/or China have been influential in the preparation of TLC pastors for ministry. Literature about these approaches are, therefore, not included in my overview.

³¹⁹ Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*.

³²⁰ *ibid.*, 122-142.

³²¹ *ibid.*, 158-159.

³²² Swanson, *The church in Taiwan : profile 1980*, 306.

³²³ Swanson, *Mending the nets*.

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church.³²⁴ In this wider perspective he also provides some in-depth description and analysis of the relationship between the preparation for ministry and the cultural context. Based partly on field studies in the 1980s, including interviews with Lutheran church members and pastors in Taipei, he portrays three different approaches to contextualized Christian ministry in Taiwan. Firstly, TLC falls within the “classic mission paradigm” in which foreign agencies play a major role in the planting and growth of churches.³²⁵ This leads to various degrees of dependency on theology and church traditions from the West, limiting the rooting of the churches in local soil. Secondly, as one of the best examples of the “bridge paradigm” he points to CES.³²⁶ The bridge metaphor indicates a crossing of cultural boundaries between churches, organizations and institutions in the West and similar bodies in East Asia. CES, with its Chinese and western faculty, has from its conception sought to implement a combination of academic theology and a zeal for evangelization, in order to assist local churches in their ministry and provide links to the community of evangelicals worldwide. Thirdly, according to Rubinstein the most important lessons are to be learned from the communities within the “indigenous church paradigm.”³²⁷ He analyzes the theology and practices of two such communities, the True Jesus Church and the New Testament Church. In his view they represent a “China-centered Christianity”³²⁸ that is willing and bold enough to transform western doctrinal elements into a type of faith that fits well in the Chinese cultural setting. By conscious combination of Christian tradition, the “mainstream Chinese religious tradition,”³²⁹ such as that in Confucianism and Buddhism, and even elements in folk religion these churches have found ways to contextualize the gospel in order to attract people on the island.

The history of Lutheran churches in Taiwan was the topic of a paper presented by the CES professor Liao Yuan-wei 廖元威 (b. 1957) at a conference for Chinese church historians at Chung Yuan Christian University in Taiwan in 2001.³³⁰ With his background as ordained pastor in TLC his essay provides an important scholarly interpretation from an insider’s

³²⁴ Rubinstein, *The Protestant community on modern Taiwan*.

³²⁵ *ibid.*, 59-94.

³²⁶ *ibid.*, 95-116.

³²⁷ *ibid.*, 117-147.

³²⁸ *ibid.*, 117.

³²⁹ *ibid.*, 129.

³³⁰ Liao Yuan-wei, "T'ai-wan hsin-i tsung chiao-hui chih yen-chiu [A study of churches of the Lutheran confession in Taiwan]," in *T'sung hsien-hsüeh tao hsien-hsüeh*, ed. Lin Chih-ping (Taipei: Cosmic Light Publishing House, 2002).

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vantage point. In the introduction he underlines the fact that there is very limited source material in Chinese available for the research and teaching of the history of Lutheranism in general and regarding this denomination in Taiwan in particular. Then he discusses the following issues: the rise and characteristics of Lutheran churches, the establishment and expansion of Lutheran churches in Taiwan, the question of historical data and method, and, the prospects of historical research regarding Lutheran churches in Taiwan. What is the relevance of his essay for my study about cultivation of leadership with respect to TLC pastors? Probably most crucial are his comments in the last section on the rise and fall and development of Lutheran theological seminaries.

Being a strongly “confessional church” the Lutheran denomination emphasizes theological education and doctrinal preaching. When Lutheran mission organizations started their work the establishment of a theological seminary was often one of the first tasks. The contradiction is, however, that although theological education was emphasized, during the approximately fifty year history of Lutheran churches in Taiwan it has experienced the most of trials and hardships. This is also an issue that deserves in-depth research and discussion.³³¹

Following a description of how the various seminaries were established and in some cases also closed, he searches for the underlying processes and problems. One aspect has to do with the way in which the seminaries were governed. The degree of independence and self-control on the part of the Chinese in the administration and financing of the seminaries has to a large extent been regulated by their foreign partners. It took, for example, about five years before TLS got a Chinese president. Here are some of Liao’s concerns for further research:

In the study of the history of theological education there is a need for in-depth research of factors ranging from the rational concept, faculty, curriculum, academic level and the difficult administrative measures. And, because the missions and the missionaries have played such an important role in the area of theological education, what should be discussed is what their role has been in the various stages, and what influence this role has had on the development of theological seminaries and on the expansion of Lutheran churches in Taiwan.³³²

Liao is also pointing to the need for an investigation of the contribution of individuals, both Westerners and Chinese. Among those related to TLC and TLS he mentions Lars Bjørsvik 貝世偉, Asbjørn Aavik 俞柳生, Chin Chung-an 金仲庵 and Tung Shang-yung 董尚勇.³³³

³³¹ *ibid.*, 471.

³³² *ibid.*, 473.

³³³ *ibid.*, 474 and 477.

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One of the publications referred to in Liao's essay is the ThD dissertation by Mirja Pesonen.³³⁴ Based on extensive research and use of source material in archives she has analyzed the work of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM) in Taiwan between 1956 and 1986. She mentions that the "shortage of national, Lutheran workers was a problem common to all Lutherans" in Taiwan.³³⁵ FELM helped to found the Lutheran Church in Taiwan (LCT) in 1977 and the preparation of pastors for ministry was a challenge also for this church. In a section about "Organization of church leadership" Pesonen includes a discussion of "Pastoral concerns and Lutheran identity."³³⁶ One of these concerns had to do with the qualifications for ordination in LCT.³³⁷ To a large extent these qualifications and the approval of candidates were decided upon by the pastors' convention.³³⁸ In a short exploration of "Chinese adaptations in church life"³³⁹ Pesonen says: "It is very difficult to find anything particularly Chinese in LCT's constitution or the guidelines for congregations."³⁴⁰

Among other studies relevant to the preparation of pastors for ministry in a Chinese context I will mention some of the publications by Jonathan Tien-En Chao. Although he has mainly concentrated on historical aspects of the Protestant church in China his aim has been to contribute to and promote indigenous theological education for workers in Chinese

³³⁴ Mirja Pesonen, *TAIWAN Suomen Lähetysseuran työalueena 1956-1986* (Eng. title : *Taiwan as a Field of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission 1956-1986*) (Pieksämäki: Kirjaneliö, 1990). An English translation is also available. See Mirja Pesonen, *FMS in Taiwan 1956-1986* (Translated by Rev. Jouni Salko from the Finnish original "*TAIWAN Suomen Lähetysseuran työalueena*"; dissertation in the University of Helsinki, Finland, 1990, ISBN 951-600-806-2) (Vantaanpuisto: Mirja Pesonen, 2001). Mirja Pesonen worked as FMS missionary in Taiwan 1957-1976. She was a teacher at LBI in Kaohsiung 1963-1964, and at CLS in Hsinchu 1966-1970. At CLS she taught dogmatics, and one of the textbooks was the 1960 Chinese edition of *A summary of the Christian faith* by Henry Eyster Jacobs. See Mirja Pesonen, "Letter to Gustav Steensland, 5 November 2003," (Gustav Steensland collection, 2003).

³³⁵ Pesonen, *TAIWAN Suomen Lähetysseuran työalueena 1956-1986* (Eng. title : *Taiwan as a Field of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission 1956-1986*), 319 (from the summary in English).

³³⁶ Pesonen, *FMS in Taiwan 1956-1986* (Translated by Rev. Jouni Salko from the Finnish original "*TAIWAN Suomen Lähetysseuran työalueena*"; dissertation in the University of Helsinki, Finland, 1990, ISBN 951-600-806-2), 172-178.

³³⁷ "The Church Council required that those employees who had not been trained in Lutheran institutions must get acquainted with the Lutheran confession under the guidance of teachers in the Hsinchu seminary. Candidates for ordination were also expected to show in their own life that they had really adopted Lutheran doctrine, in particular by having their own children baptized. If these requirements were not met, ordination was not granted." *ibid.*, 176.

³³⁸ "The clergy of the LCT started to meet in pastors' conventions in 1983. In their conventions, pastors were to evaluate whether candidates for ordination were suitable to become pastors, to decide on the order of worship in the church, and to set standards for the training of church workers." *ibid.*, 177.

³³⁹ *ibid.*, 185-187.

³⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 185.

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churches worldwide. In his article with the title “Foreign missions and theological education : Taiwan, a case study” he gave the following assessment of the situation there as of 1972:

The emerging Protestant Church in Taiwan is a good example of a younger church that has been caught between the rapid changes in Asian society and the traditional concepts and practices of the church transmitted from the West. The church in Taiwan is in a serious crisis. It is bewildered and uneasy because it does not know how to minister to its people. The crisis was caused by the impact of the changing Asian society on the one hand and by the failure of the church to train adequate leaders in response to the changing society. Many pastors confess that they cannot cope with the new situation. Young people by-pass the clergy in search of meaning for their faith in a secular context. This crisis situation is driving many to re-evaluate Western concepts and practices of the ministry. This re-evaluation causes us to rethink the whole question of theological education in the Chinese church in Taiwan. [...] Finally, Western modeled denominational theological education tends to pay very little attention to a serious study of Chinese culture and society, to which Christian faith is to be preached and in which Chinese believers live. Unless we are free from Western theological institutional bondage, when shall we be able to “do our own thing” for Christ’s sake among our own people?³⁴¹

A few years later he widened the scope in the article “Crucial issues in leadership training : a Chinese perspective.”³⁴² The fact that it appeared in the book *Mission focus : current issues*, edited by Wilbert R. Shenk, reveals that Chao not the least wanted to reach readers with influence in the western mission organizations and academic institutions. By and large these organizations and institutions have defined the models of ministry and related ways of preparation of candidates in the younger churches. After a survey of historical trends in leadership training in China and an analysis of theological training in the Asian context he says, “there is a serious discrepancy between the biblical concept of the ministry as practiced by the early church and the modern concept as developed by the western church. The most fundamental issue facing Third World churches is which model to adopt: the early church model or the western model of the ministry. The mode of training will follow from that choice.”³⁴³ In Chao’s opinion the mode of training in western churches has to a large extent fallen victim to “academic excellence” as a “secular value.”³⁴⁴ His aim is to make possible a leadership training in a “spiritual community wherein spiritual transformation takes place,” hopefully even in a theological school, integrating “the academic, the spiritual, and the practical” aspects of “shepherd formation.”³⁴⁵ He thinks that such a spiritual approach will

³⁴¹ Chao, "Foreign missions and theological education : Taiwan, a case study," 1 and 9.

³⁴² Chao, "Crucial issues in leadership training."

³⁴³ *ibid.*, 399.

³⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 401.

³⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 404-405.

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probably meet the needs of Asian Christian educators and students who have sensed “a lack of spirituality which used to be present in their traditional moral/religious systems, namely, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and Shintoism. Mere intellectual study of rational theology is proving unsatisfactory in the Asian quest for Christian spirituality.”³⁴⁶ Chao’s essay from 1982 about the historical development of the style of pastoral ministry in China, published as a section of the book 事奉的人生 [The life of ministry],³⁴⁷ highlights important issues also regarding the preparation for ministry. The role of the western missions and their way of selecting and training Chinese church workers are especially in focus. Written in Chinese this essay addresses the leaders of today’s Chinese churches, hoping that they will take a lesson from history and dare to “reform un-appropriate traditions” inherited from the western missions regarding the preparation and employment of candidates for ministry.³⁴⁸ A similar approach is also seen in his doctoral thesis “The Chinese indigenous church movement, 1919-1927 : a Protestant response to the anti-Christian movements in modern China.”³⁴⁹ With references to the writings of T.C. Chao and other prominent Chinese Protestants in the 1920s it is said that the “development of indigenous church leaders in whom the Christian faith and Chinese ideas, cultural customs, and life style were integrated” was seen at the time as one of the three requirements for creating an indigenous church.³⁵⁰

In *Training for a relevant ministry : a study of the work of the Theological Education Fund*³⁵¹ Christine Lienemann-Perrin covers the WCC-based contribution to Christian leadership development in the period 1958-1977. A case study of the Presbyterian Tainan

³⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 393.

³⁴⁷ Jonathan T'ien-en Chao, "Chung-kuo chiao-mu shi-feng mo-shi chi fa-chan [The development of the style of pastoral ministry in China]," in *Shi-feng te jen-sh'eng [The life of ministry]* (Hong Kong: Methodist Publishing House, 1982).

³⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 308.

³⁴⁹ Jonathan T'ien-en Chao, “The Chinese indigenous church movement, 1919-1927: a Protestant response to the anti-Christian movements in modern China” (Doctor of Philosophy, University of Pennsylvania, 1986).

³⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 254-255. The other two requirements were “to develop overall ecclesiastical independence,” and “to shift contextual thinking,” i.e. “to lift Christianity from the Western cultural context and to place it within the Chinese spiritual and cultural context.” Chao, “The Chinese indigenous church movement, 1919-1927: a Protestant response to the anti-Christian movements in modern China”, 250 and 254.

³⁵¹ Christine Lienemann-Perrin, *Training for a relevant ministry : a study of the work of the Theological Education Fund* (Madras: The Christian Literature Society, 1981). According to Jonathan T'ien-en Chao, the TEF gave a valid contribution towards “forms of theological training and ministry that are authentic to particular contexts within Asia, Africa, or Latin America.” In his opinion, however, TEF failed to question “the Western model of paid professional trained ministry” and to depart from “the centrality of the academic curriculum as the heart of theological training.” Chao, "Crucial issues in leadership training," 390 and 391.

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Theological College (TTC) in Taiwan is included in her publication.³⁵² One of the elements in this case study is an analysis of the Chinese cultural and political environment of theological education, and Confucianism is especially mentioned. Although it is said, “Confucianism represents the most important religious and cultural influence on Taiwanese Christianity,”³⁵³ the main thrust in her argumentation at this point deals with the use of Confucianism for political purposes. For the government of Chiang Kai-shek there was a need to “legitimize the official ideology”³⁵⁴ and Confucianism and ancient Confucian virtues were reactivated with this in mind. Whereas the “young Taiwanese ignored this pressure and received their orientation from the ‘democratic paradise’ and the ‘free world’ of America,”³⁵⁵ many of the Christians and church leaders among the Chinese post-war refugees from the mainland felt comfortable in being “received by Chiang with open arms, much understanding, and high expectations.”³⁵⁶ This and other tensions between ethnic, political and ecclesial groups form the backdrop on the stage where the play of contextualization of Christian leadership development is acted out in Taiwan. Lienemann-Perrin has provided insights and comments that are relevant for my own analysis of such development in TLC.

The thesis “Chinese leadership patterns and their relationship to pastoral ministry among Taiwan’s urban masses”³⁵⁷ by John Ky Branner also wants to contribute to the development of indigenous church leadership. He takes Ronald Allen’s and Allen J. Swanson’s writings as his point of departure, and the selection and training of pastors are some of the key issues. His frame of reference is the “Taiwanese churches,” by which he means the Presbyterian and other churches serving the Taiwanese-speaking majority in Taiwan. Rather than proposing improvements in the “Western pattern adopted by the Taiwanese church of selecting and training young men for the ministry,” he suggests that the church should look for “natural, respected leaders” in the community. These leaders are said to fit into the “historical Chinese leadership patterns that point to the importance of age and filial piety,” and they should be given appropriate preparation for pastoral ministry.³⁵⁸ In my

³⁵² Lienemann-Perrin, *Training for a relevant ministry : a study of the work of the Theological Education Fund*, 33-65.

³⁵³ *ibid.*, 40.

³⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 41.

³⁵⁵ *ibid.*, 40.

³⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 41.

³⁵⁷ Branner, “Chinese leadership patterns”.

³⁵⁸ *ibid.*, ii-iii.

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understanding Branner's study has pointed out elements in Chinese culture that are of importance for all the churches in Taiwan.

In his above-mentioned thesis³⁵⁹ Yu Chi-ping (Thomas) sheds valuable light on the issue of cultivation of personhood in a Confucian context and the role of Confucianism in the Chinese culture in Taiwan. Although cultivation of pastoral leadership as such is not his particular topic, it can be said that pastoral care is an aspect of the exercise of pastoral leadership. His recommendations towards practitioners of pastoral care to carefully balance Confucian and biblical concepts have, therefore, indirect implications for cultivation of leadership in a Confucian context.

Gerald P. Kramer, one of my American missionary colleagues in TLC, wrote his Master of Theology thesis with the aim of promoting "a better understanding of the Chinese people by Westerners," and in particular to "assist the Western missionary in being an effective vehicle for the communication of the Gospel in a Chinese setting."³⁶⁰ Entitled "Non self-assertion : an important principle for Christian mission in the Chinese setting" his thesis investigates the Taoist roots of the cultural value of non self-assertion and how this value comes into play in Chinese life, especially with reference to the exercise of leadership.³⁶¹ A case study regarding the selection and appointment of a leader in a TLC institution is also included. Since his approach is aimed at intercultural communication from the western missionary's point of view, Kramer found that the insights regarding the value of non self-assertion shaped by Taoism are more important than insights regarding the value filial piety, which is dominated by the Confucian tradition. For the point of view of the Chinese, however, Kramer indicates that the balance between the two values is somewhat different by saying that the "missionary need only be alert and sensitive to the demand of filial piety on his/her friends

³⁵⁹ Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "Confucian and biblical concepts of filial piety".

³⁶⁰ Gerald P. Kramer, "Non self-assertion : an important principle for Christian mission in the Chinese setting" (Master of Theology, Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary, 1984), 3.

³⁶¹ Kramer refers to an essay by a Chinese author on the Chinese style of leadership, in which four popular heroes in China are portrayed as leaders. The non self-assertive style of their leadership is attributed to the Confucian idea of the way of 中庸 *chung yung* (moderation). Kramer adds the following comment: "It is true that the concept of yielding or non self-assertion is part of Confucian teaching, but in this essay the manner in which the author describes these men and the terms he uses are so closely associated with the Tao Te Ching that one cannot help but wonder whether or not the Taoist tradition would not be a more logical place to look for the origin of this style of leadership. The ideal of the 'uncarved block' (which is an image of one without ambition, absolutely natural and who hides his ability), the ideal of 'becoming like a little child' and the view that the 'natural' is the standard men ought to follow are all strong in the Taoist tradition but weak or even non-existent in the Confucian." *ibid.*, 41(Kramer's underlining).

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and colleagues.”³⁶² My reading of Kramer’s thesis has sustained my conviction that the demands and ramifications of the value of filial piety deserve attention in the cultivation of leadership among the Chinese.

Among the studies in the social sciences that shed light on Chinese leadership patterns and how they function in Taiwan I will especially mention Robert H. Silin’s monograph *Leadership and values: the organization of large-scale Taiwanese enterprises*.³⁶³ Based on field studies, interviews with both workers and executives in the late 1960s, and references to selected literature he underlines the close connection between leadership and values. Several of these values, not only among the Taiwanese, but also in Chinese society in general, are defined by the Confucian tradition.³⁶⁴ His findings are also relevant when it comes to cultivation of leadership in a Chinese setting.

3.1.2.3 Summary of the theological reflection

The overviews of theoretical, empirical and historical literature have indicated several important issues for the cultivation of Christian leadership in a given context. I will first comment on the theoretical literature and then on the empirical and historical literature.

As far as my selection of theoretical literature is concerned I find that the issues encountered there can be sorted into three groups. The first group includes the more fundamental or over-arching issues influencing the cultivation of leadership: *worldview, cultural values and ideology*. The worldview was seen as a key element in both the local context and in the Christian faith. It was argued that awareness of cultural values is crucial both for the local and foreign participants in the complex process of cultivation of leadership. Reference was made to the philosophical and doctrinal concepts and arguments that underpin the values and practices regarding cultivation of leadership. The second group of issues has to do with the *understanding of leadership*.³⁶⁵ It was pointed out that such understanding on the one hand is related to the choice of church model and the definitions and types of ministry. Pastoral leadership, especially as exercised by the office of ministry, is a key theological issue. The role and responsibility of the office of ministry are some of the basic internal characteristics of Christian communities. On the other hand, it was underlined that the local culture as well as cultural influences from abroad also have a considerable impact on the

³⁶² *ibid.*, 59.

³⁶³ Silin, *Leadership and values : the organization of large-scale Taiwanese enterprises*.

³⁶⁴ See especially his chapter two, “The normative basis of action.” *ibid.*, 35-60.

³⁶⁵ Although “understanding” is an uncountable noun in common English usage, it is assumed that the noun can cover more than one approach to the meaning, nature, and explanation of a given issue.

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understanding of leadership. The third group of issues has to do with *forms of cultivation*. Some emphasized that the forms are implemented according to the types and age of candidates, whereas others pointed out that the qualifications for leadership should be the basis for the choice of forms of cultivation. When Christian leadership development is narrowed down to the task of preparation of pastors for ministry the role, place and content of theological education comes into focus. Ordination requirements and rituals shed light on the theology and practical content of the office of ministry.

The overview of empirical and historical literature has shed some light on three major concerns. Firstly, *TLC and two of the seminaries attended by its pastors* were presented and evaluated. The influential role of the cooperating western missions was underlined, for example in terms of selection of a church model and types of ministry for the TLC and regarding the structure and content of theological education. A gradual change towards more influence in these matters by the Chinese themselves has taken place, especially from the time when most TLC pastors are trained at CES. Secondly, the role of *cultural values* for the patterns and cultivation of leadership has been given attention. In a Chinese context many traditions and religions have bearing on these values but the Confucian view of man's nature and precept of filial piety were seen as a key factors. Thirdly, the quest for a *relevant ministry* in Chinese churches was documented in several of the studies. It was argued that such relevance is obtained by balancing biblical and local values and patterns.

3.1.3 Development of my research design

In chapter two (section 2.3.1) the problem of this study was stated as follows: There is not sufficient knowledge about whether or how the Confucian approach to leadership, learning, and self-cultivation did influence the cultivation of pastoral leadership in the seminary training, evangelist ministry, and ordination of TLC pastors between 1947 and 1987. The above presentation of my theological perception and reflection here in chapter three has indicated several key elements that need attention when cultivation of Christian leadership takes place, both in general and in a Chinese context in particular. For my study a concise formulation of the theological question will pave the way for a relevant research design.

3.1.3.1 Formulation of the theological question

In a general study about cultivation of Christian leadership the theological question can be asked in a very simple, twofold manner. What is Christian leadership and how is it developed? This question implies that a conscious development must aim at a certain or

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intended goal. When applied to my study this simple version of the theological question must be more closely related to the ministry of pastors: What is pastoral leadership and how is it developed? Both the *what* and the *how* of pastoral leadership and its development, however, depend on at least two important variables: the context in which they are conceived and take place, and the individuals involved as trainers and trainees.

Seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination have been selected as key areas in my investigation of the preparation of TLC pastors for ministry. It is within these areas that I want to trace influence from the Confucian context. A variety of questions can be asked within each area as well as regarding the preparation of ministry as a whole. A close look at each area may reveal several and possibly diverse concepts and practices for the cultivation of leadership. Since the problem of this study has to do with the lack of sufficient knowledge, the goal is to describe and explore the preparation of TLC candidates for pastoral leadership. The focus in this description and exploration is on the interaction between Christian and Confucian values. The formulation of a specific theological question will point to selected concepts and practices that are thought to provide possible solutions to the problem and attain the goal.

When viewed against the backdrop of my perception and reflection, as presented in this chapter, the theological question is this: *What understanding of pastoral leadership was conveyed and what forms of cultivation of such leadership were implemented in the seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination of TLC pastors between 1947 and 1987, in light of the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation?*

In my opinion this question fulfils the three criteria of scientific relevance, practical relevance, and researchability, which were presented in chapter one.³⁶⁶ Further clarification and arguments regarding the research question will be found in the following sections of this chapter.

3.1.3.2 The research design

The first part of the theological question, namely *what understanding of pastoral leadership was conveyed*, is directed at the role of the cultivators (represented primarily by seminary teachers), as well as at textbooks and teaching material. The next part of the question, namely *what forms of cultivation of such leadership were implemented*, is directed at both cultivators and candidates. It is from these addressees that answers to the theological question must be sought. My research design will show how these answers most likely can be provided. As was

³⁶⁶ See section 1.2.2.

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briefly introduced in chapter one³⁶⁷ I have chosen to make combined use of modified versions of content analysis and field research. Here I will add some comments on each of these elements in my research design.

In my version of *content analysis* I look for the intentions and formulations of pastoral leadership. These intentions and formulations are available in the teaching and curriculum at the theological seminaries. Although teachers and textbooks in all fields of theology can influence the cultivation of Christian leadership in general and pastoral leadership in particular, I have chosen to focus my attention on the role of teachers and textbooks in dogmatics and pastoral theology. In these areas of theology are laid out both the doctrinal foundations and the practical implications related to the ministry and leadership of pastors. Guided by overall insights in the theology of Christian ministry and leadership as well as in the basic elements of the Confucian tradition I sort out key terms and descriptions in the various documents. These terms and descriptions are then analyzed according to the variables in my research model, which is developed in the deduction phase of my approach.³⁶⁸

My version of *field research* involves primarily my interviews but my own experience and observations will also be used. The notes from and transcripts of my own interviews with selected informants will be investigated. The initial purpose with my interviews was to identify and locate important written sources. One particular challenge was related to TLC. The closure of this seminary in 1966 meant that the archive and library collection of that seminary was no longer intact when I began my investigation. Generally speaking, TLC pastors and seminary faculty have referred to contents of curriculum and related literature, which had otherwise been more difficult to trace. They have also pointed out other publications that have been influential in their training, teaching and ministry. I was, however, also interested in my informants' personal experiences and evaluations regarding the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC. Seminary faculty (mainly at LTS, TLS and CES), and pastors and missionaries in TLC have been key sources of information. As I chose to conduct qualitative interviews I combined the use of two formats, namely, "the general interview guide approach" and "the standardized open-ended interview."³⁶⁹ With a set of

³⁶⁷ See section 1.2.2.

³⁶⁸ See below, section 3.2.2.

³⁶⁹ Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative evaluation and research methods (2nd. ed.)* (Newbury Park, California: Sage, 1990), 280. These approaches are two of three basic types of qualitative interviewing for research or evaluation. Patton lists them as follows: the informal conversational interview, the interview guide approach, and the standardized open-ended interview. He says that they "differ in the extent to which interview questions are determined and standardized *before* the

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prepared questions I was not only seeking responses from my informants but I also invited them to share additional insights and interpretations regarding issues related to the topic of my study.

In this section I have described the induction phase of my approach to this study. On the basis of perception, reflection, and formulation of the research question I have chosen a design. I now proceed with the deduction phase, which considers the key elements and concepts in my design with the aim of forming a model and the operations to be performed within the framework of the model.

interview occurs.” Patton, *Qualitative evaluation and research methods (2nd. ed.)*, 280 [Patton's italics].

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In Ven's methodology, referred to above in chapter one (section 1.2.3), theological deduction is the combined process of theological conceptualization, determination of the theological-conceptual model, and theological operationalization. Here in section 3.2 I will follow up issues and arguments already introduced in chapter one.

3.2.1 Theological conceptualization

The task in this section is to interpret conceptually the terms in the theological research question. Clarified terms help in the development of the theological model. The research question was formulated in chapter three (section 3.1.3.1): "What understanding of pastoral leadership was conveyed and what forms of cultivation of such leadership were implemented in the seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination of TLC pastors between 1947 and 1987, in light of the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation?" Three elements stand out as the most important: a) pastoral leadership, b) cultivation, and c) Confucian concepts. Each element is qualified by certain terms and expressions. In the below deliberations reference will be made to Chinese equivalents of some of the terms.

By the "understanding" of pastoral leadership I refer to the various explanations and interpretations of the pastor's role and responsibilities as a leader. Due to their different backgrounds the cultivators (i.e. the teachers, textbooks, mentors and ordinator) may have represented more than one understanding of pastoral leadership, which were "conveyed" to the candidates. With the verb convey, which means, "to impart or communicate by statement, suggestion, gesture, or appearance,"³⁷⁰ one might think about the whole communication process. I emphasize that I want to describe only parts of this process, namely, what the cultivators actually communicated to the candidates and/or what may reasonably be understood as their intention in this communication. This description is primarily based on material related to the cultivators but in some cases comments and responses from the candidates can also be used. Information from the candidates will to some extent indicate the results or consequences of the communication process.

The expression *pastoral leadership* is crucial. In a general dictionary of English the adjective "pastoral" has two meanings: "of or relating to spiritual care or guidance esp. of a congregation," and "of or relating to the pastor of a church."³⁷¹ Although the first of these

³⁷⁰ Mish, ed., *Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary*, 253.

³⁷¹ *ibid.*, 848.

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meanings is not necessarily restricted to the ministry of pastors but can describe a responsibility of the Christian community as a whole, I am of the opinion that the most common interpretation of “pastoral” in the expression “pastoral leadership” points to the leadership exercised by a pastor of a church. This interpretation is a guideline for my study. In a theological perspective I see a line of arguments regarding the terms church, pastor and leadership. What the church or Christian congregation is and is called to do is the frame of reference for the definition of the ministry of a pastor and consequently for the designation of the leadership role and tasks of a pastor. An example of a concise definition is provided by Thomas C. Oden, who says that the pastor “is a member of the body of Christ who is called by God and the church and set apart by ordination representatively to proclaim the Word, to administer the sacraments, and to guide and nurture the Christian community toward full response to God’s self-disclosure.”³⁷² He follows up by saying that pastoral leadership “is thought to be a service that enables others to use their gifts more effectively for the church and the world.”³⁷³ His understanding of pastoral leadership is in line with that of Leonhard Goppelt: “The purpose of such leadership can never be anything else than the gathering and maintaining of the congregation of believers. [...] It is important to note that the New Testament never separates the pastoral ministry to the congregation from the *missionary witness* to the world.”³⁷⁴ Oden’s and Goppelt’s definitions are sufficient indicators of the kind of topics I want to investigate in my study of the above mentioned cultivators’ contribution to the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC. At this point I will just mention one example of the transfer of key terms into a Chinese linguistic environment. The established Chinese equivalent of the term “pastor” in Protestant churches is 牧師 *mu-shih*, where the first character means shepherd. So far the term carries the meaning of the Latin word *pastor* (shepherd), which is *poimēn* in Greek.³⁷⁵ To this image of a shepherd is added the character 師 *shih*, which has the primary meaning “master” or “teacher”. So, in itself the Chinese pastoral title “shepherd-teacher” opens up for reflections regarding implications of the Confucian context for the understanding of pastoral ministry.

³⁷² Thomas C. Oden, *Pastoral theology : essentials of ministry* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1983), 50.

³⁷³ *ibid.*, 54.

³⁷⁴ Leonhard Goppelt, "Church government and the office of the bishop in the first three centuries," in *Episcopacy in the Lutheran church? Studies in the development and definition of the office of church leadership*, ed. Ivar Asheim and Victor R. Gold (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), 27-28 (Goppelt's italics).

³⁷⁵ See for example Eph 4:11, where this term is used about one of the ministries in the church.

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Further, a clarification of the term *cultivation* is needed. I said above that the second part of the research question is directed at both cultivators and candidates and that it is from these addressees that answers to the theological question must be sought. Originally, the noun cultivation describes what a farmer or gardener does to help seeds and plants grow in the soil,³⁷⁶ and a cultivator is one that cultivates. From this basic meaning has been derived a usage that describes the development, growth and refinement of human beings or communities. For example in the book of Isaiah God is compared to a cultivator of a vineyard – his people Israel.³⁷⁷ From the perspective of the cultivator the seeds, plants and soil are the objects of acts and intervention towards a passive recipient. When used about the development of human beings the term “cultivation” usually includes the responsibilities and tasks of both the cultivator and the target individual or community. The related noun self-cultivation characterizes what a person wants and attempts to accomplish from or by means of oneself with regard to emotional, cognitive and social development. My research question is based on the assumption that both cultivators and those who are cultivated make use of a variety of forms in the task of cultivation. Cultivation and self-cultivation may be seen as two basic forms. Although both forms are conceived as integral parts of human development they may have unequal weight. Applied to formal education one can say that cultivation is teacher oriented whereas self-cultivation is student oriented. In chapter two (section 2.2.3.2) I pointed out that 學 *hsüeh* (learning) and 自修 *tzu hsiu* (self-cultivation) are seen as the two main forms of cultivation in the Confucian tradition, and learning is there a combination of self-education and efforts by a teacher. My research question implies that the Confucian view of human nature and the precept of filial piety are influential on the process of cultivation of leadership in a Chinese context and that I want to find out if and how this was also the case in the cultivation of leadership of TLC pastors.

The seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination are supposed to make a candidate ready to enter a pastor’s leadership role and assume leadership responsibilities. The research question implies that some kind of understanding of “pastoral leadership” was conveyed to the TLC pastors during their preparation for ministry. “Seminary training” is used about the educational program arranged by a theological school. In addition to lectures, reading of literature and community life at the school, practical work and assignments in congregations are also key elements. For seminary graduates in TLC a period of evangelist

³⁷⁶ Farming is called *agricultura* in Latin, and the noun literally means “the practice of cultivating the soil.” Mish, ed., *Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary*, 24.

³⁷⁷ Isaiah 5:1-7.

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ministry in a local church has been and still is a requirement that must be met before ordination can take place. An “evangelist” is usually entrusted with the duty to assist in the outreach ministry of the congregation, especially by preaching at worship services and other meetings. At times an evangelist may also share in the leadership of the congregation, particularly when there is no ordained pastor available for a shorter or longer period. As used in my research question “ordination” is not only the liturgical act of investing ministerial authority but also the preceding procedures of written and oral examination of the candidates arranged by the ministerium of the TLC.

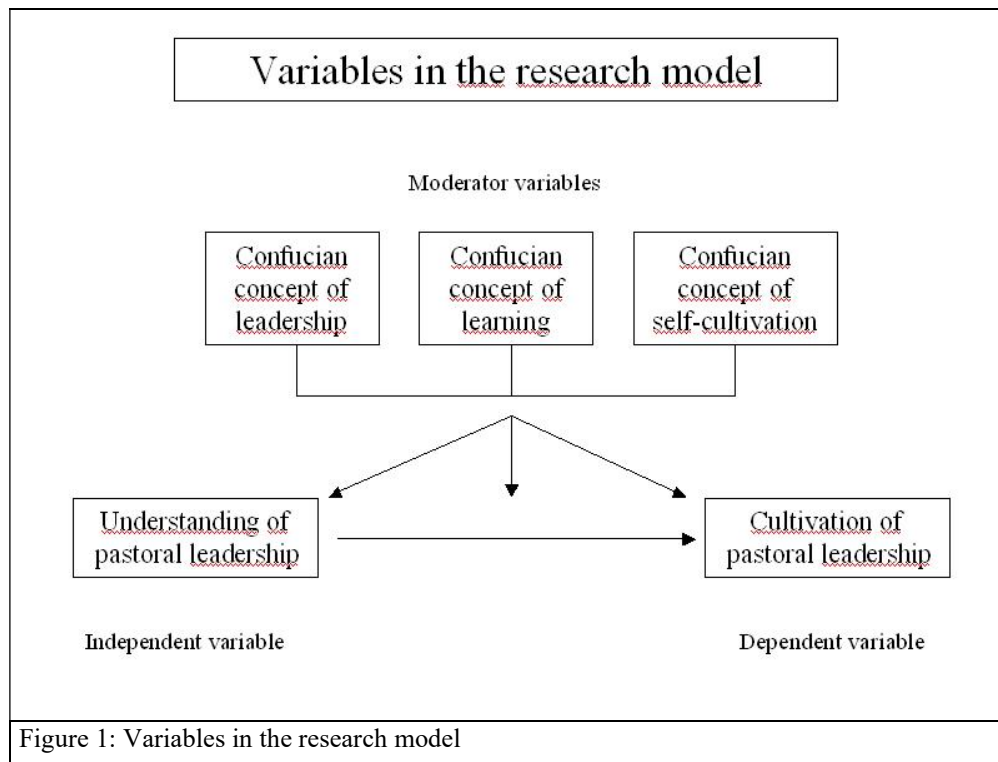
The last part of my research question specifies certain elements in the Confucian tradition. Leadership, learning, and self-cultivation are, however, universal phenomena. Within the framework of the Confucian tradition these phenomena are supported by certain arguments and attain characteristic flavors and features. For each phenomenon the sum of these arguments, flavors and features is described as a concept. The Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation are thought to be influential on the cultivation of leadership in a Chinese environment. My introduction of these concepts in chapter two (section 2.2.3) support their role in the below development of the conceptual model.

3.2.2 The conceptual model

A conceptual model brings together the key concepts or variables in a way that clarifies the analytic process. I expand here the introduction of the model presented in chapter one (section 1.2.3). As mentioned there the model consists of concepts or variables, relationships between the concepts or variables, and the research units.

The research units chosen in chapter one are: seminary teachers, seminary textbooks and candidates for ministry (as seminary students, candidates during evangelist ministry, and ordinands). Within each unit a selection of individuals or textbooks will be investigated. This selection is described below (section 3.2.3), in my discussion of the operationalization.

In chapter one (section 1.2.3) understanding of pastoral leadership, cultivation of such leadership, and the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning and self-cultivation were introduced as the variables in my model. A figure can illustrate the relationships between these variables.



Some comments should be added to explain aspects of the above figure. The horizontal arrow marks the main perspective, from understanding to cultivation. As an independent variable “understanding of pastoral leadership” is seen as a starting point.³⁷⁸ In this study I will outline the understanding of pastoral leadership of each research unit (seminary teachers, textbooks, and candidates) and then bring this understanding into the model. Within the framework of the model I will comment on how the cultivation of pastoral leadership is dependent on the understanding of it.

Three Confucian concepts are listed as moderator variables but their order of appearance has no significance. My research model implies that one or more of the moderator variables influence the causal relationship between understanding and cultivation. The vertical arrow pointing towards the horizontal arrow indicates this influence. There are also two arrows pointing at an angle from the moderator variables towards the independent and dependent variables respectively. The inclusion of these arrows imply that I have allowed

³⁷⁸ It goes without saying that “understanding of pastoral leadership” in itself is dependent on several variables. Such variables would reflect values and concepts in the context or environment in which this understanding has been developed and in which setting it is introduced. A comprehensive presentation and analysis of these variables would require a separate model. Similarly, cultivation of pastoral leadership is one of the preconditions for the exercise of such leadership. As such “cultivation of pastoral leadership” would become an independent variable in a follow-up model describing the development of pastoral leadership practices. Such a follow-up model is outside my task in this study.

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some comments to be made also regarding the influence of the Confucian concepts on the understanding of pastoral leadership and on the cultivation process.

In one sense the whole research model is hypothetical. Both the selection of variables and their classification as independent, dependent and moderator variables are elements in my hypothesis. Although the research model is a result of the inductive and deductive phases of my study, there is the possibility that for example one or more of the moderator variables should have been left out or replaced by other concepts in the Confucian tradition or even in other philosophical or religious traditions in Chinese culture. My model represents a possible choice of variables and my investigation will show the degree of relevance and validity of this choice.

It was mentioned in chapter one (section 1.2.3) that theoretical variables take on a set of values, which can be sorted out as distinguishable types, modes, forms, or approaches. The task will then be to work out some degree of classification when a certain research unit is investigated. A seminary textbook can be used as an example. One or more types of understanding of pastoral leadership may be found in the textbook, and its author may recommend a particular form of cultivation of pastoral leadership. Therefore, I have been searching for an interpretative tool for the classification of values of the independent and dependent variables in my model.³⁷⁹ In my opinion Keith Grint's presentation of perspectives on leadership provides such a tool.

In his editorial introduction to the book *Leadership : classical, contemporary, and critical approaches* Grint has reviewed trends in leadership studies.³⁸⁰ In his opinion these studies operate in a dynamic field where two lines of division seem to cross each other. One line of division has the individual and the context as the two important factors. The other line of division has an epistemological character where the major issues are "rooted in the traditional split between objective and subjective assumptions about knowledge and data."³⁸¹ The conviction that we can establish precise and objective knowledge about an item under

³⁷⁹ The classification of values has been restricted to the independent and dependent variables because they represent the main perspective in the research model.

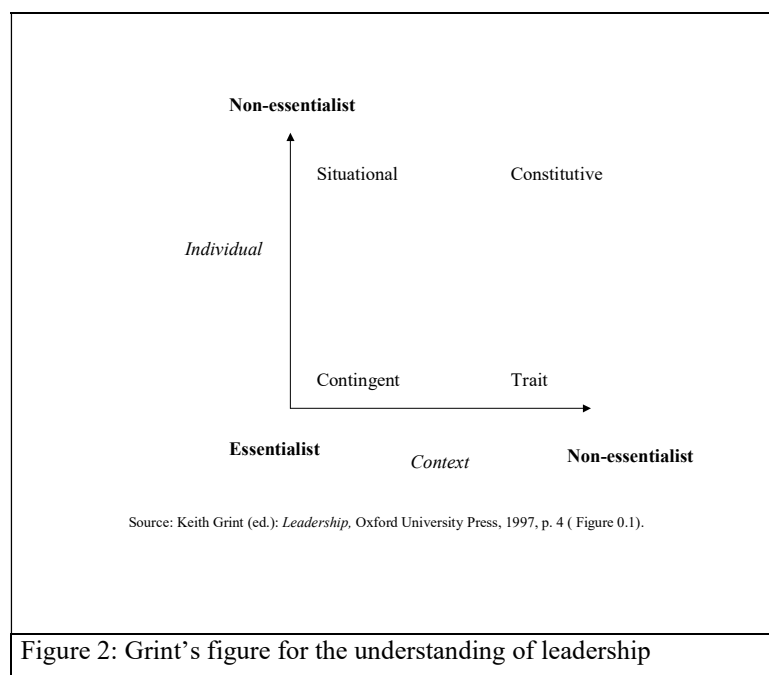
³⁸⁰ Keith Grint, "Introduction," in *Leadership : classical, contemporary, and critical approaches*, ed. Keith Grint, Oxford Management Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1-17.

³⁸¹ *ibid.*, 3-4.

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investigation he calls “essentialist,” and by “non-essentialist” he implies that such knowledge is not possible.³⁸²

Grint’s presentation of perspectives on leadership combines the two lines of division and includes four ideal types of approaches to the understanding of leadership. He underlines that they function as “heuristic extremes not typical cases.”³⁸³ A person’s approach to the understanding of leadership can, therefore, be placed at various positions along a continuum according to the amount or degree of available knowledge about the individual leader and the context. Below is his figure showing the four types of approaches to the understanding of leadership and their relationships to individual and context.



I will now briefly describe these four types in order to demonstrate how they relate not only to the understanding of leadership but also to cultivation of leadership.

The “*trait* approach” to the understanding of leadership is rather essentialist in terms of the individual and rather non-essentialist regarding the context. If the right person is the leader, the context is not that important. Cultivation of leadership would then primarily be concerned with the selection of candidates and the development of their innate traits, gifts or talents for leadership.

³⁸² Cf. the term essentialism, which is “a philosophical theory ascribing ultimate reality to essence embodied in a thing perceptible to the senses.” Mish, ed., *Merriam-Webster’s collegiate dictionary*, 396.

³⁸³ Grint, “Introduction,” 4.

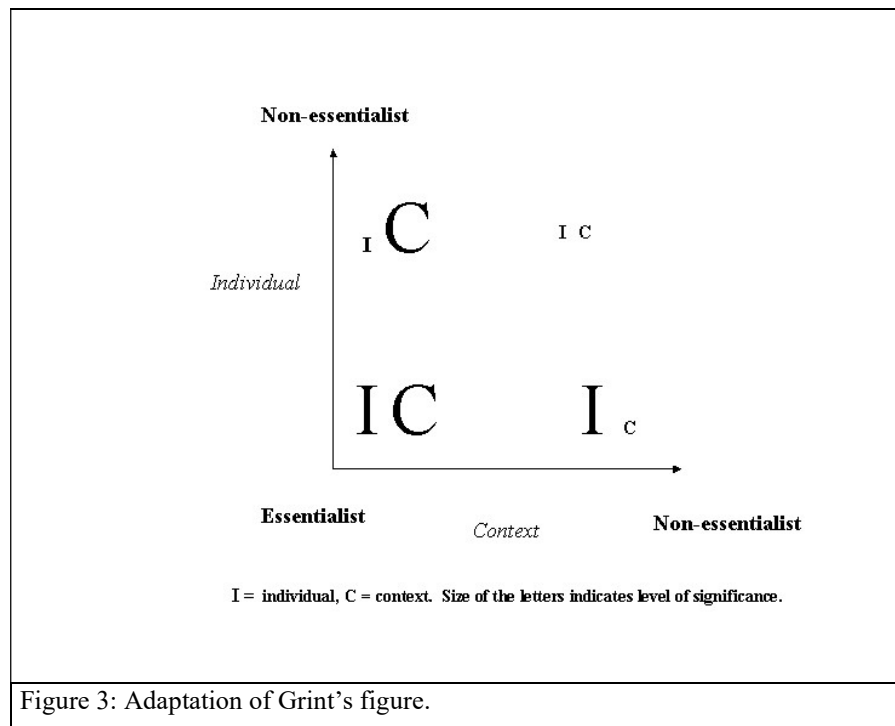
The “*contingency* approach” is rather essentialist regarding both the individual and the context. Understanding of leadership is critically dependent upon knowledge about the leader’s person and the surrounding conditions. In this case the aim of cultivation would be to help individuals to clarify and develop their own leadership skills and also to lay the foundation for a realistic understanding of the context.

The “*situational* approach” is rather essentialist regarding the context but non-essentialist when it comes to the individual. This approach implies that a given situation requires a particular kind of leadership; however, it is also expected that a leader is able to meet such requirements. Within this approach a candidate for leadership must be qualified to understand the situation and environment as well as acquire flexibility according to any given context.

The “*constitutive* approach” is non-essentialist both in terms of the individual and the context. What a leader is or should be and what a situation calls for in terms of leadership depends on various accounts and interpretations. This approach tries to shed light on the processes and reasons why certain accounts and interpretations manage to secure prominence. According to Grint this rather recent model has its origin in constructivist theories in social science. The model “rejects the idea that we can ever have an objective account of either individual or situation because all such accounts are derived from linguistic reconstructions; they are not, in effect, transparent reproductions of the truth.”³⁸⁴ In terms of cultivation of leadership Grint says that the development of skills related to interpersonal affairs, political networking, negotiation and rhetorics becomes important.

By using symbols for individual and context in Grint’s illustration it is possible to indicate the level of significance of the two elements in the various approaches.

³⁸⁴ *ibid.*, 5.



The four approaches suggested by Grint are useful for the clarification of both understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership in my research model as it is applied to the various research units. For example a seminary teacher may favor a trait approach, which could mean that his understanding of pastoral leadership is based on a conviction that for example personal abilities, moral qualities, faith and spiritual gifts are the fundamental elements. If so, cultivation of pastoral leadership would concentrate on the cultivators' and candidate's identification and development of the mentioned elements. In a clear-cut trait approach quite little or perhaps no attention will be directed towards the context of a pastor's ministry and exercise of leadership in a local congregation or other relevant settings.

It is important to bear in mind Grint's abovementioned words of caution about the use of his interpretative model. Only in some cases a person will be a "typical case," that is, represent an extreme variant. If, however, a person's approach to the understanding of leadership is thought to be somewhere on the continuum between two types I suggest the use of a slash mark between two terms, such as in the following two examples. A trait/contingency-type would describe an approach that emphasizes trait-related elements but still includes some concern for context-related issues. Conversely, a person with a contingency/trait approach is of the opinion that the context is the dominant factor without forgetting the role of the abilities and qualities of the individual leader.

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To conclude this section I will add some comments regarding the moderator variables in my research model. According to my presentation in chapter two (section 2.2.3) the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation have been seen as based on the Confucian view of human nature and the precept of filial piety. It would be relevant to make a separate study about the relationship between understanding of leadership and cultivation of leadership in a Confucian context, and in a conceptual model for such a purpose “view of human nature” and “precept of filial piety” could function as moderator variables. In my current study I will not establish a separate model of this kind. It should suffice to concentrate on the selected moderator variables in my model and make references to the view of human nature and the precept of filial piety when these aspects appear as relevant in my investigation of the various research units.

With a set of research units, a selection of variables, and a suggestion of the relationships between the variables my model is now ready for the actual research operations. The way in which my model will function when it is applied to my material is the topic of the following section.

3.2.3 Theological operationalization

A general feature of my research operations is the use of written sources. This feature also applies to my own interviews with informants. The interviews have been transcribed from tape recordings or I have taken notes. By a combination of quotations and summaries from the written sources my aim is to describe and explore the relevant issues. I said in chapter one (section 1.2.3) that in this study the operationalization will be closely related to the variables in my model. In this section I will present arguments for my selection of procedures for the description and exploration of each research unit with regard to the variables. The presentation is organized according to my selection of research units. The variables in my model will be investigated with regard to the seminary teachers (in chapter four), seminary textbooks (in chapter five), and finally with regard to the candidates for ministry (chapter six). For each of the research units some background information will be provided. Each unit will be investigated regarding understanding of pastoral leadership, cultivation of such leadership, and the implications with regard to the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning and self-cultivation. Although the understanding of pastoral leadership functions as an independent variable in my model, I will particularly investigate how the research units relate this understanding to the ecclesial context (i.e. the setting and conditions within the church) and the socio-cultural context.

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I regard the description and exploration of the independent and dependent variables in my research model as less demanding than that of the moderator variables. My selection of moderator variables is based on my study and outline of the Confucian tradition and on my hypothesis that certain concepts in this tradition are likely to influence the cultivation of pastoral leadership in a setting like that in Taiwan. The awareness and assessment of such influence on the part of for example seminary teachers and textbooks are also connected to their more general approach towards contextual influence on Christian faith and ministry. The operationalization of this study will, therefore, be a test of my hypothesis by way of a review of a teacher's, textbook's or candidate's approach towards contextual influence. For each of the research units I will indicate the rank of the three Confucian concepts according to their importance. The rank will be in three levels, namely, most, less and least important. By this importance I refer to my findings of direct or indirect significance of the Confucian concepts in each unit's approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. A given concept may thus be important in the sense that it deserves critical attention, either explicitly or implicitly.

Seminary teachers bring with them an understanding of pastoral leadership from their own background, training, and experience. My research model assumes that the teachers' understanding of pastoral leadership is the primary source of their recommended forms of cultivation of such leadership. In most cases these forms are found in explicit statements made by the teachers themselves. At times, however, I will indicate what kind of cultivation of pastoral leadership I think is a reasonable derivation from a given teacher's understanding of such leadership.

Seminary textbooks are the second set of research units. In order to put a textbook in a useful perspective I will begin with a biographical and theological portrait of the author. Then the focus will be on the variables in my research model.

Candidates for ordained ministry will mainly be presented with some biographical information and then in three settings, namely, during their time as seminary students, as evangelists in local congregations, and in connection with their ordination. As with the seminary teachers and textbooks the candidates' understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership will be analyzed according to the variables in my research model.

3.3 Summary of chapter 3

In this chapter I have presented a review of how I came to make cultivation of Christian leadership in a Confucian context the object of a research project. The preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC was chosen as a case in point, and then it became necessary to place this case in the perspective of previous research. My overview of theoretical, empirical and historical literature has shown the relevance of the problem of this study, namely, that there is a need to fill some gaps in current knowledge about whether and how key concepts in the Confucian tradition influenced the training and ordination of pastors in TLC.

I have outlined my research procedure, formulated a research question, developed a research model, and suggested how my research operations can serve as relevant research. Thus I intend to reach my goal, which is to describe and explore the preparation of TLC candidates for pastoral leadership, with the focus on the interaction between Christian and Confucian values. The following three chapters contain the testing phase of my study. Through this phase it will be seen to what extent my research model is suitable for the description and exploration of my material.

4 Seminary teachers

In chapter three (section 3.1.3.2) I have already given my arguments for the selection of teachers of dogmatics and pastoral theology as the most relevant for the purpose of my study. Although my sample of teachers represents the three main seminaries that have trained pastors for TLC, it is evident that I have aimed at a “non-probability sample.”³⁸⁵ I have found some examples of how cultivation of pastoral leadership was dealt with in TLC. These examples are not sufficient for generalizations about this cultivation in this particular church. It is my intention, however, to select representatives from the variety of Lutheran theological traditions that have more or less shaped TLC and its pastors. The teachers of each subject are introduced in chronological order. Russell Nelson from America was a teacher of dogmatics at both LTS and TLS. Following Nelson’s departure Chin Chung-an from China taught dogmatics at TLS. Lars Bjørsvik from Norway was the main teacher of pastoral theology at TLS, and Allen J. Swanson from America contributed to the same field at CES.

My presentation of the teachers is based on a great variety of material. The most important and primary material is expositions and statements by the teachers themselves in publications, personal documents (such as correspondence and reports), sermons, and interviews. In some cases I have found teaching material, including lecture manuscripts and questions for examination of students. Secondary material can also provide relevant information. This kind of material can be for example comments about the teachers, presentations and discussions about historical and theological developments in the churches and mission organizations they belong to, and publications about their social and cultural environment.

4.1 Teachers of dogmatics

Dogmatics is the area of theology in which the doctrinal foundation related to the ministry and leadership of pastors is spelled out. Generally speaking Christian dogmatics is a systematic and actualized outline of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. As a theological enterprise dogmatics is based on the Bible and various confessional statements and references to developments in the history of the Church usually guide the interpretation of the biblical message. Teachers of dogmatics will, therefore, perform exegesis of biblical texts and apply

³⁸⁵ See chapter one, section 1.2.4.

the interpretation to current needs and tasks according to some level of loyalty to the confession of the church or denomination they belong to.

4.1.1 Russell E. Nelson

Russell E. Nelson 倪爾森 (1905-1993)³⁸⁶ belonged to the Augustana Synod Mission, and with his wife Eleanor Nelson (1914-2001)³⁸⁷ he arrived in China for the first time in 1939. In 1947 he became a teacher at the LTS, just a short time before the seminary had to leave for Hong Kong.³⁸⁸ There he was elected president of the seminary in 1952.³⁸⁹ He held this position until 1954, when he went on furlough.³⁹⁰ As Russell and Eleanor were asked in 1957 to come over from Hong Kong to Taiwan to “help start a seminary there,” they saw it like God had set before them a “new open door.”³⁹¹ At LTS a new president had been elected, and Russell felt free to accept the “urgent” call from Taiwan.³⁹² He served as president and professor at TLS

³⁸⁶ See his vita in Russell E. Nelson, “The second century Greek apologies : their propagation of Christianity in the Graeco-Roman pagan world” (Doctor of Philosophy, The Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1956), ii.

³⁸⁷ A brief biography is found in “In memoriam : Elinor [Eleanor] Bloom Nelson 1914-2001,” *Spotlight on China : the quarterly bulletin of the Lutheran Literature Society for the Chinese*, June 2001.

³⁸⁸ See Russell E. Nelson, ““Midwest China oral history and archives project” : a typed transcript of tape-recorded interviews,” (Midwest China Oral History and Archives Collection, 1978), 127.

³⁸⁹ “Nelson became president on 5 May 1952, with the mandate that he “immediately assumes the leadership in planning for the future work of the seminary,” although he didn’t become president until June 1.” LeMond, “A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong”, 126, note 279. Bergendoff wrongly says that Nelson was president for the whole period 1948-54. See Conrad Bergendoff, *The Augustana ministerium : a study of the careers of the 2,504 pastors of the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Synod/Church 1850-1962* (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Historical Society, 1980), 140.

³⁹⁰ He was due to leave in 1951, but he “eventually made the decision to postpone his furlough for another two years in order to serve as seminary president.” LeMond, “A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong”, 127.

³⁹¹ Nelson, ““Midwest China oral history and archives project”,” 201.

³⁹² *ibid.* When he wrote his vita for his thesis, however, he said that he was “planning upon returning to Hongkong early in 1956 to resume his duties at the Lutheran Theological Seminary there.” Nelson, “The second century Greek apologies”, ii. The fact that he “after serious and prayerful consideration” accepted the call from Taiwan may perhaps indicate that he would rather lead the new seminary project in Taiwan than continue in a secondary role under the new leadership at LTS. There are signs of disappointment on his part when he comments on this: “The missionaries in Hong Kong felt that the leadership of the seminary had been in the hands of the Augustana for 18 years and came to the conclusion that it would be wise now, possibly, to have a man from the Evangelical Lutheran Church as president. So the seminary board elected Rev. Harold Martinson to be president of the seminary of Hong Kong.” Nelson, ““Midwest China oral history and archives project”,” 200.

from 1957 to 1961.³⁹³ As a teacher at two of the key seminaries that have trained TLC candidates, he played a special role in the cultivation of pastoral leadership in the early years of this church. A portrait of him and his theology will be a useful background for the exploration of this role.

4.1.1.1 Biographical and theological portrait

Background and education

Nelson grew up on a farm in Kandiyohi, Minnesota, and his parents were interested in missions. Many missionaries came to be the guests at the Nelsons' farm during visits in the local congregation, and its pastor also influenced him deeply.³⁹⁴ One of his younger brothers described him as "tough," "hard boiled" and able to "rough" difficult conditions.³⁹⁵ After his graduation with a BA degree from Gustavus Adolphus College (in St. Peter, Minnesota) in 1930 he was admitted to Augustana Seminary (in Rock Island, Illinois) and got his BDiv degree in 1936.³⁹⁶

Foreign missions had gradually become a central element in the ministry of the Augustana Lutheran Church. The church itself was born out of a missionary concern in Sweden for the thousands of their countrymen who had immigrated to America and in the beginning mission work was understood as the ministry to reach out among the immigrants.³⁹⁷

³⁹³ Back in Minnesota he worked as a teacher at Golden Valley Lutheran College in Minneapolis until his retirement. See Nelson, "'Midwest China oral history and archives project'," 196. See also Bergendoff, *The Augustana ministerium : a study of the careers of the 2,504 pastors of the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Synod/Church 1850-1962*, 140.

³⁹⁴ "Reverend Olson was intensely interested in world mission and did a great deal in shaping my thinking as to what my life might be, even as early as my attendance in high school." Nelson, "'Midwest China oral history and archives project'," 2.

³⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 11.

³⁹⁶ The years of his graduations are based on Bergendoff, *The Augustana ministerium : a study of the careers of the 2,504 pastors of the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Synod/Church 1850-1962*, 140. In the interview made with Nelson in 1978, he was not correct when he said that he graduated from college in 1926 and started at Augustana Seminary the same year. See Nelson, "'Midwest China oral history and archives project'," 2.

³⁹⁷ On page 19 in the Synod Minutes from the year 1870 it is said: "1. By mission we mean the life and activity within the Church of Christ that has as its object the establishment of the Kingdom of God, both within the congregation and where yet no congregation is found. 2. All true missionary life and all true missionary labors have their foundation in Christ, live and move within the Church of Christ, proceed from it and lead back to it. 3. Every member of the Church of Christ ought to be a true mission friend and every mission friend a member of the visible church. 4. The mission field which lies closest to us as a Synod is the thousands of our countrymen who are streaming to this country, and our task is to gather and organize them into congregations and build them up in our most holy faith. 5. The progress of God's Kingdom will best be furthered by properly organizing the missionary endeavor." Quoted in Oscar N. Olson, *The Augustana Lutheran Church in America*

Before long, however, their eyes were set upon faraway lands, although the drive in this direction was a more private initiative in the early stages. Interestingly, links were established with already established missions in Europe.³⁹⁸ China came into focus just before the turn of the century, and the first missionaries were sent out shortly after by an independent society, supported by Augustana pastors and church members.³⁹⁹ The relationship between pastors and church members has set a distinctive mark upon this Lutheran synod. From the very beginning this relationship was brought into the very definition of the church.⁴⁰⁰ Both the pastoral ministry and the Church itself were regarded as divinely instituted.⁴⁰¹ This created a strong pastoral identity, and ordained missionaries were seen as essential to the establishment of new congregations and churches on the mission fields.⁴⁰²

1860 - 1910 : the formative period, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Lutheran Church, 1956), 18.

³⁹⁸ “While the Augustana Synod was especially preoccupied with home missions it was not unmindful of its duty toward foreign missions. In 1861, a committee was appointed “to awaken interest in the work of foreign missions, to receive contributions and send them to the beneficiaries designated by the donors. [...] Thus in 1865, \$400 each was sent to each of the Hermannsburg and Norwegian Missionary societies and \$300 to the Swedish Mission Society. These missions and the Fosterlandsstiftelsen were the principal recipients of the Synod's contributions for a number of years.” *ibid.*, 78 [Olson's underlining].

³⁹⁹ “The desire for an independent mission on a foreign field had been voiced in the Synod for a long time. Various causes had prevented its realization. The picture of China's needs during the Boxer Uprising in 1900, described by Erik Folke, a returned missionary, moved a few pastors in Minneapolis into action. [...] It was a private undertaking, but met with wide interest, although not without some opposition [from the Synod]. In 1904, the Society called A.W. Edwins, pastor at Stillwater, Minnesota, as its first missionary. He and his wife left for China in 1905, where they began active service in 1906 on a selected field at Hsüchow in the province of Honan. [...] The China Mission was taken over by the Synod in 1908.” *ibid.*, 79-80.

⁴⁰⁰ “The Constitution adopted in 1860 states that the ‘synod shall consist of all properly ordained evangelical Lutheran pastors, who subscribe to and remain loyal to the articles of faith (of the Synod), and representatives from such evangelical Lutheran congregations which in their constitutions have accepted the same article of faith or one of identical meaning, and who have been received into the Synod.’” See *ibid.*, 46.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. the following comments on a constitution for congregations, adopted in 1857: “Another problem was the relation of the pastors to the Church. Here they were confronted with extreme congregationalism on the one hand and a hierarchical conception of the ministry on the other. According to the former, the pastor was merely the chosen servant of the congregation; according to the latter, he was a member of an order with a status independent of the local congregation, based upon the ordination by some constituted authority. While the Synod made no official declaration on the question of a valid ministry, it recognized the ministry as divinely instituted as much as the Church itself. This is indicated by the definition of the Synod as composed of ‘pastors and congregations,’ and not of ‘congregations’ only nor of conferences. Thus the Synod recognized the apostolic character of both the Church and the ministry according to divine institution as expressed in John 20:21-23 and I Cor. 12:28, ‘And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, etc.’” *ibid.*, 49.

⁴⁰² “In a history of missions such as this written from the perspective of the contributions of the Augustana Lutheran Church, it is inevitable that a perception is created that our ordained

Interestingly, the interim year at the Lutheran Bible Institute in Minneapolis played a crucial role in his preparation for missionary work.⁴⁰³ Thus one might say that he had the education required for missionaries in his time.⁴⁰⁴ He was, however, not ready to go overseas. He needed experience and that he got as a pastor in a local church, after his ordination in 1936.⁴⁰⁵ One of the characteristics of his ministry in Emanuel Lutheran Church in Hutchinson, Kansas, was the planned “development of congregational leaders.”⁴⁰⁶ In the midst of a fruitful pastoral ministry the call came from the Board of World Missions of the Augustana Lutheran Church to go to China in 1937. Delayed by the Sino-Japanese war they got two more years in Kansas before leaving in 1939.

missionaries were always responsible for the beginning of new work. The story of the Taiwan mission and church is a correction to this imbalance for it clearly shows the development of an important new work by [Chinese] laymen. They were of course, products of an earlier mission in another area.” George F. Hall, *The missionary spirit in the Augustana church*, Augustana Historical Society Publication No. 32 (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Historical Society, Augustana College, 1984), 95.

⁴⁰³ “The preparation was also of such a nature that both of us had met at the Lutheran Bible Institute in an atmosphere that was supercharged at that time, as it had been for many years, with missionary interest. That fostered a missionary interest and a desire for involvement both of my wife and my self later on.” Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project”, 4. According to this interview they were at LBI during the year 1928-29, but in fact it was in 1933-34. See his vita in Nelson, “The second century Greek apologies”, ii.

⁴⁰⁴ “Augustana [Lutheran Church] from the beginning insisted upon adequate professional training for the missionary, (i.e., pastor, teacher, doctor, nurse, engineer, etc.), assuming that instruction in mission theology, history, anthropology and area information was added on the job in some manner. The missionary call was taken seriously and every resource was used to assure success and health. Candidates were carefully screened as to dedication, educational qualifications, work experience, personal family situation, attitude towards ethnic group to be served on the foreign field, personal financial obligations and basic health.” Hall, *The missionary spirit in the Augustana church*, 124.

⁴⁰⁵ The 22 members of the seminary class of that year were ordained at the Augustana synodical meeting, Sunday 14 June 1936. Pastor C. Emil Bergquist held the ordination sermon. The topic was “Dimensions of the gospel ministry,” and he gives the following summary: “There is the dimension that makes for a growing mind, a healthy outlook upon human life; then there is the dynamic of character, and the creative urge of a conquering will. And, finally, the dimension we have just dwelled upon, qualities that characterize men who have big hearts, strong hearts.” C. Emil Bergquist, “Dimensions of the gospel ministry : ordination sermon at synodical meeting, Sunday June 14, 1936,” *The Lutheran Companion*, 20 June 1936, 782. In his treatment of the second dimension, also described as the “strength of Christian character,” there are a couple of comments regarding pastoral leadership. “A tragedy that occurs too often in the gospel ministry is that of the minister to ‘take it.’ In order to be a leader he has simply to be a man who possesses forcefulness of purpose. [...] One can, as stated, possess strength of mind but if it doesn’t produce strength of character – and we do not use the term in a bad sense – he can not become a leader of men.” Bergquist, “Dimensions of the gospel ministry : ordination sermon at synodical meeting, Sunday June 14, 1936,” 781.

⁴⁰⁶ Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project”, 5.

Ministry in China and Hong Kong

China did not come as a surprise to the Nelsons. This is what Russell tells about their knowledge and understanding of things Chinese before departure:

I had always been intensely interested in the Chinese people, in China, and I had read a great deal of material about China, not only learning its geographical location, but learning something about its people, its history, its culture, its religions, and so on. In fact, one reason that we were guided in that direction was that both my wife and I had a deep interest in China, resulting in acquaintanceships with China.⁴⁰⁷

Investment in personal relationships is, nevertheless, the best way to get to know the Chinese. The head Chinese teacher at the College of Chinese Studies in Peking, where Russell and Eleanor got their language training, made such relationships possible.⁴⁰⁸ “We were just anxious to sit at his feet and learn. He had a marvelous outgoing personality, and a personal interest in the students, too.”⁴⁰⁹ Walking the streets of Peking also gave them “an opportunity to have those first-hand, personal contacts which are so essential to understanding Chinese as individuals as well as in aggregate.”⁴¹⁰ One of the Chinese co-workers in the town of Yuhsien, Honan, meant a lot to Nelson. “I have never worked with a more dedicated and capable pastor anywhere in any part of the world than with Wu Djen Ming [毋振明].”⁴¹¹ From him he learned “the methods of dealing with the Chinese people,” as well as how to conduct evangelistic meetings.⁴¹² In Yuhsien he also had a Chinese language teacher who was an intellectual, a Confucianist. As Nelson made progress in his work one of his senior colleagues noted his linguistic abilities.⁴¹³

At some point during the first term in China Nelson was asked to consider a position as teacher at LTS. Although he declined the offer as being premature his response revealed that

⁴⁰⁷ *ibid.*, 7-8.

⁴⁰⁸ “China missionaries [of the Augustana Synod Mission] studied at Yale University, language and orientation, or at College of Chinese Studies in Peking where a whole year was set aside for this work. Whatever the location it was a time of difficult adjustment for a family in living quarters, schedule, education of the children and a return of the wife/mother to the classroom as well.” Hall, *The missionary spirit in the Augustana church*, 124.

⁴⁰⁹ Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project,” 12.

⁴¹⁰ *ibid.*, 14.

⁴¹¹ *ibid.*, 20-21. Wu graduated from LTS in 1924, at the age of 37, and six years later he was ordained. In 1930 his life was changed by the Lutheran revival in China. For a brief biography of Wu, see Gustav Carlberg, *China in revival* (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, 1936), 99-103.

⁴¹² Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project,” 32 and 39.

⁴¹³ “Pastor Nelson is a glutton for work and a very splendid missionary. I just marvel over the way he has mastered the language and the other progress he has made.” John L. Benson, “In famine-ravished Honan : back on the field,” *The Lutheran Companion*, 20 October 1943.

he was indeed motivated for such a task.⁴¹⁴ It was imperative for him that his own teaching had a good quality. Therefore he took the time he needed to prepare himself for the task of teaching, which had been his hope for many years.

Further studies in America

Back in America on furlough from 1945 to 1946, he devoted himself to graduate studies at the Kennedy School of the Hartford Seminary Foundation. His thesis for the MA degree in 1946 was entitled “Justin Martyr as a Missionary : His Attitude to Graeco-Roman Paganism.”⁴¹⁵ The call to serve at LTS came while he was working for the Lutheran World Federation as South China Commissioner 1946-1947.⁴¹⁶ As he was about to start at Shekow in 1947, he spent the hot summer there, instead of joining the other missionaries at the resort in Kuling. Among other things, he “wanted to get acquainted with the Chinese personnel,” who of course did not have any option to escape the “heat.”⁴¹⁷ This is a sign of his sincere willingness to identify with and understand the conditions of the Chinese.

During the furlough 1954-1956, most of his energy was invested in the work towards his PhD,⁴¹⁸ which he was awarded in 1956 at the Hartford Seminary Foundation. The turbulent years he had gone through in China gave him the impetus for his studies. This vast country had “closed its doors to the Christian missionary,” and a similar trend could be seen in India and some areas of Africa. He had found the primary reason to be “the violent opposition to Christianity of certain nationalistic and ideological groups.” There is a strong urgency in his question: “How can Christianity, in the face of this violent opposition, continue

⁴¹⁴ “When I was asked to come to the seminary before [i.e. during his first term in China], I had said that I was not ready for that. I wanted to become better acquainted with the Chinese people and their customs; I wanted to have a better command of the Chinese language; I wanted a firsthand contact with the Chinese church. I couldn’t use those arguments anymore [i.e. towards the end of 1946, when he was called to teach at the seminary].” Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project”, 126.

⁴¹⁵ The title is mentioned in the preface to his PhD thesis; see Nelson, “The second century Greek apologies”, ii.

⁴¹⁶ In this capacity he filed a report in which he called for new spiritual life in Protestant missionary efforts: “But there is a third road, the Calvary road, a road leading up to the Cross of Golgatha, where the Protestant Church will be cleansed of its missionary sins, where it will receive new spiritual life, where it will receive a vision of the real needs for missionary work, where it will be infused with a new passion for souls who are lost in their sins until they are redeemed and saved by the precious blood of Jesus Christ.” Russell E. Nelson, “Defeat or victory? Mission at the crossroads,” *The Lutheran Companion*, 24 September 1947, 16.

⁴¹⁷ Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project”, 128.

⁴¹⁸ Nelson, “The second century Greek apologies”. In the preface he expresses his indebtedness to two theologians: Dr. Paul Schubert, who had aroused his interest in “this particular field of Church history”; and Dr. Ford L. Battles, the main mentor for his thesis.

to interpret effectively its message to unbelievers in these lands?"⁴¹⁹ He was looking for examples of Christian witness with the "spiritual dynamic" and "grasp of the message" he had hinted at in his above-mentioned report. Such examples he found in the first centuries of the Christian Church.

What he had experienced as a missionary was not only his motivation for writing his comprehensive thesis, but he set out to evaluate the Greek apologists of the second century "in the light of his own understanding of the missionary movement."⁴²⁰ This aim is clearly stated in his introductory remarks.

In times of great crises, or when facing unusually challenging opportunities, the Christian Church and its thinkers have often been driven back to a renewed study of the Word and of the teachings of the Fathers. An outstanding characteristic of the Protestant Reformation was its return to the Word and to the early Christian writers for help in restating Christian doctrine and reforming Christian worship. The whole modern missionary movement which during the nineteenth century met the challenge of worldwide evangelism so successfully had its inception in the little prayer group at Halle which met regularly for the study of the Word. In our century of the Church's fierce conquest, which Latourette has characterized as "Advance through Storm,"⁴²¹ we find a similar renewed interest in the origins of Christianity. [...] [T]here has been a growing conviction among some scholars that a study of the origins of Christianity might help the various branches of the divided Church of today to find a common point to draw the various denominations into better understanding of one another, closer cooperation in global missionary endeavor and possible unity.⁴²²

Following a historical overview of the development of Christianity in the first four centuries A.D., he goes on to present and analyze "the six major Greek Apologists as missionaries."⁴²³ The writings of Aristides, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Teophilus of Antioch, and the author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* are discussed, in the light of their lives and "their methods of propagating Christianity."⁴²⁴ Nelson is especially interested in similarities and differences between these methods, and whenever appropriate he makes connections to his own dealings with the Chinese and their culture. Two examples may be sufficient to demonstrate this.

⁴¹⁹ *ibid.*, iii.

⁴²⁰ *ibid.*

⁴²¹ Here Nelson has a note, referring to the title of Vol. 7 of Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A history of the expansion of Christianity*, 7 vols. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1937-45).

⁴²² Nelson, "The second century Greek apologies", vii-viii. Among the scholars he refers to in a note at this point, are Ruth Rouse and Stephan Charles Neill, by mentioning their book about the history of the ecumenical movement. See Ruth Rouse and Stephan Charles Neill, eds., *A history of the ecumenical movement, 1517-1948 (Published on behalf of the Ecumenical Institute, Chateau de Bossey)* (London: SPCK, 1954).

⁴²³ Nelson, "The second century Greek apologies", x.

⁴²⁴ *ibid.*

In his evaluation of Teophilus, he gives him credit for his use of the Old and New Testament and for his attempts “to present a teaching of the Trinity.” His missionary methods were seemingly “effective,” especially his use of “personal appeal.” Regarding the weak points of Teophilus, Nelson underlines his being “inaccurate in quoting the philosophers and poets,” and that he was “inconsistent in his attitude toward Greek philosophy.”⁴²⁵ This, he says, “would have the same effect as if I, a missionary in China, should inaccurately quote Lao Tze, Meng Tze, Confucius, or the Buddhist scriptures.”⁴²⁶

The unknown missionary who authored *The Epistle to Diognetus* is given a generally positive evaluation as a “fervent missionary Apologist,” a man of “intense Christian conviction.”⁴²⁷ These characteristics show off in the methods of this apologist as he interprets the Christian faith to Diognetus. He “adapts himself to the spiritual needs of his enquirer, whom he is eager to convert to Christianity,” and the apologist does not undertake his task “without first asking God’s help in prayer.”⁴²⁸ This prompted a personal comment by Nelson:

Such prayer is indispensable to effective missionary work. How often have not I knelt in prayer in China, imploring God’s aid in the God-given task of interpreting Christianity to the Chinese people? And when facing an enquirer, how often have not I as a missionary breathed a silent prayer for wisdom to speak so that he might be led to believe? In our day, when prayer is discounted by many, the author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* comes to us with sound advice.⁴²⁹

Nelson seems to be convinced that it was possible to interpret and defend Christian truth in a pagan environment without going too far in the adaptation to the religion and philosophy of the unbelievers. In his opinion it is important to show that “the Christian tradition always transcends – and to some extent, negates – the categories of non-Christian thought and practice.”⁴³⁰ He concludes his thesis by saying that some of the Greek apologists “succeeded better than others in bridging the gap between Christianity and paganism without allowing Christian truth to be altered.”⁴³¹

Theological characteristics and seminary teaching

⁴²⁵ *ibid.*, 342.

⁴²⁶ *ibid.*, 326.

⁴²⁷ *ibid.*, 339.

⁴²⁸ *ibid.*, 350.

⁴²⁹ *ibid.*, 351.

⁴³⁰ *ibid.*, 373.

⁴³¹ *ibid.*

Nelson has been described as “solidly Lutheran” and at the same time positive towards “ecumenical relationships.”⁴³² He had met “Christian groups operating in Hong Kong who are of like beliefs.”⁴³³ It was important for him, both overseas and in his home country, to foster the kind of pastoral leadership that would allow the necessary and fruitful cooperation among Christians from different denominations. In his opinion the seminary ought to be a place that showed the students that such cooperation was possible, for instance by opening up the seminary to “other church bodies.”⁴³⁴ It seems, however, that Nelson limited his openness to ecumenical cooperation to the Protestant churches. As LTS was recruiting students from other Asian countries, he said in a report that he was proud to represent a “thoroughly evangelical” school.⁴³⁵

As teacher and president of the theological seminaries (LTS and TLS) his primary concern was to establish and “retain a good, solid academic foundation for the school,” even in times when the conditions were not so favorable, when it was difficult to “keep on a level keel.”⁴³⁶ In his opinion, a good seminary “takes a good library, it takes good teachers,” “well-trained teachers and funds for expanding,” and these necessities were not always easily available.⁴³⁷ In Hong Kong LTS had to build up a new library after the loss of the one it had

⁴³² LeMond, “A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong”, 126. Nelson’s initiative towards partnership with the Rhenish and the Basel Missions [at LTS] had to face “resistance from influential American leaders of the Lutheran World Federation”. LeMond, “A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong”, 157. This indicates that he was perhaps more ecumenically oriented than other American Lutherans at that time. He took pride in having an “ecumenical spirit”, which he had learnt something about during his internship in seminary. Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project”, 3. In Taiwan, some of the last things he was involved in as president at TLS was consultations with the Covenant Church, “regarding the possibility of their cooperation with the Lutherans in operating the seminary. They were almost on the verge of saying yes when I left Taichung. I think that if everything had gone as we had hoped and prayed, they would eventually have joined us.” Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project”, 205-206.

⁴³³ Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project”, 184.

⁴³⁴ *ibid.* Although this reflects the situation at LTS by the time he was interviewed, it nevertheless shows that cooperation with other churches was a development that Nelson supported.

⁴³⁵ “It is also encouraging that an increasing number of students are also coming to our seminary from distant parts to secure their theological training in a thoroughly evangelical school with high academic standards.” Russell E. Nelson, “A lighthouse of God : Hong Kong seminary sends its beams afar,” *The Lutheran Companion*, 19 August 1953, 14. By using the term “evangelical,” he most likely indicates that he adheres to the part of the Protestant tradition, which in his time was described as showing “loyalty to the Gospel of Jesus Christ in contrast to rationalistic and legalistic Christianity. [...] Evangelicals are known for activities in mission work, efforts towards personal piety and opposition to ritualism and modernism.” Erwin L. Lueker, ed., *Lutheran cyclopedia* (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1954), 349-350.

⁴³⁶ Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project”, 183.

⁴³⁷ *ibid.*, 185.

in Shekow, and in Taiwan there was the same need for a working library at TLS. What did he mean, however, by “good” teachers? In addition to being well trained academically, he also looked for the ability to establish close and caring relationships with the students. Theologically speaking, he favored teachers with an evangelical and not too conservative position.

We had experiences in both the seminary in Hong Kong and the seminary in Taiwan where some people questioned the theological thinking of certain members of the faculty. However, we have been very fortunate, on the whole, in that we have had members of the faculty, both in Hong Kong and Taiwan, who have been thoroughly evangelical. I don't know of anyone while we were in Hong Kong and Taiwan who was liberal, least of all ultra-liberal. [...] In my experience, I can say that I have never met a missionary that was so ultra-liberal or one who was so ultra-conservative that it was impossible to work together with him. We will have to make allowances and work together in the areas where we feel we have things in common, and in areas in which we have much more in common than in which we disagree.⁴³⁸

Nelson seemed to be open to the influence from his Chinese colleagues and students, and he also made impressions on the people who met him. One example is the relationship he and his wife had with the students at LTS. “What they may have thought or said among themselves, I don't know, but anything as far as their attitude towards us was concerned could only be interpreted as a very wholesome relationship.”⁴³⁹ Although he was a respected teacher,⁴⁴⁰ he did not want to be paternalistic.⁴⁴¹ He wanted the Chinese coworkers to have greater freedom in making their own decisions, for instance in the use of funds from the foreign missions. He would encourage developments in this direction so that the Chinese could be “without the feeling that they were unduly dictated unto by the foreign staff.”⁴⁴² One episode in the early years of LTS in Hong Kong sheds some light on Nelson's view of how the Chinese think

⁴³⁸ *ibid.*, 189-190.

⁴³⁹ *ibid.*, 195.

⁴⁴⁰ The ELC missionary Everett W. Savage, one of Nelson's TLC colleagues who also arrived in Taiwan in 1957, said that “Russell E. Nelson was known to be quite an able teacher, and he had good relationships with most people, both Chinese and foreign.” Everett Savage, “Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 1 December 1997, notes,” (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997). In the obituary his whole teaching career at home and abroad is characterized: “In his life as a teacher, he influenced hundreds of youth to heed the call to witness.” “In memoriam : Russell E. Nelson (1905-1994),” *Spotlight on China : the quarterly bulletin of the Lutheran Literature Society for the Chinese*, March 1995.

⁴⁴¹ In comparing himself with the German missionaries, whom he met as LWF South China Commissioner in 1946, he didn't want to experience himself the “peculiar mixture of obedience to the German missionaries on the part of the Chinese leaders – a mixture of such obedience with a mixture, or bit of, antipathy. [...] a bit of antipathy because they were not as close together as possibly they might have been.” Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project”, 93.

⁴⁴² See his document, “Some Problems Related to Establishing an Indigenous Church in China”, quoted in LeMond, “A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong”, 88, note 189.

about leadership and the confidence that has to go along with it. An expatriate colleague had accused a Chinese member of the faculty of being a Communist and therefore this member decided go back to the mainland.⁴⁴³ Nelson reflects on this regretful situation by giving the following comments:

If a Chinese feels that he is in good standing, that people have confidence in him, then he has a right to stay in the position that he holds. If he has good reason to believe that they have lost confidence in him, then according to Chinese psychological thinking and reasoning the best thing is for him to leave.⁴⁴⁴

In his final report as president at LTS, he not only gave an account of the academic year. He also expressed what he thought would be the most important task of the institution, if it should serve the “Christian Church in the Atomic Age.”⁴⁴⁵

“The harvest is indeed plenteous, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth laborers into his harvest” (Mt. 9:37,38). Pray unto the Lord that this Lutheran Theological Seminary might be used by Him to prepare men who are adequately equipped for the new age that has dawned, equipped both as to the inner spiritual dynamic, and as to the grasp of the message which they are to proclaim.⁴⁴⁶

During his years among the Chinese Nelson expanded his knowledge of Chinese culture and customs, learning their ways and fashion. He had to relate this knowledge to his theology and understanding of missions. When asked about the situation of Lutheran involvement in cross-cultural missions overseas towards the end of the 1970's, he had this to say:

Let me illustrate. When people will say that all the religions are roads to heaven and that a Buddhist or Confucianist or Hindu will find God through their faith just as we find God through our Christian faith, that, too, has had a devastating effect upon the thinking of some of our good Lutheran Christians. Why then does missionary work work? Why did I go to China with my wife and children, endangering ourselves day after day, under Japanese bombings for three-and-a-half years of that time? If they had their Buddhist faith, Confucianist or Taoist faith, why go there at all? This is another

⁴⁴³ This is the case of C.H. Wang (1902[?]-1993), who “eventually found the climate at Lutheran Theological Seminary intolerable, and in 1956 made the decision to return to China.” See *ibid.*, 137. According to LeMond, Russell Nelson supported actions taken to clear the LTS of any possible Communist influence. It is probable, however, that he was among those who felt that Wang was “singled out for harsh treatment and made a scapegoat”. See LeMond, “A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong”, 137. In 1953 Russell Nelson wrote a general letter “repudiating the allegations current in certain quarters that the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Kowloon is a pro-Communist institution ...” See LeMond, “A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong”, 135. Russell Nelson said in 1978: “I very much regretted it [i.e. that Wang left LTS].” Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project”, 151.

⁴⁴⁴ Nelson, “Midwest China oral history and archives project”, 151.

⁴⁴⁵ Nelson, “President's annual report,” 29.

⁴⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 31.

factor that contributes to the decline in mission interest and activity.⁴⁴⁷

This did not mean, however, that he was reluctant to use the local religions as a “bridge by which we can get to understand them [i.e. the Chinese].” Without “mixing up Buddhism with Christianity” he would “draw a sharp line of demarcation there.”⁴⁴⁸

I have often used Buddhism as a bridge to reach the Chinese. I don't leave them on that side of the bridge; I take them with me back to my side. It doesn't become a hybrid -- part Buddhism, part Christian. I want them to say goodbye to Buddhism and come over to Christ. Some disagree with me. Some say that Buddhism is the road to Heaven. The same road that we have in Christianity we have in Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and all the other non-Christian religions. I adamantly oppose that view, personally, as a Christian.⁴⁴⁹

It is highly probable that his seminary teaching followed this line of thought. He would teach his students about Christ and Christian faith, from a Lutheran perspective. It was his deep conviction that by sharing with the Chinese the treasure and tradition he himself had received, they could cross the “bridge” and “come over to Christ.” He must have sought to train pastors that would think in the same way as they ministered to their congregations. The gospel had to be understood and conveyed as clearly as possible. He welcomed, therefore, the introduction of Cantonese classes at LTS, so that the students could be “preaching the gospel to the native people here [in Hong Kong] in their own tongue.”⁴⁵⁰

4.1.1.2 Characteristics of Nelson's approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership

Nelson's teaching of dogmatics at LTS and TLS was most likely based on his theological education⁴⁵¹ and the tenet of the Augustana Lutheran Church.⁴⁵² In his lectures he had to refer

⁴⁴⁷ Nelson, ""Midwest China oral history and archives project", 210.

⁴⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 90.

⁴⁴⁹ *ibid.* His use of the “bridge”-metaphor can possibly be traced to one of his colleagues. Once he was having a conversation at LTS with Rev. C.C. Wang, one of the Chinese faculty members. As they were discussing the attitude of Dr. Reichelt towards Buddhism, Rev. Wang spoke up and said, “You know that I am not altogether in sympathy with my wonderful brother and father, Dr. Reichelt, in his attitude toward Buddhism. In fact, I have come to realize that the only way that I could gain complete peace and joy is to say farewell to Buddhism completely – to cross the bridge, come over to this side, and burn the bridge behind me. I believe this more than I ever have.” Nelson, ""Midwest China oral history and archives project", 121.

⁴⁵⁰ This was very relevant as most of the students at LTS in the first years were Mandarin-speaking mainlanders. See LeMond, “A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong”, 131.

⁴⁵¹ A member of the 1961 senior class at the Augustana Lutheran Seminary, argues that “the history and theological structure of the Augustana Lutheran Church can be seen in the life and theology of one of her most significant teachers: Eric Herbert Wahlstrom.” Richard W. Werner, "Eric Wahlstrom : teacher and theologian," *Augustana Seminary Review* 13, no. 2 (1961): 4. From

to the main textbook used by his students, namely, *A summary of the Christian faith* by Henry Eyster Jacobs.⁴⁵³ I have not been able to find any of Nelson's teaching manuscripts or lecture notes. The below presentation of his understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership is, therefore, based on the above portrait and other available sources that represent his point of view as adequately as possible.

As far as his *understanding* of pastoral leadership is concerned I will describe and explore how Nelson expresses and balances knowledge about individual candidates and the context of pastoral leadership. According to Grint's interpretative approach, presented in chapter three,⁴⁵⁴ the type and level of knowledge about the individual and the context are crucial factors in the understanding of leadership.

What, according to Nelson, can be known about *individual* candidates for pastoral leadership? As the Chinese mainland was about to be closed to foreign mission work Nelson, then in Hong Kong, wrote a small article called "When the church speaks," published in the China News-Letter. Here he reveals what he sees as important characteristics of a Christian, and, consequently also of pastors, who are among the leaders:

Christ needs no defense. We are called upon to proclaim Him with a certainty of

Nelson's second year and onwards at this seminary Wahlstrom was a member of the faculty. Some of Werner's comments are illustrative. "He had been schooled in the climate of a pietistic and evangelistic Lutheran orthodoxy, which found itself confronted with the American scene. This [i.e. the 1920s] was a decade of transition, both for the church and for its leaders. Dr. Wahlstrom was sure of the insights of the old theology, but its sociological and theological isolation were no longer possible in a church which was a part of the American religious community. [...] Dr. Wahlstrom has never left the staunch Swedish Lutheranism that was his inheritance. In all of the phases of his theological development [i.e. until the publication of Werner's article] there has been the influence of the Lutheran confessions and the evangelistic and personal concern of a warm and human Swedish piety." Werner, "Eric Wahlstrom : teacher and theologian," 7 and 9.

⁴⁵² At the event of the ordination in 1936 of Nelson and his 21 classmates, A.D. Mattson, their seminary advisor, presented them to the synod assembly. His presentation, called "Priest or Prophet?" characterizes the basic elements in the view of pastoral ministry in the Augustana Lutheran Church. "Our Synod has always been solicitous that only those who belong to the universal priesthood of believers be entrusted with the office of the holy ministry. The office of the ministry, however, is no priesthood. Ministers of the Word are not, by virtue, of that fact, priests. A minister is a priest only in the sense that every Christian is a priest. The office of the ministry is an office which the Lord has given to the Church for the purpose of administration of the sacraments and preaching the Word. This office has its roots and type in the apostolic office. The apostolic office was transitory, but the office which is to preach the Gospel to all people is abiding. 2 Cor.3. The pastor is to preach the Word. This function connects the office of the ministry with the prophetic type of ministry." A.D. Mattson, "Priest or prophet?," *The Lutheran Companion*, 13 June 1936, 747-748.

⁴⁵³ A presentation of this textbook is found in chapter five, section 5.1.

⁴⁵⁴ See section 3.2.2.

conviction born out of a genuine spiritual experience. [...] But what is the voice of the Church? Is it the voice of assembled ecclesiastical bodies who are met together to take decisions, and express opinions? Is it the voice of the Church papers? Is it the voice of religious leaders, pastors and teachers? Is it the voice of any particular branch of church work, educational, philanthropic, missionary? Yes, all these are the voice of the Church. But in times of great crisis, the Church has always spoken most powerfully through individual Christians who have been set on fire by Christ, whose very lives are a sermon, and who have been willing to shed their own blood rather than give up their faith.⁴⁵⁵

The above quotation indicates that Nelson places a great responsibility on any member of the church for a trustworthy proclamation of the gospel. Regardless of the type of ministry and task assigned to the church members their main quality is found in the personal relationship to Jesus Christ. With regard to the important leadership role of pastors Nelson is concerned that the church can find suitable candidates. Below I will refer to statements by Nelson, which show that he thinks that it is possible to identify individuals who have the desired Christian faith and experience. This identification is not only based on their words but even more on the deeds of the candidates.

From Nelson's point of view admission of students to theological seminaries should, therefore, include procedures for establishing knowledge about their individual qualifications. Nelson is convinced that Christian influence in education is important. In his report from the twenty-fourth annual convention of the Augustana Synod Lutheran Church of Honan, 5-12 September 1944, Nelson said, "missionary schools are indispensable for the training of Christian leadership."⁴⁵⁶ And, in an unpublished manuscript from the early 1950s he follows up with a similar statement: "If the Lutheran Church is to move forward, it must have a well-trained ministry. [...] The church that has a ministry and a laity that is firmly established in the Word as a result of a well-rounded program of Christian education, will be fitted for service, as well as strengthened for trials."⁴⁵⁷ As will be mentioned below, Nelson uses generic terms such as ministry and laity. There is, nevertheless, in his approach a focus on the individual student, pastor and church member. It is through the selection, training and

⁴⁵⁵ Russell E. Nelson, "When the church speaks," *China News-Letter*, September-October 1949, 4.

⁴⁵⁶ Russell E. Nelson, "Through trials and tribulations : Chinese church presses on," *The Lutheran Companion*, 8 March 1944, 16.

⁴⁵⁷ Russell E. Nelson, "Does the Luther of yesterday have a message for the church of today?," (St. Paul, Minnesota: ELCA Region 3 Archives. Box: Russell Nelson, folder: Miscellaneous articles, [1951?]), 5-6. He wrote this seven-page manuscript in the light of the upcoming LWF assembly in Hannover, Germany 1952. According to the list of participants he did not attend the assembly. See Lutheran World Federation. Assembly (2 : 1952: Hannover), *The proceedings of the second assembly of the Lutheran World Federation : Hannover, Germany July 25 - August 3, 1952* (Geneva: 1952), 178-198.

evaluation of individual candidates that the church can find, assign and use reliable workers and members.

Many of the TLC students were recruited among the graduates from the Lutheran Bible Institutes in Hong Kong and Kaohsiung. These schools served as a useful testing ground for candidates for pastoral ministry. Although the student body at the bible schools consisted of both men and women, as Nelson saw it only the male candidates were eligible for seminary training. In a report reflecting the role of LBI in Hong Kong he said:

It should be added that the school is further needed to help us find out what men are suitable material for the Seminary. We have had many applications for enrollment in the Seminary that we have had to turn down because of the fact that we felt the candidate was too young a Christian, did not have enough foundation in the fundamentals of our Christian faith, or did not have any experience to make him a safe risk as a seminary student. With a Bible school in operation, we can test out such men before they come to the Seminary.⁴⁵⁸

At TLS Nelson helped to initiate a special committee for the examination of applicants. In a letter to this committee he suggested the use of an entrance examination: "This written examination will include four sections: (1) Bible Knowledge, (2) General Knowledge, (3) Spiritual Experience, and (4) A Short Essay."⁴⁵⁹ The task for the prospective students was to meet these expectations and the seminary faculty was responsible for the evaluation.⁴⁶⁰

By means of careful selection, solid training and proper ordination the church can be provided with pastors that can serve as good leaders in local congregations and in the church at large. Even though it is impossible to establish a complete certainty about the quality of

⁴⁵⁸ Quoted in Rolf A. Syrdal, "Land of tycoon and coolie," *Lutheran Herald*, 14 April 1953, 353.

⁴⁵⁹ Russell E. Nelson, "To the Examining Committee for Applicants to Enroll in Seminary," (Taichung / Taipei: Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary / TLM Archives, TLC office, 1961).

⁴⁶⁰ Similar expectations had been expressed in the 1950s at Nelson's alma mater, the Augustana Theological Seminary: "A minister of the Gospel who serves in a growing city or country congregation in America today must be an informed man, and a person of varied accomplishments. It isn't enough that he can preach a good sermon. It is required of him that he shall be schooled in the theory and practice of church liturgy, serve acceptably as a leader of the worship, and be proficient in the art of reading the Scriptures in public. A congregation expects its minister to expound the Bible with a view of connecting the Biblical thought with present-day life and the spiritual needs of his hearers. Understanding the intricate history of the Church and a practical familiarity with church government is indispensable. [...] The Seminary is responsible for the education and training of its students, at least to the extent of widening mental horizons, supplying spiritual inspiration and pointing out paths in which useful achievement may be reached. If the program is successful, it is not unlikely that somebody else get the credit; if it fails, the seminary is sure to get the blame." S. J. Sebelius, "Masterbuilders of Augustana Theological Seminary : introductory; getting acquainted with the seminary.," *Augustana Seminary Review* 3, no. 2 (1951): 17.

individual candidates, Nelson is eager to recruit persons who will be a “safe risk,”⁴⁶¹ not only as seminary students but also as pastors. This risk is primarily related to the traits and Christian spirituality of the candidates. One is led to conclude that Nelson is of the opinion that if a candidate is “safe” it is likely that he will satisfactorily fulfill his ministry in any given setting or context.

The issue of the *context* is the second aspect of Nelson’s understanding of pastoral leadership to be reviewed here. As far as the *ecclesial* element of the context is concerned my assumption is that he subscribes to the basic tenet of the Augustana Lutheran Church, in which pastoral ministry is seen as divinely instituted. Each pastor should regard himself as a member of the “ministerium.”⁴⁶² As ordained ministers the pastors understand themselves as “servants of Christ.”⁴⁶³ They are neither “servants” of the congregation, nor “a member of an order with a status independent of the local congregation.”⁴⁶⁴ The establishment and exercise of pastoral leadership requires a careful balance between the identity of the pastor and the self-understanding of the congregation. In addition to the local perspective a pastor should also guide and assist the congregation to openness and awareness of ecumenical fellowship. With proper introduction and ample training candidates for pastoral leadership can obtain sufficient insight and knowledge about the ecclesial element of the context of their ministry. When it comes to the *socio-cultural* element of the context there is nothing specific mentioned about the social aspect. There is, for example, no concern for the lessons and experiences from family life such as a pastor’s function in the roles as spouse, father and son. And, he does not discuss in detail relevant leadership patterns in public society. Nelson directs, however, some attention to trends in politics and science. It is important to recruit and train pastors “who are adequately equipped for the new age that has dawned,”⁴⁶⁵ an age he also characterized as the “Atomic Age.”⁴⁶⁶ If their leadership shall be relevant in an actual situation pastors must combine historical insights with updated information about the current

⁴⁶¹ Nelson’s comment is found in Syrdal, “Land of tycoon and coolie,” 353.

⁴⁶² Nelson uses this term in his report about the first TLS graduates, who have been “prepared to join the ministerium” of the TLC; see Russell E. Nelson, “Nine new pastors for Taiwan church : they will fill a desperate need,” *The Lutheran Companion*, 9 August 1961, 6. Additional information about the origin of this forum of ministers in the American Lutheran context, including the Augustana Synod, is found in chapter five, section 5.1.2.

⁴⁶³ This was the title of the first graduation annual of TLS, published in Nelson’s final year as president of the seminary. See Niu Hsi-erh, ed., *Chi-tu chih p’u*.

⁴⁶⁴ Olson, *The Augustana Lutheran Church in America 1860 - 1910 : the formative period*, 49.

⁴⁶⁵ Nelson, “President’s annual report,” 31.

⁴⁶⁶ *ibid.*, 29.

political and scientific trends. Other expressions of culture, such as writing, art and customs, also deserve attention from pastors. The main focus, however, in Nelson's view of the culture is the role of religion. From a Christian vantage point he generally regards other religions as expressions of paganism. This attitude is partly evident in the themes of his above-mentioned MA and PhD theses. Representatives of other religions should, nevertheless, be treated with respect. According to Nelson's comments in the above portrait of him and his theology, such respect involves substantial knowledge and understanding of the faith systems, sacred writings, and practices of these religions. For the preparation and exercise of pastoral leadership sufficient material for the study of religion must be included in the curriculum at the theological seminaries and ordained ministers must steadily stay informed about developments in the religions encountered by themselves, the church members and seekers of the Christian faith.

Taken together the individual and contextual aspects of Nelson's understanding of pastoral leadership indicate that knowledge about the individual is or can be more reliable than that of the context. Whereas the socio-cultural context is very complex and to a large extent is beyond the control of churches and their leaders, one can have more certainty about the quality and skills of candidates for pastoral leadership through the procedures for calling, preparation and assignment. Still, it is not reasonable to say that he strictly favors a trait approach. Although he has a limited scope of the context, some elements are given serious attention. And, there is always a risk, as Nelson mentioned, when it comes to abilities and actions of individual human beings. In my opinion Nelson's position can, therefore, be characterized as a trait/contingency approach.

What were the main points in Nelson's approach to *cultivation* of pastoral leadership? Some of his general statements about preparation of pastors are also applicable to the process of getting them ready for their leadership tasks in the church. A few chronological examples of such statements are illustrative. In 1949 Nelson described LTS as a training center: "But the institution is continuing its God-given task of training native leaders for the Christian Church of China."⁴⁶⁷ From a section of an annual report in 1951 we get some glimpses of how he viewed his task as a teacher.

It has been my privilege to teach Paul's Epistle to the Romans, The Gospel of John, The Epistle to the Hebrews, Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, Principles of Public

⁴⁶⁷ Russell E. Nelson, "Lutheran Theological Seminary opens fall term," *China News-Letter*, September-October 1949, 5.

Speaking, and Homiletics. It has been a real joy to observe the students grow in spiritual wisdom as they have studied these Bible courses which are so fundamentally basic to an understanding of God's way of salvation and the work of the church. It has also been a joy to note their growth in their ability to express themselves effectively in the pulpit and on the platform. [...] The work of a professor is proverbially considered a very unglamorous and rather uninteresting task. But I have repeatedly experienced such a thrill in this work that I have found it extremely interesting. One has the joy of knowing that one is helping to prepare future pastors and leaders of the Lutheran Church, thus multiplying one's efforts manifold. [...] In addition to the work in the seminary, I have also had the privilege of having a part in the evangelistic work in this area. [...] A professor needs such contacts in order to keep in touch with the practical side of the work of the church. It helps to keep one from becoming over-theoretical and unpractical in the classroom.⁴⁶⁸

In his 1952 report from LTS a few important elements in his approach to cultivation of pastors are evident:

There has been a big turnover in the faculty and a change in leadership. But the work is God's! Under his guidance and with his help we look forward to another year of school work when this lamp of Christ shall go on preparing lights to send out into the darkness. Jesus not only declared, "I am the Light of the world"; He also said, "Ye are the light of the world." What Southeast Asia and the whole world needs most of all is Jesus Christ, the Light of the world. But the only way they can be brought to the Light is through the lights whom He has lit, called, prepared, and sent.⁴⁶⁹

Towards the end of the first year of operations at TLS Nelson described the task of the seminary in a short news-note for his constituency in America.⁴⁷⁰ Here he gives an account of the reasons for starting a Lutheran Seminary in Taiwan and he also describes the way of training, which in addition to traditional classroom activities also included a varied practical experience. Being among the first twenty-two Augustana seminary students who got their "internship,"⁴⁷¹ he knew from his own theological education that a parish training service program was a useful element of a seminary curriculum.

⁴⁶⁸ Russell E. Nelson, "Annual report : another year of joyful work in the Lord," (Hong Kong / St. Paul, Minnesota: Lutheran Augustana Mission / ELCA Region 3 Archives. Box: Russell Nelson: reports; folder: Lutheran conferences, 1951), 1.

⁴⁶⁹ Russell E. Nelson, "Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hongkong," *The Missionary*, January 1953, 38.

⁴⁷⁰ Russell E. Nelson, "A humble beginning : training men for the Lord in Taiwan," *The Lutheran Companion*, 24 September 1958.

⁴⁷¹ Theodore E. Conrad, "Internship : after twenty-five years; I. The beginnings and growth of Augustana's internship program," *Augustana Seminary Review* 11, no. 2 (1959). This article tells how Augustana Theological Seminary initiated and implemented the internship program in the school year of 1934-35. As mentioned above, Nelson graduated from this school in 1936.

At the occasion of the first commencement at TLS 5 June 1961 Nelson wrote a report, which emphasized the great demand for pastors in TLC.⁴⁷² In an article manuscript from the same year he describes how a seminary can contribute.

This need is a strong emphasis upon the training of indigenous personnel. This is the cap stone of a strong church. [...] The highest point of attainment in the constructive program of a younger church is the establishment of a sound, evangelical, Biblio-centric and Christo-centric seminary. The measure of the vitality, the virility, the dynamic power of the evangelistic outreach of any church, to a very large extent is the measure of its theological training program.⁴⁷³

Based on the above portrait and the statements covering the years 1949-1961, it seems clear that Nelson's approach to the cultivation of pastoral leadership combines two elements. On the one hand he underlines the responsibility of the *cultivators*, among whom he reckons the theological seminaries and their faculty as key representatives. Local Christian communities, especially in the form of established congregations, are also influential training grounds for pastoral candidates. Nelson thinks, therefore, that it is necessary that seminary faculty have first-hand experience from work in local congregations, not only before but also alongside their tenure. On the other hand he emphasizes the responsibility of the *candidates*. Without using the term self-cultivation he indicates several ways in which they should consciously develop their Christian spirituality and theological wisdom. This spirituality combines a

⁴⁷² Nelson, "Nine new pastors for Taiwan church : they will fill a desperate need."

⁴⁷³ Russell E. Nelson, "The cap stone of a strong church," (St. Paul, Minnesota: ELCA Region 3 Archives. Box: Russell Nelson, folder: Miscellaneous articles, 1961), 1. No published version of the manuscript has been found. The following quote shows that Nelson's opinion is in line with the mission strategy of the Augustana Lutheran Church: "The desire and aim of the Mission is to develop a self-supporting and self-propagating indigenous Church. To attain such a goal native leadership is necessary. God provides potential leadership wherever His Church comes into existence, but such potentialities must be trained in order to be able to assume positions of responsibility. A Church must have a native ministry. People do not feel that the Church is their own until it is shepherded by their own men." Swanson, *Foundation for tomorrow*, 169-170. This book is a general introduction to the foreign mission work of the Augustana Lutheran Church, by one who was the Executive Director of the Board of World Missions in this Synod from 1939 to 1955. It covers the transplanting of the foreign mission heritage from Sweden and Europe, and the following developments of mission work in Puerto Rico, India, China, Japan, and various countries in Africa and Latin America. A statement by a TLC representative illustrates this transplanting: "The Taiwan Lutheran Church is thankful for the heritage it has from the missions which have founded it. The Augustana Mission is one of the eight groups which work together as the Taiwan Lutheran Mission. Thus we have received from the heritage of both Europe and America." Chou Ching-fu (Peter), "Progress through partnership," in *People to people : Augustana missions 1961; a yearbook on missions reporting on the kingdom advance in mission work during the year 1960*, ed. Theodore E. Matson and Rudolph C. Burke (Minneapolis, Minnesota: The Board of American and World Missions, Augustana Lutheran Church, 1961), 101. Chou, at the time president of TLC, here greets and gives thanks to the Augustana Lutheran Church for its cooperation in the work of the TLC. It should be mentioned that he had been one of Nelson's students at LTS, graduating in 1953.

double point of view. First and foremost Jesus Christ is the focus of attention. He is the one who can ignite a fire and be a source of light in the lives of the candidates. But due attention should also be given to the response from the candidates and the shaping in them of a Christian character. Nelson is also convinced that diligent study and dedicated work with a theological curriculum will be a solid basis for pastoral ministry and create the wisdom needed for those who through this ministry shall contribute to the leadership of Christian communities. In addition to spirituality and wisdom the candidates should also work on themselves and their skills. Clarity of expression in sermons and in other public communication settings is seen as an important ability.

I will argue that my description and exploration of Nelson's approach for the cultivation of pastoral leadership has shown that it fits his trait/contingency approach to the understanding of such leadership. Most attention is directed towards the fostering of individual candidates.⁴⁷⁴ A set of qualities and skills are sought developed in these recruits by means of their own efforts and through scheduled training programs led by seminary teachers and other mentors, such as pastors and members of congregations during the students' practical assignments. Still, in the cultivation process some attention is also directed towards the context of pastoral leadership. As servants of Christ the candidates should learn to see themselves as proud representatives of an evangelical Lutheran church. And, they should be able to face the challenge of other religions, in order to guide people to Jesus Christ, the only true savior. The acceptance and confession of the uniqueness of Christ is one of the crucial points in the relationship between a Christian and Confucian approach to the cultivation of leadership. In the following section I will present how Nelson treats this relationship.

⁴⁷⁴ Nelson's focus on individuals may have something to do with his general understanding of Christian faith. In a diary note 3 March 1958 Jørgen Hansen, one of Nelson's missionary colleagues in TLC, reflects on an exchange he had with Nelson the day before. They were having an evening prayer and sang some hymns together during a social family visit at Nelson's residence. Following N.F.S. Grundtvig's "Built on a rock the Church shall stand," proposed by Hansen, they sang upon Nelson's suggestion A.H. Ackley's "I serve a risen Savior," which, as Nelson said, "*ville sige det same*" (expressed the same message). Hansen describes his own reaction: "I was just about to fall off my chair, because in my view 'He lives' is in fact *kættersk i sin kristendom* (an heretical form of Christianity), as this song represents *ekstrem subjektivisme* (extreme subjectivism): 'You ask me how I know he lives? He lives within my heart.' No, this is not the reason why we know that Christ lives today, but because *Guds udefrakommende ord fortæller os det* (God's external word tells us)." Jørgen Hansen, "Dagbok [Diary] 1958," (Copenhagen / Stavanger: Jørgen Hansen collection / Gustav Steensland collection, 1958). It appears that Hansen had discovered an important difference between his and Nelson's theological opinions.

4.1.1.3 Interpretation of Nelson's approach in light of the Confucian concepts

A set of three concepts in the Confucian tradition have been singled out as relevant moderator variables in my research model describing the process from an understanding of pastoral leadership to its cultivation in a Chinese context. The question here is if and how Nelson's view of this process includes the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation. I have found no specific discussion of these concepts in Nelson's publications and other sources related to him. In itself this observation indicates that he did not have a high level of awareness regarding details in the Confucian tradition and their implications for the development of Christianity among the Chinese. I will, therefore, have to make derivations from his general statements about Confucianism and also explore how his understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership function in relation to the three Confucian concepts.

I begin, however, with a reference to a more general statement. Shortly after his return to America in 1954 for a period of furlough he gave an interview about Christian missions in China and Southeast Asia for American radio listeners. Commenting on the situation for the church in the People's Republic of China he said: "Christianity is by this time so firmly rooted in Chinese soil that I do not believe it can be exterminated. I believe that Christianity in China is not only going to survive, but that it is also going to be strengthened through this bitter persecution."⁴⁷⁵ In view of Nelson's previously cited statements about Chinese religions, including Confucianism, he here indicates that Christianity has taken root among the Chinese, not through some form of adaptation to their original faith systems but rather by a clear demarcation towards them. He has, nevertheless, underlined that a missionary needs qualified insights about the religion, culture, customs and traditions of the local people in order to communicate the Christian message and establish churches and congregations.

As far as the *Confucian concept of leadership* is concerned, two aspects were noted in chapter two as important, namely, the view of man's nature and the precept of filial piety. Because Nelson with regard to Confucianism does not discuss these aspects, I can only comment on them in light of his theological point of view. He describes human beings' situation without Christ as a state of darkness. Through sin and a broken relationship with God human beings are unbelievers and in need of salvation. The counterpart of this pessimistic situation is the optimism and hope that is made available through Christ. Nelson has, therefore, quite high expectations towards the possibilities and accomplishments in a

⁴⁷⁵ Quoted from a transcript of the interview. See F.L. Battles, "Christian missions in China and Southeast Asia : an interview [with Russell E. Nelson] for radio broadcast," (St. Paul, Minnesota: ELCA Region 3 Archives, Box: Russell Nelson, folder: Miscellaneous articles, 1954), 2.

Christian's life and ministry. Candidates for pastoral ministry can, nevertheless, be a risk, as he said, but with careful screening and training it should be possible to prepare reliable persons for the duties and tasks in the church. The prevalent positive view of man's nature in Confucianism is the basis for the inculcation of productive attitudes in both leaders and subordinates. The respect for and practice of the precept of filial piety are the creative powers supporting the inculcation of these attitudes. These attitudes support for example the authority of leaders and the compliance of subordinates. Nelson's students at LTS and TLS could, therefore, to some extent incorporate their own Confucian concept of leadership in his description of a Christian's state as a new creation in Christ and as a member of the church. Nelson is of the opinion that Christians will develop an attitude helping them to subordinate themselves under Christ's authority and consequently respect those who are called by Christ and the church to be leaders of Christian communities, such as ordained pastors. One aspect of Nelson's understanding of pastoral leadership is, however, not in line with the Confucian concept. Whereas seniors are preferred as leaders in the Confucian tradition, Nelson supports the recruitment and appointment of young candidates for pastoral ministry.

The *Confucian concept of learning* combines the role of the teacher with a student's self-efforts. There is no doubt that Nelson sees Christian teachers as key instruments in the shaping of candidates for ministry in the church. And, he also expects seminary students to make every effort to fulfill the curriculum. His requirement that pastors must be able preachers who have a solid base of learning corresponds well with the Confucian emphasis on the knowledge and wisdom of leaders. It is also likely that Nelson transmitted to his students some of his experiences with his Chinese language teachers. One of them was a Confucianist, and he said about one of the others that he enjoyed sitting at his feet and learn. According to Nelson a qualified and considerate teacher deserves respect, regardless of religious or cultural affiliation.

Regarding the *Confucian concept of self-cultivation* none of the available sources indicate that Nelson has dealt with it or related it to the formation of a Christian character in a Chinese context. The anthropocentric outlook of Confucianism implies that cultivation of a moral character does not rely on external spiritual powers. References to 天 *tien* (heaven) in the Confucian tradition function primarily as pointers to the ultimate origin of human beings and the basic social structures and relationships. It is for the integration and functioning in these relationships that self-cultivation is needed. This approach does not correspond to the role of the triune God in what would be Nelson's understanding of the cultivation of a

Christian character in general and of pastoral leadership in particular. Nelson would contend that Christian's self-cultivation is a result of his or her relationship with Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit. If pastors are supposed to regard themselves as servants of Christ, they will first and foremost have to rely on him also for their preparation and exercise of leadership.

4.1.1.4 Concluding remarks

Looking back on the role of TLS, Nelson had this to say in 1978: "Among the pastors we have in Taiwan today, the best pastors and leaders today are among those whom we had in the seminary those four or five years."⁴⁷⁶ Nelson was convinced that his teaching ministry, not only at TLS but also at LTS, had contributed to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership in TLC. His contribution was derived from his Lutheran theology, which was shaped by the tradition of the Augustana Lutheran Church. He was well aware that he was dependent on knowledge and insights about the Chinese culture and its religions for his missionary work and seminary teaching at LTS and TLS. The sources described and explored in this study do not indicate, however, that he explicitly related the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation to the cultivation of pastoral leadership. In line with his trait/contingency approach he emphasized the formation of a Christian character, attainment of solid theological education and the building of an evangelical Lutheran identity in the selected candidates. With this kind of preparation they would be able to serve as considerate and knowledgeable leaders of Christian communities in the midst of religious, political and social challenges.

⁴⁷⁶ Nelson, ""Midwest China oral history and archives project", 202.

4.1.2 Chin Chung-an

Chin Chung-an (John) 金中庵 (1913-1989) was a key figure in TLC. He helped to found the first congregation in 1951 and served as its pastor from 1954 until 1975, although his ministry was marked by the fact that he at times assumed duties elsewhere.⁴⁷⁷ The Annual Convention elected him president of the TLC in 1962, a position he held until 1966.⁴⁷⁸ He emerged as a strong and powerful leader. He became involved in one of the most dramatic conflicts in the history of the TLC, a conflict that among other things caused TLS, the leadership training center of the church, to close. Between 1959 and 1966 he served as a faculty member, vice-president, and president at this school. Here he taught Greek, New Testament exegesis, dogmatics, and Chinese religion.

4.1.2.1 Biographical and theological portrait

Background and education

Chin was born in Kaifeng, Honan province, and grew up in a Christian home.⁴⁷⁹ From early age he heard about the life and ministry of James Hudson Taylor 戴德生 (1832-1905) and was deeply impressed.⁴⁸⁰ Taylor had combined medical work with a strong passion for the preaching of the gospel to the Chinese, and in this respect Chin wanted to follow in this great leader's footsteps.⁴⁸¹ Some time during his secondary education at a mission school⁴⁸² he was baptized and became a member of a Lutheran congregation.⁴⁸³ His wife, Chin Wang Ming-

⁴⁷⁷ He was away from early 1956 to late in 1959, and then again from late 1961 until July 1971. On 14 June 1975 he 離職 *li chih* (left the office of ministry) and emigrated to America. See Wang Piao-jan, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui san-shih nien chien-shi chi-yao [A brief account of the important events in the 30 year history of Ch'ien-chen Church]," in *Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui ch'ing-chu san-shih chou-nien chi-nien t'e-k'an [The special publication at the 30 year anniversary of Ch'ien-chen Church]*, ed. Wang Piao-jan (Kaohsiung: Ch'ien-chen Church, 1981), 4-7.

⁴⁷⁸ "The convention [the 11th Annual Convention of the TLC 28-30 March 1966] selected Rev. Stanley Tung as its new president to succeed Dr. Chin Chung-an who had completed two terms and was unable to succeed himself." Faye Bieber, "The Taiwan Lutheran Church," *The Missionary*, May-June 1967, 38-39.

⁴⁷⁹ Chin Wang Ming-hsün, *Shen c'hi-miao te hu-huan : Chin Wang Ming-hsün chien-cheng [God's wonderful calling : The testimony of Chin Wang Ming-hsün]* (Combard, Illinois: Mrs. Ming H. Chin, 1993), 41.

⁴⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁴⁸¹ *ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁸² Rudolph C. Burke, "Chung-an Chin : pastor and physician," *Lutheran Herald*, 17 June 1958, 8. The school did most likely belong to the Augustana mission.

⁴⁸³ Anders B. Hanson, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 23 February 1998, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998). "[...] for by his own words 'he was converted at

hsün 金王明訓 (d. 1997), who owed her conversion from Buddhism to Christian faith to the work of the CIM,⁴⁸⁴ says that her husband 一直是屬於信義會的大樹上的一根枝條 *yi-chih shih shu-yü hsin-i hui te ta shu shang te i ken chih-t'iao* (always has been a branch on the large Lutheran tree).⁴⁸⁵ With his own words he described his faith and ministry like this: “For my whole life I have been following the Lord Christ with a pure heart. The faith in Christ I hold and the edification of Chinese culture which I have received have together built up my character and personality [...].”⁴⁸⁶

After graduating from the Medical College of the National Sun Yat-sen University in Canton in 1940,⁴⁸⁷ he worked as a physician.⁴⁸⁸ Following a period at a CIM hospital,⁴⁸⁹ he then was employed at three Nationalist munitions factories on or near the Augustana mission field in Honan.⁴⁹⁰ Due to the Japanese invasion he fled westward with his family and settled for some time in the neighboring Shensi province. There, in the city of Sian, he joined other Christians in forming a Lutheran congregation.⁴⁹¹ Later he was referred to as 西安信義會會長

the age of 13, and always desired that his training should fit him to serve the Church.” Burke, “Chung-an Chin : pastor and physician,” 8.

⁴⁸⁴ See Chin Wang Ming-hsün, *Shen c'hi-miao te hu-huan*, iv. The link to CIM was so significant that James Hudson Taylor III wrote a preface to her book, which also has special chapters about the founder of CIM, and the ministry of OMF; see Chin Wang Ming-hsün, *Shen c'hi-miao te hu-huan*, iii, 53-71.

⁴⁸⁵ Chin Wang Ming-hsün, *Shen c'hi-miao te hu-huan*, v. “A talented and devoted Christian, Dr. Chin grew up in a Lutheran family in the heart of China.” Robert van Deusen and Charles de Vries, “Formosa : 7 to 5,000 in nine years,” *The Lutheran Messenger*, 7 April 1959, 14.

⁴⁸⁶ Chin Chung-an (John), “[Letter to the American Lutheran Church, Division for World Missions], 3 June 1968,” (St. Paul, Minnesota: ELCA Region 3 Archives. Folder: “Chin-affair”, 1968), 1.

⁴⁸⁷ See Luther Theological Seminary, *Catalog 1955-1956 : Luther Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (St. Paul: 1956), 59. Another source has 1939 as graduation year; see Burke, “Chung-an Chin : pastor and physician,” 8.

⁴⁸⁸ According to Everett Savage, who was the administrator for many years at the TLC hospital in Kaohsiung, Chin worked part-time as a doctor there from the late 1960s and into the early 1970s, specializing in the use of acupuncture. See Savage, “Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 1 December 1997, notes.”

⁴⁸⁹ Chin Wang Ming-hsün, *Shen c'hi-miao te hu-huan*, iv.

⁴⁹⁰ See John L. Benson, “Lutherans in Formosa,” *China News-Letter*, September-October 1950, 10. Cf. also Swanson, *Foundation for tomorrow*, 163.

⁴⁹¹ Swanson says that this was an “Augustana” congregation, indicating that Chin had a close relationship to the church and mission work by the missionaries from this synod. Swanson, *Foundation for tomorrow*, 163. After his arrival in Kaohsiung, Chin was even mentioned by an ELC writer as one of the “Augustana Mission workers” there, alongside two missionaries. See Herman W. Bly, “Dedication at Kaohsiung,” *The Missionary*, January 1953, 3.

hsi-an hsin-i hui hui-chang (the leader of the Lutheran Congregation in Sian).⁴⁹² By 1948 the threat of the Japanese armies forced the munitions factories to move to Hunan. By 1949 the advance of Communist forces made it necessary for Chin and his family to join the Nationalist transfer to Taiwan. Their itinerary went through Canton, Hong Kong, and the island of Hainan.⁴⁹³ Wherever they stayed he supported his family through his practice of medicine but he also used every opportunity to organize and lead Christian communities.⁴⁹⁴ One of his primary means was to start Bible classes,⁴⁹⁵ and he was known as “a man of parts and a very sincere Christian.”⁴⁹⁶

Ministry in Taiwan

In April 1950 the home of this “warm-hearted shepherd of souls”⁴⁹⁷ in Kaohsiung became the center of the emerging Lutheran congregation, with worship services in his house. Such services were also held in suitable locations nearby.⁴⁹⁸ Assisted by other lay leaders, Chin led Sunday services in available rooms in two primary schools and later in a military storehouse.⁴⁹⁹ In connection with the formal establishment of the Ch’ien Chen Lutheran Congregation 3 June 1951, Chin was elected as leader of this Christian fellowship. For some time he had already been in a leadership position, but without a formal or institutionalized

⁴⁹² Wang Piao-jan, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui," 1. The term 會長 *hui-chang*, literally “association president,” refers to the chairman of the board or the local church council. In another source he is said to be “one of the founders and the leading deacon of our congregation in Sian, Shensi.” See John L. Benson, "Report from the Far East," in *Augustana Overseas 1951: The first issue of a yearbook on missions setting forth the story of the progress of the church overseas during 1951*, ed. Rudolph Burke (Minneapolis, Minnesota: The Board of Foreign Missions, Augustana Lutheran Church, 1951), 33.

⁴⁹³ Alyce Eleanor S. Anderson, "Meet Dr. Chin," in *Augustana overseas 1951: The first issue of a yearbook on missions setting forth the story of the progress of the church overseas during 1951.*, ed. Rudolph Burke (Minneapolis, Minnesota: The Board of Foreign Missions, Augustana Lutheran Church, 1951), 40.

⁴⁹⁴ “Working together with other Christians, he helped to establish an Augustana Lutheran Church in Sian. Not long afterward the work was extended farther west to the city of Paochi. Because of his keen interest in the work, Dr. Chin was elected to serve simultaneously on both of these church boards.” Later, in Hunan, he also “gathered refugee Christians and inquirers to worship the Lord in the city of Chuchow.” *ibid.*

⁴⁹⁵ Swanson, *Foundation for tomorrow*, 164.

⁴⁹⁶ Benson, "Lutherans in Formosa," 10.

⁴⁹⁷ *ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁹⁸ “We hear from him regularly. In the factory area they now have a Sunday school of 60 children. Services on Sundays attract from forty to sixty adults. Bible classes during the week are well attended.” *ibid.*

⁴⁹⁹ Wang Piao-jan, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui," 1.

role defined by this new community.⁵⁰⁰ In what capacity was he now chosen to lead, and what title did he receive?

An Augustana historian says that Chin was “appointed as a licensed pastor for the flock.”⁵⁰¹ One also gets the impression that this appointment was given to him by John L. Benson 貝約翰 (1884-1973), an Augustana missionary, who had received an invitation letter from Chin to come over from Hong Kong to help organize the congregation.⁵⁰² Probably more accurate is the account by Stanley Tung, who says that the congregation elected Chin,

⁵⁰⁰ His wife says that he served the Lord at this time 而已大陸信義會長老名分 *er i ta-lu hsin-i hui chang-lao ming-fen* (according to his status as elder in the Lutheran church on the mainland). See Chin Wang Ming-hsün, *Shen c'hi-miao te hu-huan*, 41.

⁵⁰¹ Swanson, *Foundation for tomorrow*, 165. The title “licensed pastor” was used in some of the early Lutheran churches in North America to describe the office of un-ordained congregational leaders, who were given the right to administer the sacraments. “It became general in the church because of the emergency created by a lack of formal training and the growth of congregations at a rate unmatched by recruits for the ministry.” See Conrad Bergendoff, *The doctrine of the church in American Lutheranism* (Philadelphia: Board of Publication of The United Lutheran Church in America, 1956), 23. It is interesting to contrast this with the way Stanley Tung describes this first leadership office of Chin. He calls him a 長老 *chang-lau* (elder) who became a 專人同工 *chuan-jen t'ung-kung* (a co-worker specially assigned for a task) so that he could 牧羊 *mu-yang* (shepherd) this newly founded congregation on a “full-time” basis. See Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), “Fu lin pao-tao,” 53. It should be noted that the verb 牧羊 *mu-yang* (shepherd) is also used to describe the ministry of ordained pastors.

⁵⁰² For reference to the invitation letter, see Wang Piao-jan, “Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui,” 2. One may wonder why Chin did not invite a Chinese Lutheran pastor from Hong Kong for this occasion. A possible explanation might be that the situation in Hong Kong was very unsettled, and that Chin knew that Benson was available. It was also much easier for non-Chinese to obtain travel documents at that time. Hjalmar S. Swanson probably gave Benson too much credit perhaps on behalf of the Augustana for the founding when he said that he “organized a Lutheran congregation in Kaohsiung.” See Swanson, *Foundation for tomorrow*, 164. His account is probably based on Benson’s own report: “On June 3, 1951, it was my privilege to organize a Lutheran congregation in Kaohsiung [...]. I had the joy of receiving into the Lutheran fold on that memorable Sunday, 73 souls, who became charter members of the first Lutheran congregation in Formosa.” See John L. Benson, “Report from the Far East : our work among free Chinese in Hong Kong, Formosa, North Borneo,” in *Augustana overseas 1952 : the second issue of a yearbook on missions setting forth the story of the progress of the church overseas during 1952.*, ed. Rudolph Burke (Minneapolis, Minnesota: The Board of Foreign Missions, Augustana Lutheran Church, 1952), 46. The missionary involvement in this occasion is balanced by another Augustana writer who reported, “June 3, 1951, Dr. J. L. Benson (Augustana Church) and Pastor Arthur Olson (Lutheran Free Church) from Hong Kong had the first baptismal service. In the afternoon of the same day they organized a church of seventy three charter members.” See Ethel Akins, “Kaohsiung district : Chien Chen and Ling Ya churches, Kaohsiung,” in *Ten years in Taiwan : the Lutheran story : the story of how the word of God has worked through the Lutheran witness over a period of ten years 1951-1961*, ed. Ethel Akins and Clara J. Jones (Taichung: Taiwan Lutheran Mission, 1962), 37. The Lutheran Free Church had no missionaries in Kaohsiung at the time, and this may explain why Benson only mentions his own role.

together with Hsieh Hung-fan 謝宏範, as elders.⁵⁰³ Hsieh Hung-fan had also been very active in the gathering of the Lutherans in the area, in close co-operation with Chin. There is little doubt, however, that Chin was the primary leader of the two.⁵⁰⁴ One of those present at the founding meeting has confirmed that this was the case.

[...] ninety-eight people were present that afternoon as we held the large church members' meeting in order to formally establish the congregation and elect elders and deacons. Dr. Chin Chung-an now succeeded to his previous office as an elder in the Lutheran church on the mainland to become an elder in this congregation, and, 代理牧師職務 *tai-li mu-shih chih-wu* (in the capacity of acting pastor) he performed the holy ceremony. Hsieh Hung-fan was also installed as elder, as well as accountant of the congregation.⁵⁰⁵

Not long after Chin's installment in the position as acting pastor, several ordained Lutheran missionaries arrived and made redundant this "acting" pastorate in the TLC. Chin kept his position in his congregation, but no evidence has been found of any others having served as licensed pastors in congregations elsewhere in TLC.⁵⁰⁶ Judging from the account by one of

⁵⁰³ Unlike the missionary writers he gives more weight to the role of the Chinese Christians in the founding. Even though he mentions that John L. Benson led the founding worship service and baptized forty-nine children and adults, it was not until the two elders and seven deacons had been elected, making up the first church council, that the congregation was 正式成立 *cheng-shih ch'eng-li* (officially established); see Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Ssz-shih erh pu huo," 45-46.

⁵⁰⁴ Anders B. Hanson has also confirmed this view. See Hanson, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 23 February 1998, notes." In his account, Wang Piao-jan mentioned only the election of Hsieh Hung-fan as elder. Wang did not mention a designated ecclesial title given to Chin, but referred to him as 金醫師 *Chin i-shih* (Medical Doctor Chin), and the 創始人 *ch'uang-shih jen* (originator) of the congregation; see Wang Piao-jan, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui," 1-2. An early observer expressed her hopes for him in this way: "I have mentioned Dr. Chin as a willing worker for Christ. A veteran missionary once told me: 'Often after I've written home about the work of God in some person's life out here, the devil has made that person a special object of attack. I am almost afraid to write home about individuals.' Pray that Dr. Chin will continue to be a humble servant of God." Anderson, "Meet Dr. Chin."

⁵⁰⁵ Liu Te-hsing, "Chiao-hui san-shih nien chi-nien : shu chu en (Lai 13: 15-16) [Thirty year anniversary of the church : giving account of the Lords mercy (Hebrews 13: 15-16)]," in *Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui ch'ing-chu san-shih chou-nien chi-nien t'e-k'an* [The special publication at the 30 year anniversary of Ch'ien-chen Church], ed. Wang Piao-jan (Kaohsiung: Ch'ien-chen Church, 1981), 23. Liu was a good friend of Chin, having met him for the first time in Hunan in 1949. Liu himself became a pastor in TLC in 1964.

⁵⁰⁶ Although many LBI and TLS graduates, were serving as 教師 *chiao-shih* (evangelists) in local congregations, and in fact were 牧羊 *mu-yang* (pastoring) these churches, they did not, as far as available sources reveal, administer the sacraments. Otherwise, they performed the duties of pastors, often without assigned supervision. As evangelists, they were never called 代理牧師 *tai-li mu-shih* (acting pastor). This title was used to designate an ordained minister called to serve as temporary pastor in congregations that were in the process of calling a permanent pastor. See Taiwan Lutheran Church, "Chi-tu chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i hui : chang-ch'eng, hsi-tse, t'iao-li [Taiwan

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the early members in the congregation it seems that Chin as acting pastor never did baptize; the administration of this sacrament seems to have been left in the hands of the ordained missionaries.⁵⁰⁷ Services of Holy Communion in his own congregation were most likely not held before such missionaries were available. It is likely that this setting created in Chin the desire to qualify for ordination by means of theological training.

Theological education

At the request from the TLM chairman LTS accepted Chin as a “special student,”⁵⁰⁸ and 15 November 1953 he arrived in Hong Kong.⁵⁰⁹ His absence from Kaohsiung was made possible because missionary Anders B. Hanson had come to serve the congregation as the 首任牧師 *shou-jen mu-shih* (first appointed pastor) early in 1952.⁵¹⁰ It was noted that Chin had come “to commence his theological studies at the Seminary.”⁵¹¹ This was probably the first time he took classes at a theological institution, and the LTS faculty made special arrangements for

Lutheran Church : constitution, rules and regulations],” (Taipei / Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, [196-?]), 35, section 2.

⁵⁰⁷ See especially Ma Ming-hsin, “Ch’ien-chen chiao-hui san-shih nien te ching-kuo [The course of thirty years of the Ch’ien-chen church].”, who has a list of the numbers of baptisms and the pastors who performed the sacrament, from the founding and beyond the ordination of Chin in 1954. 1955 is the first year Chin is said to have baptized (altogether 39 people that year).

⁵⁰⁸ “President Nelson reported on a letter from Dr. Arne Sovik with respect to the possibility of Dr. Chin matriculating at the Seminary in the Fall of 1953. 1) Voted that we accept Dr. Chin as a special student to be enrolled in the Seminary for the 1953-54 school year. [...]” See Lutheran Theological Seminary, *Minutes of the faculty meeting of the Lutheran Theological Seminary (special meeting) 25 July 1953* (Hong Kong / St. Paul, Minnesota: ELCA Region 3 Archives. Box 4. China. E.L.C. Foreign Missions - China 1953). Nelson had been on a visit to Taiwan in late 1952 or early 1953, and Chin’s case was perhaps discussed at that time. See Lutheran Theological Seminary, *Minutes of the faculty meeting of the Lutheran Theological Seminary 14 January 1953* (Hong Kong / St. Paul, Minnesota: ELCA Region 3 Archives. Box 4. China. E.L.C. Foreign Missions - China 1953).

⁵⁰⁹ See the “Calendar of Events” in Lutheran Theological Seminary, *The Lutheran Theological Seminary 1954 : Seminary catalog* (Hong Kong: 1954), 9. This is about one year later than indicated in Wang Piao-jan, “Ch’ien-chen chiao-hui,” 3. Although the various items in Wang’s historical account seem to be placed in chronological order, the LTS catalogue information is the most reliable one.

⁵¹⁰ Hanson is referred to as the first pastor of the Ch’ien Chen congregation in its own anniversary publication; see Wang Piao-jan, “Ch’ien-chen chiao-hui,” 2. Thus, when Stanley Tung says that Chin was “the first pastor,” this must probably be understood as the first Chinese pastor. Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), “Fu lin pao-tao,” 53.

⁵¹¹ Lutheran Theological Seminary, *The Lutheran Theological Seminary 1954 : Seminary catalog*, 9.

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his curriculum.⁵¹² Russell E. Nelson, who taught both dogmatics⁵¹³ and a course in Romans,⁵¹⁴ became his main teacher.

During his time of studies in Hong Kong Chin reportedly even spent some time teaching, although I have not found evidence to show where and what he taught. The expression used in this reference to his stay says that he was 一方面任課, 一方面進修神學 *i fang-mien jen-k'e, i fang-mien chin-hsiu shen-hsüeh* (partly teaching, and partly taking a refresher course in theology).⁵¹⁵ The fact that he was the first student to come from Taiwan study theology at LTS, was an event that was photographed, showing Chin standing beside Russell E. Nelson,⁵¹⁶ who mentioned this special enrollment in the annual report.

We note with satisfaction that among the 12 new students accepted for the first year class was Dr. C. A. Chin from Kaohsiung, Formosa. Dr. Chin is the first student from the Lutheran Church in Formosa who has enrolled in our school. Since Dr. Chin found it possible to secure the necessary travel documents to come to Hongkong, we believe that it should be possible for other students of the Lutheran Church in Formosa to come to Hongkong to secure their theological training here.⁵¹⁷ A wise arrangement for the present seems to be that the standards of the Lutheran Bible School in Formosa be raised sufficiently to give one or two years of seminary instruction there, and that such students be then sent to Hongkong to complete their theological training.⁵¹⁸

Ordination and ministry in Taiwan

⁵¹² “Pres. [Russell] Nelson reported that Dr. Chin will be taking three courses for the duration of the Fall term 1953. [...] Voted that the Faculty accepts Dr. Chin taking Dogmatics, Biblical Theology, and Romans for the duration of the Fall Term 1953.” See Lutheran Theological Seminary, *Minutes of the faculty meeting of the Lutheran Theological Seminary 19 November 1953* (Hong Kong / St. Paul, Minnesota: ELCA Region 3 Archives. Box 4. China. E.L.C. Foreign Missions - China 1953). At the following meeting, these minutes were corrected, and the words “will be taking” were replaced with “desires to take”; see Lutheran Theological Seminary, *Minutes of the faculty meeting of the Lutheran Theological Seminary 26 November 1953* (Hong Kong / St. Paul, Minnesota: ELCA Region 3 Archives. Box 4. China. E.L.C. Foreign Missions - China 1953). This might indicate that Chin already had a fairly fixed agreement with Russell Nelson about his choice of courses, and that the faculty wanted to underline its authority in such matters.

⁵¹³ Lutheran Theological Seminary, *Minutes of the faculty meeting of the Lutheran Theological Seminary 8 August 1952* (Hong Kong / St. Paul, Minnesota: ELCA Region 3 Archives. Box 4. China. E.L.C. Foreign Missions - China 1952), 2.

⁵¹⁴ Lutheran Theological Seminary, *Minutes of the faculty meeting of the Lutheran Theological Seminary 10 April 1952* (Hong Kong / St. Paul, Minnesota: ELCA Region 3 Archives. Box 4. China. E.L.C. Foreign Missions - China 1952).

⁵¹⁵ See Wang Piao-jan, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui," 3.

⁵¹⁶ Both of them were dressed in Western-style clothes. See Lutheran Theological Seminary, *The Lutheran Theological Seminary 1954: Seminary catalog*, 15.

⁵¹⁷ Chin was in the favorable position of being way beyond “military age.” For most of those in that age group the Nationalist government “closed the door” for overseas travel. This made the Hong Kong seminary connection almost impossible for many years. See Hanson, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 28 November 1999."

⁵¹⁸ Nelson, "President's annual report," 23-24.

LBI in Kaohsiung was obviously not an option for Chin, who had served both as teacher and vice-president of this institution.⁵¹⁹ He had to aim higher right from the beginning, and so he did. After less than one year at LTS, he returned to Taiwan. He must either have felt himself, or having being told by some of the missionaries, that he had sufficient theological training to be ordained. Events leading toward the founding of the TLC were also well under way at this time, and he most likely wanted to be present and take part in the final stages of that process. Other than Tu Chang-wu there were no other ordained Chinese Lutherans in Taiwan, a fact that would be changed before long. Peng Fu 彭福,⁵²⁰ the only available Chinese Lutheran church president,⁵²¹ came to Kaohsiung 4 June 1954 to ordain Chin,⁵²² who thereby became the first Chinese pastor of the congregation.⁵²³ More than that, he was also the first Chinese ordained in Taiwan to enter the ministerium of the TLC. Just two days later, Tung Shang-yung (Stanley)⁵²⁴ would join the ranks, followed by Peng Jo-kao (Roger) 彭若羔 (b. 1922)⁵²⁵ in November. Thus, by the time of the time of the founding of the TLC, three Chinese were on par with the missionary pastors in terms of calling and ordination. Looking back, retired LTS president Andrew K.H. Hsiao 蕭克諧 (1926-2003) gave the following interpretation of

⁵¹⁹ He served as one of the teachers the opening year (1952-53); see Bly, "Taiwan Lutheran Bible Institute observes tenth anniversary," 16. In 1952 he became vice-president; see Ma Ming-hsin, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui san-shih nien te ching-kuo [The course of thirty years of the Ch'ien-chen church]."

⁵²⁰ For more information about Peng, see chapter five, section 5.2.

⁵²¹ In the 30-year anniversary publication of Chien Chen Church, where the ordination took place, Peng Fu is referred to as 中華信義會監督 *chung-hua hsin-i hui chien-tu* (the President of the Lutheran Church of China). Wang Piao-jan, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui," 3. Until the ELCHK was formally established (first as a Lutheran Synod in March 1954 and then officially registered with the Hong Kong government as a church in 1959) with Peng Fu as its first president, he was the undisputed top leader among the Chinese members of the LCC that had fled from the mainland. For a discussion of the relationship between the LCC and ELCHK, see LeMond, "A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong", 149-152.

⁵²² An early report about the event is found in Helga Bech-Andersen, "Aarsafslutning i bibelskolen og ordination i kirken [Commencement at the Bible institute and ordination in the church]," *Dansk Missionsblad*, 30 July 1954.

⁵²³ Arne B. Sovik, at the time president of TLM, says: "I have my share of responsibility there in going through with that [the ordination of Chin]." Arne B. Sovik, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 5 November 1997, typed transcript of tape-recording," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997), 4.

⁵²⁴ Information about Tung's ordination is found in the portrait of him in chapter six, section 6.1.2.

⁵²⁵ For an account of Peng's ordination and his self-biographical testimony at that occasion, see Emil K. Aarsheim, "Presteordinasjon i Chilung : den nyordinerte, pastor Peng, sender sin hilsen til misjonsfolket i Norge [Ordination in Keelung : the newly ordained, pastor Peng, sends his greetings to the mission supporters in Norway]," *Norsk Misjonstidende*, 29 January 1955.

Chin's preparation for ordination and the missionaries' role in the development of leaders for the TLC:

In terms of Taiwan Lutheran Church, I think our seminary graduated the founders of the church, to a large degree. Almost all the Chinese pastors in the TLC in the early age were graduated from this seminary. Of course we could mention Dr. Chin. However, he did not finish, he just studied here for a short period, in the 1950s. I think he studied here for only half a year or something like that. That's one problem we always talk about, the errors of the missionaries. A number of the students, trained to be leaders, particularly by missionaries, turned out to be no good. That's a very strong feeling about some of them. Chin is a very concrete example. Although he was also a medical doctor, he did not have theological training. He should have had a regular training here, but because he was a medical doctor, because he was almost the founder of the Taiwan Lutheran Church, so they [i.e. the missionaries] waived all the regulations, all the understandings, and he did just take one semester. And he returned then, was ordained right away, and then he ordained⁵²⁶ Stanley Tung two days later, but had no theological foundation at that time. And similar cases happened in Hong Kong. That's a missionary area; they had their own ways to run things. No regulations, but their own feeling.⁵²⁷

Regardless of on what grounds it had taken place, the fact that Chin had been ordained seems to have meant a lot to him and the way he looked at himself. He had done well as a layman, but he was now put in a "completely different context in the church."⁵²⁸ He had become a member of the ministerium, the fellowship of ordained pastors. From his experience he knew that the Lutheran missions had given considerable authority to the ordained ministry. As noted above, Chin secured ordained pastors from Hong Kong to officiate at the first baptismal service in his congregation. Now, he had been given the same right to administer the sacraments. During many years of his pastorate in Kaohsiung he had other duties as well and, in fact, at times many of the actual duties of leading the work in the congregation fell on the

⁵²⁶ This should be interpreted as "took part in the ordination of Stanley Tung," since there is no doubt that Peng Fu was the ordinator also at this occasion. Hsiao's point, however, is probably that he didn't find it appropriate for Chin to participate, considering his lack of qualifications before his own ordination.

⁵²⁷ Andrew K.H. Hsiao, "Interview in Hong Kong by Gustav Steensland 25 March 1997, tape-recording," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997). Hsiao graduated from LTS in 1952, and was present in Hong Kong when Chin was at LTS. One cannot but sense the strong sentiment in Hsiao's statement. He expresses, probably on behalf of many of the Chinese, the feeling of having been made somewhat inferior by the missionaries' waiving of regulations. It is very unlikely that a candidate with qualifications similar to Chin's would have been ordained in any of the missionaries' home churches.

⁵²⁸ Sovik, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 5 November 1997," 4. In the same interview, Sovik also added the following comment: "[...] it was perhaps his lack of formal training in the area of ecclesiology that made him assume, once he was ordained, not a dominating, but a domineering position. His whole self-image changed." Sovik, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 5 November 1997," 4-5.

shoulders of his wife.⁵²⁹ Several missionary pastors had to help out in the administration of the sacraments.⁵³⁰

Further studies in America

Although ordained, the level of Chin's theological training was not so much above that of a layman.⁵³¹ Before long, he seems to have felt the need for further studies.⁵³² As a physician he knew what it meant to be a properly trained and certified professional. Now, he had the certification to perform ministerial duties, but he was not sufficiently educated. The emphasis on biblical learning and theological scholarship for pastors in the Lutheran tradition implied that the difference between lay and clergy was probably perceived by many church members to have just as much to do with the level of theological training as with ordination as such. Filling the gaps in his theological education became more important to Chin than fulfilling pastoral duties in the capacity as leader of his congregation.⁵³³

⁵²⁹ "The four years before, during, and after Rev. Chin Chung-an's time of theological studies in America, 教會聖工在金師母苦心撐持下 *chiao-hui sheng-kung tsai Chin shih-mu k'u-hsin ch'eng-ch'ih hsia* (the holy work of the church was sustained by the painstaking efforts of Mrs. Rev. Chin). See Tang Chang Ching-ying, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui san-shih nian [The thirty years of the Ch'ien-chen church]," in *Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui ch'ing-chu san-shih chou-nian chi-nian t'e-k'an* [The special publication at the 30 year anniversary of Ch'ien-chen Church], ed. Wang Piao-jan (Kaohsiung: Ch'ien-chen Church, 1981), 18. This was not an exceptional situation. From my own years in Taiwan I remember especially how the widow of Chang Ch'i-t'ang for several years led the ministry in Chen Tao church in Taichung after her husband's death in 1978.

⁵³⁰ Following Anders B. Hanson, these missionaries are mentioned: Johan Tidemann Johansen, Lawren Carlson, Gerald L. Lundby, Herman W. Bly, Asbjørn Aavik, Jan Haugland, and Everett Savage. See Wang Piao-jan, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui," 3-6. This office of "sacramental pastor" has been a common duty for ordained missionaries (in fact throughout the history of the TLC), because of the lack of Chinese pastors. For an example, see Gerald L. Lundby, "Letter to Gustav Steensland, 13 January 1998," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998). Here he mentions that he served as "sacramental pastor" alongside his teaching ministry at TLS.

⁵³¹ It is revealing to note the following comment, made in retrospect, by his close co-worker: "We got along well, although I can recall even then wondering how wise it was to pull a layman, and he was doing well as a layman, and ordaining him [...]. And it was the wrong thing to do." See Sovik, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 5 November 1997," 4.

⁵³² Some sources indicate that he must have returned to Hong Kong following his ordination. "In 1955 he completed a two-year course of instruction at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong [...]" see Burke, "Chung-an Chin : pastor and physician," 8. In LTS records he is also on the list of the 1955 graduates, as one of several with the mark 經 *ching* (pass). See Hu Lien-hui (Paul) and Hung Kwang-liang, eds., *Sixtieth anniversary memorial bulletin : Lutheran Theological Seminary 1913-1973* (Hong Kong: Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1973), 125.

⁵³³ His position as leader of the congregation was not likely to be challenged, and, it was not until 1966 that the second Chinese pastor was called and ordained there. See She Ch'eng-tien, "Na chih-te huai-nien te jih-tsu [Those memorable days]," in *Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui ch'ing-chu san-shih chou-nian chi-nian t'e-k'an* [The special publication at the 30 year anniversary of Ch'ien-chen Church], ed. Wang Piao-jan (Kaohsiung: Ch'ien Chen Church, 1981), 19. The preceding years

Doors were opened for Chin at two institutions in America's Midwest: first at Luther Theological Seminary (of the ELC) in St. Paul, Minnesota, and then at Concordia Seminary (of the LCMS) in St. Louis, Missouri. This choice of institutions is very remarkable, considering his close affiliation with Augustana, which might have implied an opportunity to study at the seminary in Rock Island, Illinois. For his studies in St. Paul it is, therefore, very likely that influential Taiwan missionaries belonging to the ELC made the necessary connections to their own seminary.⁵³⁴ Why then, did he later transfer to Concordia Seminary? Even though not all of the developments can be clarified, some sources shed light on this phase of his life.

9 January 1956 a farewell party was held in his congregation,⁵³⁵ and 1 February 1956 he was admitted at Luther Theological Seminary as one of nine "Special Students" for the 1955-1956 academic year.⁵³⁶ What did it mean to belong to this category of students? There was in the "Requirements for Admission" a provision for allowing other than "regularly admitted" students.⁵³⁷ This provision, however, did not necessarily apply to all the "special students," who could be "regularly admitted," but for "special" reasons.⁵³⁸ Such reasons might for example be specific needs for admitting students from the mission fields that not always had the same (educational) background as the American students.⁵³⁹ The above-mentioned

were all covered, either by Chin himself or by missionary pastors and Chinese evangelists, none of whom could take his position. See Wang Piao-jan, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui.", who lists all who served the congregation during its first 30 years.

⁵³⁴ According to Anders B. Hanson, the choice of Luther Theological Seminary was a natural one. "There was no other school up here where he would be at." Hanson, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 28 November 1999," 1.

⁵³⁵ Lo Kuang-teh, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui shih nyan [The 10 year anniversary of Ch'ien Chen Church]," in *Nien-pao = 1959 annual of the Lutheran church of Taiwan*, ed. Chiu Kuo-tung (Taipei: Taiwan Lutheran Church, Office of General Affairs, 1960), 44.

⁵³⁶ James Hu (a graduate from Concordia College, Minnesota) and Paul Lien-Huei Hu (a graduate from Luther College, Iowa), both Lutherans from Hong Kong, were also among the "Special Students" this year. See Luther Theological Seminary, *Catalog 1955-1956 : Luther Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, 59.

⁵³⁷ See *ibid.*

⁵³⁸ See *ibid.*

⁵³⁹ One year after Chin left, the admittance of such students was formalized in connection with a new unit at the seminary: "The Institute for Churchmen from Asia and Africa at Luther Theological Seminary was established at the suggestion of the Commission on World Mission of the Lutheran World Federation. It has a consultative relationship with the Committee of the Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference of North America and with the members of the Commission on World Mission of the Lutheran World Federation. Dr. Andrew Burgess, as Professor of Missions, is director of the Institute. In the past several years, more than forty students from Africa, China and Formosa, India, Indonesia, Japan, Jordan, and South America have been enrolled at the Seminary. At times these men assist Dr. Burgess in the teaching of seminars; for example, in 1958-59 Pastors Kung Tien-Min of Japan and Wang Ching Ch'ing of Hong Kong assisted with a course in Japanese

regulations, nevertheless, shed light upon the governing ideology of the institution. The following quote from the “General Ministerial Qualifications” is instructive.

The Seminary, as an institution primarily dedicated to the task of training men for the ministry of the Church that supports it, expects that applicants have the spiritual qualifications for entering theological studies aiming towards this holy office, that they be mature Christians, members in good standing of a congregation of the Church, and adhering to its doctrinal principles. Regularly admitted as students are such as are conscious of a Divine call into the ministry, and whose Christian character, natural gifts and preparatory training give reason to believe that they may become qualified to serve the Kingdom of God in the office of the ministry of the Gospel. The Seminary is also open to other men having the necessary spiritual and academic qualifications, who desire some theological training to fit them for special work in the Kingdom of God, even though they may not become ordained pastors.⁵⁴⁰

In the case of Chin, he was already an ordained pastor, and the motivation for his studies at the seminary was more than to graduate with the so-called “ordination degree,” the degree of Bachelor of Theology, which he was awarded 25 May 1958.⁵⁴¹ This degree did not automatically qualify a person for ordination, but it was the normal educational preparation.⁵⁴² In the “Requirements for Graduation,” which included “three full academic years in residence at the Seminary” and (since 1934) “a year of in-service training as an intern in a parish,” the following is said about the “Certification as Candidates of Theology”:

Students who satisfactorily complete courses as heretofore outlined, including the passing of comprehensive examinations in each department of theological study, and have proved themselves fitted for the office of the ministry will receive a diploma of graduation and will be certified as Candidates for ordination into the office of the holy ministry. Students who finish the prescribed courses, but in the judgment of the Faculty are lacking in qualifications necessary for a successful ministry may be granted purely academic certificates.⁵⁴³

and Chinese Buddhism.” See Luther Theological Seminary, *Luther Theological Seminary : academic record 1958-1959 : announcements 1959-1960, 1960-1961* (St. Paul: 1959), 20. Kung T'ien-min later became one of Chin's colleagues in the faculty at TLS.

⁵⁴⁰ Luther Theological Seminary, *Catalog 1955-1956 : Luther Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, 20.

⁵⁴¹ Although it had been common to write a short BTh thesis, a search of the Luther Seminary Library collection failed to show a copy of a thesis by Chin. It is not found in the computerized index, nor did an examination of the actual collection show any result.

⁵⁴² Beginning in 1959, the seminary replaced the Bachelor of Theology degree with the Bachelor of Divinity degree. See Luther Theological Seminary, *Luther Theological Seminary : academic record 1958-1959 : announcements 1959-1960, 1960-1961*, 32.

⁵⁴³ See Luther Theological Seminary, *Catalog 1956-1957 : Luther Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (St. Paul: 1957), 22-23. In connection with the introduction of the Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1959, the “Certification for Ordination” was described as follows: “Neither the B. D. degree nor the Diploma of Graduation automatically certifies as student for ordination. After the Council of District Presidents [of the ELC; from Jan. 1, 1961 the ALC] has met with the students in colloquium, the Council and the Seminary faculty jointly certify the men

What the BTh degree meant to Chin was partly that he now had a paper that documented that his theological education was on level with most of the ordained missionaries working in the TLC. He was fully qualified, in spite of only two years and four months of residence and no regular internship. His previous training in Hong Kong, as well as his pastoral experience in Kaohsiung and in Minnesota,⁵⁴⁴ partly made up for what might otherwise have lacked in his meeting of the requirements for graduation.

One of Chin's fellow students,⁵⁴⁵ Nirmal Minz (b. 1927) from Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church in India, indicated in an interview⁵⁴⁶ that Chin probably had some difficulties in adjusting to the situation at Luther Theological Seminary, partly because of his age. Although Minz did not get to know Chin very well,⁵⁴⁷ he had the impression that Chin looked for something to console him after his many experiences in China and in Taiwan, but that he probably became somewhat disappointed. Chin was older than most of the students, and, he was a mature person, in his forties. The students lived together in Bøckmann hall dormitory, but most of the students must have felt a generation younger than Chin. Minz and the other students from overseas were a little older than the average students, but Chin experienced a real generation gap, perhaps even in relation to some of the faculty. Since two Lutheran students from Hong Kong also were studying at the seminary, Chin would mostly have fellowship with them.⁵⁴⁸ Generally speaking, however, the situation was not helpful for

for ordination." See Luther Theological Seminary, *Luther Theological Seminary : academic record 1958-1959 : announcements 1959-1960, 1960-1961*, 32.

⁵⁴⁴ Due to his seemingly unending source of energy, he was always on the move. He did more than go to classes and study in the library. In fact, he functioned as a pastor at The Lutheran Student Center in the Twin Cities, and, assisted by missionaries and other friends, he was also able to visit and preach in several congregations, even in the winter, quite far out in the surrounding area. During his furlough from 1957-1958, Anders B. Hanson were driving Chin to such meetings. "His time here was very busy." See Hanson, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 28 November 1999." Honorariums from such engagements also meant extra income, helping to support him and his family.

⁵⁴⁵ Among these was also Gunnar Lislrud from Norway, a missionary to South Africa, and later bishop in the Church of Norway; see Norwall Hessen, ed., *Prester i Den norske kirke og andre teologiske kandidater* (Oslo: Den norske kirkes presteforening/Verbum Forlag, 1990), 315.

⁵⁴⁶ See Nirmal Minz, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 17 June 1998, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998).

⁵⁴⁷ One of the problems was that Chin's English was very hard to understand; see *ibid.*

⁵⁴⁸ The two students were Hu Ya-ko (James) 胡雅各 and Hu Lien-hui (Paul) 胡聯輝, who had graduated from LTS in Hong Kong in 1951 and 1952 respectively. See Hu Lien-hui (Paul) and Hung Kwang-liang, eds., *Sixtieth anniversary memorial bulletin : Lutheran Theological Seminary 1913-1973*, 124. For a portrait of Paul Hu and a report about his and James' studies in America, see Arne B. Sovik, ""The point of it all" (Open letter to Bill, the Luther Leaguer)," *The Missionary*,

him.⁵⁴⁹ He voiced some of his thoughts and frustrations in conversations with one of the American students who had been to Taiwan in the early 1950s.⁵⁵⁰

With the diploma from Luther Theological Seminary he was ready for the next step. He proceeded to pursue further studies at Concordia Seminary.⁵⁵¹ This institution was also the alma mater of a number of LCMS missionaries. This church had sent its first missionaries to Taiwan in 1951, but they did not participate in the TLM. According to Anders B. Hanson the reason behind Chin's choice of Concordia Seminary was that a good relationship with the LCMS would be beneficial for Lutheran co-operation in Taiwan.⁵⁵²

We were still hopeful that the work in Taiwan could be combined in such a way that, having been given recognition at Concordia, it would stand him in good stead when he got back to Taiwan. But those dreams never were realized. Because we were, back and forth, negotiating and trying to establish a theological program in Taiwan, and in our thinking, we wanted to include Missouri. And the response we got, was: "Oh, if you want your Chinese workers trained, just send them to our school [in Taiwan]. We'll take care of them." Well, that didn't get very far, either.⁵⁵³

January 1951, Rolf A. Syrdal, "Word has just come : foreign students," *The Missionary*, February 1952.

⁵⁴⁹ Minz, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 17 June 1998, notes."

⁵⁵⁰ Paul Hu's roommate at the seminary, Leonard Erling Klippen, who had spent his internship in Taiwan, has this to tell: "I did meet Chin at Luther Seminary, and I had a couple of long talks with him. He was very much a rebel. He was anti-mission, and said that he did not like what he felt was a style of church life imposed by the missionaries. Chin was nationalistic, and he wanted a Chinese style church. He openly expressed his thoughts to me. In fact, I encouraged him. I thought he was dynamite." See Leonard Erling Klippen, "Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 30 April 1998, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998), 1.

⁵⁵¹ According to the 1958-1959 catalog Chin was a graduate student at the seminary this year. Cf. Robert Shreckhise, "Letter to Gustav Steensland, 30 December 1997," (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Historical Institute / Gustav Steensland collection, 1997).

⁵⁵² See Hanson, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 28 November 1999," 1-2. It is not yet clear if this was a choice made by Chin himself, or if it was a result of planning by TLC missionaries or their home boards. In retrospect, Arne B. Sovik, who was the TLM chairman at the time, gave the following comment on the relationship between the LCMS and the other Lutheran missions in the early 1950s: "Some of their people cooperated with us [TLM]. They went so far as to have a sort of comity with us. But they could not possibly get authority from St. Louis [i.e. the Home Board of the LCMS] to merge with us and have one mission. St. Louis would not permit that. I think at that time, at the beginning anyway, if St. Louis would have permitted it, the missionaries who first came to Taiwan would have done it. But not later on." Arne B. Sovik, "'Midwest China oral history and archives project" : a typed transcript of tape-recorded interviews," (Midwest China oral history and archives collection, 1978), 75. It is, therefore, possible that some of the LCMS missionaries were in favor of recommending Chin for admission to studies at Concordia.

⁵⁵³ Hanson, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 28 November 1999," 1-2. These deliberations took place before the TLC and TLM had decided to go ahead and form the TLS. The CELC had established its own seminary, the CTS, in Chiayi in 1951, and its output of candidates was quite low: "Up to 1966 a total of 23 students were graduated: 18 pastors (11 in 1959, 1 in 1960, 5 in 1964, 1 in 1965) and 6 evangelists (1966). After 1966 Concordia Theological Seminary

Nevertheless, the main LCMS theological institution in America admitted students from other theological schools to their graduate studies.⁵⁵⁴ In the late 1950s there was, also in America, a good deal of friendship between the ELC, with its majority of Norwegian-Americans, and the LCMS, which may be one of the reasons why Chin went to Concordia Seminary for graduate studies.

According to one of his faculty colleagues at TLS, however, Chin very much wanted to have a doctorate in theology.⁵⁵⁵ As Luther Theological Seminary did not grant an academic doctoral degree at this time Chin had to look somewhere else to pursue his post-graduate studies towards a possible ThD. At Concordia, as was also the case everywhere else, the STM degree (or MTh), however, was a necessary requirement.⁵⁵⁶ Even though he could have got the Master of Theology degree where he was, Chin transferred to Concordia right away. It might make it easier to continue towards the more advanced degree with the lower degree from the same institution.

3 June 1959 Chin got his Master of Sacred Theology diploma.⁵⁵⁷ The topic of his thesis was "The Scriptural Conception of Life," and Professor Lewis Wm. Spitz, the Chairman of the Department of Systematic Theology, had been his advisor.⁵⁵⁸

The thesis has six chapters, and presents a systematic-theological overview of the conception of life, based on detailed references to related vocabulary in the Old and New Testaments. Chin is quoting and discussing the key terms in the original languages (Hebrew and Greek), written by hand in the otherwise typed manuscript. The main theological and

ceased offering any degree program." See Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), "The development of joint Lutheran theological education in Taiwan," 82.

⁵⁵⁴ "For the S.T.M.-Th.D. program only graduates of recognized theological seminaries are admitted to the School for Graduate Studies. [...] Students applying from theological schools other than Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., must submit a complete transcript of their previous academic work before registration can be completed." Martin H. Scharlemann, "The school for graduate studies," in *1958-1959 catalog of Concordia Seminary* (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Seminary, 1958), 61.

⁵⁵⁵ John L. Wilenius, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 30 January 1998, tape-recording," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998). Chin's wish was, however, never fulfilled.

⁵⁵⁶ "The candidate must have met all the requirements for the S.T.M. degree in a superior manner before he shall be permitted to continue work for the Th. D. degree. He must be proficient in both Latin and German as well as in the Biblical languages. [...]" See Scharlemann, "The school for graduate studies," 66.

⁵⁵⁷ Lo Kuang-teh, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui shih nyan [The 10 year anniversary of Ch'ien Chen Church]," 45.

⁵⁵⁸ Spitz got his doctoral degree (Ph. D.) from the University of Chicago in 1943, and had been a professor at Concordia Seminary since 1946. See Concordia Seminary, "The faculty," in *1958-1959 catalog of Concordia Seminary* (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Seminary, 1958), 16.

doctrinal conclusion, found on the last page, is that "Christians are not only given a victory over the spiritual death, but also the hope of the resurrection of the body by which we might finally overcome all the defects of our life, and become a perfect life in Christ."⁵⁵⁹ Although the topic is very relevant to the understanding and proclamation of the Gospel in a Chinese cultural context, there is not a single reference to this challenge in the thesis. The focus is rather on the understanding of the conception of life in a European (or western) setting, as the culture of this part of the world is so heavily influenced by Greek philosophy and the Christian tradition. The relatedness to Europe and the West is also reflected to some degree in the bibliography, which lists works by theologians like Emil Brunner, Rudolf Bultmann, Oscar Cullmann, C.H. Dodd, Werner Georg Kümmel, Reinhold Niebuhr, and John A.T. Robinson.⁵⁶⁰

Apart from his work towards the thesis, one cannot be sure about all the details in what he studied and learned during the year in St. Louis. The 1958-1959 Catalog of Concordia Seminary, however, reveals some basic information that sheds light upon his time there. For the purpose here, the objectives for the graduate studies are illuminating:

The present School for Graduate Studies has the following objectives: 1. To give qualified Seminary graduates and pastors an opportunity to acquire the content and method of theological scholarship, under the guidance of a faculty motivated by reverence for the Scriptures as the Word of God and by loyalty to the Lutheran Confessions; 2. To provide the opportunity for qualified individuals to acquire advanced credits and degrees in theology or religion for increased effectiveness in their classroom activities; 3. To serve as an instrument in developing effective leadership for the church in doctrine and practice; 4. To serve as a theological research center for The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod.⁵⁶¹

Like other theological institutions, Concordia Seminary was confident that the training they provided would help to make "effective" leaders for the church. These leaders should combine insights in "doctrine" with improved skills and wisdom in their "practice." The degree program covered the following fields: Old Testament, New Testament, systematic theology, historical theology, and practical theology.⁵⁶² According to the requirements for the STM he had to concentrate his work in two fields, and he chose systematic theology as the

⁵⁵⁹ Chin Chung-an (John), "The scriptural conception of life" (Master of Sacred Theology, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, 1959), 86.

⁵⁶⁰ Considered that he wrote his thesis at the theologically conservative Concordia Seminary, it is somewhat surprising to find some of these names in his bibliography.

⁵⁶¹ Scharlemann, "The school for graduate studies," 60-61.

⁵⁶² *ibid.*, 70-76.

Section 4.1 Teachers of dogmatics > 4.1.2 Chin Chung-an

major and New Testament theology as the minor field.⁵⁶³ In addition each STM student had to take two courses in practical theology.⁵⁶⁴

In America, and perhaps especially in St. Louis, he could benefit from thinking about his own situation and ministry in his home-country at a distance,⁵⁶⁵ seeking counsel and advice from people with no direct connections to the TLC.⁵⁶⁶ A few years later he felt ready to stand up and challenge the missions and the missionaries. His studies in America had given him a theological platform and provided a vantage point that enabled him to understand and evaluate both his own position as a leader and that of the co-operating missions.

Return to Taiwan and teaching at TLS

In July 1959, 46 years old, he was back in Taiwan, visiting several congregations in Taipei and Taichung. Late in the evening on 25 August he rejoined with his congregation and

⁵⁶³ Jerrold A. Eickmann, "Letter to Gustav Steensland, 22 January 1998," (Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri / Gustav Steensland collection, 1998). His program included 7 courses (out of 13 offered) from his major, and 4 (out of 14 offered) from his minor. In addition to his thesis advisor, his teachers were among the following: In systematic theology: J. Theodore Mueller, Robert D. Preus, Erwin L. Lueker, and Paul Martin Bretscher (also N.T. theol.); in New Testament theology: William F. Beck, Robert G. Hoerber, Victor Bartling, Martin H. Scharlemann, and Martin H. Franzmann. For a list of the courses offered, see Scharlemann, "The school for graduate studies," 71-73.

⁵⁶⁴ This field consisted of the following selection: The Theological Basis of Lutheran Worship, Writing Religious Education Materials, The Theology of Preaching, New Testament Education, Church Music in the Baroque Era, Preaching to the Goals of Christian Behavior, The Indigenous Church, Administration and Supervision of the Lutheran Elementary School, The Theology of J.S. Bach's Sacred Chorale Works, and Areas of Counseling. The choice of Chin is not known.

⁵⁶⁵ This thinking also included political issues: "Dr. Chin and Mr. Lyle H. Schei (ULCA) from Bottineau, North Dakota, who is a student at Northwestern Lutheran Theological Seminary in Minneapolis, both attending the Lutheran Student Seminar (March 22-25), were interviewed on a religious news radio program emanating from the nation's capital and made listeners poignantly aware of the increasing interest of theological students in the realm of politics and government." Deusen and Vries, "Formosa : 7 to 5,000 in nine years." There is no doubt, however, that Chin was a loyal supporter of the Nationalist regime in "Free China"; see Burke, "Chung-an Chin : pastor and physician," 8.

⁵⁶⁶ Within the field of Practical Theology, the course on The Indigenous Church, led by William J. Danker, Professor of Missions, a teacher with previous missionary experience in Japan, may well have been very close to Chin's interests. Even though it is unknown if this was one of the two courses he chose, it shows what kind of issues were discussed at the seminary. Its contents was described as follows: "An intensive study, based on Scriptural principles and historical experiences in widely separated areas, of the methods and problems involved in the planting, rooting, and growth on an indigenous church in its cultural setting, with the influence this may exert on forms of organizational, confessional, liturgical, and artistic expression." See Scharlemann, "The school for graduate studies," 75. This brief description indicates that this course dealt with issues that Chin already had and would come to deal with in his church in Taiwan.

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resumed his pastoral duties.⁵⁶⁷ Several candidates for baptism must have been waiting for his return, because on a mid-December Sunday 16 adults were baptized. Two weeks later he baptized three adults and 26 infants.⁵⁶⁸ The two-year old TLS, however, also needed his services and called him to teach at the seminary the same year.⁵⁶⁹ It was not until he was elected vice-president at the seminary in 1961 that he moved to Taichung to live in one of the faculty houses there.⁵⁷⁰ In the congregation back home there was considerable frustration at the lack of long-term pastoral care because of his absence.

In 1959, when Rev. Chin had finished his studies and was back from America, all of us had then been waiting, glad and thankful, for four years, finally waiting for the results. From now on, the church would be under Rev. Chin's 牧羊 *mu-yang* (pastoral care), and surely, one could expect a new development to be under way. Who could know, however, that not long afterwards Rev. Chin would get the honorable position as vice-president at the Lutheran Seminary and chose to live in Taichung? Once again, the congregation was left in the void; even though the seminary students Kao Ching-ken 高靜閣, Chan Chih-hsien 展志賢, Chang Chieh-ying 張傑英, and others, were sent here for their practice, it was always on a short-term basis, without a long-term measure of pastoral care. This situation lasted until Hu Chia-ying 胡家英 came to serve as evangelist and the congregation once again had a 正式傳道人 *cheng-shih ch'uan-tao jen* (regular preacher).⁵⁷¹

It would have come as a surprise if Chin had not accepted the call to teach at the seminary. As I have not been able to find any of his lecture manuscripts, handouts or other teaching material a description of his teaching must be derived from other sources. One illuminating item is his short message to the graduating class at TLS in 1961, entitled "Prospects for the Taiwan Lutheran Church."⁵⁷² Although quite short, it shows parts of his theology and some of

⁵⁶⁷ At his graduation from Luther Seminary, he was interviewed: "Which of the two careers will he follow when he returns to Taiwan? 'There is more joy in the pastoral, but there is need for the medical as well,' is the reply of this disciple of Him Whom [sic] we know as the Great Physician." See Burke, "Chung-an Chin : pastor and physician," 12.

⁵⁶⁸ Lo Kuang-teh, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui shih nyan [The 10 year anniversary of Ch'ien Chen Church]," 45.

⁵⁶⁹ Chou Ching-fu (Peter), "Chien-tu pao-kao : report of the president," in *Nien-pao : 1959 annual of the Lutheran church of Taiwan*, ed. Chiu Kuo-tung (Taipei: Taiwan Lutheran Church, Office of General Affairs, 1960), 6.

⁵⁷⁰ Wang Piao-jan, "Ch'ien-chen chiao-hui," 4.

⁵⁷¹ She Ch'eng-tien, "Na chih-te huai-nien te jih-tsu [Those memorable days]," *ibid.* (Ch'ien Chen Church), 19. The three students and the evangelist were all coming from TLS.

⁵⁷² Chin Chung-an (John), "T'ai-wan hsin-i hui chi chan-wang [Prospects for the Taiwan Lutheran Church]," in *Chi-tu chih p'u : t'ai-wan chi-tu chiao hsin-i shen-hsüeh yüan pi-yeh t'e-k'an = Servants of Christ : Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary graduating class annual*, ed. Niu Hsi-erh (Taichung: Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1961), 32-33.

his ideas about theological education and other elements in the preparation for pastoral ministry. Below is my translation of the whole message.

The twofold mission of the Church is found, abundantly clearly, in the Gospel according to Matthew, chapter 28, verses 19 and 20, in the last commandment of the Lord Jesus: 1) to preach the word of repentance and forgiveness of sins, to make disciples of all nations; 2) to teach according to the commandment of Jesus, in order to practice in life what one preaches. The work of 我台灣信義會 *wo t'ai-wan hsin-i hui* (our Taiwan Lutheran Church) that started in the spring of 1950 was done in obedience to the Lord's purpose, making every effort to fulfill this assignment. During these past ten years, every measure and activity in the church, such as the arrival in Taiwan of western co-workers who shared the yoke of the Lord, the calling of 傳道人 *ch'uan-tao jen* (preachers),⁵⁷³ the opening of chapels, the organization of local congregations, as well as a synod, the establishing of a Bible school and a seminary in order to 培育傳道人材 *p'ei-yü ch'uan-tao jen-ts'ai* (cultivate preaching personnel), and other parts of the work, etc., reflected nothing other than our goal to fulfill the commandment of the Lord. Thinking about the past, even considering our weakness and incompetence, our prejudice and self-centeredness, our narrow-mindedness and nearsightedness, the church has progressed through many obstructions. This was because God did not leave the church unused, but rather through 我等殘缺之器皿 *wo-teng ts'an-ch'üeh chih ch'i-min* (us, these fragmentary instruments), did his holy work, and as I think about it, I cannot but be moved to tears of gratitude!

The Church is basically the work of God, and all its fruits will be given to Christ, its head. This does not mean, however, that we do not recognize 人的因素 *jen te yin-su* (the human factor). As we can see in the words of the holy Paul: "We are God's co-workers." Considering the purpose of God, his plan, his trustworthiness and almighty power, which is by no means to be doubted, we firmly believe that, since the holy Spirit already has started his work, he will fulfill it completely. Another aspect of this is consequently that the frequent failures of the church are due to those people who are God's co-workers. Therefore, if we ask what the future of the church will be, we have to ask ourselves if we are obeying the Holy Spirit.

The mission 我台灣信義會 *wo t'ai-wan hsin-i hui* (our Taiwan Lutheran Church) has taken on to accomplish here and now is extremely important. To mention only the preaching ministry, the population of our province has already reached 10 million, but only three percent are Christians. The harvest is already ripe, waiting to be harvested; and even if 我教會 *wo chiao-hui* (our church) cannot take the whole responsibility alone, we need not even mention its own duty. At present 我教會 *wo chiao-hui* (our church) has 5000 members, 80 Chinese and western co-workers, and in addition to the work they are responsible for at the moment, they have to use even more strength to make a special plan to work for the salvation of the lost souls. In all this I hope that the Lord will give 我教會 *wo chiao-hui* (our church) a new revelation!

If we long for the expansion of the church, we have to pay equal attention to another issue as well. The lack of 靈性生活 *ling-hsing sheng-huo* (spiritual life) not only hinders

⁵⁷³ The term 傳道人 *ch'uan-tao jen*, literally "pass-on-the-word person," is used about those with a recognized preaching assignment in the church, i.e. usually pastors and evangelists.

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the healthy expansion of the church, but at certain times it can also shake the foundation of the church. Not long after the founding of 我教會 *wo chiao-hui* (our church), due to the attention given all the challenges, we were most concerned with the numerical growth for several years, and were somewhat negligent about 靈性之培植 *ling-hsing chih p'ei-chih* (the cultivation of spiritual life). If this kind of weakness persists, the church will gradually disintegrate. For the healthy expansion of the church, we must plan carefully in order to remedy such a weakness. Not only is this not an easy task, it is perhaps several times more difficult than evangelism. However, it is another aspect of the church's work, and we must obey the commandment of the Lord.

The church does not only exist in the middle of society, but society is both its target and its working place. If the church is to have a fruitful ministry, it must completely understand the situation of its local society. Society is making steady progress, being quickly changed, and people's response to the gospel will change accordingly. Therefore, the church must constantly pay attention to the trends in society, and examine closely 人心之傾向 *jen-hsin chih ch'ing-hsiang* (the tendency of the popular feeling). Every measure and work pattern must be improved, to cope with the demands of the times. For instance, 傳道人之培育 *ch'uan-tao jen chih p'ei-yü* (in the cultivation of preachers), they must not only catch up with the times, but even bypass them, so that they can take 社會上領導地位 *she-hui shang ling-tao ti-wei* (a leadership position in society), being 先知先覺 *hsien-chih hsien-chüeh* (prophets and persons of foresight), and thus becoming 時代的導師 *shih-tai te tao-shih* (the tutors⁵⁷⁴ of the times).

In the present situation 我教會 *wo chiao-hui* (our church) has another special assignment. In recent years the Christian Church in Taiwan has developed very rapidly, and large and small fellowships exist in great numbers. Due to all sorts of relationships based on doctrine, it is unavoidable that we find some extremes and complex divisions. In this situation 我教會 *wo chiao-hui* (our church) has a contribution to make because of its solid theological foundation.

In conclusion, 我台灣信義會 *wo t'ai-wan hsini-hui* (our Taiwan Lutheran Church), which is founded by God, must hold on to God's mission for this age. I hope 我等 *wo-teng* (we) can take our responsibility, and obey the Holy Spirit, using all our strength, in order to fulfill the Lord's commandment, if only to a very small degree! This is my sincere admonition to my fellow graduating students.

Even though Chin here shows signs of non self-assertion,⁵⁷⁵ which is a typical Chinese feature,⁵⁷⁶ he nevertheless comes forward with a strong self-image.⁵⁷⁷ Several times he refers

⁵⁷⁴ The compound 導師 *tao-shih* (guide teacher) is usually translated "tutor" or "teacher."

⁵⁷⁵ See for example his use of the words "weakness" and "incompetence."

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. Kramer, "Non self-assertion : an important principle for Christian mission in the Chinese setting".

⁵⁷⁷ "He possessed the necessary strong personality and he knew how to use it to attract a following." Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 132.

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to the TLC as “our”⁵⁷⁸ church, and he reminds his readers about his role in the founding of the first congregation.

In the following statements, uttered in a very tense response to the actions taken by the CAC in 1965 to have him resign from his office as president of TLC, he speaks out about democracy and distribution of leadership responsibilities in the church. His statements may also reflect how he interpreted pastoral leadership in his teaching at TLS.

Most troubles and tragedies in the Church are created by those who do not know the very nature of the Church. The Church is not the place where the minority should obey the majority according to the rule of democracy.⁵⁷⁹ The Church is Christ’s and He, only He must be the one who rules Church life. When we are dealing with church affairs, if we do not concern the Truth, asking the will of the Holy Spirit, but decide things by democratic way, it is contradictory to our faith in Christ, who is the Lord of the Church.⁵⁸⁰ Today at the meetings of the Church, democracy has taken Jesus Christ’s place, and consequently, at the most the Lord has right of only one vote. He should too obey the majority. This exactly gives Satan an opportunity to use his tricks and destroy the church. [...] We are chosen by God to be His mouths to announce His Word to people, revealing His righteousness, mercy, holiness and all of all, the forgiveness of sins in Christ. We pastors have an obligation and a right to convince, rebuke and exhort people. There is no question that when we perform our duty we have to point out man’s

⁵⁷⁸ In these expressions he consequently uses the pronoun 我 *wo*, which means both “I, my, me,” and “we, our.” One could, therefore, also use “my church” as a translation of 我教會 *wo chiao-hui*. When he uses the expression 我等 *wo-teng* (we), however, the character 等 *teng* is a definite plural indicator. For the use of the character 我 *wo* in various expressions, see R.H. Mathews, *A Chinese-English dictionary : compiled for the China Inland Mission*, 1950 revised American ed. (Shanghai: 1931), 664. Regardless of plural or singular pronouns, Chin expresses an intimate identification with his church. Another evidence of this attitude is found in a public letter he wrote when his role as president of the church had been challenged: “Please think about this. How could I be so cruel as to throw away the Church whose first seeds I personally planted; which has had many people labor to till, weed, strengthen and nourish it, this Church that God has caused to grow, my Church, your Church, everyones’ [sic] above all God’ [sic] Church?” See Chin Chung-an (John), “Dr. Chin's public letter in reply to Dr. Yang and Prof. Hu [English translation],” in *Documents July-September 1965* (Taichung / St. Paul, Minnesota: Taiwan Lutheran Mission Committee / ELCA Region 3 Archives. Folder: “Chin-affair”, 1965), 10.

⁵⁷⁹ It is interesting to note that also Wu Ming-chieh has given similar comments: “The present organization of the church in Hong Kong and Taiwan must be reevaluated and revised. What we have now is an adaptation of the American system which emphasizes democracy and freedom within the church. This structure is suitable for America because of the educational level of its church members and because the American cultural background and political system are rooted in this concept”; see Wu Ming-chieh, “The Lutheran church in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea,” in *Lutheran churches in the Third World*, ed. Andrew S. Burgess (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1970), 69.

⁵⁸⁰ Cf. also his understanding of his office as president: “[...] He has called me to be a shepherd of His sheep, Bishop of the Church, servant of all, overseer of Gods Church. He has also given me strength to depend on the Lord’s grace to overcome all hardship and conquer Satan. He causes me to be free in Christ, and to be a pastor of an independent and self-governing Church, the servant of all.” See Chin Chung-an (John), “Dr. Chin's public letter in reply to Dr. Yang and Prof. Hu [English translation],” 10.

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mistakes, faults and sins. Today there is a false teaching prevailing in the church, which makes a great harm upon the church and individual Christians. Some say that we are all weak and sinful, then how can we point out other man's sins and faults. They think that they are very humble and pious in saying so. In fact, this kind of thought is absolutely incompatible with fundamental Christian faith. [...] Having grown up in a pious [sic] environment, some Christians think that it is an awful thing that one rebukes or points other man's sins.⁵⁸¹

About one year later Chin launched a fundamental criticism against both missions and individual missionaries in the TLC. One of the newly arrived missionaries later made the following comment about him: "He was the first national willing to strongly challenge the authority of the mission."⁵⁸² One of Chin's main points was that the missions had not been able to stay up-to-date. In his report as president he was quoted as having said the following at the 1966 General Synod of the TLC:

When it comes to the missions, serious deficiencies have been revealed in their work principles, behavior, politics, and practice. They are not up-to-date. The missions should now put away all their prejudices, reform themselves, and get rid of all previous mistakes.⁵⁸³

Speaking about mistakes, Chin may possibly have had one particular occasion in mind, which involved one of the NMS missionaries. What happened at this occasion is right at the heart of the cultivation of leadership, not only among the Chinese, but also among the missionaries. Cultivation of leadership also involves the cultivation of followers,⁵⁸⁴ and the time had come for one missionary to learn how to be a follower of a Chinese leader. The setting was at one of the scheduled "Joint meetings" between TLC and TLM representatives, held in Taichung 29 April 1963. What happened at this meeting is reflected in a letter from the chairman of the TLM, Herman W. Bly, to the missionary in question, namely Emil K. Aarsheim 武思恩 (1913-1994). After some words of greetings, the remainder of the letter deals with the interaction between Aarsheim and Chin. First, Bly mentions an issue concerning the voting on a motion that had been proposed, and then he comes to his second point:

The other matter was when you said that Dr. Chin is not your "Chien Tu".⁵⁸⁵ But that I

⁵⁸¹ Chin Chung-an (John), "[Dr. Chin's public letter in reply to actions taken by the China Advisory Committee in 1965]," (Taichung [?] / St. Paul, Minnesota: ELCA Region 3 Archives. Folder "Chin-affair", [1965?]), 2-3.

⁵⁸² See Swanson, *Taiwan: mainline versus independent church growth*, 132.

⁵⁸³ The quote is mentioned by a NMS missionary in a letter to the Asia mission secretary of the NMS. See Jan Haugland, "Letter to Arthur Harstad, 4 April 1966," (Stavanger: NMS Archives, 1966).

⁵⁸⁴ For a definition of leadership that includes the role of "followers," see Garry Wills, *Certain trumpets: the call of leaders* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 11-17.

⁵⁸⁵ 監督 *chien-tu* (superintendent or president).

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am your “Chien Tu”. In this statement I cannot agree with you. I am the “Chu Hsi”⁵⁸⁶ in the “Ch’ai Hui”⁵⁸⁷ but not “chien Tu”. There is a difference in this. But the chief point is that ever since we organized the Church the work in the congregations has been under the “chien tu” of the Church. He is rightfully elected and we must respect that office. If we do not, there is simply no way in which we can work together. Dr. Chin has written to me and pointed this out that how can we work in the Church that he is elected to supervise, if we refuse to acknowledge him as “chien tu”. Last year the [TLM] Conference took official action to put all the work under the Church. The only exception is the Chiayi Hospital. Those who work there can say, if they so wish, that Dr. Chin is not their “chien tu”, but the rest of us must say that he is our “chien tu”, and try in every way to work in harmony with him and with the evangelists and pastors in the Church. In keeping with the policy of the Mission we missionaries must not accept calls from any of the congregations to be their pastor. We may serve as interim pastors till they can secure a seminary graduate to serve as their pastor. It should be our aim everywhere to help the congregations secure a Chinese pastor. To me it seems that in order to restore harmony between you and Dr. Chin you must admit that you were wrong when you said that he was not your “chien tu”. I remind you again of what Christ said in Matthew 5:23-24. No doubt, you would say to me that there is much more fault with the other party. That may be, but as missionaries we show forth the humility of Christ.⁵⁸⁸

Shortly afterwards Aarsheim sent a letter with his apology,⁵⁸⁹ but the episode had probably triggered the escalation of the conflict that had been brewing.⁵⁹⁰ In the following three years the conflict became more and more tense and it rendered the atmosphere at the TLS campus less and less beneficial for teaching and training. As mentioned in chapter two (section 2.1.4.1) the seminary closed its doors in 1966. For about five years Chin had played his role at

⁵⁸⁶ 主席 *chu-hsi* (chairman).

⁵⁸⁷ 差會 *ch'ai-hui* (mission), literally “sending society.”

⁵⁸⁸ Herman W. Bly, "Letter to Emil K. Aarsheim, 14 May 1963," (Taipei / Stavanger: TLM Archives, TLC office. Aarsheim correspondence folder / Gustav Steensland collection, 1963).

⁵⁸⁹ Aarsheim replied in a letter from Taipei, to “Rev. H. W. Bly, President, Taiwan Lutheran Mission, 29, Ling Chung Lu, Kaohsiung,” with a copy to “dr. C.A. Chin” in Taichung: “Dear Pastor Bly: Your letter of May 14th 1963 has been received. I regret very much my words on the last Joint meeting in Taichung, April 29, 1963, and I hereby apologize for my unwisely remarks. Sincerely yours Emil K. Aarsheim.” Emil K. Aarsheim, "Letter to Herman W. Bly, President TLM, 16 May 1963," (Taipei: Taiwan Lutheran Mission / TLM Archives, TLC office, 1963). Note that he uses the title “President,” which in fact was the common title of the chairman of the TLM. In order to make his point, however, Bly had emphasized that for a missionary working in agreement with a church the “chien tu” of the church ranks above the president of an organization like TLM.

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. the comment by Swanson, who said that it was this “one single comment [by Aarsheim] that more than anything else enraged him [Chin] and caused a lot of controversy. [...] That proved what he [Chin] always suspected, that the missionaries tipped their hat at national leadership, but had no intent of recognizing it.” Allen J. Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997, typed transcript of tape-recording," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997), 16.

TLS in the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC. In the following section the focus is on his understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership.

4.1.2.2 Characteristics of Chin's approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership

The above section has provided a rather fragmented portrait of Chin and his theology. In this section I will, nevertheless, attempt to derive from this portrait the main points in his understanding of pastoral leadership and his approach towards its cultivation. My assumption is that this understanding and approach guided his teaching at TLS. According to my research design the below description is guided by Grint's explanatory model, focusing on the dynamic between individual and context in the understanding of leadership. This dynamic will also most likely influence the choice of approach in the cultivation of leadership.

There is no doubt that Chin regards knowledge about the *individual* as a key element in his *understanding of pastoral leadership*. In his opinion one should not fail to recognize “人的因素 *jen te yin-su* (the human factor)”⁵⁹¹ in the life and work of the church. He underlines, therefore, the importance of individual qualities and skills for those who will serve as pastors and preachers in the church. Speaking about himself he emphasized the role of his “character and personality.”⁵⁹² At all the institutions where he got his theological education there was a focus on the individual student in the various regulations and requirements for graduation. Chin's point of view is in line with the approach of these institutions. The underlying assumption seems to have been that there must be a correspondence between the preparation for ministry and the expectations towards pastors in the church and congregations. During the time of academic and practical training the candidates for ministry must acquire and develop the necessary knowledge, wisdom and skills.

One outstanding aspect of Chin's understanding of pastoral leadership is connected to his use of the character 導 *tao* (to guide, to lead). A primary condition for sound leadership is that the pastors are led by the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, as a pastor serves as 導師 *tao-shih* (tutor) he will be seen as having a 領導地位 *ling-tao ti-wei* (leadership position), not only in

⁵⁹¹ Chin Chung-an (John), "T'ai-wan hsin-i hui chi chan-wang," 32.

⁵⁹² Chin Chung-an (John), "[Letter to the American Lutheran Church, Division for World Missions], 3 June 1968," 1.

the church but also in society. Corresponding to the roles as tutor and leader are those of 先知先覺 *hsien-chih hsien-chüeh* (prophet and person of foresight). A pastor must gain insights about the condition of the church, its members and their environment and be able to offer a plausible and spiritual interpretation of current and future needs. When Chin says, “we are chosen by God to be His mouths to announce His Word to people, revealing His righteousness, mercy, holiness and all of all, the forgiveness of sins in Christ,” and, “we pastors have an obligation and a right to convince, rebuke and exhort people,”⁵⁹³ he is giving some examples of what the prophetic function implies. Although he uses the plural expression “we pastors” he most likely refers to what individual pastors should do in their ministerial area of responsibility, such as in the local congregations. At times, however, when they are assembled as the ministerium, the pastors will give their opinion or present their evaluations corporately. Both in the period of preparation and in the daily life in ministry the individual pastor is under close scrutiny by teachers, mentors, colleagues and church members. It is fairly evident that Chin thinks it is appropriate and necessary to investigate and evaluate the character, qualities and skills of individual candidates and ordained pastors.

In Chin’s understanding of pastoral leadership the *context* has a prominent position. He mentions contextual issues several times and one gets the impression that knowledge about the context is required for a complete understanding of the church and its ministry. As far as the *ecclesial context* is concerned pastoral leadership is characterized by its uniqueness compared to other kinds of leadership and ministries in the church. Of the tasks that are reserved ordained pastors the administration of the sacraments is the most conspicuous. In the above portrait of Chin it was noted how he seems to have respected this role of ordained ministry and how he sought to obtain this role himself. When it comes to preaching and teaching as means of exercising leadership the pastor shares these tasks with other 傳道人 *ch’uan-tao jen* (preachers) in the church, such as properly called and commissioned evangelists in the local congregations. Another element in Chin’s description of the ecclesial context is related to the balance between representative governing bodies and ordained ministry. This balance is relevant both to the congregational and synodal level. On the one hand pastors are dependent on these governing bodies for their calling, ordination and appointment to leadership positions in the church. On the other hand Chin means that pastors have a certain authority in and towards the governing bodies. He is skeptical to an ecclesial

⁵⁹³ Chin Chung-an (John), “[Dr. Chin’s public letter in reply to actions taken by the China Advisory Committee in 1965],” 3.

system in which democratic institutions and majority decisions can overrule the opinions and assessments of the pastors.

In terms of the *socio-cultural context* of pastoral leadership Chin is of the opinion that pastors need considerable knowledge and ability to evaluate trends and developments in the interaction between individuals and groups as well as in the set of shared values, goals and practices that characterize the members of a given community. He is concerned that pastors stay up to date and keep in touch with the changes in society. The social aspect must be given proper attention both within Christian communities and in their relationship to the surrounding society. At several instances Chin voiced his ideas and opinions about the cultural aspect of the context of the church and its ministry. These ideas and opinions must also have influenced his reflections regarding the understanding of pastoral leadership. What would be the main points in his view of a culturally relevant pastoral leadership in a Chinese setting? He “did not like what he felt was a style of church life imposed by the missionaries,” and “he wanted a Chinese style church.”⁵⁹⁴ As for himself he was proud of the “edification in Chinese culture” he had received,⁵⁹⁵ and he probably expected the TLC candidates for ministry to think likewise. On the basis of such edification a pastor will have the ability to handle relationships and affairs to the benefit of the church and its members. It seems that Chin thinks that pastors have a great deal of responsibility in adapting the church and its life to the local culture.

When assessing the dynamic between knowledge about the individual and knowledge about the context in Chin’s approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership I find that he sees both types of knowledge as necessary. With careful selection and training of candidates the church can call and ordain capable pastors who are ready for the complex leadership tasks in their Chinese context. My conclusion is, therefore, that Chin favors a contingency approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership.

In the following description of Chin’s approach to the *cultivation of pastoral leadership* I begin with some of the more general statements about preparation of pastors and evangelists. His above-mentioned greeting to the TLS graduates in 1961 is a representative source.⁵⁹⁶ The “times” demanded, according to Chin, a new approach in the training of pastors and other

⁵⁹⁴ Klippen, "Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 30 April 1998, notes," 1.

⁵⁹⁵ Chin Chung-an (John), "[Letter to the American Lutheran Church, Division for World Missions], 3 June 1968," 1.

⁵⁹⁶ Chin Chung-an (John), "T'ai-wan hsin-i hui chi chan-wang," 32-33.

leaders in the church. As leaders they had to stand on a “solid theological foundation,” but at the same time be in touch with the surrounding society. Although he partly would credit the missionaries for building this foundation, it seems clear that, in his opinion, Chinese pastors had to be trained by teachers who were fully able to understand 人心之傾向 *jen-hsin chih ch'ing-hsiang* (the tendency of the popular feeling). This “feeling” would also include the basic ideals and practices of Chinese culture and their influence for example on the exercise of leadership. One senses an underlying critique of the traditional training patterns, which in Chin’s opinion have not developed the leaders needed in the church.⁵⁹⁷ In other words, he probably voices his dissatisfaction with some of the missionary teachers at the seminaries and would prefer a majority of competent Chinese faculty. Judging from his way of expressing himself he probably thought of himself to be such a teacher. Others, including some of the TLS graduates, however, had a more balanced opinion regarding the origin and contribution of the seminary teachers.⁵⁹⁸

According to his wife Chin had a vision: “為主培育人才 *wei chu p'ei-yü jen-ts'ai* (to cultivate human resources for the Lord).”⁵⁹⁹ As noted in the portrait he used a similar expression himself when he wrote about “培育傳道人材 *p'ei-yü ch'uan-tao jen ts'ai* (to cultivate preaching personnel),”⁶⁰⁰ “靈性之培植 *ling-hsing chih p'ei-chih* (cultivation of spiritual life),” and “傳道人之培育 *ch'uan-tao jen chih p'ei-yü* (cultivation of preachers).”⁶⁰¹ In these four expressions two slightly different terms are used with regard to cultivation,

⁵⁹⁷ “The church had become filled with ‘unqualified men’. Aware of the mixed motives of many who sought out the ministry and the tendency for mission-church tolerance in the hope of finding workers, the president [Chin Chung-an] criticized those who, with the best of intentions, had weakened more than strengthened the church.” Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 133.

⁵⁹⁸ One of the American Lutheran mission executives gave the following comment related to the conflict in the 1960s: “We were keenly disappointed by some of the pastors and evangelists who evidenced such a strong bias for Dr. Chin. On the other hand we were much impressed by several younger unordained evangelists who had studied under both Dr. Chin and Pastor Bjorsvik in the seminary. In the minds of these people, there was a recognition of the strength and weaknesses of both of these individuals.” Lester A. Dahlen, “Report on special Taiwan trip,” (Minneapolis / St. Paul, Minnesota: American Lutheran Church / ELCA Region 3 Archives, folder: “Chin-Affair”, 1965), 5.

⁵⁹⁹ Chin Wang Ming-hsün, *Shen c'hi-miao te hu-huan*, 41-42.

⁶⁰⁰ Chin Chung-an (John), “T'ai-wan hsin-i hui chi chan-wang,” 32.

⁶⁰¹ *ibid.*, 33.

namely, 培育 *p'ei-yü*, which means “to cultivate and grow; to raise; to nourish,”⁶⁰² and 培植 *p'ei-chih*, which has been translated as “to plant; to grow; to bank up with earth; to educate or train,”⁶⁰³ or “cultivate; foster; train.”⁶⁰⁴ What the two expressions have in common is that they primarily describe cultivation from the cultivator’s point of view. The choice of these expressions is a sign of Chin’s emphasis on the role of teachers and other mentors in the preparation of pastors.

There is no doubt, however, that Chin also directs some demands towards the candidates themselves. If his own testimony is taken as a sign of his approach the candidates are urged to have “faith in Christ,” do what they can to follow Him with a “pure heart,” and be open and willing to “receive edification” in Chinese culture.⁶⁰⁵ Again, I refer to his admonitions to the 1961 graduates at TLS, in which he said that they have considerable responsibility to “not only catch up with the times, but even bypass them, so that they can take a leadership position in society, being prophets and persons of foresight, and thus becoming tutors of the times.”⁶⁰⁶ The aim of their self-efforts was to become pastors and other types of church leaders who could combine spiritual life and theological insight with an awareness of Chinese culture and current trends in the society. It is, therefore, possible to conclude that Chin’s approach to the cultivation of pastoral leadership is congruent with his contingency approach to the understanding of such leadership. Knowledge about the individual candidate or pastor must be balanced with knowledge about the context in which pastoral leadership is developed and exercised.

4.1.2.3 Interpretation of Chin’s approach in light of the Confucian concepts

In my investigation of Chin’s writings and statements I have not found deliberate discussion of the Confucian tradition. If one of the western missionaries in the TLC got a valid impression it may be that Chin was not sufficiently familiar with the Chinese classics to enter into a discussion of detailed concepts and arguments.⁶⁰⁷ There are, however, a number of

⁶⁰² Liang Shih-chiu, ed., *A new practical Chinese-English dictionary*, 178.

⁶⁰³ *ibid.*

⁶⁰⁴ Su Sheng-hao, *Concise Chinese-English dictionary*, Revised ed. (Taipei: Lanbridge Book Company, 1982), 81.

⁶⁰⁵ Chin Chung-an (John), “[Letter to the American Lutheran Church, Division for World Missions], 3 June 1968,” 1.

⁶⁰⁶ Chin Chung-an (John), “T'ai-wan hsin-i hui chi chan-wang,” 33.

⁶⁰⁷ When I confronted Augustana missionary Anders B. Hanson with the fact that Chin did not mention Chinese culture in his STM thesis at Concordia, he was a little surprised. He had noticed during his years in Taiwan that Chin referred to his own culture at several occasions. Hanson

references and allusions to Chinese culture in general in what he has said and written. It should, therefore, be possible to relate these references and allusions to the Confucian concepts that I have identified as crucial for the understanding and cultivation of Christian leadership in a Chinese context.

The *concept of leadership* in the Confucian tradition is rooted in the view of human nature and the precept of filial piety. When Chin wrote his STM thesis at Concordia about the biblical concept of life he did not take the opportunity to relate this concept to the Confucian view of human nature. Neither have I found in the various available sources that Chin has specifically dealt with the precept of filial piety as such or its implications in a Christian setting. There are, however, indications that he was in line with the prevailing form of leadership in the Confucian tradition, which presupposes optimistic expectations of moral behavior on the part of leaders and followers as well as a tendency towards authoritarian leaders and compliant subordinates. I find these indications for example in his admonitions to the 1961 TLS graduates,⁶⁰⁸ in his self-understanding as an ordained pastor, and in his critical comments regarding the role of democracy in the church.

In his admonitions to the TLS graduates he emphasizes qualities such as obedience to Jesus, the willingness to make every effort, to take one's responsibility, and to use all one's strength. When he speaks about human failures in the church and lack of spiritual life it seems that such deficiencies can be reduced or avoided if people work on themselves and their behavior. One should also note that he presents his admonitions from his position as a teacher. The tone of his language signals that he expects the seminary students and candidates to listen and adhere to his exhortations. Although his message to the candidates is understandable from a Christian theological point of view, his mode of expression and focus of attention are most likely rooted in and shaped by the Confucian emphasis on moral behavior.

In my above portrait of Chin I have paid considerable attention to his preparation and entrance into ordained ministry. Through ordination he received recognition by the church and earned the right to be a leader in his congregation in Kaohsiung. As a member of the

could remember from his time in Taichung in the 1960s discussions and talks with Chin about theological and cultural issues related to the situation in Taiwan. Chin and Hanson were alternating as instructors and teachers in a Bible class on Paul's letter to the Romans, and in preparing these classes they would share views on the exegesis. Chin had a lot of ideas about the exegesis of the texts. When he referred to Chinese culture and religion, his ideas were coming out of his own mind, and not in the form of references or quotations from traditional or classical sources. He knew his own ideas. See Anders B. Hanson, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 28 January 1998, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998).

⁶⁰⁸ Chin Chung-an (John), "T'ai-wan hsin-i hui chi chan-wang," 32-33.

Section 4.1 Teachers of dogmatics > 4.1.2 Chin Chung-an

ministerium he could exercise authority in the approval of new candidates for pastoral ministry and the quality of these candidates was one of his major concerns. Chin's understanding seems to be that a pastor with the desired qualities, however, should be honored and obeyed.

His comments regarding pastoral leadership and democracy in the church⁶⁰⁹ reveal that in his view the position of ordained ministry is above all other ecclesial offices and governing bodies. A possible interpretation may be that Chin's view of the position and influence of ordained ministry is, consciously or unconsciously, legitimized and reinforced by an authoritarian mode of the Confucian concept of leadership. If a leader's position should not be questioned and the subordinates are supposed to be compliant, there is not much room for a democratic system of governance.

The Confucian *concept of learning* was described in chapter two (section 2.2.3.1) as a combination of self-education and the contribution of teachers. Both during the time of training and preparation as well as in their ministry Chin makes it clear that the pastors have considerable responsibility for seeking knowledge and insight relevant to their office and tasks. His own emphasis on education both as a medical doctor and as a theologian may be understood as a reflection of the importance of self-education in the Confucian tradition. Based on the above portrait of Chin, however, the contribution of teachers for the cultivation of pastoral leadership seems to be even more important. If the church wants qualified personnel it must secure able teachers to take care of training programs on several levels. For the preparation of pastors a solid theological education is crucial. In his description of the task of teaching and training Chin often uses terms such as cultivate and foster, and these terms are used from a teacher's point of view. Although he does not make direct references to the Chinese classics or other quotations from Confucian literature I find that Chin's approach and choice of terms for the cultivation of pastoral leadership are in line with the Confucian concept of learning.

The Confucian *concept of self-cultivation* does not seem to play a specific role in Chin's approach to the cultivation of pastoral leadership. I have not found in his writings any references to vocabulary or passages in the Chinese classics regarding self-cultivation. A possible allusion, however, can be seen in his above-mentioned message to the 1961 TLS graduates. There he speaks about the importance of “靈性之培植 *ling-hsing chih p'ei-chih* (the

⁶⁰⁹ Chin Chung-an (John), "[Dr. Chin's public letter in reply to actions taken by the China Advisory Committee in 1965]."

cultivation of spiritual life).”⁶¹⁰ Chin’s understanding seems to be that the cultivation of spiritual life combines divine and human elements. Through the means of grace and the work of the Holy Spirit the life of human beings can be changed and sanctified. This change and sanctification also depends on the faith, motivation and efforts of the individual Christian and his or her participation in the fellowship of believers. There is thus an element of self-cultivation in Chin’s approach to the Christian development of spiritual life.

4.1.2.4 Concluding remarks

Based on the biographical and theological portrait of Chin I have found that he was proud of his Chinese background, his education, his ministry both before and after his ordination, and his contribution as a seminary teacher to the cultivation of pastors for leadership tasks in TLC. My interpretation of the available material has led to the conclusion that Chin favored a contingency approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. It was important for him to establish as reliable knowledge as possible about both the individual candidates and the context in which they were called and trained to serve. With regard to the socio-cultural context, however, Chin did not develop a conscious and detailed treatment or discussion of the role and implications of the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning and self-cultivation in the cultivation of pastoral leadership. His line of thought, his arguments, and his approach to such cultivation were seemingly influenced by these concepts without serious consideration or scholarly interpretation.

⁶¹⁰ Chin Chung-an (John), "T'ai-wan hsin-i hui chi chan-wang," 32.

4.2 Teachers of pastoral theology

Teachers of pastoral theology are of particular interest for the topic of this thesis. In pastoral theology the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership are key topics. I have chosen to present two teachers of pastoral theology here in chapter four. One of them taught this subject at TLS and the other one at CES. Both of them are western missionaries, one from Norway and one from the United States. The contribution by Chinese teachers in the field of pastoral theology is found in chapter five, in the form of a presentation of two textbooks.

4.2.1 Lars Bjørsvik

Lars Ivarson Bjørsvik⁶¹¹ 貝世偉 (1907-1982) was a teacher at TLS from its founding in November 1957 until July 1962 and, after a one year furlough in Norway, from August 1963 until August 1965. He was mainly responsible for New Testament studies and practical theology.⁶¹² His contribution was not limited to the classroom setting. Together with the students in their practical ministry assignments and also at many other occasions he preached and led worship services in local congregations. In addition he was elected to various leadership positions, not only at the seminary (president 1961-1962, vice president 1963-1965) but also among the missionaries (president of TLM 1960-1962).⁶¹³ According to one of the ELFCN missionaries in Taiwan Bjørsvik was regarded by his students and coworkers as a man of great abilities and capacity.⁶¹⁴ And, one of his colleagues at TLS wrote in a report that Bjørsvik “who has had long experience with literature work is amazingly well read, besides being a sympathetic Dean of students.”⁶¹⁵ The following section presents an overview of his background and theology.

⁶¹¹ Bjørsvik did not use his middle name in signatures, etc. See Lars Bjørsvik, "[Curriculum vitae]," in *Kallsbok for Vaksdal prestegjeld [Ministerial records of Vaksdal parish]* (Vaksdal: Den norske kirke, 1978), 116.

⁶¹² As will be mentioned in the next section Bjørsvik also taught at LTS and LBI in Hong Kong. A total of 27 lecture series in various theological disciplines have been found in his collection: Old Testament studies (6 series), New Testament studies (10 series), Church and mission history (6 series), Systematic theology (2 series), Practical theology (3 series). See Gustav Steensland, "List of contents of Lars Bjørsvik collection," (Stavanger: NMS Archives. Bjørsvik collection, 16 boxes, 2002).

⁶¹³ Bjørsvik, "[Curriculum vitae]," 116.

⁶¹⁴ See Johan Tidemann Johansen [jr.], "Interview in Stavanger by Gustav Steensland 14 May 1997, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997).

⁶¹⁵ John L. Wilenius, "School for prophets on Taiwan," *The Missionary*, January 1959, 8.

4.2.1.1 Biographical and theological portrait

Background and education

Lars Bjørsvik grew up on a family farm in the rural community of Bjørsvik in Osterfjord, northeast of Bergen. He was baptized and confirmed in the parish church at Hosanger. In primary and secondary school he received excellent grades, and he participated regularly in Sunday worship and other Christian meetings. By the time he was 8-9 years old he had become confident that God had a plan to use him in foreign missions work.⁶¹⁶

His sense of calling is understandable for many reasons. "He has been raised in a home with strong mission interest, and there and by other personal influence God has given him a desire for missionary ministry overseas, a desire that must be understood as a calling."⁶¹⁷ His parents participated in the local *misjonsforening*, one of the many associations supporting the NMS throughout Norway. The idea of going overseas was not uncommon among Bjørsvik's peers. Many of his classmates at primary school wanted become sailors or immigrate to America. Nevertheless, it took some years before Bjørsvik found the courage to tell family and friends about his missionary calling. After some time of spiritual uncertainty and faith problems, Isaiah 42:6 gave him peace. "I, the Lord, have called you in righteousness. I will ... make you a light for the Gentiles ..."⁶¹⁸ Bjørsvik had this experience at the end of 1924, as he was a student at Nordhordland Ungdomsskule.⁶¹⁹

Early in 1925 he wrote a letter to Misjonsskolen, in which he referred to his missionary calling.⁶²⁰ He was invited to the written and oral admission tests in August 1926

⁶¹⁶ See Lars Bjørsvik, "Guds føring med meg og mitt misjonskall [God's guidance in my life and my missionary calling]," (Stavanger: NMS Archives. Box 1962, folder no. 2, 1926), 1.

⁶¹⁷ See S.Th. Osnes, "Attest [Letter of recommendation, for Lars Bjørsvik], 18 November 1925," (Stavanger: NMS Archives. Box 1962, folder no. 1, 1925), 1 (Osnes' underlining). Bjørsvik's mother and grandfather had also considered missionary work. See Bjørsvik, "Guds føring med meg og mitt misjonskall," 4.

⁶¹⁸ Bjørsvik, "Guds føring med meg og mitt misjonskall," 3 (my translation of Bjørsvik's excerpt of the verse).

⁶¹⁹ This school at Frekhaug (near Bergen) was one of the more than twenty of this kind founded by the pietist lay people's movement in Norway in the first decades of the 20th century. Even though some high school and college subjects were taught, the strategic aim of these institutions was to foster young people (especially secondary school graduates) as mature and faithful Christians. See Carl Fr. Wisløff, *Norsk kirkehistorie (bind 3) [Norwegian church history (volume 3)]*, 3 vols. (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsens Forlag, 1971), 218.

⁶²⁰ "I am called to God's work for the heathen, and I want to do something for them." Lars Bjørsvik, "Til Det Norske Misjonselskaps misjonsskule, Stavanger [To the school of mission of the Norwegian Missionary Society]," (Stavanger: NMS Archives. Box 1928, folder no. 6, 1925).

and came in second place among the twenty-seven applicants,⁶²¹ of which seventeen were admitted. For students like Bjørsvik, who did not have a high-school diploma or equivalent qualifications, the school offered a seven-year program, consisting of a four-year curriculum in liberal arts and three years of theological education and seminary training.

The fact that Bjørsvik chose Misjonsskolen indicates that he most likely stood in the mainstream of the pietist and evangelical Lutheran tradition typical of the NMS. This tradition was also referred to in the faculty's evaluation of him and the other applicants.⁶²² One of the aims of the school was to mold loyal NMS workers and missionary candidates with a variety of skills. Bjørsvik and his fellow students had to comply with rather strict rules of life and work at the school.⁶²³

During Bjørsvik's studies the theological faculty consisted of four theologians, namely, Henrik Kristian Ljostveit (1892-1970), the school's superintendent from 1926 until 1934, who was responsible for New Testament introduction and church history, Einar Amdahl (1888-1974), general secretary of NMS 1922-1957, who taught Old Testament theology, Otto Emil Birkeli (1877-1952), and Reidar Hauge (1903-1967).⁶²⁴ Birkeli and Hauge are of particular interest for the analysis of Bjørsvik's understanding of pastoral leadership and its implementation in the Chinese socio-cultural context.

⁶²¹ See "Eksamensprotokoll fra opptaksprøve til 4. gymnasiekurs ved Misjonsskolen [Examination records of the admission test for the fourth college course at the School of Mission]," (Stavanger: NMS Archives. Box 1929, folder no. 4, 1926).

⁶²² "The religious life of the majority is influenced by a strong loyalty to the inner mission movement, and the calling to foreign missions is strong and clear among most of them." *Misjonsskolen, "Kort oversigt i anledning optagelsesprøven til Misjonsskolen aug. 1926 [A brief survey with regard to admission tests at the School of Mission in August 1926],"* (Stavanger: NMS Archives. Box 1929, folder no. 4, 1926), 2. Since its founding in 1842 NMS had been able to combine a basic loyalty to the Church of Norway with the initiative and strength of revivalist lay movements in the country. See Torstein Jørgensen, ed., *I tro og tjeneste : Det Norske Misjonsselskap [In faith and ministry : The Norwegian Missionary Society] 1842-1992*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Stavanger: Misjonshøgskolens Forlag, 1992), 67.

⁶²³ All students were for example required to take part in the work on the farm, which was a part of the campus. The supporters of NMS, especially the members of the local associations, expected that the missionary trainees not only should get a solid education, but also be capable in various kinds of practical work. The combination of these two aims gradually became more difficult, as the load of the academic training increased. See Henrik Kristian Ljostveit, "Brev fra lærerrådet til landsstyret [Letter from the faculty council to the board of directors of the Norwegian Missionary Society]," (Stavanger: NMS Archives. Box 1929, folder no. 9, 1930), 2. With regard to the house rules and the academic curriculum it was not until the mid 1930s that these elements were "revised and given a modern format." See Emil Birkeli and Christian Tidemann Strand, *Kallet og veien : Det Norske Misjonsselskaps misjonsskole [The call and the itinerary : the Norwegian Missionary Society's school of mission] 1859-1959* (Stavanger: Misjonsselskapets Forlag, 1959), 139.

⁶²⁴ See Birkeli and Tidemann Strand, *Kallet og veien*, 134. Bjørsvik kept a total of 26 notebooks, which reflect the contents of the lectures held by his teachers. See Steensland, "List of contents of Lars Bjørsvik collection," box 6.

Otto Emil Birkeli, who had been a missionary pastor in Madagascar 1903-1919, taught history of missions, religious science and sociology.⁶²⁵ Based on the two volumes⁶²⁶ published shortly after Bjørsvik's graduation Birkeli had a global scope in his treatment of the history of missions, and the section about China covers about eighty pages.⁶²⁷ Here he also gives a brief presentation of the religions in China. Confucianism is said to be a moral and social system built on ancestor worship,⁶²⁸ and he describes Confucius as follows.

He established a system for the life of individuals and the society, which appealed to the ideals of the East to the extent that he has had the most unlimited power in the whole Chinese society for two thousand years. For this reason he has been honored as the primary national saint of China. He became aware of the foundation for his system through studying and learning from history. The basic idea in this system aims at securing balance of life and maintaining the equilibrium of harmony through knowledge and wisdom. Behind the elements of his system he referred to "Tien," heaven, as the ultimate will and authority. His social principle was *righteousness* with punishment for evil deeds and reward for good deeds. In family life and in religion he emphasized *piety*, loyalty towards the established values, towards old parents and the dead. It is particularly this doctrine of *piety* that has become the main deposit in the Chinese conservatism, and it has kept the culture of the empire unchanged for over two thousand years, as well as creating the abyss of contempt towards foreigners and the lack of flexibility in meeting the demands of modern life, a situation that has led to disaster for the people.⁶²⁹

In fact, one of Birkeli's particular interests within the field of religious science was ancestor worship as a religious phenomenon, and his doctoral thesis analyzed this topic in a Norwegian context.⁶³⁰ He also found that ancestor worship is a crucial issue for the reception of the Christian message among the Chinese. His summary of the role of religion in China shows his evaluation of their reaction.

In accordance with the main ideas in Chinese religion, which are based on the law of life and the efforts to sustain it, faith in a deity does not play a major role. Shangti, the

⁶²⁵ See Otto Christian Dahl, "Otto Emil Birkeli," in *Norsk Misjonsleksikon*, ed. Fridtjov Birkeli (et.al.) (Stavanger: Nomi Forlag, 1965), 206-207.

⁶²⁶ See Emil Birkeli, *Misjonshistorie (I) : kristendommens utbredelse (første del: Kirken og misjonsproblemet; annen del: Afrika) [The history of missions (I) : the expansion of Christianity (Part one: The church and the problem of mission; Part two: Africa)]*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Oslo: Selskapet til Kristelige Andaktsbøkers Utgivelse, 1935), Emil Birkeli, *Misjonshistorie (II) : kristendommens utbredelse (tredje del: Asia, fjerde del: Indonesia, femte del: Amerika) [The history of missions (II) : the expansion of Christianity (Part three: Asia; Part four: Indonesia; Part five: America)]*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Oslo: Selskapet til Kristelige Andaktsbøkers Utgivelse, 1937).

⁶²⁷ See Birkeli, *Misjonshistorie (II)*, 167-250.

⁶²⁸ *ibid.*, 169.

⁶²⁹ *ibid.*, 169-170 (Birkeli's italics).

⁶³⁰ See Emil Birkeli, *Fedrekult i Norge : et forsøk på en systematisk-deskriptiv fremstilling [Ancestor worship in Norway : an attempt at a systematic-descriptive presentation]* (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1938).

Heavenly Lord, received his annual sacrifice in the old days of the empire. Such sacrifices, however, were also presented to holy mountains and rivers. When the Christian missionaries proclaim Shangti as the God of revelation, this message is basically nothing new or an unknown topic, except for the idea of revelation itself. The doctrine of Christian ethics coincides in many parts with that of Confucianism. One should think, therefore, that transfer to Christianity should be fairly easy for the Chinese. The foundation for Christian ethics, however, is completely different, and, the Chinese self-righteousness is deeply offended by the demand for a conversion with rebirth and total submission.

Still, the biggest obstacle has been the real religion, ancestor worship, in its many forms. It has been contended by some that a common characteristic of the Chinese is that they basically are very little devoted to religious beliefs and weakly disposed to a deeper form of religion. The opinions about this are mixed, but the fate of mission and Christianity in China seems to indicate that this contention is correct.⁶³¹

Reidar Hauge was responsible for New Testament exegesis and systematic theology at Misjonsskolen 1930-1941.⁶³² Alongside his teaching duties he worked on his doctoral degree, which discusses the issue of the historical revelation of God in Christ. Hauge presents an in-depth analysis of how this issue is treated by influential theologians, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries.⁶³³ His focus is on the “theological reorientation that took place around 1920 and the following years,” and his primary task is to investigate this “new theology” and its “pronounced view of revelation.”⁶³⁴ In the introduction he clarifies his own position.

If the human being is basically a divine being, then history as a whole becomes a form of revelation; [on the one hand], it is exactly this kind of monistic historicism that makes it impossible to speak about a singular revelation at a certain point in history, and, on the other hand, it is by binding all recognition of the divine to God’s sovereign self-revelation in history that we distance ourselves from a monistic or pantheistic identification of God and human beings. By maintaining that the word of God is *verbum alienum* (a word from a place apart), we also maintain that God is *Deus alienus* (a God of a place apart), and this is the decisive test whether or not a theology provides scope for the boundary between God and human beings. The transcendence of God is expressed inasmuch as we take seriously that revelation is a real act of

⁶³¹ Birkeli, *Misjonshistorie (II)*, 171.

⁶³² He graduated in 1926 from the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology in Oslo. In 1941 he became vicar in Moss, and in 1952 he succeeded Hans Ording as professor of systematic theology in the theological faculty at the University of Oslo. See Birkeli and Tidemann Strand, *Kallet og veien*, 134.

⁶³³ See Reidar Hauge, *Inkarnasjon og oppstandelse : til spørsmålet om den historiske åpenbaring [Incarnation and resurrection : on the issue of the historical revelation]*, Skrifter utgitt av Det norske vitenskapsakademi i Oslo; historisk-filosofisk klasse, 1941. No. 3 (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1941). He continued this line of studies in systematic theology with his publication on the topic of divine revelation and Christian faith. See Reidar Hauge, *Gudsåpenbaring og troslydighet : om forholdet mellom det objektive og subjektive i den kristne tro [Divine revelation and obedience in faith : on the relation between the objective and the subjective in the Christian faith]* (Oslo: Land og Kirke, 1952).

⁶³⁴ Hauge, *Inkarnasjon og oppstandelse*, i.

communication.⁶³⁵

The three theologians offered most attention in Hauge's presentation of "the new theology of transcendence" are Karl Barth, Emil Brunner and Friedrich Gogarten. In his teaching and elsewhere Hauge did not hide the impulses he had received. "He was strongly attached to the dialectic theology, especially by Karl Barth, and for a period of time Misjonsskolen as a whole was having 'Barth-fever'."⁶³⁶ Together with Hans Kristian Ljostveit and others Hauge defended the dialectic theology in widespread public debates in Norway in the 1930s.⁶³⁷

The combined impact of Birkeli and Hauge's teaching may have produced a set of expectations in Bjørsvik with regard to missionary work among the Chinese. Against the widespread notion in China of self-righteousness, achieved through cultivation of moral abilities and respect for social patterns based on filial piety, a missionary should preach the message of free salvation in Christ and sanctification through God's gracious gifts. In relation to the immanent perspectives dominating the Confucian world-view it might be seen as very important to communicate an image of a transcendent God who has revealed himself in this world only through Jesus Christ and the Holy Scriptures.

As far as the field of practical theology is concerned, it is very likely that Bjørsvik studied a major textbook, which appeared as he began his theological curriculum in 1930.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁵ *ibid.*, 11.

⁶³⁶ Birkeli and Tidemann Strand, *Kallet og veien*, 134 (Birkeli and Tidemann Strand's italics). One may assume that there has been considerable appeal in Karl Barth's understanding of mission, which has been summarized as follows, "Barth holds that the Christian church is by nature a missionary community with an evangelistic mandate to the world. In an exposition of Matthew 28:19, he declares that 'sending or sending out to the nations to attest the gospel is the very root of the existence and therefore the whole ministry of the community.'" (1962a [Karl Barth: *The doctrine of reconciliation*, Vol. 4, Part 3b of *Church dogmatics*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark], 874). For Barth, the church community is a body of Christians who are essentially witnesses. [...] Barth sees the missionary calling of the church expressed in two situations: in what is known as 'foreign missions,' and, in a more general sense, in mission to the unreached, including nominal members of Christian churches." See Dae Ryeong Kim, "Karl Barth and a missiology of preaching," in *Footprints of God: a narrative theology of mission*, ed. Charles van Engen, Nancy Thomas, and Robert Gallagher (Monrovia, California: MARC, 1999), 21-22.

⁶³⁷ The developments of this debate are described in Wisløff, *Norsk kirkehistorie (bind 3) [Norwegian church history (volume 3)]*, 381-390. For Einar Amdahl, however, the study of Barth is said to have led to a renewed "discovery of Martin Luther." Birkeli and Tidemann Strand, *Kallet og veien*, 134. An evidence of these studies is Amdahl's Norwegian translation of one of Barth's works. See Karl Barth, *Den apostoliske trosbekjennelse (Credo) : den kristelige dogmatikkens hovedproblemer : seksten forelesninger holdt ved Universitetet i Utrecht i februar og mars 1935 / av Karl Barth ; på norsk ved Einar Amdahl [The apostolic confession (Credo) : the main problems in Christian dogmatics : sixteen lectures held at the University of Utrecht in February and March 1935 / by Karl Barth ; Norwegian translation by Einar Amdahl]* (Bergen: Lunde Forlag, 1935).

⁶³⁸ See Gabriel Skagestad, *Pastorallære : kirken og menigheten - prestens embede og person - sjelesorgen [Pastoral theology : the church and the congregation - the office and person of the*

Its author, Gabriel Skagestad, was principal teacher at the department of practical theology at The Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology (MF) in Oslo 1926-1934. In his teaching and publications he combined the ideals from the revival-movement with a deep respect for the worshiping local church.⁶³⁹ The local church is regarded as the basic Christian community, led by the pastor in cooperation with all the members. Pastoral ministry is a function coming out of the priesthood of all believers, as a gift from God, in order to administer the Word and the sacraments. Solid preaching is the primary mean for expansion of Christian knowledge and the creation of growing and mature congregations.

Missionary ministry in China and Hong Kong

Bjørsvik graduated in 1933 and was ordained as *misjonsprest* (missionary pastor) the same year. In February 1935 he arrived on the NMS field in Hunan together with his wife, Gunvor Albertine Ege Bjørsvik 貝華樂 (b. 1907).⁶⁴⁰ They immersed themselves into one and a half years of studies of Chinese language and culture. The NMS-designed curriculum included the *Analects* and other texts related to Confucius and Mencius.⁶⁴¹ Some inspiration for their studies also came from pastor Nils Olaus Kolberg 柯理白 (1891-1989), one of Bjørsvik's experienced NMS colleagues in Hunan and known as a scholarly student of things Chinese. He gave the book *My country and my people* by Lin Yutang as Christmas present to Bjørsvik in 1936.⁶⁴² For the purpose of this study I will give a couple of examples of the interpretation of the Confucian tradition Bjørsvik encountered in Lin's book. Although Lin does not have a separate chapter about Confucianism, elements in the Confucian tradition are frequently mentioned. In chapter four, "Ideals of life," the following passages are found.

II. Religion: [...] This realism and this attached-to-the-earth quality of the Chinese ideal

pastor - pastoral care] (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsens Forlag, 1930). As will be seen below, Bjørsvik made extensive use of this book in his teaching of practical theology at TLS.

⁶³⁹ See Olav Skjevesland, *Levende kirke : om nådegaver, tjenester og menighetsbygging [A living church : on gifts of grace, ministries, and the building of congregations]* (Oslo: Luther Forlag A/S, 1984), 32-35.

⁶⁴⁰ Gunvor Bjørsvik, who was a registered nurse, became a teacher of English and music at TLS. See a report from TLS in Gerald L. Lundby, "To send forth laborers," *The Missionary*, December 1958, 37.

⁶⁴¹ See Det norske misjonsselskaps Kinamisjon, "Studieplan for Det Norske Misjonsselskaps arbeidere i Kina [Curriculum for the China missionaries of the Norwegian Missionary Society]," (Hankow / Stavanger: NMS Archives. Bjørsvik collection, box 11, 1936).

⁶⁴² I found a handwritten note about the gift on the inside of the front cover in Bjørsvik's copy of Lin Yutang, *My country and my people*, A John Day book (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1935). The book was donated to MHS library, which later sold it.

of life have its basis in Confucianism, which, unlike Christianity, is of the earth, earth-born. For Jesus was a romanticist, Confucius a realist; Jesus was a mystic, Confucius a positivist; Jesus was a humanitarian, Confucius a humanist. In these two personalities we see typified the contrast between Hebrew religion and poetry and Chinese realism and common sense. Confucianism, strictly speaking, was not a religion: it had certain feelings toward life and the universe that bordered on the religious feeling, but it was not a religion. [...].

III. The Doctrine of the Golden Mean: The religion of common sense or the spirit of reasonableness is part and parcel of Confucian humanism. It is this spirit of reasonableness which has given birth to the Doctrine of the Golden Mean, the central doctrine of Confucianism. [...] Logically all men should be equal, but practically all men aren't, so Confucianism teaches authority and obedience.⁶⁴³

Bjørsvik's missionary work was based in the cities of Tungping and Sinhwa. Some of the tasks and challenges in the evangelistic outreach and the congregations were debated in various governing assemblies and committees, and some issues are mentioned in reports. Some of Bjørsvik's contributions and comments from the late 1930s and onwards shed light on his understanding of pastoral ministry and leadership.

At the Central Hunan Synod Council meeting in November 1939 Bjørsvik held a Bible study on John 21:15-17, with the topic "The task of the shepherd."⁶⁴⁴ I have not found the manuscript in his collection. He published, however, a sermon on the same passage some years later, and the following section shows some of his expectations towards pastors and other leaders in the church.

Jesus wants Peter to be a shepherd. Peter surely remembered the parable of the shepherd that Jesus had told earlier (John, chapter 10). Therefore, Peter completely understood the meaning of the commission Jesus gave him. A shepherd shall watch and care for his own sheep. And, if a lamb has gone astray in the wild mountains, the shepherd must, without fear for difficulties and hazards, cold and icy weather, make every effort to find his sheep. If a wild beast gets into the flock, the shepherd must, without fear for his own life, take action to save his sheep. Peter should take care of the church in the same way. He must care for the children of the Lord, so that they learn to know the Lord. 'Feed my lambs.' He shall also lead people to the Lord, so that they break away from sin and evil; he shall also at all times care for the spiritual life of the church members, so that their spiritual life does not dry out, like the Lord said: 'Shepherd and feed my sheep.' Surely, the calling and commandment given to Peter were great and significant, but he still accepted them. His calling and commandment were restored, not because he was a perfect man, not because he had special abilities or was stronger than other people, but rather because he really loved Jesus. [...] My friend, are you a pastor, evangelist, elder or deacon? Let me here remind you that if you don't love Jesus, you can not at all fulfill your ministry, no matter how high the standard of your speaking abilities, knowledge,

⁶⁴³ Lin Yutang, *My country and my people* (London: William Heinemann, 1936), 99, 103.

⁶⁴⁴ Det Norske Misjonsselskaps Kinamisjon, "Referat av konferansens forhandling på Taohwalun 4. - 15. februar 1940 [Minutes from the missionary conference at Taohwalun ...]," (Stavanger: MHS Library, 1940), 187.

capabilities, and other qualifications might be; that if you don't love Jesus, you will never be able to feed the lambs of Jesus, nor shepherd and feed his sheep. If you cannot earnestly answer the Lord 'Lord, I love you,' He cannot give you any responsibility for church work.⁶⁴⁵

During the NMS missionary conference in Hunan in 1939 Lars Bjørsvik supported a motion, which in principle opened up for lay leaders of the Holy Communion. These lay leaders were primarily to be chosen among the elders in the congregations. As no final decision was made at the conference,⁶⁴⁶ a committee was given the task to work out suggestions for the practical implementations of this new arrangement. Then, in the 1940 conference Bjørsvik took part in the debate, still supporting the principle. He did not want, however, to give elders a life-long commission to administer the Holy Communion.

We all know that this is a serious matter. Here, I will bypass the principles involved. We have to move forward very cautiously, which is already mentioned in the motion set forth by the committee. Concerning item 1e [in the committee proposal], I will suggest that the second sentence, that the office of elders is a life-long commission, be left out. The reason why the committee included this statement is that it wanted to avoid repeated changes of elders. This is correct. I will, however, warn against this, because of a related danger. In case of open sinfulness in an elder's life, there are no difficulties involved [i.e. in dismissing the elder]. It is much more difficult when the spiritual life stagnates, without any outward signs of a fall. There might be other candidates who might fill the position in a better way, and who are more worthy of the office. [...] The second thing I want to mention is that ecclesiastical discipline should not be completely entrusted to the elders. We should have a paragraph saying that this responsibility also rests on others. By giving the whole responsibility to the elders, it might happen that in much needed cases they do not want any interference.⁶⁴⁷

The elders should, according to Bjørsvik, work with and relate to other ministries, such as those of the local pastors and the foreign missionaries. It is also clear that his main concern is not with church polity as such, but with the spiritual quality of those entrusted with offices

⁶⁴⁵ Lars Bjørsvik, *Fu-yin chiang-t'ai : ti erh chi = Gospel sermons : the second series of texts for the church year*, First ed. (Hong Kong: Lutheran Missions Literature Society, 1953), 156-157.

⁶⁴⁶ The debate was concluded with the following statement. "We have no fundamental objections against *nattverdforvaltningen ved legmenn* (lay administration of the Holy Communion) within a framework and order decided by the church, and, we believe that our synod sooner or later must make such arrangement. But, we realize that the practical implementation of this arrangement involves several great difficulties. These aspects of this proposal have not been sufficiently investigated. We are, therefore, not able at the moment to reach a final decision." See Det Norske Misjonsselskaps Kinamisjon, "Referat av konferansens forhandlinger på Taohwalun 22. januar - 1. februar 1939 [Minutes from the missionary conference at Taohwalun ...]," (Stavanger: MHS Library, 1939), 102. At this conference Bjørsvik was one of the recording secretaries and he is not on the list of participants in the discussions, which for the above-mentioned topic alone cover 30 pages in the printed minutes.

⁶⁴⁷ Det Norske Misjonsselskaps Kinamisjon, "Referat av konferansens forhandlinger på Taohwalun 4. - 15. februar 1940," 93-94.

and ministries in the congregations. This concern was also reflected in other ways, for example in a report from the mission station in Tungping, in which the Bjørsviks expressed their hopes for the work. "We enter into the coming year with an open door in front of us, as far as we can see. Rather than a year with a lot of activities, we hope it will be a year when we would see and experience more of the fullness of the Holy Spirit."⁶⁴⁸

Together with local pastors and evangelists Bjørsvik was responsible for scheduled teaching and studies designed for members of the congregations.⁶⁴⁹ In the evangelistic work Bjørsvik did not support swift campaigns. He favored persistent proclamation of the Gospel and thorough teaching of new converts. His first formal proposal in the NMS missionary conferences in Hunan was that the mission should employ more Chinese evangelists for outreach efforts and congregational ministry. This was at a time when the budgets had been cut dramatically because the Second World War had made it almost impossible for NMS to transfer funds abroad from Norway.

This is one of the most burning issues at the time being, and it has to remain a question until we can give a positive reply. [...] The reduction in the number of workers has now lasted for one year. [...] It happens very often, that when the Gospel has been proclaimed in an area, and the people are receiving it with joy, if we then stop the work for some time, before we have laid a solid foundation, it is extremely difficult to find open and careful hearers at a later time.⁶⁵⁰

Later in the same conference, there was a debate on how to spend "private gifts."⁶⁵¹ Bjørsvik wanted to spend as much as possible on the employment of Chinese co-workers that are "solid, good people," rather than a lot of what he described as "second class" workers.⁶⁵² One

⁶⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 27.

⁶⁴⁹ "In all the congregations, except two, *bibeluker* (Bible weeks, i.e. weeklong biblical studies) have been held, with good attendance, to the blessing of the work." *ibid.* Such weeklong programs, usually from Tuesdays to Sundays, with gatherings in the afternoon or evening, has been a widely used format in Christian education in Norway, especially in the prayer houses governed by lay people.

⁶⁵⁰ Det Norske Misjonsselskaps Chinamisjon, "Den ekstraordinære konferanse på Taohwalun 18-22 mai 1940 : Forretningsutvalgets møter mai 1940 til juli 1941 : Konferansen på Tienchaoping 13-22 juli 1941 [Minutes from the extraordinary conference at Taohwalun ... : Minutes from the Business Council meetings ... : Minutes from the missionary conference at Tienchaoping ...]," (Stavanger: MHS Library, 1941), 178 (proposal no.14 in the conference).

⁶⁵¹ *ibid.*, 192. Funds were coming from sources such as family and friends of the missionaries. See Egil H. Eggen, "Kina [China]," in *I tro og tjeneste : Det Norske Misjonsselskap 1842-1992*, ed. Torstein Jørgensen (Stavanger: Misjonshøgskolens Forlag, 1992), 467-468.

⁶⁵² Det Norske Misjonsselskaps Chinamisjon, "Den ekstraordinære konferanse på Taohwalun 18-22 mai 1940," 196.

of the NMS missionary pastors did not agree at all with the idea that the mission should employ more workers.⁶⁵³ To this Bjørsvik replied:

It has been said today that God has brought the work to an end; I would rather say that God has opened it again by the large gifts we have got. Will the responsibility of the Chinese Christians increase if we reduce the number of *our* workers? I think this is a dangerous way. Their sense of responsibility must grow in a way closely related to their Christian life.⁶⁵⁴

Bjørsvik was concerned about finding good candidates for pastoral leadership. As an example of his view of the qualifications for ordination, his proposal to the NMS conference in 1942 can be mentioned.

Ting Kwoh-ping [丁國炳], a mission [i.e. NMS] employee in Tungping, graduated from our seminary at Shekow in the spring of 1937. Since then the mission in Tungping has employed him, partly as assistant to the missionary, and partly as itinerary evangelist. I have at all times been very pleased with his work performance. His preaching is central, and he invests himself in the ministry. It is evident that he has a calling to the work. I find the theological candidate Ting Kwoh-ping to be a mature Christian, and worthy of ordination to pastoral ministry, and I think his ordination will be of benefit to the work.⁶⁵⁵

The implications of WWII made Bjørsvik's first term a few years longer than expected. Following evacuation from China in January 1945, they worked in Calcutta until they returned to Norway in the spring of 1946.⁶⁵⁶ About one year after they had come back to Hunan in October 1948, most NMS missionaries evacuated from China. The Bjørsviks, along with a handful of NMS colleagues, decided to remain on the field in order to continue their work.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵³ Said Herlof Andersen, "The first time I heard of the reduction [in the budgets], I felt it was a heavy blow. But then I understood very clearly that God has brought to an end the line we have followed in our work. The Chinese too easily thought that the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen was a task given to the mission and the foreigners. They themselves felt very little responsible. May be there are other lines to follow that will work out better." *ibid.*, 197.

⁶⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 198 (italis in the original). The mentioning of the "large gifts" received during the Second World War refers partly to the special funds from the Norwegian government, and partly to the economic aid to NMS from mission supporters in the United States. See Eggen, "Kina [China]," 467-468.

⁶⁵⁵ Det Norske Misjonsselskaps Chinamisjon, "Konferansen på Tienchaoping 12-20 juli 1942 : Forretningsutvalgets møter juli 1941 til juli 1942 : Synoderådsmøtet november 1941 [Minutes from the missionary conference at Tienchaoping ... : Minutes from the Business Council meetings ... : Minutes from the Synod Council meeting ...], (Stavanger: MHS Library, 1942), 93.

⁶⁵⁶ They served at the "Reading room for Scandinavian Sailors," supported by Nortraship. See Bjørsvik, "[Curriculum vitae]," 115.

⁶⁵⁷ See Det Norske Misjonsselskaps Chinamisjon, "Referat fra den ekstraordinære konferansen i Hong Kong 22. - 24. juni 1949 [Minutes from the extraordinary missionary conference in Hong Kong ...], (Stavanger: MHS Library, 1949), 10-11.

Gradually their opportunities for outreach and evangelism became limited, especially due to travel restrictions issued by the authorities. Confined to the mission station in Sinhwa, Bjørsvik was not able to continue his routine with visits and preaching in the congregations. He continued, however, to write Sunday sermons and with the assistance of Chinese co-workers the sermons were edited, printed as leaflets and distributed “in Pauline manner to the local churches in the area.”⁶⁵⁸ These and additional sermons were later published in Hong Kong, in three volumes.⁶⁵⁹ In the preface to the second volume he expresses his motivation for the publication.

There is nothing like the study of the Bible that can open our eyes. And, when we study the Bible, it is not only to meet some present needs that we have to look up and consider certain passages, but we should also go deeper and wider in our analysis. Therefore, it is of great help to use a structured series of texts. This will not only be extremely useful for the preachers, so that their preaching does not rely on a biased selection of texts, but will also help them to expound and proclaim the whole Gospel of salvation and the teaching of Jesus.⁶⁶⁰

After a period of house arrest in Sinhwa, the Bjørsviks came to Hong Kong in September 1951.⁶⁶¹ Here Lars Bjørsvik became involved in the Lutheran literature ministry.⁶⁶² He also got his first full time assignment as a seminary teacher, namely at LTS, where he was a lecturer in dogmatics 1954-1955.⁶⁶³ His manuscript⁶⁶⁴ reveals that he follows the outline of the main textbook, namely, *A summary of the Christian faith* by Henry Eyster Jacobs.⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁵⁸ See Eggen, "Kina [China]," 493.

⁶⁵⁹ See Lars Bjørsvik, *Fu-yin Chiang-t'ai : ti yi chi = Gospel sermons : the first series of texts for the church year*, Second ed. (Hong Kong: Lutheran Missions Literature Society, 1952), Bjørsvik, *Fu-yin Chiang-t'ai : ti erh chi = Gospel sermons : the second series of texts for the church year*, Lars Bjørsvik, *Fu-yin Chiang-t'ai : ti san chi = Gospel sermons : the third series of texts for the church year*, First ed. (Hong Kong: Lutheran Missions Literature Society, 1955). In the early 1980s new editions were released, for distribution among Chinese Christians on the mainland. See Eggen, "Kina [China]," 493.

⁶⁶⁰ Bjørsvik, *Fu-yin Chiang-t'ai : ti erh chi = Gospel sermons : the second series of texts for the church year*, v.

⁶⁶¹ See Eggen, "Kina [China]," 493.

⁶⁶² See Lars Bjørsvik, "De lutherske misjoners litteraturselskap i Hong Kong [The literature society of the Lutheran missions in Hong Kong]," *Norsk Misjonstidende*, 26 June 1954.

⁶⁶³ See Peter Chan, ed., *Lutheran Theological Seminary 1913 (Shekow) - 1993 (Tao Fong Shan) eightieth anniversary memorial bulletin* (Hong Kong: Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1993), 100. From 1951 to 1953 Bjørsvik taught part time, at LTS and at the Lutheran Bible School in Hong Kong. See Lars Bjørsvik, "Hong Kong--Formosa 1951-1953," in *Misjonsskipet i den 4. nattevakt? : Det Norske Misjonsselskap 1951-1954 [The mission ship in the fourth nightwatch? : the Norwegian Missionary Society 1951-1954]* (Stavanger: Det Norske Misjonsselskap, 1954), 108.

⁶⁶⁴ Lars Bjørsvik, "Dogmatikk [Dogmatics]," (Stavanger: NMS Archives. Bjørsvik collection, box 16, [195-?]).

⁶⁶⁵ This book is presented in chapter five, section 5.1.

Bjørsvik covered topics from the second half of the book, and for this purpose he also made use of the second volume of the Chinese edition.⁶⁶⁶ In connection with some of the topics he includes “*noen streif hos andre teologer* (some visits to other theologians),” with references to their publications or in the form of brief presentations of their points of view. The following theologians are mentioned (here in alphabetical order): Paul Althaus, Gustaf Aulén, Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, Ole Hallesby, Parl L. Mellenbruch, Olav Valen-Sendstad, and Fredrik Wisløff. Bjørsvik’s selection shows that he makes use of a combination of Lutheran and Reformed theologians, probably reflecting corresponding impulses from his studies at Misjonsskolen.

Ministry in Taiwan

After four years in Hong Kong, the Bjørsviks went on furlough to Norway where they stayed for about two years until the call came to join the staff at TLS in 1957.⁶⁶⁷ As can be seen in some of their reports,⁶⁶⁸ they were proud to be a part of the important task of training pastors for TLC and other churches that had sent their candidates to TLS. Lars Bjørsvik was convinced that a Lutheran church needed a solid education for its workers, but the quality of the candidates is also seen as a crucial factor. In his presentation of TLS in the TLM 10 year anniversary publication in 1962, he made the following statement:

The life or death question for the future is whether workers are trained for service in the Church or not. A Church cannot start by opening a theological seminary. First there must be a Church, and among the church-members there must be found pastoral material.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁶ Henry Eyster Jacobs, *Chiao-i shen-hsüeh* (vol. 2) [*Doctrinal theology. Orig. title: A summary of the Christian faith*], trans. O.R. Wold, 3 ed., 2 vols. (Hong Kong: Lutheran Missions Literature Society, 1952).

⁶⁶⁷ A reference to the calling of Bjørsvik is found in a prayer letter from the DMS missionaries Gerda and Jørgen Hansen. As they report about their ministry in Taiwan Lutheran Church to their supporters in Tørningehavn, Denmark, the newly opened TLS is mentioned. “In addition to dr. Russell Nelson pastor Bjørsvik from Norway is called as teacher. [...] Please join us in prayer for this *præsteskole* (school for pastors), that it may be used by God to educate those leaders, which this very young Lutheran church needs so desperately.” See Gerda Hansen and Jørgen Hansen, “Brev fra Taipei 1 December 1957 [Letter from Taipei],” (Copenhagen / Stavanger: Jørgen Hansen collection / Gustav Steensland collection, 1957).

⁶⁶⁸ See for example Gunvor Bjørsvik, “Dette er en historisk dag [This is a historical day],” *Norsk Misjonstidende*, 23 January 1960, Gunvor Bjørsvik, “Fra presteskolen på Taiwan (Formosa) : ‘En frue i Norge har ham som sitt spesielle bønneemne’ : Gunvor Bjørsvik presenterer elevflokket [From the seminary in Taiwan (Formosa) : ‘A lady in Norway prays especially for him’ : Gunvor Bjørsvik presents the students],” *Norsk Misjonstidende*, 22 April 1961, Lars Bjørsvik, “Presteskolens første kull [The first class at the seminary],” *Norsk Misjonstidende*, 1 July 1961.

⁶⁶⁹ Bjørsvik, “The Lutheran Theological Seminary,” 139.

According to Bjørsvik, this “pastoral material,” the candidates for pastoral ministry, needed careful attention and care, so that they could develop spiritual maturity as future leaders of the church.⁶⁷⁰ He saw signs of danger in the situation in some congregations, as newly converted members were given leadership responsibilities in local church councils.⁶⁷¹ In his opinion the pastors must be prepared to meet such challenges with sound spiritual wisdom, enabling them to differentiate between Christian and secular values. In his greeting to the first graduating class at TLS Bjørsvik expresses what he regards as key qualifications for pastoral ministry, namely, “神學知識 *shen-hsüeh chih-shih* (theological knowledge),” “牧師的恩賜 *mu-shih te en-ts’e* (a pastor’s spiritual gifts),” “天父上帝的召命 *t’ien-fu shang-ti te chao-ming* (God’s call),” and “聖靈的領導 *sheng-ling te ling-tao* (the guidance of the Holy Spirit).”⁶⁷²

Bjørsvik’s teaching at TLS

As far as Bjørsvik’s teaching at TLS is concerned the following presentation concentrates on his lectures in practical theology, available in his manuscript *Notater til Praktisk Theologi*.⁶⁷³ Here key aspects of his view of the church and the understanding of pastoral ministry are spelled out. As it appears the manuscript⁶⁷⁴ has an introduction, four main parts, and some

⁶⁷⁰ See Lars Bjørsvik, "Be for de unge kirker [Pray for the young churches]," *Norsk Misjonstidende*, 12 October 1963, 4.

⁶⁷¹ “In all the local church councils there were many newly converted Christians. They were gifted people. Many of them had wide experience from various leadership positions in society before they joined the congregation. Now, they had to carry the leadership responsibility in these young congregations. It was impossible to hide. Some of them brought ideas from their former environment into the congregation.” Lars Bjørsvik, "Rett kurs, men mindre medvind [Keeping the right course, but with less tail-wind]," in *Høsten er stor : Det Norske Misjonsselskap 1957-1960* (Stavanger: Det Norske Misjonsselskap, 1960), 95. Cf. similar comments in his 1965 report Lars Bjørsvik, "Ung kirke i sterke brytninger [Serious strife in a young church]," in *Årbok for Det Norske Misjonsselskap* (Stavanger: Det Norske Misjonsselskap, 1965), 70.

⁶⁷² Lars Bjørsvik, "Ti yi chü pi-yeh li chih ch'ien [Thoughts before the first graduation ceremony]," in *Chi-tu chih p'u : t'ai-wan chi-tu chiaio hsin-i shen-hsüeh yüan pi-yeh t'e-k'an = Servants of Christ : Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary graduating class annual*, ed. Niu Hsi-erh (Taichung: Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1961).

⁶⁷³ Lars Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi [Notes to practical theology]," (Stavanger: NMS Archives. Bjørsvik collection, box 16, [1957-1965?]). The manuscript is designed according to the required course in pastoral theology in the fourth (and final) year of the curriculum at TLS. See Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary, "Bulletin / Kai-k'uang," (Taichung / Stavanger: NMS Archives. Bjørsvik collection, box 17, 1959), 16 (in the English section). Only for a few topics has Bjørsvik numbered the sheets. For practical purposes I have put on consecutive page numbers on my photocopy of the entire manuscript. Sheets with text on one side only are counted as one page, but those with text also on the reverse are counted as two pages.

⁶⁷⁴ Put together in a loose-leaf binder the notes for a series of teaching sessions have some signs, references, dates and also names of students indicating that the notes have been produced over an

appendices. Where Bjørsvik has used an English or Chinese expression it is rendered with quotation marks in my translation of the outline.

- (0) [Introduction:] Pastoral theology
- (1) Part one: the Church and the congregation
 - a. The origin and essence of the church
 - i. The Church: What is a church, a congregation?
 - ii. The notion of what the church is, must be based on statements in the Bible and not on social or theological speculations
 - iii. Different interpretations of the church
 - b. The form and constitution of the church
 - i. Remarks about the church constitution here in TLC
 - c. The essence of the congregation
 - i. What is the congregation?
 - ii. What are the fundamental factors that make a congregation?
 - iii. Who belongs to the congregation?
 - iv. The tasks of the congregation
 - 1. Self-support and self-edification
 - 2. Then comes the MISSION
 - 3. The Christian charity ministry
 - 4. The congregation shall function as light and salt in society
 - 5. Joint tasks
 - v. The means of the congregation
 - 1. The institutional means
 - a. The pastor's ministry comes first
 - b. Alongside the pastor we have deacons
 - c. Then we have the local church council
 - 2. The voluntary means
- (2) Part two: The pastor's ministry and person
 - a. The Roman Catholic view of the ministry
 - b. The High Church view
 - c. The Reformed view of ministry
 - d. The evangelical-Lutheran view of the ecclesial ministry
 - e. The pastor's, the ministry's functions
 - f. The pastor's role in the administration of a congregation
 - i. The pastor and the local church council
 - ii. The pastor as a coworker
 - iii. "Method and organization"
 - g. Program of pastoral care: the pastor as preacher
 - i. Choice of texts [i.e. for sermons]

extended period of time during his years at TLS. Apart from a handful of quotes in English the main text is in Norwegian, mainly typed but in some cases also handwritten. With few exceptions each page has a wide left margin in which Bjørsvik has frequently added handwritten comments. There are also notes in Chinese, usually equivalents of key names and terms. It seems clear that his oral proficiency in Chinese saved him the effort of writing a complete Chinese manuscript. A few days after the formal opening of TLS Bjørsvik held a sermon in a worship service, which is commented by missionary pastor Jørgen Hansen of DMS in his diary 8 December 1957, saying about Bjørsvik that he "*taler udpræget hunanesisk* (speaks distinctly Hunanese)." See Jørgen Hansen, "Dagbok [Diary] 1957," (Copenhagen / Stavanger: Jørgen Hansen collection / Gustav Steensland collection, 1957).

- (3) Part three: The pastor's particular ministry towards individuals⁶⁷⁵
- a. Concerning pastoral care for the broken-hearted
 - b. The order of private confession
 - c. The right and necessity of pastoral care
 - d. The essence and aim of pastoral care
 - e. Pastoral care – “counselling”
 - i. “Counselling – some problems in technique”
- (4) [Part four: Liturgics]
- a. “Interdependence of Doctrine and Worship”
 - b. Liturgical and non-liturgical worship
 - c. The Christian worship in the first three centuries
 - i. The role and function of the various [participants] in the worship
 - ii. The priesthood and their assistants
 - iii. The church discipline in the first three centuries
 - iv. The sermon in the first three centuries
- (5) [Appendices]
- a. “Constitution of the Taiwan Lutheran Church”
 - b. ”教牧學習題” *chiao-mu hsüeh hsi-t'i* (student exercises in pastoral theology)
 - c. First conversation: practical theology
 - d. Second conversation meeting May 27, 1961
 - e. 教牧學習題 *chiao-mu hsüeh hsi-t'i* (student exercises in pastoral theology)
[with individual student names added to each of the twelve questions]

To a large extent his manuscript consists of selected paragraphs from monographs and handbooks, and, when these are in English, he has translated the text into Norwegian. There are few signs of his interpretation and alternative opinions. His occasional comments and applications to the setting in Taiwan are usually found in the margin of the actual page. Underlined phrases and the use of exclamation marks in the margin indicate his emphasis of certain aspects.

Both the design of his outline and specific references in the manuscript show that the main source for the introduction and the first three parts of his lectures is Gabriel Skagestad's *Pastorallære*.⁶⁷⁶ When Bjørsvik began his teaching at TLS, Skagestad's book was still the reference work in its field for Lutheran pastors in Norway. Skagestad's aim is to make a synthesis between two factors, which he describes in his preface.

Our Norwegian church life is largely influenced by two factors. On the one hand, there is the great spiritual heritage we have in our evangelical-Lutheran church with its *embede* (ministry), worship and additional fixed arrangements. On the other hand, there

⁶⁷⁵ Bjørsvik's phrase is: “Mo si dui go 人 [*jen*] te-pie dz gung dzoh,” which is a partly romanized version of the Chinese expression 牧師對各人特別之工作 *mu-shih tui ko-jen t'e-pieh chih kung-tso*.

⁶⁷⁶ Skagestad, *Pastorallære*. For example in Bjørsvik's section (3) d there is a handwritten remark in the margin: “This is basically excerpts from Skagestad's book.” See Bjørsvik, “Notater til praktisk teologi,” 39.

is the special gift from God in “the Norwegian revival” from the time of Hans Nielsen Hauge until today, with its valuable conquest in terms of both recognition and practices in the area of free charismatic life.⁶⁷⁷

As will be seen in my exploration Skagestad’s dual aim is adopted by Bjørsvik in his teaching of pastoral theology to the students at TLS. In the following I will describe and explore those elements in Bjørsvik’s manuscript that shed light on his approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. The unique character of his manuscript, namely, as the only complete lecture notes presented in this study, justifies a rather comprehensive description.

In the *introduction* Bjørsvik describes his motivation of the study of “實用神學 *shih-yung shen-hsüeh* (practical theology)” in general and pastoral theology in particular with a reference to the pastoral letters in the New Testament, where “Paul provides good advice and hints to young coworkers who have been appointed to responsible positions as leaders of congregations.”⁶⁷⁸ The main part of the introduction is a review of the history of practical theology as a field of study.⁶⁷⁹ He concludes by presenting what he sees as a common definition of “*pastorallæren*, 教牧學 *chiao-mu hsüeh* (pastoral theology),” which is “a particular part of the study of practical theology, namely, the part that deals with the doctrine about *det egentlige subjekt for de kirkelige handlinger* (the real performer of the ecclesial acts),⁶⁸⁰ *presteembedet* (the pastoral ministry) and the pastor’s person, and about these acts themselves, in relation to the personal pastoral care.”⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁷ Skagestad, *Pastorallære*, iii.

⁶⁷⁸ Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 2-3.

⁶⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 4-7.

⁶⁸⁰ The term *kirkelige handlinger* (ecclesial acts) in a Lutheran context usually refers to the basic tasks of the church related to worship services, preaching, baptism, Holy Communion, confirmation, private confession, weddings and funerals.

⁶⁸¹ Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 8. There are some striking differences compared to Skagestad’s definition, which says that pastoral theology deals with “the real performer of the ecclesial acts, [namely,] *menigheten* (the congregation), about the most important agency of these acts, [namely,] the office of pastoral ministry and the pastor’s person, and about these acts themselves, in special relation to *den menighetsmessige* (the congregational) and personal pastoral care.” According to my reading of Bjørsvik’s manuscript his omissions of the congregation-related elements in Skagestad’s definition are probably unintentional. He does not seem to argue against Skagestad’s point of view, and I have not found that Bjørsvik emphasizes the responsibilities and tasks of the pastor in a way that reduces or replaces those of the congregation.

In *part one*, section a., about the origin and essence of the church, Bjørsvik renders the main contents of an article in a handbook.⁶⁸² What is the first sentence in the second paragraph in the article, namely, “An adequate concept of the Church must arise from the biblical sources rather than from sociological inquiry or theological speculation,” is used as a section heading in Bjørsvik’s manuscript.⁶⁸³ Without specific comments or remarks Bjørsvik includes the article’s description of the Lutheran view of the church.

The Lutheran churches have a clear statement in the Augsburg Confession to the effect that the Church “is the congregation of the believers, where the Gospel is purely preached and the Sacraments rightly administered.” Forms of ministry and order are secondary, even though some, such as Scandinavian churches, have bishops. Lutherans generally permit full sacramental fellowship at “pulpit and altar” only with those who agree with them on the meaning and interpretation of the Gospel and Sacraments.⁶⁸⁴

In his next section Bjørsvik deals in some detail with “the form and constitution of the church,” which he describes in Chinese as “教會組織問題 *chiao-hui tsu-chih wen-t’i* (the organizational issues of the church).”⁶⁸⁵ Skagestad’s eight pages on this topic⁶⁸⁶ are condensed to three pages, and Bjørsvik concentrates his attention on three aspects. Firstly, some form of organization is needed also in the church, but questions related to constitution and order should not be regarded as “*en salighets-sak* (a matter of salvation).”⁶⁸⁷ Secondly, introduction and implementation of church order and form of government must be done with considerable flexibility. With reference to the traces of both episcopal and congregational forms of organization in the Early Church he says, “the conditions may be different, we have different *kulturstadier* (stages of cultural development), and so on.”⁶⁸⁸ In Bjørsvik’s opinion the choice of form of government in a church must take the maturity of local congregations

⁶⁸² See J. Robert Nelson, “Church,” in *Handbook of Christian theology*, ed. Marvin Halverson and Arthur A. Cohen, Living Age Books (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1958).

⁶⁸³ Bjørsvik, “Notater til praktisk teologi,” 11 (section (1) a.ii.). His emphasis of this issue may be seen as a sign of an intention to provide a biblically based pastoral theology and a cautious attitude towards a form of contextualization rooted in social concerns or inconclusive theological reflections.

⁶⁸⁴ Nelson, “Church,” 57. Bjørsvik translates “forms of ministry and order” with “*kirkeforfatning og styresett* (church constitution and form of order).” See Bjørsvik, “Notater til praktisk teologi,” 17.

⁶⁸⁵ Bjørsvik, “Notater til praktisk teologi,” 18.

⁶⁸⁶ Skagestad, *Pastorallære*, 19-26.

⁶⁸⁷ Bjørsvik, “Notater til praktisk teologi,” 19.

⁶⁸⁸ *ibid.* Bjørsvik has not found the term culture or the notion of different stages of cultural development in Skagestad’s treatment of church organization. Skagestad, nevertheless, argues that any church must adapt its forms of life and constitution, rules and regulations according to the historical and social conditions. He is particularly concerned about the Norwegian setting. See Skagestad, *Pastorallære*, 25.

into consideration.⁶⁸⁹ Thirdly, there is a tension “between the charismatic and the formal statutory elements in a congregation,” and his Chinese terms for the two elements are 自由的恩賜 *tzu-yu te en-tz’u* (the free spiritual gifts) and 規定的職務 *kui-ting te chih-wu* (the prescribed office).⁶⁹⁰ He adds the following explanation:

The charismatic [element] is *selve kirkens adelsbrev* (the very patent of nobility of the church). The charismatic ministries in the church are the sign of the work of the Spirit of God in this congregation. The statutory [element], however, is also necessary. It is necessary for the realization of the church among human beings in this world. The church order is meant to protect the spiritual life in the congregation. Charisma is soul – church order is body.⁶⁹¹

Part (1), section b.i. “Remarks about the church constitution here in TLC” is only a heading in Bjørsvik’s manuscript. In the copy of the English translation of the constitution included as appendix a., however, he has emphasized elements in article II – Confession⁶⁹² and in article IV – Organization.⁶⁹³ It seems to be important to him that TLC is a biblical and confessional Lutheran church with a synodal structure, which can keep the many congregations together.

When Bjørsvik in part (1), section c. goes on to deal with the essence of the congregation, he refers to Skagestad’s chapter on the same topic. There are, however, indications that Bjørsvik has seen a need to adapt Skagestad’s approach to the setting on a mission field. Whereas Skagestad treats the local congregation as primarily existing within a certain geographical area, Bjørsvik says that this definition only applies to countries with a state church (like in Norway) and not to mission fields where the working areas of different missions and churches overlap in the same district or region. What Skagestad only sees as an exception to the rule, namely, “*såkalte personalmenigheter* (so-called person-based

⁶⁸⁹ “A congregationalist democratic *mh.[i.e. menighets-] ordning* (constitution for congregations) presupposes mature congregations. If a lot of incompetent people are going to administer everything *blir der bare rot* (there will only be disorder).” Bjørsvik, “Notater til praktisk teologi,” 20 (Bjørsvik’s underlining).

⁶⁹⁰ *ibid.*, 18.

⁶⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁶⁹² “A. This church holds the whole Old and New Testaments to be the revealed Word of God and the only true norm for faith, doctrine and life. B. This synod holds that the Apostolic Creed, the Nicean Creed, the Athanasian Creed, Luther’s Small Catechism and the Augsburg Confession truly and clearly set forth the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, and therefore accepts them as its confessional statements.” *ibid.*, 79 (Bjørsvik’s underlining).

⁶⁹³ Bjørsvik has set a mark in the margin by section D, Synod Council, 2. Functions: “To administer the affairs of the Synod during the interim periods between the Synod Assemblies, and to sanction calls by the local congregations of pastors and evangelists.” *ibid.*, 81.

congregations),”⁶⁹⁴ appears to be Bjørsvik’s point of departure for the understanding of the local church in a setting like Taiwan. For him a congregation is “*samlingen om en person* (the gathering around a person),” namely the pastor, and this community shares “one confession and one organization.”⁶⁹⁵ Consequently he says that “a congregation is a community of people, which is built on *et objektivt grunnlag* (an objective foundation).”⁶⁹⁶ This is probably the reason why he, in some contrast to Skagestad, says, “*samlingsgrunnlaget for en menighet* (the foundation for the gathering of a congregation) is the administration of the means of grace and the superintendent of the congregation, the leader of the congregation.”⁶⁹⁷

Bjørsvik names four fundamental factors that make a congregation, and the third and fourth factors are described as follows:

(3) To a congregation belongs *en valgt forstander* (an elected superintendent). It is not sure this [person] has a lot of education, he is perhaps not a theologian, but he must be elected by the congregation to administer the sacraments.

(4) Then the congregation also has a *lære-gjerning* (a teaching ministry). Those who are admitted in baptism must receive instruction. Children who are baptized must receive training before they can be confirmed and become voting and *nattverdnyttende* (communicant) members in the congregation. This ministry is very important. Sometimes the rise or fall of a congregation is related to this singular element. If the teaching ministry is not carefully cultivated one cannot take care of the baptized, nor *lede nye til dåp* (lead new to baptism).⁶⁹⁸

Bjørsvik’s emphasis on the teaching ministry is also evident when he gives the following advice: “Besides Sunday worship each congregation must make arrangements for at least one additional meeting every week where the congregation gathers for prayer, *belæring* (instruction) and edification.”⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁴ Skagestad, *Pastorallære*, 27.

⁶⁹⁵ Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 21.

⁶⁹⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁹⁷ *ibid.* Skagestad has a somewhat different line of statements. “The essence of this issue requires that the work of the church regularly must take place in the form of the local congregation. This expresses that the principal foundation for the gathering is the administration of the means of grace itself and not *menighetslederens person* (the person of the leader of the congregation). A congregation is a community that builds on an objective foundation. Its staff of personnel comes and goes, but the congregation itself endures.” Skagestad, *Pastorallære*, 27.

⁶⁹⁸ Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 22-23. In the margin by the last sentence he adds this question, obviously with reference to the TLC, “Is this the main reason why ½ of the church members are lost?” For an analysis of this trend in the TLC membership in the 1960s, see Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 122-142.

⁶⁹⁹ Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 23.

The tasks of the congregation come into focus in part (1), section c.iv, and Bjørsvik's introduction reveals his view of the limitation, which applies to a congregation's choice of tasks.

Congregations may be different, according to the variety of external conditions within which the congregation exists, the stage of cultural development of the congregation, etc. There are, however, some tasks that are common for all congregations. These tasks are *Gud-gitte* (determined by God), and they are the same for all, regardless of time or stage of cultural development.⁷⁰⁰

According to Bjørsvik the primary task of the congregation has two aspects, namely, self-support and self-edification. For these purposes it must make use of the means of grace that God has provided and “by these means it must keep itself alive and not *sovne inn* (pass away, or fall asleep).”⁷⁰¹ Bjørsvik emphasizes the ministry of the word and the building of sanctuaries.

The primary means is *ORDETS TJENESTE* (the ministry of the Word). It is by the Word of God the life of the congregation is nourished. The word of God must, therefore, have plenty of room in the life of the congregation. [...] For this reason there must be held worship services on a regular basis and the members of the congregation must attend. The Word must be preached as a message from the Lord, regularly. Not only from the pulpit, but the Word must also be utilized in *sjelesorg* (pastoral counseling). This is where the personal pastoral counseling comes in. It is a part of it [i.e. of the ministry of the Word], and it is here the Word should be brought to attention so that it is practiced by the believers.

In the next place the WORD must be used as teaching material. Children who have been baptized must receive proper education in the WORD. And, those who are catechumens must receive introduction to the Christian faith, that is, they must receive introduction to their Bible, so that they know the Word and can live on it. [...]

Associated with this ministry of the Word is also the practical task of providing a practical sanctuary – a church where one can preach and gather the believers.⁷⁰²

As the second task of the congregation Bjørsvik mentions mission, by which he means outreach with the gospel both globally and locally. Whereas the above-mentioned first task of the congregation is directed towards the internal needs and challenges, this second task points “*hsiang wai* [向外]” (outwards) and has to do with “*giao hwei dz fah chan* [教會之發展] (the expansion of the church).”⁷⁰³ To fulfill this task is the responsibility of all believers, but unlike Skagestad⁷⁰⁴ Bjørsvik adds particular comments with regard to pastors.

⁷⁰⁰ *ibid.*, 26.

⁷⁰¹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰² *ibid.*, 26-27 (Bjørsvik's capitalization).

⁷⁰³ *ibid.*, 28 (Bjørsvik's romanization).

⁷⁰⁴ Cf. his paragraph about mission in Skagestad, *Pastorallære*, 48-50.

It is a complete misunderstanding of the gospel when a *mh. forstander* (congregation's superintendent) will be a servant only for those who already are in the congregation. [...] A Christian, and *spesielt en prest* (a pastor in particular), is never *fri* (off duty). Wherever he comes he gets in touch with outsiders and it is his duty to work among them and invite them to come. Mission is a congregation's task.⁷⁰⁵

With regard to the task to function as light and salt in the society, he gives some advice to the congregation as a whole. This advice, however, may also have implications for pastors.

It is not the task of a congregation to make revolutions with weapons and *politisk spill* (political play). The Christian Church has, nevertheless, not ceased to revolutionize as it functions as light and salt in a society. This is the task of the congregation. It shall be light and salt. The Church is not tied to a particular form of public government. Against injustice in society it shall function as salt. Against corruption and darkness it shall function as light. When a Christian joins public government and works he should bring Christianity along and be a Christian there. This can be extremely difficult where sin has been made "legal" in society, or where it has become "necessary" for the performance of any kind of work.⁷⁰⁶

The last item in Bjørsvik's list is a brief reference to joint tasks of the congregation, "such as education of its workers, provide theological education and study theology for the sake of theology itself."⁷⁰⁷

In part one, section v. Bjørsvik, in line with Skagestad, goes on to present the two kinds of means available for the congregation in the fulfillment of its tasks, namely, institutional and voluntary means. Here are found key elements in Bjørsvik's understanding of pastoral ministry and leadership, and with minor variations compared to Skagestad's point of view⁷⁰⁸ he has organized his presentation of the institutional means in three parts.

What comes first is *prestens embede* (the pastor's ministry).⁷⁰⁹ In reality this is the most important *arbeidsorgan* (work agency) of the congregation. Although the pastor shall not do everything in the congregation, he is, nevertheless, involved in everything. Nothing in the life and work of the congregation is beyond the pastor's concern, and there is nothing about which it can be said that it is none of his business. And, this is because he is the elected *menighetsforstander* (superintendent of the congregation), who shall *våke over* (supervise) everything in the congregation.⁷¹⁰

Alongside the pastor we have deacons. This ministry has varied throughout the history

⁷⁰⁵ Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 28.

⁷⁰⁶ *ibid.*, 30.

⁷⁰⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁰⁸ See Skagestad, *Pastorallære*, 57-60.

⁷⁰⁹ Skagestad uses the term "*det geistlige embede* (the clerical office)." See *ibid.*, 57.

⁷¹⁰ Here Bjørsvik has a comment about pastoral counseling in the margin, perhaps as a reaction to a response from his students during his lecture. "The pastor is *sjelesørger* (spiritual adviser, or: pastoral counsellor), chosen and appointed [by the congregation]. He does not meddle in other people's affairs when he *øver sjelesorg* (exercises pastoral counseling)."

of the church. But, it is a part. These [i.e. the deacons] are the pastor's *medhjelpere* 助手 *chu-shou* (assistants).⁷¹¹ Their ministry is a more practical one. Cf. Acts 6:2. [...] The deacons shall take care of practical affairs. They must be men filled by the Spirit and wisdom, which they need when they serve "at the tables," that is in the congregation's ministry for the poor. They are not supposed to take over the pastor's work. The deacons shall neither tell the pastor what he shall preach, nor decide who shall be allowed to preach in the congregation.

Then we have *menighetsrådet* (the local church council). The congregation needs an organization. The highest authority in the congregation is the congregational assembly. For practical purposes, however, the council can make decisions on behalf of the congregation. [...] The council, with support from the whole congregation, can call or dismiss a pastor, but it cannot decide what a pastor shall preach or not. With regard to this matter [i.e. the contents of preaching] there is only one above the pastor, and that is God. It is evident, however, that even the pastor can be the object of *menighetstukt* (congregational discipline). If his preaching is not according to the truth as it is revealed in the Bible, it is the duty of the congregation not to follow him. Also with regard to the pastor one shall "test the spirits" [1 John 4:1], and, even with regard to *prest og kirke* (pastor and church) one shall obey God more than men.⁷¹²

Also in his description of the voluntary means of the congregation Bjørsvik has remarks with relevance to his understanding of pastoral ministry. He begins by saying that "not all the activities in the congregation are connected to *det faste embete* (the ordered ministry)."⁷¹³ Like Skagestad he underlines that each Christian has the freedom and opportunity to serve according to the spiritual gifts one has received. The right of the individual to consider oneself as member of the common priesthood of believers does not, however, imply a right to "*overta de embedsmessige funksjoner* (to take over the ministerial functions)"⁷¹⁴ in the congregation. A person has to be elected by the congregation in order to be responsible for these functions. With reference to the body metaphor of the church in 1 Cor 12 Bjørsvik has some comments about spiritual gifts.

The totality of spiritual gifts in a congregation is not gathered in one person, in the pastor. It is, therefore, neither right nor possible that a pastor is the only worker in a congregation. A pastor who is not able to connect the spiritual gifts [i.e. of the members] to the work of the congregation has a very little chance to see the right progress in the congregation. The free spiritual gifts must be assisted and employed in the congregation. When they are employed and promoted they will serve the

⁷¹¹ Skagestad has a different formulation. He describes "*diakonattet* (deaconry)" as "*det geistlige embedes supplement* (the supplement of the clerical office)." And, he reserves the term *medhjelper* (assistant) for the carefully chosen men serving as helpers of parish pastors in the Church of Norway, particularly in the areas of counseling and moral supervision. The role of these helpers, whose ministry was defined in the royal decree on church discipline in 1629, had almost completely vanished by the time Skagestad wrote his book. See Skagestad, *Pastorallære*, 58-59.

⁷¹² Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 31-32.

⁷¹³ *ibid.*, 33.

⁷¹⁴ *ibid.*

congregation. The pastor must, therefore, make room for them, even though they at times can seem to be somewhat disturbing.⁷¹⁵

In *part two* of Bjørsvik's outline, which is about the pastor's ministry and person, it is particularly evident that he has made use of Skagestad's book, mostly in the form of quotations of sentences and paragraphs. Selected aspects in Skagestad's presentation, however, are treated very briefly and some are left out. What Bjørsvik's treats briefly seems reasonable as he transforms an approach directed by a Norwegian state church setting to that of the small and self-governed TLC. What is left out is more surprising. None of Skagestad's five paragraphs about the requirements for becoming a pastor (such as call and ordination)⁷¹⁶ are included, and there is no systematic treatment of the sections about "The pastor as a Christian human being," and "The pastor as the servant of God and the congregation."

Bjørsvik begins with a review and evaluation of the Roman Catholic, High Church, and Reformed views of the origins and nature of the ecclesial or pastoral ministry. Among the three the Reformed view gets the most positive critique, but some weaknesses are pointed out.⁷¹⁷ As he comes to the evangelical Lutheran position he gives his consent to Skagestad's interpretation, which implies that one has to rule out a "catholicizing High Church view" and choose an "evangelical" understanding. This understanding only is said to be truly in line with the Lutheran reformation. Following a long quote from Luther's publication from 1520, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung*, it is said, "It is, therefore, obvious that according to Lutheran doctrine the ministry cannot be dependent on an external apostolic succession. One should note that it is emphasized that a pastor must be chosen by the congregation."⁷¹⁸ A pastor chosen by the congregation should also be regarded as a servant of God. This dual source of a pastor's ministry is also the basis for his authority. A pastor acts on behalf of both God and the congregation and he should take care to remain faithful to his ministry and its nature. The basic content of the ministry is the administration of the means of grace. God has, however, given the means of grace to the church, and the

⁷¹⁵ *ibid.*, 34.

⁷¹⁶ Skagestad has the following paragraph headings: §25: Personal call and charisma, §26: Age and education, §27: The call of the church, §28: Ordination and *kollats* (the bishop's institution of a pastor to a ministerial position), and §29 The pastor's obligation to doctrine. See Skagestad, *Pastorallære*, iv.

⁷¹⁷ "The strength in the Reformed ecclesiology is found in its emphasis on *tjenesten* (the ministry), and on personal devotion and the charismatic ability as the foundation of pastoral ministry. It is a Church of the Word, but the sacraments are secondary. It is a weakness that the church polity has been made a part of the contents of faith. [...]" See Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 38.

⁷¹⁸ *ibid.*, 40.

distribution of this gift is not exclusively entrusted to ordained pastors. It is important for Bjørsvik to balance the public ministry of the pastor with the ministry of all believers.

According to his calling the pastor has a divine right to preach the word and administer the sacraments in the congregation and on behalf of the congregation, but, he has no divine exclusive right in general to administer these benefits. The ministry is not an intermediary ministry in the Catholic sense. But, how far the pastor's exclusive right extends within those functions he has been entrusted is a question related to the human order of the church and not to the order of salvation. According to an evangelical confession there must be some amount of order in these matters, but it should be flexible enough to provide room for *de frie nådegaver* (the free charismatic gifts). The pastor must be secured the right to exercise his *presteembede* (pastoral ministry), -- and the congregation must be secured the right to exercise the common priesthood of believers.⁷¹⁹

When Bjørsvik in his part (2), section e. describes the functions of pastoral ministry the focus is on “*MINISTERIUM VERBI ET SACRAMENTORUM*,” and according to his note in the margin he used the Chinese terms 轉道 *ch'uan-tao* (preach the word) and 辦聖禮 *pan sheng-li* (perform the holy rites, i.e. the sacraments) as equivalents to the Latin expression.⁷²⁰ With several references to article 28 in the Augsburg Confession the question about pastoral and episcopal authority is discussed, especially with regard to *nøklemakten* (the power of the keys). “The power of the keys is exercised in no other way than by the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments.”⁷²¹ Bjørsvik distinguishes between two aspects of authority in the church. On the one hand there are cases where a pastor and congregation take action against individual Christians by restricting their rights as church members, for example due to their ungodliness or lack of remorse. Such action is, however, taken on the basis of laws and regulations in the constitution of the church. Bjørsvik adds a cautious remark, “A pastor and a congregation may make erratic judgments – if a person is to be excluded from the kingdom of God is for God alone to decide.”⁷²² On the other hand, there is the authority to bind and loose in a religious sense. With reference to John 20:21-23 it is said that this authority has to do with the preaching of the gospel. “Those who believe the word about the forgiveness of sins in the name of Jesus, they have the forgiveness. The one who closes his heart for the word remains in his sins.”⁷²³

⁷¹⁹ *ibid.*, 43.

⁷²⁰ *ibid.*, 44 (Bjørsvik's capitalization).

⁷²¹ *ibid.*, 44.

⁷²² *ibid.*

⁷²³ *ibid.*

The pastor's role in the administration of a congregation is the topic in part (2), section f., and Bjørsvik gives an introductory comment. "In his capacity as pastor the pastor has no *verdslig makt* (secular power), which has partly been the case in the Catholic church or in a state church where some public administrative tasks have been assigned to the pastor. All his authority is associated with him inasmuch as he is the preacher of the Word."⁷²⁴ The two subsections about the pastor's relation to the local church council and his role as a coworker are treated very briefly. Bjørsvik's main point is that the council and the deacons shall take care of practical and financial matters in order that the pastor can concentrate his attention on "direct preaching and pastoral counseling."⁷²⁵ For his treatment in part (2), section f.iii. of method and organization in congregational ministry he makes use of a section in a textbook in pastoral care.⁷²⁶ Bjørsvik is concerned that a church may be too occupied with organization. Committees and programs must meet felt needs and not be established for their own sake, as Wesley once said, "Establish an organization only when the situation is such that there is a need for it."⁷²⁷ As far as the pastor is concerned key issues are his selection, cultivation and guidance of "helpers," and "a pastor has the duty to teach and instruct, [...] and help the helpers."⁷²⁸

The final section in part two deals with the pastor as a preacher.⁷²⁹ Bjørsvik sees a dual challenge for the pastor. On the one hand a pastor must know and be convinced about the text, that is, the Bible and its message. On the other hand a pastor must know the context, that is, both the persons who listen to his preaching and their practical and ideological challenges. Bjørsvik is convinced that it is a great benefit for a pastor and the congregation that there are defined pericopes for Sunday sermons. In several cases it is a sign of indolence if a pastor does not preach about the given text.

In *part three* Bjørsvik deals with pastoral care, especially the care towards individuals. In Chinese he calls this ministry 教牧工作 *chiao-mu kung-tso* (teaching and pastoring work, i.e.

⁷²⁴ *ibid.*, 46 (Bjørsvik's underlining).

⁷²⁵ *ibid.*, 47.

⁷²⁶ See W. McFerrin Stowe, "Pastoral care through Christian education," in *Pastoral Care*, ed. John Richard Spann (New York / Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1951).

⁷²⁷ Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 48.

⁷²⁸ *ibid.*, 49.

⁷²⁹ For this topic he has a reference to Lloyd Ellis Foster, "Building and administering a program of pastoral care," in *Pastoral care*, ed. John Richard Spann (New York / Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1951).

pastoral ministry). Following some advice for the counseling of the broken-hearted, he has a large section of eight pages about *skriftemålet* (the order of private confession), based on the book on this topic by Peder Olsen.⁷³⁰ Bjørsvik emphasizes the following concerns. Firstly, private confession of sins to a pastor or other confidants is not regarded as a requirement for forgiveness but as help for the confider's peace of heart and assurance of salvation. Secondly, it is important that the setting of counseling and confession is proper and protected by personal and professional secrecy. This concern for the setting is partly evident in Bjørsvik's selection of Chinese equivalents to the term counseling: 商議 *shang-i* (to confer, discuss), 勸告 *ch'üan-kaio* (to advice, counsel), and 忠告 *chung-kaio* (honest or sincere advice, sincere counsel).⁷³¹ Thirdly, private confession is not some sort of "straffeprosess (criminal prosecution)," and the pastor is not "dommer (a judge)."⁷³² The goal of the confession is the absolution and the confider's reception of the forgiveness. Fourthly, the power of the keys is not only given to the apostle Peter but to all true believers. This implies that any Christian may serve as a counselor and confidant. Finally, Bjørsvik is well aware of some difficulties involved in the introduction and practice of counseling and private confession. What he mentions has perhaps particular relevance to the Chinese cultural context, namely, "stolthet (pride), ansiktstap (loss of face), frykt (fear), etc...."⁷³³

When Bjørsvik goes on to present the right, necessity, essence and aim of pastoral care it is evident that he returns to the outline in Skagestad's book.⁷³⁴ Firstly, about the right to perform pastoral care it is said, "When a man is installed as pastor in a congregation, he has an unalterable responsibility for this congregation, namely, to perform pastoral care. Cf. one who is a captain on a ship – his position implies the responsibility [i.e. to control the ship and its crew]."⁷³⁵ Secondly, a person who becomes a member of a local church necessarily

⁷³⁰ See Peder Olsen, *Det private skriftemål* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1961). Olsen, who served as a hospital chaplain the most of his career, paved the way for clinical pastoral education of pastors in Norway. He was convinced that specialized training would help pastors to expand the role of counseling in local churches in general and for sick people in particular. For a recent investigation of his approach, see Ragnar Skottene, "Under evighetens synsvinkel : en analyse av Peder Olsens sjelesorgoppfatning [In view of eternity : an analysis of Peder Olsen's understanding of pastoral counseling]," *Tidsskrift for Sjelesorg*, no. 1-2 (2000).

⁷³¹ Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 55.

⁷³² *ibid.*, 57.

⁷³³ *ibid.*, 61.

⁷³⁴ See §51 and 52 in Skagestad, *Pastorallære*, 260-268. As Peder Olsen's book was published in 1961, Bjørsvik most likely inserted the section about the order of private confession into his existing manuscript, which had been in use since the late 1950s.

⁷³⁵ Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 63.

submits himself to the pastor's right to perform pastoral care towards him. Thirdly, according to an evangelical understanding the essence of pastoral care is to lead, not to rule. This leadership, however, is exercised with a clear affirmation of the freedom and responsibility of each individual. Fourthly, the aim of pastoral care is to provide help, both from the pulpit and in conversations with individuals in private.

Part three is concluded with some general remarks about pastoral care and “counseling – some problems in technique.” The task of pastoral care puts serious demands on the pastor. Firstly, he must know life, the situation, and theology. Secondly, he must know the biblical responses to the questions raised by the various problems. A pastor must present such responses in a humble manner. “Only the one who is aware of being a pardoned sinner can help another person. One must show empathy towards the person who is disciplined – let him not unnecessarily lose face; do not be insensitive.”⁷³⁶ Thirdly, he must care for his own personal relationship with God. As far as the problems in technique are concerned, some advice is given about being a good listener, the exercise of self-control, and the handling of a confider's resistance and questions. “A pastor can only guide and help – not make threats or use force.”⁷³⁷

In the margin of the first page of *part four*⁷³⁸ Bjørsvik has a reference to a textbook in liturgics.⁷³⁹ Whereas the book presents a historical review of the liturgical development in the worldwide church up to the early 20th century, Bjørsvik only makes use of the first two chapters. He concentrates on the interdependence of doctrine and worship, liturgical and non-liturgical worship, and the development of Christian worship in the first three centuries. His selection of topics is probably guided by the conviction that fundamental lessons about Christian worship are revealed in the history of the early church. In this part four of his manuscript Bjørsvik adds no comments or signs of application to the situation in Taiwan and needs and challenges in TLC.

⁷³⁶ *ibid.*, 68.

⁷³⁷ *ibid.*, 70.

⁷³⁸ *ibid.*, 71.

⁷³⁹ See Oscar Hardman, *A history of Christian worship*, ed. Eric S. Waterhouse, Second ed., The London Theological Library (London: University of London Press / Hodder & Stoughton, 1948).

As seen in the list of appendices in Bjørsvik's manuscript he held two evening sessions with one of the classes at TLS. His summaries of the conversation reveal some of his ideals and the students' observations and reflections regarding pastoral ministry.

The first session deals with tasks and challenges in local congregations. Bjørsvik noted some of the problems that he found representative of what many of the students have encountered in local congregations.

- Deacons use methods from the secular society when they sort out congregational issues.
- The pastor becomes too occupied with other matters and tasks than preaching of the Word.
- Work and responsibility should be clearly distributed in a congregation, so that each and everyone know his duty. This also applies to Chinese and expatriates.
- The pastor must be cautious not to get involved in parties in the congregation.
- The pastor must thoroughly know his "sheep" and visit them, sorting out problems each of them might experience. As a whole [a pastor's task is] to guard the flock.⁷⁴⁰

The topic of the second evening session was *Presten* (the pastor). Bjørsvik has made a note that the text from Zech 4:11-14 was read as an introduction, but no explanatory comments have been added.⁷⁴¹ From the summary of the conversation the following items are of particular interest. "What are the special *preste-fristelser* (pastors' temptations) and *preste-synder* (pastors' sins)?" It was mentioned that "a pastor is tempted to *utvorteshet* (an overly emphasis on his outward appearance) because he is always seen by people," and that a pastor can be engaged in "a chase for popularity." There is also the "temptation to laziness."⁷⁴²

The final appendix to his manuscript is a list of "教牧學習題 *chiao-mu hsüeh hsi-t'i* (student exercises in pastoral theology)."⁷⁴³ In these questions Bjørsvik most likely indicates what he thinks is of importance in pastoral theology and what he expects the students to know about the various issues. Some of the questions were as follows.

⁷⁴⁰ Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 84-85.

⁷⁴¹ The passage tells about the prophet's vision of two olive trees, which are explained in verse 14 to be "the two who are anointed to serve the Lord of all the earth." A common interpretation is that the two trees symbolize the two Messianic functions by which the people of God is sustained, namely, those of the high priest and Davidic king. See Joyce G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, ed. D.J. Wiseman, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1972), 124-125. Bjørsvik is probably pointing to an OT motivation for pastoral ministry as a work of cleansing of the people of God through the forgiveness of sins and sanctification, and also a task involved in the government of the church.

⁷⁴² Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 86-87.

⁷⁴³ *ibid.*, 88.

Section 4.2 Teachers of pastoral theology > 4.2.1 Lars Bjørsvik

- How has 教牧學 *chiao-mu hsüeh* (pastoral theology) changed and developed into a field of study as it is today?"
- What is the concept of 神甫職分 *shen-fu chih-fen* (the priestly office) in the Roman Catholic church?
- What is the concept of 牧師的職分 *mu-shih te chih-fen* (the position of the pastor; i.e. pastoral ministry) in 復原教 *fu yüan chiao* (Protestantism)?
- What is the relationship between the pastor and 教會的組織 *chiao-hui te tsu-chih* (the organization of the church)?
- How should a pastor 牧養一個犯罪跌倒的人 *mu-yang yi ke fan-tsui tie-tao te jen* (show pastoral care to a person who has sinned and is fallen)?

The final stages in Bjørsvik's life and ministry

As mentioned in chapter two Lars Bjørsvik became involved in the TLC-TLM conflict in the first half of the 1960s. The brewing conflict was mentioned by him in a prayer request to the NMS constituency in 1963,⁷⁴⁴ and after some time the full force of the strife was evident.⁷⁴⁵ The Bjørsviks consequently left Taiwan in 1965, finishing their missionary career with three years in Hong Kong. They were both invited to teach at LTS,⁷⁴⁶ and the invitation letter made a deep impression.⁷⁴⁷ After the arrival in Norway in 1968 Bjørsvik worked as area secretary of the NMS in Bergen. From 1969 until his retirement in 1978 Bjørsvik served as pastor in the Church of Norway, in Vaksdal parish in the diocese of Bjørgvin.⁷⁴⁸ He died 27 April 1982.

4.2.1.2 Characteristics of Bjørsvik's approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership

Throughout the above presentation of Bjørsvik's background, theology, and teaching several aspects of his view of pastoral ministry have emerged. At this point the task is to specify those

⁷⁴⁴ See Bjørsvik, "Be for de unge kirker [Pray for the young churches]."

⁷⁴⁵ See Bjørsvik, "Ung kirke i sterke brytninger [Serious strife in a young church]."

⁷⁴⁶ Harold H. Martinson, "Letter from the office of the president, to Rev. & Mrs. Bjørsvik, 2 September 1965," (Hong Kong / Vaksdal: Lutheran Theological Seminary / Gunvor Bjørsvik collection, 1965).

⁷⁴⁷ The body of the letter is handwritten with red ink, "*den kinesiske farge for glede* (the Chinese color of happiness)," and this special feature made the Bjørsviks feel especially welcome. See Gunvor Bjørsvik, "Interview on telephone in Stavanger by Gustav Steensland 6 July 1999, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1999). When I met Gunvor Bjørsvik three months later in her home she showed me the letter, which she kept as a valuable treasure. See Gunvor Bjørsvik, "Interview in Vaksdal by Gustav Steensland 8 October 1999, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1999).

⁷⁴⁸ See T.T. [Thor Torbjørnsen?], "Inn i ny tjeneste : L. Bjørsvik utnevnt til res.kap. i Vaksdal [Entering a new ministry : L. Bjørsvik has been appointed as associate vicar in Vaksdal]," *Norsk Misjonstidende*, 13 September 1969. Bjørsvik was associate vicar 1969-1974, vicar 1974-1977, and associate vicar (voluntary) 1977-1978. See Bjørsvik, "[Curriculum vitae]," 116.

elements that shed light on his approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. What is Bjørsvik's position with regard to the type and availability of knowledge about the individual and the context? Is knowledge about individual candidates for pastoral ministry more important to him than knowledge about the context of their ministry? The aim of this section is to locate Bjørsvik's approach as correctly as possible in Grint's heuristic model for various types of understanding of leadership.

In his *understanding* of pastoral leadership Bjørsvik pays considerable attention to knowledge about the *individual* candidate (or pastor). He thinks that such knowledge is possible and necessary, and his attention goes in two directions, namely, towards self-knowledge and knowledge by others. On the one hand, there is the obligation of each candidate to have a certain amount of self-understanding. This understanding is related to both ordinary and spiritual aspects. With regard to the ordinary aspects a candidate should be aware of and develop various skills and abilities. In addition to the expectation that a pastor has theological insight and proficiency in preaching, teaching and counseling Bjørsvik even says that the practical task of building a sanctuary is associated to the ministry of the Word. The personal spiritual aspects, however, are perhaps even more important. If Bjørsvik's faith development and his experiences since childhood are seen as a pattern or model one may assume that he would expect of candidates for pastoral ministry that they should seek assurance of being in God's plan with their lives. The conviction of being called by God is regarded as a fundament of one's ministry. Such assurance and conviction is sustained by reading of the Scriptures and through prayer, individually and in the Christian fellowship.

On the other hand, the calling church and its designated training institutions, such as Bible schools and seminaries, must make every effort to get to know the candidates for pastoral ministry. For Bjørsvik it was important to combine lectures and instruction with dialogue, conversation and discussion. His manuscript seems to reflect questions from his students, and the evening sessions and student exercises in pastoral theology are signs of sincere interest in the personal and spiritual life of the students. With his affirmation of its importance Bjørsvik possibly indicates that pastoral counseling can be used to clarify the faith, calling, gifts, and suitability of candidates for pastoral ministry and leadership. In such clarification, however, it is crucial to show love and care and not act as a judge. Even in faith matters there are limitations in what can be known about oneself and others. Wrote Bjørsvik, "Faith itself escapes from human judgment. The implications of faith, however, as it bears fruit in life and is expressed in voluntary confession, can be judged of by human beings. [...]"

Where hypocrites and manifest sinners come into the flock of believers, the fellowship is broken, [and] the congregation is broken up.”⁷⁴⁹

Knowledge about the *context* is important for Bjørsvik and he applies such knowledge to his understanding of pastoral leadership. As far as the *ecclesial element* of the context is concerned, three aspects are recognizable in his approach, namely, the local, synodal, and ecumenical aspects. Firstly, for pastoral leadership to be respected and fruitful a pastor must know his congregation, which is the fundamental unit of the church. As soon as a pastor is elected and installed he is entrusted with the authority to supervise and guide the members. No matters or tasks in the local church are beyond his concern, even though the council, deacons and other helpers have their designated share of the work. A primary concern for a pastor in his exercise of leadership is to facilitate the much-needed balance between the statutory and charismatic elements in the life and work of the congregation. Neither the public ministry of the pastor nor the ministry of the free gifts should be allowed to predominate. Secondly, a pastor should contribute to the sense of belonging to the larger church fellowship, and, in the case of TLC, to the synod with its districts and special projects. Bjørsvik is not a proponent of congregationalism. There are needs and challenges for a church that can only be met through joint efforts of a larger constituency, such as the establishment of schools and seminaries and administration of special ministries such as (foreign) missions. An additional element of belonging to a synod is confessional loyalty. For a Lutheran pastor it is necessary to have a thorough insight in the history and doctrine of Lutheranism. During his theological studies, which were based on the Lutheran confession, Bjørsvik was also exposed to the dialectic theology. His lecture notes in practical theology, however, do not show any signs of a principal discussion of the dialectic theology and its relation to a Lutheran point of view. My impression from reading his lecture manuscripts and other documents is that Bjørsvik represented an evangelical Lutheran theology with a pietist profile.⁷⁵⁰ Thirdly, a pastor must have a certain amount of knowledge about other denominations and their confessions.

⁷⁴⁹ Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 25.

⁷⁵⁰ To sort out the differences between the Lutheran traditions brought into TLC was a challenge in itself. Wrote Bjørsvik in a report to NMS in Norway, "The missionaries in Taiwan Lutheran Mission come from several countries, America, Denmark, Finland and Norway. Our backgrounds are different and our ecclesial attitudes and traditions are rather unlike. Out here, however, we are trying to cooperate. We are like a large orchestra with many different instruments. This is our big opportunity, but also quite a big problem. We know that the more we are tuned according to our Lord and Master, the more harmonious the orchestra. And, the more we are filled by him who himself is the life and the light, the more we can join in the bringing of life and light to the congregations out here in the Far East." Bjørsvik, "Rett kurs, men mindre medvind [Keeping the right course, but with less tail-wind]," 98.

Generally speaking, Bjørsvik follows Skagestad's approach as he relates the various issues to the Roman Catholic, Reformed and evangelical Lutheran points of view. At some points, however, he has also included comments about practices in other churches, such as the 聚會所 *chü-hui so* (Assembly Hall).⁷⁵¹ Consequently, a pastor leading a congregation has to help the members in their interpretation of and encounters with other than Lutheran expressions of Christian faith.

Regarding the *socio-cultural element* of the context Bjørsvik pays attention to several issues. In order to exercise leadership within the areas of preaching and counseling a pastor must give priority to knowledge about his listeners and confiders. He must know the needs and the challenges in their daily life and the ideological and theological issues they encounter in order to provide a proper application of the biblical message. Bjørsvik shows a particular awareness of the cultural factor when it comes to church organization and polity, which should be "elastic."⁷⁵² By this he means that in the process of founding and organizing a congregation or synod one must take into consideration the local conditions. His assumption is that at an early stage in a young church it may not be mature enough for all aspects of a fully developed church organization. There is a possible connection between Bjørsvik's reference to different stages of cultural development and his use of the term maturity. Although Skagestad has a quite specific and useful discussion about "the pastor and human culture,"⁷⁵³ this discussion is not reflected in Bjørsvik's manuscript. He seems, nevertheless, to follow Skagestad's recommendation that the Christians in general and the pastor in particular should promote Christian values and contribute to a positive development of the society.⁷⁵⁴ Bjørsvik probably thinks that over time such positive development will also be of benefit to the church and a pastor's exercise of leadership as new church members will have a

⁷⁵¹ Bjørsvik, "Notater til praktisk teologi," 26.

⁷⁵² *ibid.*, 20.

⁷⁵³ Skagestad, *Pastorallære*, 219-226.

⁷⁵⁴ Skagestad says about a Christian that "he can both serve and promote all positive development of culture and even criticize the culture in an unprejudiced and positive manner, and preserve himself uninfected from the godlessness and egoism of the world's manner of life." About the pastor's call he says, "He has his essential and main task in the kingdom of God. He shall invite people to think about the eternal destiny of their soul and to seek reconciliation with God in the time of grace. He shall warn them against getting stuck in the present world, which is caught in the evil, and, according to his ability, he shall criticize all implications of a view of culture, which only considers immanent powers and values of life and which in its concern for creation forgets the Creator or even denies him. At the same time, however, the pastor shall also serve as spokesman for the correct Christian understanding of human cultural work and the legitimate Christian use of the benefits of culture. Also in these matters he is set to be a model for the herd." *ibid.*, 220.

better understanding of the qualities of a Christian fellowship. He also emphasized that the church shall function as light and salt in society, and a pastor should be a primary agent to this effect.

I find that Bjørsvik has a fairly balanced emphasis on knowledge about the individual and knowledge about the context. It is within reach for the individual candidate to have sufficient self-knowledge and insight about the context. If the available forms and means are used the church or congregation can acquire sufficient knowledge about the candidate and the context of his ministry. The ecclesial element of the context seems, however, to play a more important role than the socio-cultural element. Bjørsvik's approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership can, nevertheless, be characterized as a contingency approach.

What is then Bjørsvik's approach to *cultivation* of pastoral leadership? It is evident that the task of cultivation applies to both the candidates themselves and the cultivators designated by the church.

As far as the responsibility of the *individual candidate* is concerned Bjørsvik mentions several aspects. Firstly, the primary element of cultivation is the nourishment of Christian faith, and the candidates for ministry should keep this in mind. Unless a pastor has a clear awareness and conviction of being sinner a pardoned by God, he cannot serve as a leader of a congregation. There is a close connection between a pastor's relation to God and his ability to guide others to a similar relationship. Examples of recognizable signs of a right relationship with God are prayer, confession of sins, participation in worship and other weekly gatherings in the congregation, and willingness to serve. Secondly, a candidate should both know his spiritual gifts and be able to discover and encourage the use of such gifts as pastor in a congregation. Cultivation of pastoral leadership must, however, avoid an attitude that tilts the balance between statutory and free ministries by assigning the majority of spiritual gifts to those who are ordained. Thirdly, a candidate must make good use of the training opportunities. Bjørsvik conveys to the candidates that theological education is the most important element in their training. Such education will not only serve as a resource for a pastor's preaching and counseling, but also provide him with competence in the areas of teaching and training, particularly of deacons and other helpers. Fourthly, a candidate should seek reliable knowledge about the social setting and ideological challenges of the church and its members. Bjørsvik's conversations with the students were meant to inspire them to reflect on these challenges. The degree of their knowledge in these areas will be recognized in their preaching and their practice of pastoral care and counseling.

The dynamic between knowledge about individual and context is also a concern for the *cultivators* of pastoral leadership. Bjørsvik is convinced that members in local congregations are the one and only source of what he calls pastoral material, i.e. candidates for ordained ministry. This conviction implies that there must be cultivators on the congregational level. Pastors, deacons and others with recognized ministries have a special obligation to look for prospective candidates for pastoral ministry and guide them in their personal and spiritual development. Such guidance combines recognition of charismatic gifts and identification of abilities and skills. The development of the candidates continues when they enter formal training at designated schools such as theological seminaries, and the teachers there are influential cultivators.

Bjørsvik himself can stand as an example of how a seminary teacher functions as cultivator of candidates for pastoral leadership. He made use of his experience and observations as missionary pastor and his insight gained from his studies and continuous reading. If his lecture notes for the series in practical theology are representative of his scope of resource texts, he concentrated on theological literature. There is not a single reference to common literature, such as novels, biographies, poetry, or newspaper articles, and he has not quoted from the Chinese classics. In his concern for the individual candidate as well as for the context of their ministry, Bjørsvik has, therefore, signaled certain limitations in his approach to cultivation. It is performed within a Christian frame of reference, and interpretations of the socio-cultural context are found in theological publications. With these limitations, Bjørsvik's approach to cultivation is congruent with his contingency approach to understanding of pastoral leadership.

It is important for Bjørsvik to help the students to clarity in their calling and obligations as pastors. With preaching, teaching and counseling as the primary tasks of a pastor, Bjørsvik seeks to inspire his students to faithful study and struggle with biblical texts, insight in the Lutheran confession, knowledge about other denominations, and understanding of the life and challenges in everyday life. His contingency approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership implies a balanced emphasis on insights about the candidates and about the context of their prospective ministry as leaders in local congregations. His view of the context, however, is not very specific with regard to the Chinese setting. In the following section implications of his contingency approach will be analyzed in relation to Confucian elements in this setting.

4.2.1.3 Interpretation of Bjørsvik's approach in light of the Confucian concepts

In the source material reviewed for this study I have only found one document where Bjørsvik mentions Confucianism and quotes the Chinese classics. This document, however, is not related to his seminary teaching in Taiwan and Hong Kong.⁷⁵⁵ Bjørsvik has not given any direct clues as to how he would relate his approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership to key aspects in the Confucian tradition. None of the three Confucian concepts (leadership, learning and self-cultivation) in my research model or related Chinese terms are mentioned in his writings. In the curriculum at TLS topics related to Chinese language, religion and philosophy were assigned to both required and elective courses,⁷⁵⁶ which were held by Chinese teachers, both faculty members or part time instructors. This fact may explain why Bjørsvik does not treat these topics in his lectures. The below interpretation is, therefore, my attempt to show how his approach may have functioned in a Chinese setting influenced by Confucianism, with special reference to the concepts in my research model.

As far as the *Confucian concept of leadership* is concerned, at least the following aspects must be kept in mind. Firstly, the prevalent interpretation assigns considerable authority to the leader and expects subordinates to comply and recognize the leader's position. In some cases this interpretation may cause an authoritarian attitude on the part of leaders. Secondly, qualities such as mutuality and care are also included in the Confucian concept of leadership and should have some impact on both leaders and subordinates. Although some representatives of the Confucian tradition would argue for blind obedience, Confucius did not advocate this attitude towards leaders. There are limits in the compliance that subordinates should show. Thirdly, in Confucianism there is a tendency to prefer seniors in leadership positions. Younger recruits are supposed to be patient and act according to the precept of filial piety. Fourthly, in the Confucian worldview the notion of the Mandate of Heaven conveys a

⁷⁵⁵ In a popularized presentation or lecture about China, held for an audience in Norway, most likely after his return in 1968, Bjørsvik mentions Confucius. "In Chinese literature Confucius holds an important and central position. [...] The opening of the *Analects* has this statement, 'Is it not a great joy to study, and then understand (what one studies)?'" He also quotes a Chinese proverb, with handwritten characters: "疑人不用, 用人不疑 *yi jen pu yung, yung jen pu yi* (if you have doubt about a man do not use him, if you use him then do not have doubt about him)." About Chinese literature he says, "it contains rules of conduct and principles for both the ruler and the individual man." Lars Bjørsvik, "China," (Stavanger: NMS Archives. Bjørsvik collection, box 14, folder marked "Forskjelligt", [196-?]), 7-9.

⁷⁵⁶ An early catalogue has the following items. First year required course: "Chinese literature and philosophy," second year elective course: "Chinese [language] (If not up to standard. No credit)," third year elective course: "Chinese religions. Social problems (Family, industrial, rural)." See Taiwan Lutheran Theological Seminary, "Bulletin / Kai-k'uang," 12-15 (English section).

sense of responsibility that goes beyond interpersonal relationships. Still, the immanent concerns seem to be stronger than this notion.

How does Bjørsvik's approach compare to the above-mentioned aspects? Firstly, his understanding of pastoral leadership implies that a pastor has a comprehensive authority. No matters in the life and work of a congregation are outside the area of a pastor's concern and influence. It is, therefore, conceivable that the first aspect of Confucian concept of leadership might strengthen the self-image of a TLC pastor who has adopted Bjørsvik's understanding of pastoral leadership. And, a Chinese Christian would perhaps attribute this pastor with authority according to Confucian ideals. Bjørsvik would, however, not allow a pastor to become authoritarian. The limitations of pastoral authority have to do with the right of a congregation to disobey or dismiss the pastor if his preaching, teaching or lifestyle is contrary to the established doctrine and ethics in the church. Secondly, the Confucian qualities of mutuality and care, which are the results of a considerate practice of filial piety, seem to fit fairly well to Bjørsvik's emphasis on balance between statutory and charismatic elements in the life and work of a Christian congregation. Neither the public nor the free ministries of the church should be allowed to gain precedence. And, pastoral leadership cannot function well unless a pastor is well acquainted with the church members and their needs. Thirdly, the Confucian view of seniority as a preferred precondition for the exercise of leadership represented a problem for Bjørsvik's consent to the training of mostly young candidates for pastoral ministry. He may, therefore, have searched for arguments to support the established recruitment practices for pastors in TLC and its cooperating missions. There is, however, no example of a discussion of this issue in his notes for the lectures in practical theology.⁷⁵⁷ Fourthly, according to Bjørsvik's theology and thinking a pastor should exercise his leadership with a clear sense of God's call and an awareness of being responsible to God. This conviction of a relationship to a divine power is in contrast with the rather immanent perception of human life in the Confucian tradition. The Confucian notion of Heaven as an

⁷⁵⁷ In his book collection Bjørsvik had a bilingual edition of the *Analects*, which is now at the MHS library. Only one sentence, namely, the Chinese text in section 9:22, is underlined by a reader, which I believe was Bjørsvik. “子曰，後生可畏，焉知來者之不如今也，四十五而無聞焉，斯亦不足畏也已 *Tzu yüeh, hou sheng k'e wei, yen chih lai che chih pu ju chin ye, ssu-shih wu-shih erh wu wen yen, so yi pu tsu wei ye yi.* The Master said, 'A youth is to be regarded with respect. How do we know that his future will not be equal to our present? If he reaches the age of forty or fifty, and has not made himself heard of, then indeed he will not be worth being regarded with respect.'" James Legge, ed., *The four books - Hua ying tui tsao ssu shu : Confucian analects - Lun yü / translated by James Legge* (Hong Kong: The International Publication Society, 1954), 70. My assumption is that this section caught Bjørsvik's attention, because it provided him with a useful alibi in a Confucian classic for the preparation of young candidates for pastoral ministry.

ultimate reality does not have the characteristics of Christian faith in God. If a Confucianist becomes a Christian and considers preparation for pastoral ministry, Bjørsvik would invite this person to exchange the Mandate of Heaven with the mandate of Christ.

The *Confucian concept of learning*, with its emphasis on the respect for teachers and the importance of students' self-efforts, falls fairly well in line with Bjørsvik's understanding of pastoral leadership and his way of training pastors for leadership in the church. Firstly, as a Lutheran he held the ministry of the Word very high. The Word of God is the source of life of individual Christians and their community. Through preaching and teaching founded on the biblical message the pastor gives the most important contribution to the establishment and expansion of local congregations. It is very likely that the status and role awarded to teachers in the Confucian tradition would strengthen Bjørsvik's image of a pastor as preacher and teacher. Secondly, it seems clear that he regarded his role as teacher as demanding and challenging. His lecture notes show that he wanted to be well prepared for his teaching sessions. What he expected of himself in terms of reading and theological reflection was set forth as a model for his students. Examples from the daily work in local congregations were used as illustrations in order to motivate the students for their future ministry. The ability to teach and guide people was emphasized as a key aspect of pastoral ministry. Bjørsvik also conveyed that he had personal experience in most of the tasks he was preparing the candidates for. His combination of lectures, questions and answers, and dialogues outside the classroom setting would have considerable appeal to students influenced by Confucian ideals, such as those reflected in the format and contents of the *Analects*.

The *Confucian concept of self-cultivation*, with its rather anthropocentric outlook and focus on virtues in prescribed social relationships, is in some contrast with central elements in Bjørsvik's approach to cultivation of pastors. Firstly, his approach is marked by faith in God and a strong conviction that God is involved in the planning of a Christian's life and ministry. From Bjørsvik's point of view self-cultivation aims at awareness and conviction of being in God's plan. This personal awareness and sense of belonging is much stronger than a Confucianist's notion of Heaven and its mandate. Secondly, Bjørsvik underlines the Christian view of human nature. Human beings need to become aware of their sin and shortcomings in relation to God's law and demands. Positive expectations regarding renewal of moral practice and sanctification in the Christian sense are based on conversion and faith and a new life in Christ. The dominant view in the Confucian tradition, however, aims at an inspiration to discover and develop the innate capacities for moral behavior, primarily in prescribed social relationships. Thirdly, Bjørsvik is concerned with cultivation of virtues that are related to the

community of believers in the church. He does not raise the question about filial piety and the concern for family relationships, which are so fundamental in the Confucian understanding of self-cultivation. Consciously or unconsciously he may have sought a rationale for the many individuals who had left or been forced out of their families when they became Christians and joined a church. It may be that Bjørsvik saw the Christian community as a family-like fellowship, which was able to meet the needs of those who joined it on an individual basis.

4.2.1.4 Concluding remarks

Bjørsvik was in favor of a contingency approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. It was vital for him to balance the concern for the individual candidate with insights about the context of their ministry. Pastors are seen as communicators of the Christian message in the primary ministerial areas of preaching, administration of the sacraments, teaching and counseling. Through faithful and diligent performance of their work in these areas pastors exercise leadership in the congregation. The local congregation as well as the synodal community is the primary elements in Bjørsvik's view of the context of pastoral ministry. Issues related to the wider social and cultural context are not overlooked, but they do not receive the same amount of attention. This attitude to the context is a likely explanation of Bjørsvik's lack of a detailed treatment of the challenges raised by for example the Confucian elements in the Chinese setting. These and other aspects of Chinese culture were, however, included in the curriculum at TLS. His students had to make the bridge between Bjørsvik's contribution to cultivation of pastoral leadership and the orientation given by other teachers in courses about Chinese religion, philosophy and social challenges.

4.2.2 Allen J. Swanson

Allen J. Swanson 史文森 (b. 1934) served as a teacher at CES from 1975 to 1990, but this was just a part of his missionary career in Taiwan. Sent by the LCA (later ELCA) he worked in TLC congregations and student centers, and also in other ministries in Taiwan during the following years: 1962-1967, 1969-1975, and 1976-1990.⁷⁵⁸ Alongside these duties he developed an interest in research and application of church growth methods. Through his teaching and publications he became a factor in the preparation of candidates for ministry,

⁷⁵⁸ The years 1967-1968 he studied at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, and then from 1968-1969 he worked as a tentmaker pastor, also in California. See Allen J. Swanson, "Missions in transition : a presentation at Mission & Ministry Forum, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, 2 October 1997," (1997).

including the TLC students at CES. The focus in this study is his role in the cultivation of pastoral leadership. In order to describe this role I begin with a portrait of Swanson and his theology. The first part of this portrait deals with Swanson's background and education. In the second part the focus is on his teaching ministry and publications.

4.2.2.1 Biographical and theological portrait

Background and education

Swanson's background and education is related to the fact that he came from Duluth, Minnesota, where he grew up as an "Augustana Lutheran."⁷⁵⁹ He had a varied training before going to Taiwan as a missionary. When filling in the education part of his registration card for the TLM, he called it, with a humorous understatement, "too complicated (*t'ai fu-tsa* [太複雜])!"⁷⁶⁰ He started university at University of Minnesota, Duluth, but in the third year he was convinced that God called him into seminary. Therefore he switched to Augsburg College, and following graduation he went to LBI in Minneapolis for one year, because he felt he "had little biblical background."⁷⁶¹ Living in the Twin Cities, he decided to go to Luther Theological Seminary in St. Paul. Although he took a course under a teacher "who had a heart for missions," and "whose name was synonymous with missions at Luther," missions did not seem to interest him at the time.⁷⁶²

This teacher was Andrew Severance Burgess (1897-1993), professor of Missions from 1948 until his retirement in 1968.⁷⁶³ Based on his "personal missionary experiences and observations" in China (1919-1921) and Madagascar (1926-1935), as well as through visits in many other countries, Burgess wrote his MTh thesis about mission methodology.⁷⁶⁴ In fact, many of the topics that later became of special interest and importance for Swanson, such as

⁷⁵⁹ Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 3.

⁷⁶⁰ Each missionary was responsible for filling in the information on the printed forms provided by the TLM. See Taiwan Lutheran Mission, "Taiwan Lutheran Mission missionaries : Swanson, Allen John," (Taipei: Taiwan Lutheran Mission / TLM Archives, TLC office, [1962?]), 1.

⁷⁶¹ Allen J. Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 6 May 1998, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998). It is interesting to note that Swanson, like Russell E. Nelson, was attracted to this training center in Minneapolis, which had a reputation of combining solid Bible teaching with a zeal for missions.

⁷⁶² Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 3.

⁷⁶³ A short summary of his life and ministry until 1968 is found in Alvin N. Rogness, "A tribute to Andrew S. Burgess," *Luther Theological Seminary Review* 7, no. 1 (1968).

⁷⁶⁴ Andrew S. Burgess, "The missionary principles and methods of the apostle Paul" (Master of Theology, Luther Theological Seminary, 1936).

pastoral leadership, delegation of authority, and the growth of independent local churches, are mentioned in this thesis. Some of these topics are reflected in the conclusion:

Paul's unique success in establishing churches was due to his method of making his churches indigenous and his own direction superfluous after a short time of missionary work. Missionaries of today agree that the evangelization of Africa and Asia will be accomplished through Africans and Asiatics and not through Europeans and Americans. [...] Since the days of Paul, no other man has found a more suitable method for the propagation of the gospel than the one practiced by him or more applicable to the circumstances which we find among the people on the mission fields of our day. They have been shown to be without a parallel as a guide for our missionary practice.⁷⁶⁵

It may have been the case that Burgess did not always succeed to convey the importance of mission methods to his students, but they were not in doubt about his zeal. Through his teaching ministry, his personal impact, and his nearly twenty books,⁷⁶⁶ Burgess persuaded many young people to serve as missionaries.⁷⁶⁷

After one year Swanson transferred to Augustana Seminary in Rock Island, and graduated with a BDiv degree in 1961. Since the late 1940s, there had emerged at this institution a growing concern about the personal formation of the students, partly because of a rapidly growing student body. There was "danger of becoming so concerned with the expanding mass as to lose sight of the individual student."⁷⁶⁸ The seminary president, Karl Evald Mattson,⁷⁶⁹ proposed a new concept for the seminary training:

⁷⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 148.

⁷⁶⁶ Most of his books had a very popular style, well suited to reach a wide audience of mission interested people. The following two publications probably also reflect his teaching by the time Swanson studied at Luther Theological Seminary. See Andrew S. Burgess, ed., *Lutheran world missions : foreign missions of the Lutheran church in America* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954), Andrew S. Burgess, *Winning the nations : ten studies in foreign missions*, 2 ed. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1955).

⁷⁶⁷ This has been confirmed by two of his students at Luther Theological Seminary. See Gerhard O. Forde, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 18 February 1998, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998), Gerald L. Lundby, "Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 19 February 1998, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998). Gerald Lundby said that about twenty of the graduates in 1953 became missionaries.

⁷⁶⁸ G. Everett Arden, *The school of the prophets : the background and history of Augustana Theological Seminary 1860 - 1960* (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Theological Seminary, 1960), 253.

⁷⁶⁹ Mattson was President and Academic Dean from 1948 and until 1962, when the seminary, together with other institutions, merged with the Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary, forming the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago. From then on the LSTC had two campuses, one in Rock Island, and one in Maywood, until it moved to its present location, adjacent to the University of Chicago, in 1967. For a history of this merger, see Harold Clayton Skillrud, *LSTC: decade of decision; a history of the merger of the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago with special emphasis on the decade 1958-1968* (Chicago, Illinois: Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1969).

Section 4.2 Teachers of pastoral theology > 4.2.2 Allen J. Swanson

President Mattson declared that in his experience with clergymen, the problems ordinarily confronting most pastors were not academic but personal. The Faculty shared with him the conviction that in dealing with students, the major concern of the Seminary must not be simply to turn out “academic creatures,” but well-adjusted, informed and dedicated individuals whose Seminary training would enable them to become true shepherds of Christ’s flock -- a part of God’s answer to the world’s problems. The orientation of the Seminary program in this direction meant that in spite of greater numbers enrolled, each student must be given more than perfunctory attention, that the personal problems, particular need, and individual growth and development in the total personality of each student must be given careful consideration.⁷⁷⁰

The ideals that shine forth here were also reflected in the purpose statement, which had remained the same since 1948. With the intention to uphold the high standards set by the founders, combining deep spiritual life and loyalty to the confessions of the church, the statement continues as follows:

The purpose of the Theological Seminary is not only to impart knowledge and professional skill, but to foster and establish the student’s spiritual life, to develop further their religious knowledge and convictions, and to enlarge their views of the world-wide mission of the church. As a servant of the church the Seminary endeavors to provide efficient and purposeful training for the future pastors of the Church.⁷⁷¹

In addition to the regular teaching, the devotional life and order of worship was meant to bring about the cultivation of coming candidates for the “holy ministry.”⁷⁷² Through participation in various committees, a faculty-student council, and for some also in the seminary choir, the students were supposed to gradually perceive what it meant to be a loyal servant and leader in the church.⁷⁷³ As Swanson recalls it the theologians at the seminary “were afraid of laity having too much freedom. The pastors were trained to do the job, and to do it right.”⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁷⁰ Arden, *The school of the prophets : the background and history of Augustana Theological Seminary 1860 - 1960*, 253-254. Arden also mentions here that from 1949, on the basis of this new concept of seminary training, an equal number of students were assigned to each professor as his “counselees for the entire period of their Seminary career.” All incoming students were given tests, which included “the Ohio State Psychological Test, Kuder Preference Record, Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, and the Wrenn Inventory.”

⁷⁷¹ Theodore Emanuel Conrad, "The Faculty; Part I. General information; Part II. Student life; Part IV. Curriculum information; Part V. Courses of instruction; Part VI. Academic register, 1960-1961," *Augustana Seminary Review* 13, no. 1 (Catalog number) (1961): 16.

⁷⁷² *ibid.*: 15.

⁷⁷³ See the presentation of “Student Life” in *ibid.*: 21-24.

⁷⁷⁴ Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 6 May 1998, notes." Swanson did not mention particular faculty members that held this opinion, but he said that the classes in systematic theology were important.

A “Department of Missions” had been established in 1955, because it was agreed that “the cause of World Missions has always been such a vital part of the program of the Christian Church that it deserved a larger place in the Seminary curriculum.”⁷⁷⁵ For Swanson, however, the one course he followed in missiology there, did not make a big impact, but made him feel rather boring.⁷⁷⁶

His “call to go into missions”⁷⁷⁷ did not happen until his internship year 1959-1960, which he spent at Bethany Lutheran Church in Escabana, Michigan. During this twelve-month period the supervision by the pastor in charge was of great importance. Monthly reports to the supervisor and quarterly reports to the faculty were meant to secure the quality of the training.⁷⁷⁸ This is how he describes the further developments in his training:

I left the seminary with nothing in particular that I had learned about missions. In terms of mission shaping, there was none during the seminary years. The Augustana church then sent us to Chicago, (which is now the Chicago School of Theology). In those days they had a one-year training program under dr. James Scherer. James Scherer was probably the one that first shaped my thinking. [...] This became a whole new world of thinking for me. [...] It was a good foundation for going to Taiwan. It wasn't until I encountered massive problems in our first term, and went to Fuller during the first furlough in 1967, that missionary formation really took place.⁷⁷⁹

Here are seen two elements that were important in the shaping of Swanson's theology and understanding of missions, namely a modernized Lutheran missiology and the Church Growth Movement. Compared with the more traditional approach to the task of world missions that

⁷⁷⁵ Arden, *The school of the prophets : the background and history of Augustana Theological Seminary 1860 - 1960*, 256. Following negative replies from several candidates to teach courses “in both American and World Missions,” the faculty proposed “that a man be called as Professor in the field of World Missions to give his primary attention to the Mission of the Church in its world-wide orientation.” N. Arne Bendtz, with previous experience from the Batak Lutheran Seminary in Sumatra, began his service as such professor in 1959. See Arden, *The school of the prophets : the background and history of Augustana Theological Seminary 1860 - 1960*, 256-257.

⁷⁷⁶ Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 3.

⁷⁷⁷ *ibid.* See also Theodore Emanuel Conrad, "Part VI: academic register, 1959-1960," *Augustana Seminary Review* 12, no. 1 (Catalog Number) (1960): 54. Theodore E. Conrad, who assumed his duties as the seminary's first “Dean of Students” in February 1955, led the internship program. “Through this new office it became possible to focus attention upon the individual student and follow his progress through the Seminary with more accuracy than heretofore had been the case.” Arden, *The school of the prophets : the background and history of Augustana Theological Seminary 1860 - 1960*, 255.

⁷⁷⁸ The requirements for this “year of parish service” could be fulfilled in three different settings. The student was supposed to serve “(a) As assistant to a pastor in a congregation; or (b) As assistant in a pastorate which includes several congregations, under the direct supervision of the pastor in charge; or (c) As a worker on a home mission field, under proper supervision.” See Conrad, "The Faculty; Part I. General information; Part II. Student life; Part IV. Curriculum information; Part V. Courses of instruction; Part VI. Academic register, 1960-1961," 39.

⁷⁷⁹ Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 6 May 1998, notes."

he had met at the seminaries in St. Paul and at Rock Island, and perhaps even more so at LBI, he now encountered teachers and mentors who were challenging this traditional approach. Out of this “new world of thinking,” which he met not only in Chicago, came even more than challenges. It was a matter of re-defining and re-directing the concepts of missions. For Swanson’s own development towards his ministry as teacher and trainer of Chinese pastors, the years from 1961 to 1968 are therefore most likely the period that most profoundly shaped and molded him into what he came to be.

The School of Missions at Chicago Lutheran Seminary, located in Maywood, had been founded in 1957 as a missionary training center. Under the leadership of its dean, James Arnold Scherer (b. 1926),⁷⁸⁰ it developed and introduced new trends in missiology.⁷⁸¹ Scherer, with his doctoral degree almost ready, was able to combine scholarship with missionary experience from China and Japan in his instruction of Swanson and his classmates during the academic year 1961-1962. One of Scherer’s main concerns was “the interaction between mission and unity in Lutheranism,” and he saw “the polarity and tension between the confessional and ecumenical approaches to mission and unity.”⁷⁸² Scherer had noticed that the ecumenical movement, among other things, had influenced Lutheranism to work its way towards an agreement “to train Lutheran clergy under joint faculties in united theological colleges.”⁷⁸³ This trend in Lutheranism may be one of the reasons why Swanson, when called, accepted a role as a teacher at CES, which was an example of joint theological training for candidates from many different Protestant churches. Scherer had also addressed the issue of training of leaders in an essay where he described current and new roles for missionaries. The work of missionaries takes place in evangelism, pioneer work, and institutional work. They are representatives of their home churches, but are also counselors and colleagues to the

⁷⁸⁰ Scherer, who was appointed dean in 1957, had previously been a missionary, serving as teacher at Yale-in-China, Changsha, Hunan, 1946-1949, and then in Japan under Board of Foreign Missions, ULCA, 1952-1955. He earned his PhD in theology at Union Seminary, New York City in 1962.

⁷⁸¹ Cf. for instance Scherer’s statements made at the 41st annual meeting of the Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference of North America. According to a report he “warned that missionary evangelism ‘be carefully distinguished from proselytism or the imposing of one’s own beliefs and habits upon another in a coercive manner.’ [...] ‘Successful evangelism,’ he said, ‘always includes identification and communication. It means preaching the gospel in ‘along-sidedness’ with the world rather than in ‘over-againstness.’” See Sverre Torgersen, “Missionaries hear plea to de-emphasize denominational differences,” *The Lutheran Messenger*, 29 December 1959, 12-13.

⁷⁸² James A. Scherer, *Mission and unity in Lutheranism : a study in confession and ecumenicity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), v. This book was based on his doctoral dissertation from 1962, and may therefore be said to reflect what occupied his mind as teacher during Swanson’s year at the school.

⁷⁸³ *ibid.*, 244.

leaders of the young church. Training of leadership is becoming more important, as are also the roles as specialists and experts in the field of non-Christian religions, as well as missionary strategists. One passage in this essay is specifically important.

For a long time missionaries have served as professors in young church seminaries where nationals are groomed for the gospel ministry. This is likely to continue until more national scholars are trained to take their places. Perhaps even more significant are the possibilities for the training of lay leaders for supplementary ministries alongside that of the ordained pastors. Such lay leaders will fill the role of evangelist, catechist, Bible woman, deacon or elder and in most cases will provide the backbone of leadership for the local congregations.⁷⁸⁴

With these and other ideas in his mind, Swanson got what he called “a good foundation,”⁷⁸⁵ and below it will be seen how the issue of leadership and leadership training became a growing concern for him. Later, during his graduate studies at Fuller Seminary, he would make the connection between his impulses from Chicago and his own missionary experience, which from the very beginning brought him in contact with tension and conflict. Lutheran missions in Taiwan were facing changes.⁷⁸⁶

Ministry in Taiwan

Not long after his arrival in 1962, he could not avoid being caught in the middle of the conflict that was imminent in the TLC at that time. As a new missionary he tried to sort out what side to take. Some missionaries supported TLC president Chin Chung-an’s role and authority as the leader of an indigenous church, and some underlined a stronger role of the missions.⁷⁸⁷ For the purpose of this study, it is important to note how this time of conflict influenced Swanson’s view of indigenization, and also his self-understanding as a missionary. In Swanson’s opinion the cause of Chin was right and timely but his approach and ways of implementation could not in the end be justified.⁷⁸⁸ There was a lot to think about as Swanson

⁷⁸⁴ James A. Scherer, "Exploring vocational possibilities," in *His kingdom and his will : Augustana missions 1960; a centennial yearbook on missions, charting the course for kingdom advance as the Church begins its second century*, ed. Theodore E. Matson and Rudolph Burke (Minneapolis, Minnesota: The Board of American and World Missions, Augustana Lutheran Church, 1960), 23-24.

⁷⁸⁵ Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 6 May 1998, notes."

⁷⁸⁶ The developments that led to these changes are dealt with in chapter two (section 2.1.4).

⁷⁸⁷ “[W]e found ourselves in our early days being pulled in both ways. You were either pro or anti Chin. You tried to take a neutral route, trying to sort out: What is going on here?” Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 16.

⁷⁸⁸ “[I]n his crusade to rectify issues, he got caught [...] in an evil system that ended up becoming a powerplay that corrupted him. [...] [W]hereas I started out being sympathetic to the man, in the end you saw that what he was doing was destroying the church, and that his principles were so strong

headed home for his first furlough in 1967. How could missionaries carry on their task of bringing Christ to the nations, without expecting people in these nations to accept and adopt almost completely the theology and church practices of the missionaries? How could it be possible to develop indigenous leadership, both on the local and synodical level, and still leave room for missionary participation?

In the midst of the difficult years in Taiwan Scherer published a book with the infamous title *Missionary, Go Home!*⁷⁸⁹ One should note, however, that Scherer was not in favor of an immediate withdrawal of all expatriate missionaries.⁷⁹⁰ By referring to the cry “missionary go home!” as “an attitude frequently stated or implied,”⁷⁹¹ he was rather taking up a burning issue and wanted to provide a thorough analysis. In his opinion it was not sufficient to revert to the keeping of traditional approaches and methods. To show his line of thought, it may be sufficient to quote a few more lines from his preface:

“This book is meant to take seriously the criticisms and objections of those who find fault with certain activities traditionally associated with the Christian world mission. It is not meant to satisfy those who question the validity of *all* missionary effort. Rather the book is directed toward persons who are disturbed - for whatever reason - at the direction in which the Christian mission has moved in recent times. The author believes that many criticisms of the missionary enterprise are justified. New ways must be found to express the unchanging missionary obligation. The missionary idea must be refined until it approaches the intention of Jesus Christ in sending forth the apostles.”⁷⁹²

Although much was going on in Chicago, which could have given fresh inputs to his thinking and development in terms of missiology, Swanson was led in another direction.

that he didn't care what he destroyed in the process. At that point he had removed himself from biblical principles, and he was no longer the one I could respect either.” *ibid.*

⁷⁸⁹ James A. Scherer, *Missionary, go home! A reappraisal of the Christian world mission today - its basis, philosophy, program, problems, and outlook for the future* (Englewoods Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1964). Almost simultaneously, Burgess wrote a short study in which he gives credit to Scherer and the Maywood institution for providing “effective missionary training programs.” This indicates that there was some common understanding between the two missiologists. One of the main points for Burgess, however, was that improved pre- and in-service orientation would enable missionaries to stay on longer overseas. Even based on this short publication, one can see that Burgess is not applying the same kind of criticism as Scherer, but rather sought to rescue the traditional “missions” and their “missionaries.” See Andrew S. Burgess, *Missionary stay on : a study of missionary motivation, training and withdrawal* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Luther Theological Seminary, 1964), 5-6.

⁷⁹⁰ According to one observer, Scherer may have “suffered under his choice of title,” since it did not represent his own interpretation of the situation in world mission. See Roland Miller, “Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 27 February 1998, notes,” (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998).

⁷⁹¹ Scherer, *Missionary, go home!*, 5.

⁷⁹² *ibid.*

Further studies

Through the guidance of John M. Mangum, the editor of the LCA world mission magazine *World Encounter*,⁷⁹³ Swanson was introduced to the Institute of Church Growth at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California.⁷⁹⁴ Alan R. Tippett was his advisor⁷⁹⁵ as he worked on his MA thesis,⁷⁹⁶ and he was “deeply influenced” by Donald McGavran,⁷⁹⁷ dean and founder of the institute. With regard to issues such as pastoral training and revival, James Edwin Orr, another teacher at Fuller, “spurred” his thinking.⁷⁹⁸

In these new trends in Swanson’s thinking, which Orr contributed to, there was also a link to the revival on the Lutheran mission fields in China in the 1930s.⁷⁹⁹ Alyce Eleanor S. Anderson 安德生 (1908-1994),⁸⁰⁰ with previous missionary experience on the mainland, had many times talked to Swanson about the Shantung revival.⁸⁰¹ Her report on “Village

⁷⁹³ This magazine published its first volume in October 1963. From the very beginning it offered insightful, open-minded, critical, and sometimes provocative articles on a whole range of issues. Letters from the readers were welcomed, and this paved the way for both criticisms and appraisals. It was in this magazine that the main findings and evaluations in Swanson’s thesis were first published.

⁷⁹⁴ “In 1947, the highly influential Fuller Theological Seminary was founded in Pasadena, California. From it came the New Evangelicalism, a successful effort by conservative evangelicals to reform fundamentalism by making it more scholarly and involved with social issues. [...] This approach began to shatter in the late 1960s as renewed warfare between fundamentalists and reformers broke out. Modern-minded conservatives eventually dominated Fuller, now the nation’s largest interdenominational seminary.” Thomas C. Reeves, *The empty church : the suicide of liberal Christianity* (New York: The Free Press. A Division of Simon & Schuster Inc., 1996), 122 and 242 (endnote 80).

⁷⁹⁵ See Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 15.

⁷⁹⁶ See Allen J. Swanson, “A comparative study of independent and mainline churches in Taiwan” (Master of Arts, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1968). The thesis was “read and approved” by “Donald McGavran, A.R. Tippett, J. Edwin Orr and Ralph D. Winter.”

⁷⁹⁷ Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 6 May 1998, notes."

⁷⁹⁸ Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 5.

⁷⁹⁹ Orr himself had traveled extensively in China in the late 1930s, accompanied by Andrew Gih, the overseas Chinese who founded the Bethel Worldwide Evangelistic Band. See James Edwin Orr, *Through blood and fire in China* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, Ltd., 1939 [?]).

⁸⁰⁰ Sent by Augustana Lutheran Church, she worked as a “teacher and evangelistic worker” in China 1940-1949. From 1950-1951 Japan was her field of ministry, until she was transferred to Taiwan in 1951. See "In memoriam : Eleanor S. Anderson 1908-1994," *Spotlight on China : the quarterly bulletin of the Lutheran Literature Society for the Chinese*, June 1994.

⁸⁰¹ “The Shantung Revival,” an expression coined by the title of a book, was a part of the far-reaching awakening that swept over China in the late 1920s and early 1930s. See Mary K. Crawford, *The Shantung revival*, Second Printing by Revival Association Publishers, Shreveport, Louisiana ed. (Tsinan: North China Mission of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1933). Marie Monsen of the NLM was partly instrumental in bringing this spiritual movement also to the churches of the Southern Baptist Convention in Shantung province. See Carlberg, *China in revival*, 118-121.

Evangelism” to the 1964 TLM conference conveys her zeal for evangelism, prayer and revival.

Taiwanese have deep fears of demons and of death. They need Christ. One of the most important tools in our work is concentrated prayer for a spiritual awakening. [...] Miss Monsen’s, *THE AWAKENING*, tells of conversions that came as a result of prayer for revival. [...] As a new missionary on the mainland I was impressed with the spirit of prayer among the missionaries. I regret to say that today as a group of missionaries we are not having nearly as much united prayer as we had on the mainland.⁸⁰²

Swanson recalls, “She was always talking about revival. I thought, ‘What is this all about?’ And I understood after I met James Edwin Orr at Fuller.”⁸⁰³ Orr is one who got Swanson to think about the importance of revival in Christian ministry in a more systematic way. By the time Swanson came to Pasadena, Orr had already published several books, of which those on the historical developments of the Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain and America were the most important.⁸⁰⁴ Through Orr Swanson became immersed in the American version of Evangelicalism, which at this time was gaining new momentum, not the least through its emphasis on college education and theological seminaries. Fuller Seminary has been one of these leading seminaries, and its focus upon church growth is no surprise, given the emphasis on evangelism and personal conversion to Christ as Lord and Savior in the evangelical movement. The movement as such is probably best described as a loose coalition, not sufficiently described by listing the major denominations that make up its prime basis.⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰² Taiwan Lutheran Mission, "Reports to the annual conference of the Taiwan Lutheran Mission," ed. Lars Bjørsvik (Taichung / Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1964), 31-32. Monsen’s book was first published in Norway; see Marie Monsen, *Vekkelsen ble en Åndens aksjon [The revival became a work of the Holy Spirit]* (Oslo: Gry Forlag, 1960). The first translated edition came one year later; see Marie Monsen, *The awakening : revival in China, a work of the Holy Spirit*, trans. Joy Guinness (London: China Inland Mission, 1961).

⁸⁰³ Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 6 May 1998, notes."

⁸⁰⁴ See especially James Edwin Orr, *The second evangelical awakening in America : an account of the second worldwide evangelical revival beginning in America in the mid-19th century, with appendices dealing with the beginnings of the mid-20th century movement* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, Ltd., 1952), James Edwin Orr, *The light of the nations : evangelical renewal and advance in the nineteenth century*, ed. F. F. Bruce, *The advance of Christianity through the centuries*, vol. 8 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965). An updated and comprehensive introduction to Orr and his major influence on the study of evangelism and revival is found in Douglas Wayne Munton, “The contributions of J. Edwin Orr to an understanding of spiritual awakenings” (Doctor of Philosophy, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1991).

⁸⁰⁵ “In the history of Fuller Theological Seminary, founded in 1947 by such new evangelical reformers, we can trace the renewal of America’s nineteenth-century evangelical heritage as it developed from a reform within fundamentalism into a separate movement. [...] [I]t seemed (from the late 1950s until the late 1960s) as though the new evangelicalism, buoyed by the influence of [Billy] Graham, might be a viable new movement forming the center of a wider coalition of transdenominational and denominationalist evangelicals. At the same time, however, the new

What characterizes the theology and role of pastoral leadership among the evangelicals? In many ways there is a quite outspoken focus on the Church as a community more than as an institution. This creates a need for pastors and other leaders that are committed to creating, sustaining, and expanding congregations as Christian fellowships, more than developing and keeping up of church structures and church order. Spiritual nourishment, discipleship and prayer are given the number one priority.⁸⁰⁶ At this point, a brief look will be taken at the pastoral theology that Orr represented.

From an historical perspective, Orr offers some comments on the effects of the evangelical revival upon “Christian Leaders.”⁸⁰⁷ In addition to the renewed emphasis on prayer meetings, the “Awakening of 1858 was a revival of preaching. [...] There were crowded services every night of the week, and most churches were compelled to hold three and four services on Sunday.” Several local pastors were turned into passionate evangelists, and for many the dominant idea was that “conversion is not an end, but a beginning.” He also quotes some remarks by a “noted Baptist preacher,” who had said, “An essential element of ministerial power is the spirit of love. No amount of learning, no degree of genius, nor measure of eloquence, will atone for the lack of that genuine spirit of sympathy which has its origin in love. [...] My reliance has been upon the power of God’s truth, made effectual by His own Spirit and the hearty co-operation of the church as ‘workers together with Him’.” Without calling for a repetition of all the features of the awakening in the 19th century, Orr seemingly is in favor of a type of pastoral leadership that will combine evangelism and conscientious discipleship training. Pastors are called to exercise their leadership through preaching and love, filled by the Holy Spirit.

evangelicalism itself was breaking apart over the unresolved issue of the degree of its loyalty to the militant fundamentalist agenda. Fuller Seminary was a focal point of this battle.” George M. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism : Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987), 8-9.

⁸⁰⁶ The example of Carl F.H. Henry, a prominent evangelical theologian who was among the first teachers at Fuller Seminary, may serve as an illustration of the basic elements in this tradition: “Henry’s conversion [in 1933] was typical of the experience of many in the evangelical movement. It included prayer for forgiveness and for the presence of God in his life; a sense of inner assurance of forgiveness and Jesus as his personal Savior; a committing of his entire life into God’s hands that included a willingness to follow wherever God would lead; and a zeal to tell others of his new-found relationship with God. His conversion was likewise typically evangelical in that it transcended any specifically denominational orientation or loyalty.” See Stanley J. Grenz and Roger E. Olson, *20th century theology : God & the world in a transitional age* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1992), 289.

⁸⁰⁷ This and the below quotations in this paragraph are taken from Orr, *The second evangelical awakening in America*, 130-134.

It is fairly evident that the above-mentioned common traits in the evangelical movement, as well as its typical definition of pastoral leadership, later could be found in Swanson's own *publications* and in his *teaching ministry* at CES. The Church Growth movement also set its mark upon him and convinced him that it was possible, to a certain degree, to assess the work of the Holy Spirit by honest and careful investigation of church life. By facing the facts resulting from such investigation, Swanson wanted to contribute to prayerful implementation of measures that would help the church set new goals and plan for renewal and growth.

Teaching at CES

It was James Hudson Taylor III who was instrumental in calling Swanson to the teaching ministry at CES in 1975. He was assigned to head the new Missions department, and he did this on a full-time basis from 1977 to 1990, having worked half time in 1975 and 1976. One of the first things he did was to create an elective course called "Principles of Congregational Renewal," which was given 40 to 50 hours in the curriculum.⁸⁰⁸ All the Master of Divinity students were required to take his two core courses on "Introduction to Missions" and "Basic Church Growth."⁸⁰⁹ The other courses he taught were electives, which meant that the TLC students at CES had a choice whether or not to attend these lectures. Swanson recalls that the first TLC student, namely Yang Ning-yea (Peter), was among those who were "resonating" to his congregational renewal course.⁸¹⁰

Swanson's task at CES was to contribute to the development of pastors and other church leaders, and his teaching and instruction took place according to his ideals of pastoral and missionary ministry. Whatever form this training takes he is convinced that it is of great importance.

Theological education is an indispensable necessity for the survival of the church. Whether the Church in Taiwan will successfully confront and minister to men of the 1980's depends largely upon the type and quality of training schools from which the church's future leaders will come. The key to that quality lies with the seminaries themselves.⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁸ "The whole congregational renewal thing was my own personal thing. I taught the history and principle of revival; nobody had ever done that before, and probably nobody ever since. But I developed that course and found it fascinating." Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 5.

⁸⁰⁹ *ibid.*

⁸¹⁰ *ibid.*, 5.

⁸¹¹ Swanson, *The church in Taiwan : profile 1980*, 268.

Even though Swanson's three main books⁸¹² were not used as ordinary textbooks in his courses at the CES, he told me that they reflect the basic understanding of pastoral leadership that he would put forward in his teaching.⁸¹³ My reading of Swanson's MA thesis and his subsequent publications indicate that there is a consistent line of thought and reflection in Swanson's treatment of the issue of pastoral leadership. His first book is a revised version of his thesis, but before the book appeared the main points had already been published in the form of articles. At this point I find it relevant to add some information and comments about the relationship between the thesis and the published versions.

It was a grant from the Board of World Mission of the LCA that had made Swanson's research possible.⁸¹⁴ One should keep in mind that less than five years had passed since the time of tension and conflict in TLC and in its relationship with the cooperating western missions. After the thesis was finished Swanson made it available to the above-mentioned editor John M. Mangum. In cooperation with Swanson he prepared a series of six articles for the June 1969 issue of the LCA mission magazine *World Encounter*. Except for necessary omissions and a few minor adjustments of some sentences, the articles have the same wording as the thesis. Mangum's editorial referred to the "problem in Taiwan,"⁸¹⁵ and one could expect that informed readers in the Lutheran constituency were cautiously and eagerly awaiting the results of Swanson's studies.⁸¹⁶ The articles appeared in the following order: "True Jesus Church,"⁸¹⁷ "Assembly Hall,"⁸¹⁸ "Taiwan Lutheran Church,"⁸¹⁹ "Can we start

⁸¹² I am here referring to Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, Swanson, *The church in Taiwan : profile 1980*, Swanson, *Mending the nets*. Except for the first one, these books were also translated into Chinese and published in Taiwan. See Allen J. Swanson, *T'ai-wan chiao-hui mien-mien kuan [The church in Taiwan : a comprehensive analysis]* (Taipei: 1981), Allen J. Swanson, *Pu wang : 80 nien-tai t'ai-wan chiao-hui tseng-chang yü hsin-tu shih chih t'an* (Taipei: 1986).

⁸¹³ See Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 5.

⁸¹⁴ Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 15.

⁸¹⁵ With a concern for the future of the Taiwan Lutheran Church in mind, the editor presents the issue of the magazine (which mainly consists of Swanson's articles) and concludes that "the answers found in Taiwan are important around the world." See John M. Mangum, "What's the problem in Taiwan," *World Encounter*, June 1969, 1.

⁸¹⁶ Leaders and members of the True Jesus Church and the Assembly Hall Church were probably in the same manner looking forward to seeing their communities analyzed in an academic publication.

⁸¹⁷ Allen J. Swanson, "True Jesus Church," *World Encounter*, June 1969. This article presents an outline of the history, organization, theology and development of the church. By the time of the writing this church was Taiwan's third largest denomination.

⁸¹⁸ Allen J. Swanson, "Assembly Hall," *World Encounter*, June 1969. This article presents an outline of the history, polity, growth and characteristics of the church.

over?"⁸²⁰ "New men for new jobs,"⁸²¹ and "The money problem."⁸²² The analysis and evaluation in these articles, especially related to the Lutheran tradition in general and matters in TLC in particular, were not left unnoticed. Some of Swanson's statements and my comments about particular items will be mentioned below. In a recent presentation, where Swanson also shared some of his missionary experiences in Taiwan, he let us know that the reaction at the time was quite strong. "I became a persona non grata in TLC after the publication of my thesis in the LCA magazine *World Encounter*."⁸²³ Some repair of the relationship to the TLC was probably obtained when the book was published as "an adaptation of his original thesis."⁸²⁴ When compared with the thesis and the articles the text in the book reveals some significant differences, some of which will be referred to below. For example in the section about TLC I have found that approximately thirty changes have been made. Said Swanson, "I rewrote the thesis for publication. I knew I was writing for a larger audience."⁸²⁵ Five years later, when Swanson assumed his duties on the faculty at CES in 1975, the status of the theological education in TLC was changed. The majority of the new generation of TLC recruits for pastoral ministry and leadership was sent to CES, where some of Swanson's courses were parts of the core curriculum.

In fact, leadership and leadership development are key issues in all of Swanson's books. He presents and analyzes topics such as "The Role of the Clergy," "New Men for New

⁸¹⁹ Allen J. Swanson, "Taiwan Lutheran Church," *World Encounter*, June 1969. This article presents an outline of the history, organization, theology and development of the church. The editor gives the following introduction: "A medical doctor and a handful of refugees from the Communists started Lutheran work. Founded by laymen, the church could have become a grassroots movement. But then missionaries from the mainland came and introduced the same mistakes that had been made in China." Swanson, "Taiwan Lutheran Church," 11.

⁸²⁰ Allen J. Swanson, "Can we start over?," *World Encounter*, June 1969. This article presents and discusses ways in which lay people again can take responsibility for the Taiwan Lutheran Church. It also addresses the problem of missionary influence in the church.

⁸²¹ Allen J. Swanson, "New men for new jobs," *World Encounter*, June 1969. This article focuses on two issues: 1) Taiwan Lutheran Church is in great need of a revised concept of the role, function, and nature of the ministry; 2) There is a need for change in the patterns and contents of the theological training programme.

⁸²² Allen J. Swanson, "The money problem," *World Encounter*, June 1969. This article presents suggestions for the solution of the problem of the dependency of Taiwan Lutheran Church on funds from foreign missions. Swanson holds the view that it is important to let the nationals have "the dignity of self-support."

⁸²³ Swanson, "Missions in transition."

⁸²⁴ Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, back cover. For the purpose of my study I have not found it necessary to perform further investigation of the reactions in TLC to Swanson's book.

⁸²⁵ Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 6 May 1998, notes."

Jobs,”⁸²⁶ “The Pastors: God’s Chosen Leaders,” “The coming leadership crisis,”⁸²⁷ “A Fresh Look at the Shepherd,” and “Leadership: Key to community.”⁸²⁸ His understanding of pastoral leadership is related to his ecclesiology and his overall view of Christian ministry. His concern was not only to present historical overviews and an analysis of the current situation. There is in all his writings a strong thrust towards providing a new concept of Christian ministry for the church in Taiwan. An historian, who is well acquainted with Swanson, characterizes him in this way:

Swanson was an activist as well as a student of mission and for him the search for methods of church growth was a personal - a spiritual - as well as an academic pursuit. He wanted Christianity to evolve on Taiwan [...]. Swanson's work cannot be considered in a vacuum. He is an involved church worker and for him the renewal of the spirit of the church is at the very center of his being. He is also deeply involved in the charismatic movement now sweeping throughout the Taiwan Christian community. Some of this sense of excitement and of the potential for Christian expansion flavors *Mending the Nets*. It is a work of deep thought and reflection and is important, as was *The Church in Taiwan* in giving the outside observer a sense of where the church is and where it is going.⁸²⁹

In his search for a renewed understanding of mission and ministry Swanson cannot hide his admiration of two independent churches in Taiwan, namely, the True Jesus Church and the Assembly Hall Church. There is, in his opinion, a lot to learn from these churches, after having balanced their strengths and weaknesses.⁸³⁰

Some of the practices of the True Jesus Church are admittedly not the “way we would do it,” but in speaking with leaders and members of this church, I could not help but sense their concern, enthusiasm, and their pride. I was personally always received in a most friendly manner. Truly “the ways of the Lord are past finding out.” Let us be cautious in our theological sophistication and “proper” Church polity lest we in our static churches suggest that these growing, thriving communions are not equally blessed by the Lord.⁸³¹

⁸²⁶ Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 152-159, 246-269.

⁸²⁷ Swanson, *The church in Taiwan : profile 1980*, 135-170, 298-303.

⁸²⁸ Swanson, *Mending the nets*, 71-92, 234-237.

⁸²⁹ Murray A. Rubinstein, "Christianity in China : one scholar's [sic] perspective of the state of the research in China mission and China Christian history, 1964-1986," *Newsletter for Modern Chinese History [Chin-tai chung-kuo shih yen-chiu t'ung-hsün]*, no. 4 (1987): 141-142.

⁸³⁰ He comments on the following “most obvious” weaknesses: “An anti-denominational, anti-Protestant attitude; An exclusivistic attitude; Moralistic piety and other-worldliness; The rejection of the world as evil and a lack of social concern; A simplistic outlook; Autocratic control; Biblicism.” Their “strengths” are summarized as follows: “Dynamic speakers; Authoritative; Tent-making ministry; Total mobilization of the laity; Biblical; Nationalistic appeal; Koinonia; Lively services of worship.” See Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 212-218.

⁸³¹ Swanson, “A comparative study of independent and mainline churches in Taiwan”, 291. In his book the first sentence is as follows: “Many [sic] of the practices of the True Jesus Church are ‘not

In Taiwan we have looked at two independent churches with widely contrasting methodologies. [...] And yet both grow. They grow because they practice the Lutheran doctrine of the priesthood of all believers.⁸³² They grow because they are churches of the soil belonging to the Chinese and served entirely by the Chinese. They grow because members are vitally concerned with their walk in Christ and in sharing this life with others. They grow because the Spirit blesses their churches also.⁸³³

Since Swanson is so concerned about the development of indigenous churches, growing out of the local “soil”, he favors changes that should not be hindered by “our theological sophistication and proper church polity.” In terms of theological education and pastoral leadership his attitude implies that at least the Lutheran churches and missions in Taiwan should improve, or even change dramatically, the training methods and forms of ministry. “The rejection of trained, ordained, tentmaking laity in preference to the endless production of young, inexperienced, full-time clergymen has contributed most heavily to the sterility of the church in Taiwan.”⁸³⁴ Within the TLC, an “overemphasis on the development of full-time clergy later [from the late 1950s and onwards] led to no end of tragedy and remorse.”⁸³⁵ Trends should be “reversed” and “reconstruction” should begin:

What can be done to re-awaken the laity to a conscious desire to assume again their active role in the life of the Taiwan Lutheran Church? Are there a few congregations available that might serve as a testing ground? In the early 1950s we read numerous accounts of how Lutheran laity were instrumental in gathering groups of believers together in their homes for worship. By 1954, however, when the missionary force was well in control, we find no further references to worship in Chinese homes. Reference was only to worship in *missionary* homes. Can the trend be reversed? [...] Can we somehow prove that every church does not need a paid pastor? That churches of 10 to 20 members are actually worse off by having one man assigned to them alone? Are multiple parishes possible? These are but starter questions in the problem of

the way we do it’ yet members and leaders of their church give evidence of a concern, enthusiasm and pride frequently missing in many other [sic] churches.” See Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 188. With this modification of his statement, his critique of the True Jesus Church is somewhat stronger, and he now seems to include more than the Lutherans when speaking of “many other churches.” This broadening of his perspective is typical of the changes made when he rewrote the thesis for publication in the book.

⁸³² In the book the credit for this doctrine is not exclusively given to the Lutheran tradition: “They grow because they practice the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers.” See Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 218. Although often associated with Luther, this doctrine can hardly be claimed to be exclusively Lutheran. See Cyril Eastwood, *The royal priesthood of the faithful : an investigation of the doctrine from biblical times to the Reformation* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963), 230.

⁸³³ Swanson, “Assembly Hall,” 10.

⁸³⁴ Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 257.

⁸³⁵ Swanson, “Taiwan Lutheran Church,” 18.

reconstruction in the Taiwan Lutheran Church.⁸³⁶

It seems to be clear that Swanson blames the Lutheran tradition for the laity's minor role in the TLC. What is at stake is a proper understanding of the role of the pastor, a role that will allow for lay involvement and lay leadership in the church.⁸³⁷ According to Swanson's analysis, it was especially European Lutheranism that brought an "irrefutable" importance of the pastor into the church.⁸³⁸ Not only the Lutheran missionaries from Europe are targeted here,⁸³⁹ but also Lutherans in North America who more or less continued in the patterns inherited from the immigrants.⁸⁴⁰ Thus it may be said that Swanson wanted to represent a kind of American Lutheranism that was willing to take a fresh look at the office of ministry, informed by the new theology and models offered by the church growth movement.⁸⁴¹ In the following quotation he gives a condensed description of pastoral ministry.

⁸³⁶ Swanson, "Can we start over?," 22. (Swanson's italics). In the book he does not refer to Lutherans or the TLC, but uses general expressions of "laity" and the "church". See Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 234. Regarding the place of worship, cf. the thesis at this point: "To be sure the practice was still prevalent but now we read only of worship in missionary homes." See Swanson, "A comparative study of independent and mainline churches in Taiwan", 347. (Swanson's italics). The "references" he mentions are most likely the contents of books, articles, reports and correspondence by the missionaries.

⁸³⁷ During his studies at Augustana seminary he read Hendrik Kraemer's newly published book *A theology of the laity* (see Hendrik Kraemer, *A theology of the laity* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958).). Said Swanson, "this started my thinking." Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 6 May 1998, notes."

⁸³⁸ "True to Lutheranism, especially European Lutheranism which provided the backbone of the early mission corps, the importance of the pastor was irrefutable." See Swanson, "Taiwan Lutheran Church," 18. In the book he reduces this to a reference to "Lutheranism" only. See Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 136. When compared with what he has written elsewhere it is not the "importance of the pastor" as such that worries him. In a study of a Baptist congregation, for example, the strong leadership of the pastor is listed as one of the "church growth factors." See Allen J. Swanson, "Freedom Road Baptist church : a church unafraid of challenges," in *I will build my church : Ten case studies of church growth in Taiwan*, ed. Allen J. Swanson (Taichung: Taiwan Church Growth Society, 1977). He rather seems to be concerned about what he saw as the Lutheran way of allowing pastors to be more important than the lay people. "I am not anti-pastoral. What worries me is only a concentration of authority in a pastor's person that could not or would not train and release laity into ministry." See Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 6 May 1998, notes."

⁸³⁹ One representative of NMS was not happy with Swanson's book and may have felt targeted. I can remember a conversation in 1975 with Thor Torbjørnsen, the NMS Mission Secretary, in which I mentioned that I had read the book as part of my preparation for missionary work in Taiwan. Torbjørnsen then warned me about Swanson's missiology.

⁸⁴⁰ His evaluation at this point, however, is not very clear. A reference to "European" Lutheranism is too broad considered the rather great variety of interpretations of pastoral ministry even among the Lutherans in North America.

⁸⁴¹ "Last, yet most important of all, I am indebted to Dr. Donald McGavran, Dean and founder of the Institute of Church Growth, for all that he has contributed to my own thinking and to the whole

The role of the pastor has many facets. He is on the one hand a shepherd -- caring for the hungry, weak and hurting lambs. He is also a teacher -- educating the Christians in the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith and equipping them for effective witness in their own social milieu. He is also a priest -- effectively interceding for his people before the throne of God, a man of prayer and faith. But the pastor is also a reconciler -- seeking to bridge the deep gaps that divide man from man, husband from wife, child from parent, church from society and even church from church.⁸⁴²

By using the biblical terms “shepherd,” “teacher,” “priest,” and “reconciler,” he is pointing towards a fairly strong office of pastoral ministry, with considerable authority in the congregation. Rather than describing the task of the pastor in the common Lutheran way, as the task of preaching the Word and administer the sacraments, he refers to four terms with biblical connotations. The first two of these terms fit very well into the Chinese pastoral title 牧師 *mu-shih* (shepherd-teacher). When it comes to the other two terms (priest and reconciler), they are, at least in Lutheran theology, with its affirmation of the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, not reserved for the ordained ministry. Against the background of this observation, it should be noted how he comes to terms with the issue of pastoral authority within the congregation.

The inherent danger of “professionalism” in such an approach [i.e. resident seminary programs] has yet to be effectively counteracted with a form of training that will accord greater responsibility to the laity and less centralized authority to men with “specialized training” which sets them in a class apart from the very people they seek to reach, to win and to serve.⁸⁴³

Swanson will by no means “deny the importance of leaders,”⁸⁴⁴ but when it comes to defining the role of the pastor, he wants to relate it to fundamental aspects of ecclesiology. In the church there is no system of different classes of people. Those who are called to be the leaders should be chosen, not “on the basis of their status and influence,” but rather according to “their spiritual qualities.”⁸⁴⁵ And, “the most basic of all church leadership roles - that of pastoring the local congregation,”⁸⁴⁶ should be entrusted to “men of integrity and faith who are willing and able to work harmoniously with other leaders in a spirit of unity and mutual

field of church growth studies.” Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 15.

⁸⁴² Swanson, *The church in Taiwan : profile 1980*, 267.

⁸⁴³ *ibid.*, 268.

⁸⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 168.

⁸⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 203.

⁸⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 261.

respect.”⁸⁴⁷ Therefore, the pastor has authority, but it should not be “centralized.” A pastor should not be afraid to “delegate authority to his leaders,” and these leaders should in turn acknowledge this “authority by giving full support to their pastor.”⁸⁴⁸

Based on his observation in the 1980 survey that “most churches are apparently locked in a rather traditional concept of ministry that is quite isolated from the community around it,”⁸⁴⁹ Swanson wants to pave the way for a type of pastors that sees missionary outreach as a prime task. The main purpose of the pastor’s teaching ministry is to equip the church members “for effective witness in their own social milieu.”⁸⁵⁰ This witness, however, should not be confined to the immediate environment. Chinese churches should also take part in cross-cultural mission work,⁸⁵¹ and a pastor must therefore educate and inspire those whom he leads to join this worldwide effort.⁸⁵²

4.2.2.2 Characteristics of Swanson’s approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership

In the above portrait some of the characteristics of Swanson’s understanding of pastoral leadership and his recommendations for its cultivation have already been introduced. For further exploration and clarification here in this section some analytic questions must be asked. What are the components in Swanson’s understanding and what means does he look for in the cultivation of pastoral leadership? How does Swanson treat knowledge about individual candidates and about the context of their training and future ministry? What balance does he seek between these two types of knowledge?

Swanson’s *understanding of pastoral leadership* presupposes that it is possible to recruit and train *individual* candidates that have certain desirable qualities and skills. The candidate’s relationship with God is a primary quality. Pastors should have a firm belief in God. Both the church and the candidates should reach a confidence that as a pastor one is chosen by God to

⁸⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 203-204.

⁸⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 203.

⁸⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 211.

⁸⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 267.

⁸⁵¹ This is how Swanson described the attitudes at CES, and most likely also in the churches in Taiwan, in the 1970s: “And missions, and the vision for cross-cultural missions, when it started, was very slow to catch up. We labored against the overwhelming tradition of total absorption of the founding of churches among their own people, [...]” Swanson, “Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997,” 6.

⁸⁵² *ibid.*

serve as a key leader in a Christian congregation. Such confidence is a matter of a spiritual interpretation of the candidate's qualifications and the needs of the church.⁸⁵³ Integrity is also mentioned as an important quality. Swanson means that this quality is shown in the pastor's contribution to unity and mutual respect, especially in the cooperation between the pastor and other leaders in the congregation. Two other qualities are especially focused in Swanson's understanding of pastoral leadership, namely, age and experience. At least in relation to the cultural context in Taiwan Swanson is skeptical towards the common practice of recruiting and training where the majority of the candidates for pastoral ministry are young and without the social experience that is generally expected of leaders among the Chinese.⁸⁵⁴ In his teaching ministry at CES, however, Swanson could not change so much about this practice. He had to cultivate the type of students that were entrusted to his care and instruction.

In addition to the qualities there are also several skills that are needed for effective pastoral leadership. These skills are related to the four facets in Swanson's description of the role of the pastor. As a shepherd the pastor should have the ability to show affection and care. In order to be a teacher he needs insights in the fundamental contents of the Christian faith and proficiency in communication and instruction. To fulfill his priestly role a pastor benefits from personal and communal experience in prayer, intercession and devotion. If a pastor will succeed as a reconciler he must have considerable understanding of relationships and conflicts in families, churches and society.

I have not here given a complete review of the qualities and skills Swanson wants to find in individual candidates for pastoral ministry. The point I want to make is that he seems to think it is possible to establish objective knowledge about these qualities and skills. This knowledge is a combination of theoretical and empirical elements. He has set up several criteria for the definition of what a pastor is and is supposed to do, also in his capacity as leader. Given optimal training programs in suitable environments both the candidates and the church can make observations and experiences that can clarify and develop the qualities and skills of the prospective pastors.

⁸⁵³ An example of Swanson's spiritual manner of interpretation is his comment regarding implications of revival in the church for pastoral leadership. "In revivals new forms of leadership develop, especially to unite the prophetic and priestly tradition in the leadership of the church. When the Spirit comes alive, people discover the gifts. The dependency on pastors diminishes, and the top-down model disappears." Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 6 May 1998, notes."

⁸⁵⁴ See Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 257.

The *context* is also a crucial part of Swanson's understanding of pastoral leadership. As far as the *ecclesial context* is concerned, little is said about belonging and loyalty to a certain denomination. His many direct and indirect criticisms of Lutheran tradition and church polity may indicate that he wants to contribute to changes in his own denomination and that through the years it has become more important for him to be biblical and evangelical than confessional. He concentrates, therefore, his attention to the local and ecumenical elements.⁸⁵⁵ The local congregation is the primary arena for pastoral leadership. In order to function effectively as a leader the pastor must have a sound understanding of the relationship between clergy and laity. By avoiding a self-image as a member of a separate class or order the pastor can identify with all members of the congregation. It is the local congregation as such that is the "instrument"⁸⁵⁶ that God can use for his purposes and the task of pastors and other leaders in the congregation is to tune this instrument for optimal performance. The fact that Swanson so explicitly speaks about a variety of leaders in the congregation is an indicator of his opinion that pastors need to respect other types of leaders and have the ability to delegate authority. Still, Swanson sees the pastoral role as the most fundamental of all leadership roles in the church. One of the leadership tasks of pastors is to contribute to openness towards other churches and denominations.⁸⁵⁷ For pastors in local congregations the ecumenical challenge is often visible in the relationships to other churches and ministries in the vicinity.⁸⁵⁸ The last

⁸⁵⁵ With a smile on his face he described himself in one of my interviews with him, "You must remember that by talking to me, that I was never really an orthodox Lutheran, and the Lutheran church and the Lutheran mission in the States never knew what to do with me. But I had a good time." Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 1.

⁸⁵⁶ "The local church: God's chosen instrument" is the title of chapter seven in Swanson, *The church in Taiwan: profile 1980*.

⁸⁵⁷ For Swanson it was important that the Chinese themselves got a sense of ownership regarding the church and its ministry. Speaking about the financial basis of CES he said, "98-99 percent of the budget came from the Chinese, which was to me a 100 percent validation of my own personal convictions of what anybody can do if you give them ownership over it. And that ownership never will exist if it is a foreign thing, unless you are willing to risk it to the Spirit and say: You have the authority to go as God leads you, without being locked into a particular confessional position, and if that leads to heresy, so be it, but it will also lead to life." Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 7.

⁸⁵⁸ In one of my interviews with Swanson he shared with me some of his experiences from the beginnings of the Lutheran student ministry in Taichung. There he decided to establish relations with several other churches and denominations in the neighborhood. With this in mind he went on to say: "Talking about unity in Christ, later in my years, I remember I would always share in the seminary class-room [i.e. at CES], saying 'Students, when you go out into your parish, why not know who your neighbors are, talk to them and invite them into your fellowship? You are not going to stand there alone against the enemy. You're going to be a lousy witness if you are proclaiming reconciliation in Jesus Christ, and you don't want to bother to talk to your colleague down the street.' And always, I saw that happen. They just don't talk to one-another. And I remember one student, he went out to a small town, where there were two other churches, and he

element of the ecclesial context to be mentioned here is that of church polity. With regard to pastoral leadership Swanson wanted to open up for alternative models in the appointment of pastors. The system with full-time and paid pastors should not be the only option.

When it comes to the *socio-cultural context* Swanson's church growth research and publications reviewed above clearly show that he is concerned about the relationship between the church and the society. A key task for pastors is to equip the church members to share the faith in their own social setting. In order to fulfill this task the pastor along with the members should seek insights about the characteristics and trends in the social environment. These insights will guide him in his preaching and teaching. They will also support his role as a reconciler when he deals with tested or broken relationships in marriages and families, and with conflicts in and between local congregations and churches. Another aspect of the social element of the context is that of class. Swanson wants to avoid a type of pastors who because of their theological education or for other reasons consider themselves to have a higher social status than people in the target groups of the ministry of the church. For Swanson the cultural element is also important. When he attributes the growth of two independent churches in Taiwan to the fact that "they are churches of the soil belonging to the Chinese and served entirely by the Chinese,"⁸⁵⁹ his statement has a double effect. On the one hand it underlines the positive effect of local ownership and leadership. On the other hand it carries a critique of the prevailing patterns and conditions in the mainline churches. For his understanding of pastoral leadership it seems that the statement supports the view that such leadership depends on conscious adaptation to the local cultural setting. And, if this adaptation is based on biblical criteria it can best be done by the members of the particular culture. According to Swanson's interpretation of Chinese culture he mentions especially the issue of age and experience. As this issue was seen by him as relevant regarding the individual he also finds it relevant regarding the context. It is not clear if he will make a certain age a requirement in the recruitment of pastors or if he would like to see a mix of ages among those who are ordained. He is most likely of the opinion that Chinese congregations are better served with a majority of pastors who are of mature age and have substantial experience in social life and as church members before their calling and ordination. No matter who the recruits are, however, some amount of training is considered necessary. In order to be a respected leader in a Chinese church a pastor seems to be best fit if he meets the general expectations towards leaders in

came back to me one day, and he was so exited. Because it works! How can you be a seminary graduate, not understanding these things?" *ibid.*, 1.

⁸⁵⁹ Swanson, "Assembly Hall," 10.

Chinese culture. When Swanson emphasizes the willingness to “delegate authority”⁸⁶⁰ as a quality of pastoral leadership he is, nevertheless, challenging one of the expectations towards leaders among the Chinese, namely, that leaders should protect their authority. In one of my interviews with him he said, “Delegation of authority is not the Chinese style of leadership.”⁸⁶¹ He was, however, also concerned about the way in which some of the Chinese laity treated their pastors. In churches in Taiwan he had observed church members who “addressed pastors as more servants and door-mats than servants of Jesus Christ,” and he had counseled pastors who “were abused by the parishioners and the expectations of the parishioners.”⁸⁶²

For Swanson it is of great importance to have a balanced evaluation of socio-cultural values and practices. When Swanson’s understanding of pastoral leadership is reviewed with regard to the dynamic between knowledge about the individual and the context I find that he represents a contingency approach. He presupposes that it is possible and necessary to obtain insights both about individual candidates for ministry and the environment in which they will serve. The skills and spiritual qualities of the candidates seem to be just as important as a thorough investigation of the context. Now, I will explore to what extent Swanson’s recommendations for the cultivation of pastoral leadership corresponds to his contingency approach to understanding of pastoral leadership. In accordance with my research strategy I will limit this exploration to the cultivation that takes place in the period from seminary training until ordination.

In his approach to *cultivation of pastoral leadership* Swanson includes both the role of cultivators and the efforts of the candidates themselves. Among the *cultivators* he not only reckons the teachers in formal education programs but also the local congregations with their staffs and members. It is by combining academic studies with realistic ministry experiences in the local churches that a proper preparation of pastors can take place, and, in both settings there should be a focus on development of Christian spirituality.⁸⁶³ As far as the seminary

⁸⁶⁰ Swanson, *The church in Taiwan : profile 1980*, 203.

⁸⁶¹ Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 6 May 1998, notes."

⁸⁶² Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 8.

⁸⁶³ Speaking about CES he said, “Basically they were committed to three foundational principles: 1) academic excellence, 2) hands-on practical training, and 3) spiritual formation. (And, of course, the spiritual formation here in American theological schools has been very weak. I notice that Luther [i.e. Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota] is now starting, finally, to deal with that issue). And CES was very strong in the emphasis on spiritual formation, perhaps more elaborate than needed [...].” *ibid.*, 7. Swanson did not give any further comments about his evaluation of the

teachers are concerned he emphasizes that those with work experience in local congregations and other types of Christian ministry are better prepared for their task than those without.⁸⁶⁴ He seems to be of the opinion that a teacher must know what he teaches, not only from reading but also from first-hand participation in the life and work of the church. This type of qualification will also apply to the teaching and cultivation of pastoral leadership.

A great deal of responsibility, however, also rests on the *candidates*. The most important qualities and skills that Swanson wants to find and develop in the candidates have already been mentioned above in the presentation of his understanding of pastoral leadership. Both as seminary students and as evangelists preparing for ordained ministry the candidates can contribute to the desired development of many of the qualities and skills. Individual and communal devotional life will strengthen their relationship with God. Through interaction with fellow students, teachers, pastors and members of local congregations their integrity and ability to cooperation will be tested and refined. A combination of study and practice will help the candidates to understand and internalize the pastoral role, which Swanson characterized as shepherd, teacher, priest and reconciler. Two aspects regarding the candidates, namely, age and gender, posed some challenges to them in light of Swanson's approach to the preparation for pastoral ministry and leadership. The Master of Divinity students at CES were college graduates who did not have what Swanson regarded as the ideal age for pastors in a Chinese environment. His preference was to train and ordain mature and experienced church

approach to spiritual formation at CES. With only one other Westerner on the faculty he was most likely commenting on the Chinese staff and perhaps also on the students. He must have seen that certain forms and means for spiritual formation appealed to the Chinese, at least in the community at CES. There may be a connection here to his description of "moralistic piety and other-worldliness" as one of the weaknesses of two of the local churches: "This is less true in the True Jesus Church. The Assembly Hall has frequently been charged with neglect of the world in their pursuit of the 'holy life.' The charge is not without foundation. Former members admit to the danger of asceticism which leads to an introverted fellowship. Personal piety, however, has always appealed to the good Confucian Chinese. Literature abounds with moralisms about the good man or woman who did his ethical duty. Buddhism with its world-negating view also contributes to a rejection of this world. Far more study should be conducted in this area. Such characteristics are, however, a part of much of what we call the 'Chinese personality.'" Swanson, *Taiwan : mainline versus independent church growth*, 213.

⁸⁶⁴ When referring to his first years at CES in the late 1970s he described his contribution to the establishment of the first cross-cultural department at a Taiwan seminary. Said Swanson, "I probably, except for the president [i.e. James Hudson Taylor III], had more pastoral experience in Taiwan than anybody else. The faculty coming on board were basically academicians who would study the subject [i.e. cross-cultural missions]." Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 6.

members.⁸⁶⁵ Still, one must assume that he had to adjust to the rationale of CES and let the Master of Divinity students know that with good training, proper skills and right attitudes they could compensate for some of the age deficiency.⁸⁶⁶ As far as gender is concerned Swanson seems to have treated the issue of ordination of women in a rather pragmatic manner and perhaps also with an eye to the policy in the Lutheran churches in Taiwan.⁸⁶⁷ In his publications reviewed for this study I have only found references to male candidates for pastoral ministry and he does not use inclusive language. The situation at CES, with several female students,⁸⁶⁸ could have invited to a lot of discussion. During his time at the school, however, Swanson did not experience that the women in the Master of Divinity program pushed the issue of ordination.⁸⁶⁹

The above exploration of Swanson's recommendations has shown that he does not suggest forms and means particularly with regard to cultivation of the leadership aspects of pastoral ministry. He is concerned about the overall preparation of candidates for pastoral ministry. In this preparation it is imperative to develop skills and qualities that are needed in the life and work of pastors in local congregations. If the seminary faculty can assist the students in fulfilling the curriculum requirements in terms of academic studies and practical assignments the churches can find and recruit candidates suitable for ordination. An important aspect of their suitability is that they can understand and cope with the ecclesial and socio-

⁸⁶⁵ CES gradually developed an extension training program that attracted many adult participants from local churches. Said Swanson, "I used to enjoy my extension classes in the evening at CES because I would have adults that were forty, fifty, sixty [...]" *ibid.*, 9.

⁸⁶⁶ It seems clear that Swanson preferred the recruitment of college graduates rather than the common practice in Taiwan to allow high school graduates for seminary training. Said Swanson, "I never denied the legitimacy of what I call multi-level theological training, nevertheless, Chinese being Chinese, college graduates going into schools that were receiving high-school students, just didn't fit culturally or any other way. CES offered the first live option." *ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁶⁷ "Every denomination has a process to go through for itself, and the Lutherans were not at the point where they could handle the issue [i.e. ordination of women] while I was there. So, it came up occasionally, but it was never a major issue to discuss." *ibid.*, 12.

⁸⁶⁸ "Fifty percent of the students were women and close to half the faculty were women." *ibid.* It is not clear if this percentage refers to Master of Divinity students only or to the student body as a whole.

⁸⁶⁹ "They just accepted the fact that they were not to be ordained, and I sometimes marveled at their un-willingness to fight for their rights, but I was not going to ... For me that would have been culturally out of place to even urge them to do that. But, I would often times... One of the things I did at CES, more than other faculty members, was push the women to be recognized as legitimately entitled to salaries, equal to men. And the women always supported me. And when churches were always getting these 'two for one' bargains, a woman MDiv marries a man MDiv, and they hire one MDiv and they expect both to work full-time! [...] And that was an injustice. But they didn't care about the ordination as such, they just believed they deserved a wage as their right." *ibid.*, 13.

cultural elements of the context in which they will perform their ministry. My conclusion is that there is sufficient congruence between Swanson's contingency approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership and his recommendations for its cultivation. In the next section I will explore how he, explicitly or implicitly, comes to terms with the implications of the Confucian context.

4.2.2.3 Interpretation of Swanson's approach in light of the Confucian concepts

Swanson is convinced that Confucianism is an important element of Chinese culture. He has found that "Confucius' basic tenets have thoroughly infiltrated all parts of Chinese thinking."⁸⁷⁰ One particular book has influenced Swanson's evaluation of Chinese culture and he also used this book in his teaching at CES.⁸⁷¹ A brief introduction of this book can serve as an appropriate backdrop for the explanation of Swanson's position. In a bilingual collection of four essays⁸⁷² Wang Ting-ho 王定和⁸⁷³ in fact concentrates his attention to issues with special relevance to the cultivation and exercise of leadership among the Chinese. The first paragraph of his introduction is a good summary of his point of view.

From antiquity until the present day, the Chinese have advocated etiquette, loyalty, filial piety and charity as the basic standards of both the individual and society alike. Obedience and respect have always been rigorously demanded of inferior to superior, child to adult, pupil to teacher, subordinate to boss etc. However, this becomes an unreasonable and even ludicrous standard where the senior in question is a person lacking the necessary commonsense and high standard of morality of fulfilling the responsibilities of his superior position to the best of his ability. Without the basic requirement of a good character, his judgement is impaired, he is susceptible to unsavoury influences, and as a result, all his inferiors, whether they be his children or his employees, suffer to a greater or lesser extent.⁸⁷⁴

⁸⁷⁰ Swanson, *The church in Taiwan : profile 1980*, 17.

⁸⁷¹ Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 9-10. Swanson showed me his own copy of the book and his frequent underlining of sentences and his many remarks in the margin reveal his appreciation and application of the author's interpretation of Chinese culture.

⁸⁷² Wang Ting-ho, *Why the Chinese act this way? (Wei-shen-ma chung-kuo jen hui che-yang)*, trans. Suzanne Coutanceau (Taipei: Caves Books, Ltd., 1977). The essays had previously been published in Chinese magazines and journals.

⁸⁷³ Alongside his business-related tasks in advertizing and international trade Wang has also taught Chinese language to foreigners in Taiwan, for example at Taipei Language Institute and National Taiwan Normal University's Mandarin Center. *ibid.*, back cover. To some extent his publications reflect questions and answers from his teaching sessions. His primary aim is to provide personnel from overseas with a firsthand and practical introduction to Chinese culture. Without engaging in a scholarly debate he also wants to inform his own countrymen about the effects of Chinese customs and traditions on relations and interactions with foreigners.

⁸⁷⁴ *ibid.*, iii.

What Wang sees as problematic is the distance between ideals and practices in social relationships and behavior among the Chinese. In his search for an explanation of this problem he reflects on the role of Confucianism. From his point of view there is considerable tension between the original tenets of Confucianism and the form of Confucianism prescribed by the political authorities from the time of emperor Han Wu-ti 漢武帝 (r. 140-87 B.C.) and onwards.

I especially wish to clarify the fact that Confucianism is by no means at fault. At the time of the Warring States and the Spring and Autumn Period, Confucianism was only one school of thought amongst many. Confucius could never have conceived of how his ideology was to be elevated to such lofty heights by Han Wu-ti, a fact which has been the cause of so much abuse and insult hurled at Confucius' unwitting head. Confucianism is a two-way process, each party in a relationship fulfilling his own duty. An emperor must do his duty as an emperor, an official as an official, a father as a father, a son as a son, a husband as a husband and a wife as a wife. This is based on the factors of human nature and psychology. If an emperor does not do his duty as an emperor, then neither will an official as an official, if a father does not do his duty, neither will a son and so on. However, the situation developed later into one of the party in position of power, (emperor, father, and husband), not doing his duty, but still expecting the subordinate party, (official, son, and wife), to do his. This was a most unreasonable state of affairs, and in my opinion, there are several ways in which it came about. [...] In the end, Chinese ideology was a dead-end road, with the people submitting to the sphere of Confucianism allowed by the emperor – a lifetime of obedience, and meaningless obedience at that!⁸⁷⁵

According to Wang it is primarily the one-sided version of Confucianism that has influenced the Chinese, even until the present, creating unwanted structures and practices of leadership. A key aspect has to do with the understanding of authority. “I feel that the Chinese people desire, above all, to hold authority, and the all-out competition for the gaining of it is due to the concept that authority is more important than anything else. With it, one has control over others, and those under control must obey.”⁸⁷⁶

In Swanson's opinion Wang's book is “an insightful explanation of traditional Chinese leadership structures, with the power-system and kowtowing⁸⁷⁷ to the people over you, the

⁸⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 12-13. Wang's interpretation of Confucianism is rather unbalanced and categorical compared to more scholarly attempts. Here I mention two examples. Tu Wei-ming has found that mutual responsibility is the key to stability in the *wu lun* (five invariables), the main social relationships in Chinese culture. Yu Chi-ping emphasizes that Confucius never supported blind obedience. See my presentation of Confucian understanding of leadership in chapter two, section 2.2.3.1.

⁸⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 9.

⁸⁷⁷ The verb kowtow comes from the Chinese expression 叩頭 *kou tou*, “to kneel and touch the ground with the forehead to show great deference, practiced in old China as the highest form of salutation.” Liang Shih-chiu, ed., *A new practical Chinese-English dictionary*, 134.

control that goes with it, the inability of lower people to have authority, the un-willingness of the top man to delegate authority.”⁸⁷⁸ One can expect, therefore, that Swanson as far as church work in a Chinese context is concerned would relate his understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership to Wang’s description of Chinese culture and Confucianism. When asked about the issue of contextualization of pastoral ministry and leadership in a Chinese setting Swanson responded:

I saw it in two dimensions, because in talking about leadership development I felt that so often we distort the Gospel. And the Gospel has to speak to culture. And, of course, when we as missionaries might lead the way it is always very, very risky for a missionary to determine which cultural issues need to be challenged by the Gospel. However, I felt that the longer I was there, the more open I felt in speaking about this, although you do it gently.⁸⁷⁹

According to my research model three elements in the Confucian tradition stand out as particularly influential regarding leadership development, namely, the concepts of leadership, learning and self-cultivation. In light of Swanson’s above comment one can consider how he thinks or might think that these concepts can distort key elements of the Christian message and how this message ought to transform the use of these concepts in Chinese churches. It should also be noted that he indicates that some aspects of Chinese culture can be acceptable and useful in Christian communities.

As Swanson sees it, the authoritarian form of the *Confucian concept of leadership* is in sharp contrast to the kind of leadership that Jesus practiced, taught and modeled. In Swanson’s opinion “the traditional authoritarian structure was carried into the church, and Chinese authority is not based on giving it away, but possessing it.”⁸⁸⁰ At CES he tried, therefore, to develop “that whole new model that Jesus talked about, the servant model.”⁸⁸¹ As mentioned above, in connection with Swanson’s treatment of the cultural aspect of the understanding of pastoral leadership, his ideal is to strike a delicate balance with regard to a pastor’s authority. On the one hand a pastor’s authority needs protection in a Confucian context. Church members should respect and listen to the pastor as long as the pastor preaches and lives according to the example and teaching of Jesus. Swanson wants to avoid that Chinese congregations develop “an unhealthy servant-master relationship,”⁸⁸² in which the church members regard the pastor as their servant. This kind of relationship is perhaps most

⁸⁷⁸ Swanson, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 12 November 1997," 9.

⁸⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 8.

⁸⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 9-10.

⁸⁸¹ *ibid.*, 10.

⁸⁸² *ibid.*, 8.

likely whenever the pastor is younger than the most influential members of the congregation, for example elders and deacons in the church council. On the other hand it may be the case that a pastor has gained a position of considerable authority and is not willing to let others take part in the leadership of the life and work in the congregation. Confucianism may thus be a source of both weakness and strength in pastoral leadership. When it comes to the cultivation of pastoral leadership in a Chinese context Swanson's approach implies that both cultivators and candidates must be aware of the inherent tendency towards authoritarianism in the Confucian tradition. It is important to identify and correct elements in this tradition that are counterproductive in the development of Christian leadership.

With regard to the *Confucian concepts of learning and self-cultivation* I have not found examples of deliberate treatment in Swanson's publications.⁸⁸³ Neither has he specifically addressed or discussed the Confucian view of human nature and the precept of filial piety. It can, nevertheless, be said that his emphasis on ample and solid training and theological education of candidates for pastoral ministry should fit very well the Confucian focus on learning as such. Pastors can be respected leaders if they have knowledge and insights in Christian theology and the history of the church in some of the same manner as Confucianists have it in terms of the teaching and historical developments described in the Chinese classic writings. As far as the Confucian concept of self-cultivation is concerned there is a certain parallel in Swanson's emphasis on the shaping of integrity in candidates for ministry. In this process a great deal of responsibility rests on the candidates themselves.

4.2.2.4 Concluding remarks

A great variety of sources have been used in the above portrait of Swanson and his contribution to the preparation of candidates for pastoral leadership in Taiwan. My description and exploration have shown that he favors a contingency approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. In his opinion it is necessary and possible to establish sufficient knowledge about both the individual candidates and the context. To some extent he has dealt with specific issues in the Confucian tradition that can or will influence the preparation of pastors for their role and tasks as leaders. He has focused on the practice and patterns of leadership influenced by an authoritarian form of Confucianism. Other key issues in the Confucian tradition have not been given the same attention.

⁸⁸³ In my interviews with him I failed to ask Swanson specific questions about the two Confucian concepts, nor did he emphasize their role and importance from his own point of view.

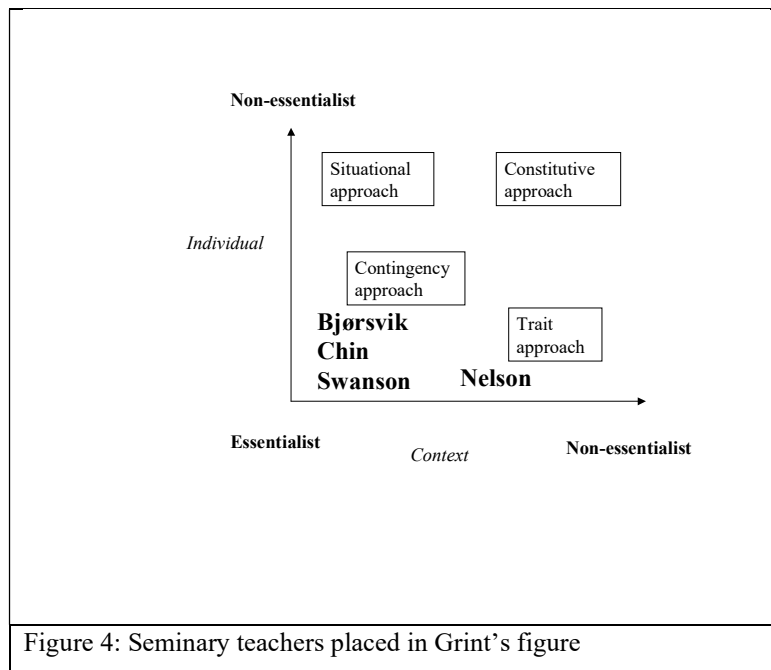
4.3 Summary of chapter four

Four teachers have been presented in this chapter, three Westerners and one Chinese. Through their lectures and instruction in the fields of dogmatics and pastoral theology they contributed to the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC. A response from one of the students at TLS illustrates how the teaching was received. In his congratulatory remarks Niu Hsi-erh 牛錫爾 gives thanks on behalf of the first graduating class to all the teachers for their constant 愛護與教訓 *ai-hu yü chiao-hsün* (loving care and lesson).⁸⁸⁴ The expression 教訓 *chiao-hsün* (lesson) has a sense of moral in it, indicating that the teachers had given more than just classroom instruction and lectures. In Chinese culture 教訓 *chiao-hsün* (lesson) is one of the most important things you expect to get and to learn from a teacher, and, if combined with love and care, the more the student will be influenced and molded by the relationship. According to Niu, who refers to the Chinese saying 學無止境 *hsüeh wu chih-ching* (there is no end to learning),⁸⁸⁵ the graduates were well aware that they had only learnt the basics of theology. In terms of pastoral identity, however, Niu says that they graduated with a clear sense of going into a shepherding ministry.

With regard to the type of approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership there is not much variation between the four teachers. Three of them represent a contingency type and one of them a trait/contingency approach. This can be illustrated by placing them into Grint's interpretative model.

⁸⁸⁴ Niu Hsi-erh, ed., *Chi-tu chih p'u*, 36.

⁸⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 37.



It should be noted that the vertical placement of Bjørsvik, Chin and Swanson in the contingency “corner” of the model is alphabetical and, therefore, not meant to indicate a difference between them. The nuances in their approaches are related to the variety of elements included in their suggested knowledge about the individual candidate and the context of their cultivation and prospective pastoral ministry. These nuances are not identified in the above figure.

As far as the Confucian concepts are concerned my description and exploration has shown that none of the teachers offered these concepts specific and detailed attention in their approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. My investigation has revealed, however, that the Confucian concepts have a certain importance⁸⁸⁶ in view of the implications of each teacher's approach. My evaluation of this importance is indicated in the below table.

⁸⁸⁶ For my treatment of the term “importance,” see my presentation of the theological operationalization in chapter three, section 3.2.3.

Teacher	Rank of Confucian concepts		
	Most important	Less important	Least important
Russell Nelson	learning	leadership	self-cultivation
Chin Chung-an	leadership	learning	self-cultivation
Lars Bjørsvik	learning	leadership	self-cultivation
Allen J. Swanson	leadership	learning	self-cultivation

Table 7: Seminary teachers and rank of Confucian concepts

Further comments about the findings in this chapter will be given in chapter seven, in which the combined results of the study will be analyzed and evaluated.

5 Seminary textbooks

In this chapter a limited selection of seminary textbooks will be presented: one textbook in dogmatics and two textbooks in pastoral theology. The textbook in dogmatics is a Chinese translation of a book written by a Westerner, whereas the textbooks in pastoral theology have Chinese authors. As mentioned in chapter one (section 1.2.4) I have not aimed at a probability sample of data in order to establish reliable generalizations. In this chapter I provide only examples of textbooks that were used in the two settings in which TLC pastors have been trained. The first two books were used in the Lutheran seminaries (LTS and TLS), whereas the third book represents the teaching at CES.

For each textbook I will follow the same three-step procedure. Following a biographical and theological portrait the focus will be on the actual author's treatment of understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. As none of the textbooks have sections dealing with pastoral leadership specifically in a Confucian setting, the third step in my procedure is to describe and explore how each author's approach to such leadership fits into this setting. According to my research model I will especially look for implications with regard to the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation.

5.1 The textbook in dogmatics by Henry Eyster Jacobs

The key textbook in dogmatics for the TLC pastors trained at LTS⁸⁸⁷ and TLS⁸⁸⁸ was a translation of *A Summary of the Christian Faith*⁸⁸⁹ by Henry Eyster Jacobs (1844-1932). The book was translated into Chinese by Oscar Rudolph Wold 伍禮德 (1874-1928).⁸⁹⁰ In his

⁸⁸⁷ This applies to the eight LTS graduates between 1949 and 1958 who became pastors in TLC. See the historical overview in chapter two, section 2.1.4.1.

⁸⁸⁸ This applies to the whole period the seminary was in operation, i.e. 1957-1966.

⁸⁸⁹ I have had access to the two-volume third edition, which appears as a reprint of the first edition published in 1928 by the Lutheran Board of Publication. See Henry Eyster Jacobs, *Chiao-i shen-hsüeh (vol. 1) [Doctrinal theology. Orig. title: A summary of the Christian faith]*, trans. O.R. Wold, 3 ed., 2 vols. (Hong Kong: Lutheran Missions Literature Society, 1952), Jacobs, *Chiao-i shen-hsüeh (vol. 2)*. For the original, see Henry Eyster Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith* (Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1905). The author dedicated the book to the "Candidates for the Ministry of the Gospel" (p. v). In a catechism fashion, consisting of 41 chapters, each with several questions and answers, his main purpose is to make an attempt to "restate the doctrines of the Christian Faith upon the basis of the Lutheran Confessions" (p. vii). One of his concerns was to contextualize Lutheranism in America, both by expressing it in English, and also by giving it a form "adapted to a new land and a new age" (p. viii). *The Spiritual Priesthood of Believers*, by Philip J. Spener, first published 1677, is included as an appendix.

⁸⁹⁰ Wold, a missionary pastor with the Hauge Synod Mission (which merged with the LUM in 1917), was president of LTS from its founding in 1913 until his death in 1928. See Carlberg, *The*

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preface Wold gave the following comments about the importance of this book, on behalf of himself and the Chinese who assisted in the translation work:

This book is translated from *A Summary of the Christian Faith* by Dr. Henry Eyster Jacobs. It is now offered to the Christians of China. As translator I would like to say a few words about the original: What we endeavor with this book is to express and explain the basics of the Christian faith according to the Lutheran confessions . . . [*sic*] in order to provide material for discussion and study to theological students, pastors and some lay people. Since important theological terms are widely used and the aim has been to discuss all theories in the field of theology, we apologize for possible mistakes in translating the many complex idioms. [...] As we present this important work in dogmatics to our seminary students, we cannot think of a more useful textbook. [...] As translators we share the author's hope⁸⁹¹ for this book: if this book can express in Chinese and give witness to our Christian faith; if it can serve as an explanation of the important Lutheran doctrines in relation to the general conditions in today's China; if it can express the Lutheran spirit in the religious and theological environment in China; if it can help our local churches and schools not only to share our common heritage, but also serve as a source of strength and assist us in our daily life; if it can lead our seminary students to a more serious study of the Bible and our pastors to a deeper appreciation of the "wondrous works of God," and help them to share with their own people what they have received themselves; if it can lead people to realize even more the matters of the heart, the eternal, basic, and lasting matters, and pay less attention to external, temporary, accidental, and changing matters, the printing of this translation will not be in vain or without meaning.⁸⁹²

It remained the main textbook for several years⁸⁹³ and was most likely studied by all the members of the first generation of TLC pastors. Whereas the first Chinese edition was called

changing China scene, 73-74. He was a staunch defender of the Lutheran faith, as can be seen from one of his speeches: "Some over fifteen years ago we met on this hill, a Finlander, a Norwegian and two Americans. We had been selected by our respective missions to teach Theology in the same seminary. We were strangers one to another, had barely met before, had been reared differently, had been used to conditions entirely different. Could it work well? [...] We may have had different ideas of many things but our views of Theology have not differed essentially. What is the reason? Again the answer is the Confessions of our Church, and especially the Augustana. Their importance cannot be overestimated. Our pastors and evangelists should be thoroughly familiar with them." See Oscar Rudolph Wold, "How can the solidarity and growth of the Lutheran Church of China be furthered?," in *Third General Assembly, the Lutheran Church of China* (Shekow, Hupeh: [Lutheran Board of Publication], 1928), 48-49.

⁸⁹¹ When Wold refers to the "hope" for the book, he adapted this part of Jacobs' preface to the Chinese context. Cf. the original: "If this book will be of service in proving that the faith of our Fathers is capable of being expressed in English language in what is not a mere translation, and in aiding in restatement of Lutheran doctrine in a form adapted to a new land and a new age; if it will be the means of representing correctly the spirit of Lutheranism to the religious world and theological circles in America;" see Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, viii.

⁸⁹² Jacobs, *Chiao-i shen-hsüeh* (vol. 1), i-ii.

⁸⁹³ By 1954 a translation of an alternative book in systematics had been published; see Gustaf Aulén, *Chi-tu-chiao chih hsin-yang* [Orig. title: *The faith of the Christian church*], trans. S.L. Hsieh and C.H. Wang, First ed. (Hong Kong: Lutheran Missions Literature Society, 1954). This translation, based on an English version, was solely the accomplishment of two of the Chinese faculty

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教義神學 *chiao-i shen-hsüeh* (dogmatics), the title of the second edition, namely, 基督教信仰的總剛 *chi-tu chiao hsin-yang te tsung-kang* (the general principles of the [Protestant] Christian faith) is closer to the original.⁸⁹⁴ Most of those who have studied the book during their theological education, refer to it by saying, “In dogmatics I read 雅各布 *ya ke pu* (Jacobs).”⁸⁹⁵

5.1.1 Biographical and theological portrait

Henry Eyster Jacobs was born in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania in 1844. Coming from a German-American family he received his education in the city’s Lutheran College and Seminary. From 1864 to 1867 served as professor in the College, and following some years as home missionary, pastor, and then teacher at other colleges he was appointed professor of Systematic Theology at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia in 1883, a position he held until his death in 1932.⁸⁹⁶ This Lutheran seminary, established in 1864, was related to the General Council⁸⁹⁷ of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America. Jacobs himself gave a proud description and characterization of the school.

Ninety years after it had first been propounded, the project of Muhlenberg was at last realized. The success which has attended the seminary has been due, not to its accidental location in a city, but, first to its historical position on the very spot of the earliest struggles of the Lutheran Church in America, and as the heir of the labors and institutions of the founders of the church; secondly, to its geographical position in the very focus of the large German-American population of eastern Pennsylvania and New

members at LTS. Judged by the fact that Jacobs’ textbook was retranslated in the late 1950s, it seems to have remained the primary alternative among both faculty and students at LTS and TLS.

⁸⁹⁴ Most Chinese, even those with only a rudimentary knowledge of the Christian tradition, are familiar with a traditional line of division between 基督教 *chi-tu chiao* (the church of Christ) and 天主教 *t’ien-chu chiao* (the church of the heavenly lord). These expressions are commonly understood as referring to the Protestant and (Roman) Catholic churches respectively. An example is found in a story told by an Augustana missionary in China. She got a ride with a donkey, led by a 15 year old Christian boy. “I mounted his donkey and he asked me as we started off: ‘Thank the Lord. Are you of the Heavenly Lord Church (Catholic Church)?’ ‘No, I am from the Joyful News Church (the Protestant Church).’ ‘Thank the Lord. That is better yet. I am Protestant, too.’” The following conversation between the two revealed how this Chinese was unaware that the church he belonged to was a Lutheran church. See Alyce Eleanor S. Anderson, “The donkey boy,” *Augustana Overseas*, April 1947, 9.

⁸⁹⁵ This impression is based on my conversations with relevant LTS and TLS graduates in Taiwan and Hong Kong, March 1997.

⁸⁹⁶ A brief biography is found in Lueker, ed., *Lutheran cyclopedia*, 527.

⁸⁹⁷ For a presentation of the origins of this group of Lutherans, see August R. Suelflow and E. Clifford Nelson, “Following the frontier 1840-1875,” in *The Lutherans in North America*, ed. E. Clifford Nelson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 230-238.

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York City and its suburbs; and, thirdly, and chiefly, to the fact that it has never wavered in its devotion to the Lutheran Church, and in expounding Lutheran doctrines with all clearness and decision.⁸⁹⁸

In spite of the reputation of Jacobs and his seminary, one could expect that the faculty at LTS in Shekow would have looked for a textbook written by someone from their own constituencies to be given in the hands of their Chinese students. The faculty probably felt a considerable challenge to find and agree upon a book that could reflect the patterns of theology, church polity and pastoral ministry they themselves represented. Among the available alternatives, however, there were few books that had the same status and wide recognition as the one by Jacobs.⁸⁹⁹ It is also likely that Jacobs' doctrinal approach was close enough to the mainstream of Lutheran theology represented by the teachers at LTS, and later also at TLS.⁹⁰⁰ As late as the 1950s no serious contenders had been found, and the second Chinese edition was published.⁹⁰¹

⁸⁹⁸ Henry Eyster Jacobs, *A history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, Fifth ed., The American church history series (volume IV) (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 463. Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787) organized the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1748, the first Lutheran synod in the United States. Having been persuaded by August Hermann Francke in the pietist center in Halle, Germany, to serve the Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, he travelled to America in 1742.

⁸⁹⁹ Possible American-Lutheran works to be chosen could have been among the following: Heinrich Schmid, *The doctrinal theology of the Evangelical Lutheran church*, trans. Henry Eyster Jacobs Charles A. Hay (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Lutheran Bookstore, 1876), Milton Valentine, *Christian theology*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: 1906), Conrad Emil Lindberg, *Christian dogmatics and notes on the history of dogma*, trans. Conrad Emanuel Hoffsten (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, 1922). See Todd W. Nichol, "Letter to Gustav Steensland, 2 October 1998," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998). The NMS faculty members at LTS in the early 1920s, namely, Olav Dalland (at LTS 1920-1925) and Birger Sinding (at LTS 1921-1922, 1925-1927), could have suggested works such as Gisle Johnson, *Grundrids af den systematiske Theologi : til Brug ved Forelæsninger [Outline of systematic theology : for use in lectures]* ([Christiania]: [Dybwad], [1885?]), Ole Hallesby, *Den kristelige tros lære : I. Principlæren [Doctrine of the Christian faith : I. Doctrinal principles]*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Kristiania: Lutherstiftelsens Forlag, 1920), Ole Hallesby, *Den kristelige tros lære : II. Den specielle del [Doctrine of the Christian faith : II. Doctrinal topics]*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Kristiania: Lutherstiftelsens Forlag, 1921). Hallesby's two-volume textbook was in fact translated into Chinese in by Notto Normann Thelle around 1951, but was apparently not approved for publication; see Lutheran Missions Literature Society, *Minutes of the fourth meeting of the editorial committee of the Lutheran Missions Literature Society 22 September 1951* (Hong Kong, 22 September 1951), 1. The NMS faculty members were probably also familiar with Schmid's textbook. See Birkeli and Tidemann Strand, *Kallet og veien*, 37-38. Erland Sihvonen (at LTS 1915-1929) from FMS might have recommended Axel Fredrik Granfelt, *Kristlig dogmatik [Christian dogmatics]*, 3 ed. (Helsingfors: Holm, 1880), Gustaf Johansson, *Kristillinen uskonoppi [Doctrine of the Christian faith]* (Helsinki: Suomen Lähetykseura [Finska Missionsällskapet], 1924), Gustaf Johansson, *Kristillinen siveysoppi [Doctrine of Christian ethics]* (Helsinki: Suomen Lähetykseura [Finska Missionsällskapet], 1925).

⁹⁰⁰ "The mentality of this period [1870-1930] in the life of Augustana has earlier been described as the preservation and growth of a tradition. [...] The Lutheran dogmaticians of the seventeenth century were considered to be the orthodox and normative interpreters of the Lutheran tradition.

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“His [Jacobs’] primary interest was with the tradition and heritage of Lutheranism,”⁹⁰² and the General Council, although strongly confessionally minded, demonstrated “a willingness to tolerate differences in the interpretation and application of the confessions [...]”⁹⁰³ This attitude became evident in the discussions about union in American Lutheranism in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and the General Council held the middle ground in this debate. One of Jacobs’ main objectives was to contribute to unity among Lutherans, without sacrificing the “essential and permanent” elements.⁹⁰⁴ Jacobs had also written and edited many other books that were extensively used at Lutheran seminaries in America.⁹⁰⁵ To many he was known as “scholar, teacher, theologian, historian and churchman.”⁹⁰⁶ He wanted

Not only Augustana, but almost all immigrant Lutheran groups in America exhibit this same development.” Karl E. Mattson, "The theology of the Augustana Lutheran Church," in *Centennial essays : Augustana Lutheran Church 1860 - 1960*, ed. Emmer Engberg, Conrad Bergendoff, and Edgar M. Carlson (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Press, 1960), 46.

⁹⁰¹ Early in the 1950s there came an initiative to work out a new translation. See Lutheran Missions Literature Society, *Minutes of the fourth meeting of the editorial committee of the Lutheran Missions Literature Society 22 September 1951*. The fact that Eid and his Chinese assistants were willing to invest a lot of time and energy in this project, sponsored by the LTS, underlines their regard of the lasting importance of this book. “We will also express our deep-felt gratitude to the translation committee led by Rev. Luthard Eid. They have worked very hard and with sincere determination. The last two years they have worked at least four days a week and no less than five hours every day.” See Wang Han-chang, "Hsü [Preface]," in *Chi-tu-chiao hsin-yang te tsung-kang [Orig. title: A summary of the Christian faith]* (Hong Kong: Lutheran Missions Literature Society, 1960), ii.

⁹⁰² Eugene L. Fevold, "Coming of age 1875-1900," in *The Lutherans in North America*, ed. E. Clifford Nelson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 306.

⁹⁰³ *ibid.*, 329.

⁹⁰⁴ Henry Eyster Jacobs, "Constructive Lutheranism," in *Essentials of a Catholic spirit*, ed. F. H. Knobel (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1900), 26.; in this essay the author, at the time dean at Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, outlines his arguments and recommendations for unity among Lutherans. He expresses his joy in seeing the formation of the United Lutheran Church in America accomplished. One of his primary concerns is to make Lutheranism relevant in the American context.

⁹⁰⁵ He covered several theological disciplines, such as New Testament exegesis, church history, and systematic theology. In 1869 he published his first book, a translation of Hutter’s *Compendium Locorum Theologicorum* (first published in 1610, and in numerous editions and translations since), and throughout the rest of his life almost all of his studies “were placed in printed form”; see Henry Eyster Horn, ed., *Memoirs of Henry Eyster Jacobs : notes on a life of a churchman*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Huntington, Pennsylvania: Church Management Service, Inc., 1974), viii. In co-operation with other scholars, both from Europe and the various Lutheran synods in America, he also edited a reference volume on Lutheranism; see Henry Eyster Jacobs and John A. W. Haas, eds., *The Lutheran cyclopedia*, 1 ed. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1899). Jacobs and Charles A. Hay also translated a major German Lutheran work, which is a compilation of selected statements by key Lutheran theologians during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Heinrich Schmid, *The doctrinal theology of the Evangelical Lutheran church*, trans. Henry Eyster Jacobs Charles A. Hay, 1961 reprint ed. (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1899).

⁹⁰⁶ Horn, ed., *Memoirs of Henry Eyster Jacobs : notes on a life of a churchman*, xii.

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to establish a vantage point from which the many controversies and battles in the Christian community could be wisely evaluated. For him it was important to engage in necessary battles only, and to understand the strengths and weaknesses of both sides. Probably more than anything else, his appreciation and thorough study of classic Lutheran texts and theology provided a lookout from which he could consider any matter in his own time.⁹⁰⁷

Jacobs himself was well aware of the need to make his theology relevant in the American context. This does not imply, however, that he was willing to change the contents of the Lutheran heritage.

If this book will be of service in providing that the faith of our Fathers is capable of being expressed in the English language in what is not a mere translation, and in aiding in restatement of Lutheran doctrine in a form adapted to a new land and a new age; if it will be the means of representing correctly the spirit of Lutheranism to the religious world and theological circles of America; [...] if it will lead the students of Theology to become devoted scholars of the Holy Scriptures, and pastors to grow ever more profoundly into the contemplation of “the deep things of God,” and their application to their people; if it will withdraw the attention of men from that which is merely outward and temporal, the incidental and changing, to that which is inner and eternal, the essential and permanent, its publication will not be in vain.⁹⁰⁸

Lutherans coming to America had to realize (and for some of them it took longer than for others) that their faith had to take root in “a new land and a new age.” What is now labeled contextualization had been going on for a long time already in 1905, when Jacobs published his book, in English!⁹⁰⁹ The Lutherans in the Eastern parts of United States, to which Jacobs belonged, had a longer history behind them on American soil than most of those who had settled farther west. At the same time, there seems to be a pattern with each new wave of immigrants, who would cherish their own heritage, culture and language for a certain number of years. This pattern also influenced the General Council, which received a lot of new

⁹⁰⁷ “In the midst of his confusion [in his early years and as a seminary student], he combed through the Lutheran authorities of the Age of orthodoxy, found the best statements about specific doctrines, committed them to memory, and then grew into their meaning till they actually spoke through his own words. In the center of all seems to be the Lutheran dogmatician, Martin Chemnitz. Once Henry Jacobs came to this position, he maintained it staunchly throughout his life.” *ibid.*, vii.

⁹⁰⁸ Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, viii-ix (author’s preface).

⁹⁰⁹ Some of the Lutherans in America struggled with the transfer from German to the language of the New World, and the Scandinavians felt the same when they had to leave their mother tongues behind. For example Luther Seminary in St. Paul offered classes in Norwegian even into the 1930s. See Roy A. Harrisville, “Interpreting the Scriptures,” in *Striving for ministry : Centennial essays interpreting the heritage of Luther Theological Seminary*, ed. Warren A. Quanbeck, Eugene L. Fevold, and Gerhard E. Frost (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1977), 124.

Germans members in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁹¹⁰ Through struggles and frustrations they gradually adapted to the “strange new world.”⁹¹¹

5.1.2 Characteristics of Jacobs’ approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership

Jacobs’ theology of the church and the sacraments is the most suitable vantage-point for a description of his view of pastoral leadership and the role of “all who preside over churches, whether they be called pastors or elders or bishops.”⁹¹² In line with the order of the articles in the Augsburg Confession, however, his point of departure is not the church as such, but the Gospel. Any means, offices and structures in the church must support the propagation of the message of justification by faith. This message and its creative power come to us, both as individuals and as a congregation, through the means of grace, namely, the Word and the sacraments.⁹¹³ The task of providing these gifts of God to people is entrusted to the Church, which commission ministers to administer these gifts.

To whom does the right to administer the Sacraments belong? The Power of the Keys, i.e., of administering both Word and Sacrament belongs to the Church or congregation of believers. [...] But in order that this right be exercised by the Church, the office of the ministry of the Word and Sacraments has been instituted. [...] The Sacraments, therefore, are administered by ministers, not as individuals directly commissioned by divine authority, nor as a self-perpetuating order, but as the executives of the congregation of believers, who have been called and duly recognized as such in whatever way it sees fit. As the administration of the Sacraments belongs not to believers as individuals, there is no transfer to ministers of individual rights, but there is simply the designation of those who are to fill an office which belongs to a congregation collectively. “Of Ecclesiastical Order they teach that no one should publicly teach in the Church or administer the Sacraments unless he be regularly called”

⁹¹⁰ Fevold, "Coming of age 1875-1900," 349.

⁹¹¹ See E. Clifford Nelson, ed., *The Lutherans in North America*, 1980 paperback edition, with supplement ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975). “At the same time that America’s Lutherans were both struggling with one another over theological issues and seeking to overcome differences in order to form mergers and establish church fellowship, the process of Americanization was going on. The process might be delayed by efforts at religious and cultural isolation but it was inevitable. Adaptation to the American environment was an ongoing development for a church which was continuously receiving recruits from abroad. Successive generations of Lutheran immigrants experienced the tensions of adjusting to a new social environment at the same time that they tried to preserve their religious and cultural heritage.” Fevold, "Coming of age 1875-1900," 348-349.

⁹¹² Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, 421.

⁹¹³ “In what two ways is the Gospel applied as a Means of Grace? Either to a congregation, i.e. a number of persons at the same time; or to an individual, separate and apart from all others. The former occurs in preaching; the latter in the pastoral care of souls, in the absolution, and in the Sacraments.” *ibid.*, 311.

(Augsburg Confession, XIV, 345).⁹¹⁴

The means of grace are the livelihood of Christian communities, and in times when ministers are not readily available, the question of exceptions to this general order in the church comes up. In answering this question Jacobs refers to “the practice of the Lutheran Church,” as there are no specific articles in the confessional documents to settle the issue. Lay baptism is allowed “in case of extreme necessity,” but the administration of the Lord’s Supper is for ministers only.⁹¹⁵

That the ministry is an important element in the life of the church is partly revealed by the fact that he has devoted 27 pages to the chapter on this topic.⁹¹⁶ Jacobs is very careful in his definition of ordained ministry in order to establish a Lutheran position between those of the Roman Catholic Church and churches of the Reformed tradition. The ministry derives its meaning and function from the understanding of the Gospel rather than from a hierarchical or a strictly defined church polity. What is then the ministry?

An office entrusted to certain persons, specially prepared and set apart for its duties. In the wide sense, every office in the Church, is a ministry, and the distinction between ministers and laymen is one between the office-bearers and the non-official members of the Church. In a narrower sense, the term belongs only to those commissioned by the Church to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments. [...] It is not within the liberty of the Church to dispense with the office. For it rests upon a divine institution. 1 Cor. 12:28-- “God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then divers [*sic*] kinds of healings, helps, governments,” etc. Eph. 4:11-- “And he gave some to be apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering.” The form and mode of office may vary. Some of these forms are but temporary and belong only to the period of the founding of Christianity; but the permanency of organization under bearers of an office pervades all that has been written concerning the Apostolic Church. A ministry is indispensable to the establishment, growth and proper administration of the Church.⁹¹⁷

The office of ministry is divinely instituted, but it can take different forms at different times and places. This argument is of great importance to Jacobs, who wants to provide a rationale for the foundation and polity of the Lutheran church in America. As Lutheran congregations and synods were established in this new environment, “the Church passed from its missionary to its settled form,” and “provisional plans were succeeded by more permanent

⁹¹⁴ *ibid.*, 318.

⁹¹⁵ “Are there no exceptions? It has been the practice of the Lutheran Church to allow Lay Baptism in case of extreme necessity, but not to allow under any circumstances an exception in regard to the Lord's Supper.” *ibid.*, 318-319.

⁹¹⁶ *ibid.*, 419-446.

⁹¹⁷ *ibid.*, 419-420.

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adjustments.”⁹¹⁸ Although many of the offices, mentioned in the quotations from 1 Corinthians and Ephesians, in his opinion have merged into one, namely “that of the local pastor, teacher, preacher and chief presbyter or president of the congregation,” his approach allows for freedom to institute other offices to serve the needs and interests of the church.⁹¹⁹

Given this basic freedom to adapt and apply various forms of ministry, the work of the ordained ministry is the primary task in any congregation. It is ranked above that ministry “which is occupied with the details of Church government and external administration.”⁹²⁰ What can sustain and expand the life in the congregations is of a primarily spiritual nature.

The end of the ministry, therefore, is not simply to increase, from year to year, the roll of communicants, but to deepen each member of the Church in all the gifts and graces of Christian character. The outward extension of the Church and all about it that meets men's eyes are subordinate to its inner growth, i.e. to the bringing to men “righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost” (Rom. 14:17). Such is the only test of a successful pastorate.⁹²¹

Thus it can be said that Jacobs has a vision of the “pastorate” that fulfils its meaning in the context of the local congregation. The relationship between the pastor and this community is such that the pastor fills “an office that belongs to a congregation collectively.”⁹²² The call from the congregation to an individual is what constitutes the ministry, and ordination and appointment is the public confirmation of this call. Ordination is, therefore, not a sacrament.

Christ did not command that His ministers be set apart by the laying on of hands, neither did He institute such a rite by His example. There is, indeed, Apostolic precedent for the formal commissioning of missionaries and pastors in this way (Acts 13:3; 1 Tim. 4:14; 2 Tim. 1:6); but no command that this must always occur. It is the call, and not the laying on of hands that makes one a minister. Besides this rite has no earthly element. The scholastics and Roman teachers are divided as to whether it be the hands of the officiating bishop or the chrism,⁹²³ or be [*sic*] found in the Sacrament of

⁹¹⁸ *ibid.*, 420.

⁹¹⁹ *ibid.*, 421. His argument for this merging into one office is that the “period of extraordinary was succeeded by that of only ordinary gifts of the Spirit” Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, 420-421.

⁹²⁰ Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, 444.

⁹²¹ *ibid.*, 445. Cf. also his comments on the importance of the sense of community in the church: “Pastors and congregations languish as they are self-centered. As in secular life, the condition of progress is ‘public spirit,’ and intelligent ‘public opinion’ is a far more potent factor than the tyranny of political parties or even the influence of legislation; so, for a healthful religious life, the wide outlook of the Gospel and the community of interests which this establishes and develops, accomplish more than all external efforts at ecclesiastical organization. The strength of an outward organization depends upon whether or not it be a true expression of inner oneness. First unity, then union.” Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, 394.

⁹²² Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, 318.

⁹²³ The consecrated oil, used in the Roman Catholic church in the administration of baptism, confirmation, ordination, etc..

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the eucharist which is partaken of in both kinds by the person ordained. As to the gift referred to in 1 Tim. 4:14 and 2 Tim. 1[:]6, this is not the forgiveness of sins, but the gifts needed for efficiency as a minister of the Gospel.⁹²⁴

Although ordination is not the entrance into a class or order within the church, Jacobs sees some benefits coming from a balance between the responsibilities of the laymen and the ministers. The voice of both laity and ministers must be heard in the choice of pastors, and the ministers have their own forum, the ministerium.⁹²⁵ Their training and experience make them fit to evaluate the qualifications of candidates for ordination, but laymen participate in the extending of the call to the desired individual.⁹²⁶

In Jacobs' opinion cultivation and training of candidates for the ministry are important aspects as well. It takes more than the study of textbooks (such as Jacobs' own) to become a theologian. He expresses himself as follows in the preface:

An injustice, we believe, is done some of the great dogmaticians of our Church, when their works are criticized because of the dryness and scholastic form of their treatment.

⁹²⁴ Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, 317.

⁹²⁵ For a brief introduction to the origin of this forum of ministers in the American Lutheran context, see Henry Eyster Jacobs, "Ministerium," in *The Lutheran cyclopedia*, ed. Henry Eyster Jacobs and John A. W. Haas (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899). The two oldest synods in America were called "Ministerium of Pennsylvania," and "Ministerium of New York," founded 1748 and 1786 respectively. In 1786 lay delegates were given the right to have seat and vote in the meetings of the New York group, "except in the examination of the theological standing of a candidate or the orthodoxy of a preacher who is accused of false teachings." Similar constitutional changes were made in Pennsylvania six years later. "It may therefore be said that in 1792 both the Ministerium of New York and the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States became synods made up of clerical and lay delegates, although sentimentally the name 'ministerium' was still adhered to." See Theodore G. Tappert, "The church's infancy 1650-1790," in *The Lutherans in North America*, ed. E. Clifford Nelson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 52. In the national Lutheran churches in Finland and Sweden, and to a lesser extent also in Denmark and Norway, there had been a tradition with so-called *prästmöte* (ministers' meeting). This forum was some kind of continuation of the so-called *diocesan synods* (meetings between the clerics and the bishop in a given diocese); see Sigurd Kroon, Svend Borregaard, and Einar Molland, "Prästmöte [Ministers' meeting]," in *Nordisk teologisk uppslagsbok för kyrka och skola*, ed. Ragnar Askmark and (et al.) (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups Förlag, 1957).

⁹²⁶ "How is this accomplished?" asks Jacobs. "When the examination and the approval of the examination are allotted to the ministers, and the voice of the laity is heard, either in the local congregation, or representatively in Synods in calling a candidate to a definite field of labor." Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, 429. Whereas the Norwegian-American Lutheran churches in the United States preferred a system where laity and pastors met together in the synods, the polity of Augustana was more in line with Jacobs' recommendation on this point. A ministerium of the Augustana type was introduced to the LCC, and later also adopted into the constitution of TLC. See section 24, "基督教台灣信義會牧師團組織條例 *chi-tu chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i hui mu-shih t'uan tsu-chih t'iao-li* (The regulations and organization of the ministerium of the Taiwan Lutheran Church)," in Taiwan Lutheran Church, "Chi-tu chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i hui : chang-ch'eng, hsi-tse, t'iao-li [Taiwan Lutheran Church : constitution, rules and regulations]," 43-46.

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Where the effort is made to condense the entire compass of Divine Revelation into compact form of a brief volume, the book becomes little more than an index and guide. Men become theologians, not by committing such textbooks; but by clothing the outline with flesh from their constant study of Holy Scripture and Christian experience, whether as read in Church History, or recognized in their own lives, and those nearest to them. The living teacher makes the text-book only the thread of what he gives his students.⁹²⁷

In chapter one, on sources and methods for the knowledge of Scripture, he asks what is the more important of acquaintance with the original languages, or Christian experience. “Undoubtedly the latter, first in one’s own life, and then in the lives of others; but to be a competent and well-furnished teacher of the Christian religion, such as every pastor is called to be, one should have both.”⁹²⁸ Then he quotes Luther, who had formulated a “rule” on this subject: “*Haec tria theologum faciunt: Oratio, Meditatio, Temptatio.* ‘These three things make a theologian: Prayer, Meditation, Trial.’”⁹²⁹

(a) *Prayer* refers not simply to an act, but to the spirit or temper in which all study should be begun, continued and ended. [...] It means the laying aside of all prejudice, party spirit, and arbitrary judgements, the absence of all pride of opinion or learning, and the search for knowledge only to the end that God may thereby be glorified. (b) *Meditation* refers to the contemplative habit with respect to the truths of revelation recorded in Holy Scripture. This finds its material first of all in the Scriptures themselves. They are to be read reverently, attentively, accurately, constantly, obediently, and with more regard to practical than to theoretical ends. [...] (c) *Trial* or Practice. For theology is directed to a practical end. [...] It is in conflict with the trials and temptations of life, that God’s grace is magnified (2 Cor. 12:9). It is in the school of affliction that the riches of God’s revelation are more fully prized.⁹³⁰

Jacobs is confident that sin of human beings is a force to be reckoned with, but still he is quite optimistic about the renovating power of the gospel of justification by faith.⁹³¹ Renovation or sanctification is the “renewal of character and life, wrought by the Holy Spirit.”⁹³² As a pastor ministers and is ministered to “in the use of the Means of Grace,” the result is not only “the cultivation of inward godliness,” but also “support and development of the common life” that exists about the center of a congregation. Although sanctification is an ongoing process throughout a believer’s life, Jacobs sees the value in providing Christian education at a time

⁹²⁷ Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, vii-viii.

⁹²⁸ *ibid.*, 15.

⁹²⁹ *ibid.*, 16.

⁹³⁰ *ibid.*, 16-17.

⁹³¹ In discussing sin and inherited sin, he asks and answers as follows: “How long does it [original sin] remain? Its guilt is removed in justification; its dominion is broken with the beginning of renovation, and gradually and successively disappears as renovation grows.” *ibid.*, 109.

⁹³² *ibid.*, 247-248.

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when a person is most easily molded. This will even enhance the sense of belonging to a community.

The value of a Christian education, and of liberal training under Church influences, lies not merely in the learning of doctrine and the criticism of secular topics from a Christian standpoint, but to a great degree, in the concentration upon the individual, at a formative period, of the common Christian spirit of the Church's life.⁹³³

Individuals are prepared for the call to ministry through a “series of agencies” leading them to seek theological training and subsequently receive the church’s approval as a candidate for the ministry.⁹³⁴

In a settled condition of the Church, men are no longer called directly into the office. But, just as the apostles accompanied their Master for three years, and a considerable period intervened between the immediate call of Paul and his entrance upon his office, so years are required before one can attain that knowledge and maturity of conviction and judgement needful for the duties of the ministry. In every case there have been influences, emanating from the communion of believers that have led to the resolution to seek the ministry.⁹³⁵

It was seen in chapter three that Grint’s model for the understanding of leadership has established a dynamic between knowledge about two factors, namely, the individual and the context.⁹³⁶ In the approach of Jacobs this dynamic is recognizable with respect to his *understanding of pastoral leadership*. The question is how Jacobs evaluates the knowledge that can be established regarding the individual and the context, for example by a church and its institutions for the training of pastors. Below I will recapitulate the main points in his approach in order to seek an answer to the question.

As far as knowledge about the *individual* is concerned Jacobs emphasizes that a pastor is a person “specially prepared and set apart” for the duties of ministry.⁹³⁷ The preparation usually includes formal training at theological seminary and through the student’s participation in class, examinations and practical assignments it is assumed that reliable insights about the candidates are possible. The church and congregations must be confident about the qualities of those whom they will call and ordain. Being thus set apart does not mean, however, that a pastor belongs to a special rank or class in the church. A pastor presides over a congregation not because he has been commissioned directly by a divine authority but because he is regarded as one of the “executives of the congregation of

⁹³³ *ibid.*, 396.

⁹³⁴ *ibid.*, 426.

⁹³⁵ *ibid.*

⁹³⁶ See chapter three, section 3.2.2.

⁹³⁷ Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, 419.

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believers, who have been called and duly recognized as such in whatever way it sees fit.”⁹³⁸ A key aspect in the dynamic between knowledge about the individual and context in Jacobs’ understanding of pastoral leadership is, therefore, the insights about the relationship between the pastor and the local congregation. The *ecclesial context* seems to be the primary context, in other words, the setting and situation within the church itself. Jacobs pays less attention to the *socio-cultural context*. References to this context are mainly found in the preface, in which he says that he hopes his book will serve the needs of the church in “a new land and a new age,”⁹³⁹ i.e. in the United States of America. He wants to assist the church and its leaders to understand and encounter “the religious world and theological circles of America.”⁹⁴⁰ As leaders of congregations the pastors have a special duty to make the Christian message in its Lutheran form known and rightly understood in and beyond the church. In my opinion Jacobs represents a rather trait oriented approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership, without leaving the context completely out of his scope. If a pastor is well prepared, maintains and expands his theological knowledge, and leads a devout Christian life he will be able to adapt to almost any given context.

The quite sharp focus on the individual is also evident in Jacobs’ approach to *cultivation of pastoral leadership*. He balances the task of self-cultivation with various forms of cultivation of candidates by the Christian community and teachers in several fields of education. A pastor should be a person that strives for and is helped to “attain that knowledge and maturity of conviction and judgement needful for the duties of the ministry.”⁹⁴¹ The self-cultivation for a pastoral leadership candidate includes the various facets of Christian experience and conscious study of theology and other relevant subjects. When it comes to the cultivation that a candidate is exposed to, Jacobs has found that influences from the “communion of believers”⁹⁴² are very important. A pastor will serve as a leader in a community that he knows and sees himself as a part of. The time set aside for specialized training in a theological seminary must not be too short. Reading and reflection cannot be satisfactorily done in a hurry and the faculty should have a chance to mold their students by being “living”⁹⁴³

⁹³⁸ *ibid.*, 318.

⁹³⁹ *ibid.*, viii-ix (author’s preface).

⁹⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁹⁴¹ *ibid.*, 426.

⁹⁴² *ibid.*

⁹⁴³ *ibid.*, viii.

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teachers over a longer period of time. It is likely that a pastor will exercise leadership in some of the same manner as his teachers have led their students.

My description and exploration of the contents of Jacobs' textbook has led me to the conclusion that there is a great degree of congruence between his understanding of pastoral leadership and his recommendations for its cultivation. The individual candidate is at the center of attention and Jacobs is fairly confident that a call can be extended and ordination can take place on the basis of sufficient knowledge about the candidate's qualifications. The context of pastoral leadership is not without importance but Jacobs seems to think that the theological insights and Christian experience of the candidate will sustain the cultivation and exercise of pastoral leadership in any given environment. The approach taken by Jacobs can, therefore, be described as a rather trait oriented approach.

5.1.3 Interpretation of Jacobs' approach in light of the Confucian concepts

With the translation and introduction of Jacobs' textbook in a Chinese setting several questions arise regarding its reception and function in this new context. In the first chapter, "Sources and methods,"⁹⁴⁴ Jacobs presents his use of the term religion. This part of his book is the only place in which he mentions Confucianism, as one among the major world religions.⁹⁴⁵ He carefully distinguishes Christian religion from all other religions and he does not deal with the particular doctrines or practices of the other religions.⁹⁴⁶

I have, nevertheless, chosen to analyze how his approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership comes to terms with the three selected Confucian concepts in my research model. This analysis is performed along two lines. One line is represented by a comparison of the concepts of the textbook with the Confucian concepts. The other line has to do with the choice of terms in the Chinese translation and their possible connection with the

⁹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 1-17.

⁹⁴⁵ Neither Confucianism nor any of the other religions mentioned appear in the index of the book; see *ibid.*, 613-630. This fact indicates that Jacobs has not given detailed attention to the relationship between Christianity and other religions in the main chapters of his book.

⁹⁴⁶ "The communion of man with God is Religion subjectively so called. The statement of the principles underlying this communion is Religion objectively so called. In this sense, we speak of the Christian Religion, in which alone, religion in the subjective sense is fully attained; as well as the Jewish Religion, as, prior to Christ, Christianity in the germ, and the Zoroastrian, Confucian, Brahman, Buddhist and Mohammedan religions, which contain a common truth in their recognition in greater or less degree of a Higher Power, and man's helplessness by nature, but which distort and corrupt this truth (Rom. 1:20-23). Christianity, therefore, is not, properly speaking, merely one religion, and that the best, out of many; that is, a species, co-ordinate with Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, etc., within the same genus; but the one, absolute and pure religion. The other religions show the various ways in which men seek after God. Christianity alone shows the way in which God is found." *ibid.*, 6.

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Confucian concepts. As a prelude to my analysis I will say a few words about the task of translation.

It was, of course, not to be expected that the missionaries would look for a Chinese Lutheran theologian to write a textbook of Lutheran dogmatics as early as 1928, only fifteen years after LTS had been founded. The only likely solution was to translate some existing material and the choice fell on Jacobs' volume. One might expect that the American Lutheran missionaries had behind them some amount of thinking and experience regarding the above mentioned task which Jacobs had described as a "restatement of Lutheran doctrine in a form adapted to a new land and a new age."⁹⁴⁷ To a smaller extent his task was also relevant to the Scandinavian arena, which had seen the development of Lutheran churches adapted to the religious and political environments there. With their various backgrounds the missionaries had to face the China of their time. As seminary faculty they had to grapple with the question of how a textbook by an American could function in a Chinese environment. Their own command of Chinese was not sufficient to take on such a task alone, and they had to rely on the best-qualified language helpers available. The result seems to have been well received, and there are good reasons to believe that this handbook in dogmatics was widely used, even beyond the Lutheran community in China.

Since 1928 this book has not only been adopted as a textbook in every theological seminary in this country, but it has also served as a handbook for pastors, evangelists and any truth-seeking Christian, providing good material for reading and study. It has been reprinted three times and all copies have been sold out. [...] The church has used this book to 栽培 *tsai-p'ei* (educate) a lot of 教牧人員 *chiao-mu jen-yüan* (pastors and evangelists), and these pastors and evangelists have used its doctrines to 栽培 *tsai-p'ei* (educate) thousands and ten-thousands of believers.⁹⁴⁸

In chapter two (section 2.2.3.1) the Confucian *concept of leadership* was characterized as rooted in the view of human nature and the precept of filial piety. In spite of several references to the notion of 天 *t'ien* (Heaven), the Confucian concept is dominated by an anthropocentric orientation. And, the predominantly optimistic view of human nature is relevant to this concept of leadership partly because it supports expectations of proper behavior and relations between leaders and subordinates. At this point Jacobs poses a

⁹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, viii.

⁹⁴⁸ Wang Han-chang, "Hsü [Preface]," i-ii. Wang's choice of the expression 栽培 *tsai-p'ei* (literally to plant and cultivate) can be said to be in line with the emphasis on self-cultivation and education in the Confucian tradition. See for example a compilation of themes from the *Analects*, in which two thirds of the book are allocated to these two topics; see Yung Keong-tow, ed., *Confucius says . . . Tzu yüeh*, 1-42 (self-cultivation), and 43-48 (education).

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challenge to the Confucian approach. Pastoral ministry and leadership rest upon “a divine institution”⁹⁴⁹ and individual pastors should be confident that their call does not only come from a community of believers but also from Jesus Christ, through the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Although I have not presented above how Jacobs has laid out his anthropology it is clear that he subscribes to the common Lutheran understanding of man as God’s creation⁹⁵⁰ and of sinfulness as one of the consequences of “the Fall.”⁹⁵¹ It can be said that Jacobs sees pastoral leadership from a theocentric and Trinitarian position. Both the pastor and the members of the congregation depend on the forgiveness of sins and the renewing power of God’s grace in Christ and by the Holy Spirit. With God’s supporting favor man should make efforts to live a good Christian life, also in the relationships between leaders and subordinates. Regarding the behavioral and relational consequences of filial piety with respect to leadership, however, the teaching of Jacobs comes closer to the Confucian position. In fact, Jacobs emphasizes that the family institution has inherent possibilities in the forming and development of persons for their life and work even beyond the family sphere. His interpretation reveals a link between paternal and pastoral leadership roles.

What is the office of the Family? Not only to be the birth-place and nursery of members and ministers of the Church, but a school for the training of husband and wife, parents and children in Christian character, for the strengthening of their faith, the growth of Christian love, the exercise of patience and self-denial and self-sacrificing devotion, and the cultivation and nurture of all influences that are made effective in the service of God. According to the scriptural ideal, the Church is composed of families, i.e., miniature churches, the only true “*ecclesiola in ecclesiis*.” What the pastor is to the congregation, the father is to his household. Each of the parts of Luther’s Catechism begins with the words: “In the plain form in which the father of the household is to teach his family.” He is not only to teach, but daily to pray with his wife and children. The mutual love of husband and wife is to be the outgrowth of their common faith in Christ, their common love and sympathy for all included in Christ’s love, their common possession of the hopes of the Gospel, and their common interest in what is spiritual and eternal and of what is temporal only as subordinated to these higher objects.⁹⁵²

It seems that Jacobs tries to avoid a paternal role with authoritarian features. Mutuality in the relationship between husband and wife sends signals to the rest of the family. As far as pastoral leadership is concerned, Jacobs also tries to balance the importance of the office of ordained ministry with persons that have recommendable attitudes. Such attitudes are partly developed in the proper and healthy relations in the Christian family.

⁹⁴⁹ Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, 419-420.

⁹⁵⁰ See his chapter VII “Man as created,” in *ibid.*, 88-100.

⁹⁵¹ See his chapter VIII “Sin,” in *ibid.*, 101-114.

⁹⁵² From chapter XXXIII “The Christian family,” in *ibid.*, 464. (Jacobs’ italics).

One aspect of the *Confucian concept of learning* has to do with the role of the teacher, who is expected to be able and willing to involve in a sincere dialogue with the students. The pedagogical form chosen by Jacobs suited this aspect very well.⁹⁵³ As a teacher and author he approaches his students and readers as one who is capable of providing solutions to both simple and profound matters. He has divided his book into 41 chapters, each with several questions and answers, in accordance with a well-established pattern.⁹⁵⁴ Both as catechumens and in their pre-seminary education in Bible schools and elsewhere, the TLC seminarians had become accustomed to similar patterns in various editions of the Lutheran catechisms.⁹⁵⁵ This form would easily invite to learning by rote, and, in examinations, and perhaps also after graduation, the candidates could, with the typical Chinese ease in such matters, repeat memorized parts of the textbook.⁹⁵⁶ In the *Analects* the same pattern is found, with questions and answers.⁹⁵⁷ The main difference, however, lies in the fact that in the *Analects* Confucius

⁹⁵³ This was also the experience of the FMS missionary Mirja Pesonen, who used the second edition of Jacobs' textbook in her teaching of dogmatics at CLS 1966-1970. In order to guide her students into the Lutheran dogma as presented by Jacobs' methodological format she would start her classes by giving opportunity to her students "to tell at first, what ideas they had about every subject. [...] When we had studied one chapter, then each student in turn told, what they had learnt about the Lutheran ideas." See Pesonen, "Letter to Gustav Steensland, 5 November 2003."

⁹⁵⁴ "Hutter's Compend, an English translation of which, a number of years ago, served a good purpose, suggested the mode of treatment as well adapted to the use of theological students, intelligent laymen, and active pastors." See Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, vii. An early commentary to Hutter's book has been consulted, and its list of contents shows a striking similarity to the outline in Jacobs' book. See Gottfried Cundisius, *Notae & observationes, quibus Compendium theologicum dn. d. Leonharti Hutteri . . . [Notes & observations, related to the theological textbook by Leonhard Hutter . . .]*, Ed. 2. priori castigatior cum indice triplici . . . ed. (Jenae: Impensis Martini Mülleri bibliopolae Numburgensis, exprimebat Georgius Sengenwald, 1652).

⁹⁵⁵ One of these editions has been reprinted several times. See Ingvald Daehlin and Ih Shao-kang, *Chi-tu-t'u wen-ta = Short explanation of Luther's catechism*, 19 ed. (Hankow: Lutheran Board of Publication, 1946). The Chinese title 基督徒問答 literally means "A Christian's questions and answers." It was still available in the 1960s; see Taosheng Publishing House, "Catalogue," (Hong Kong / Stavanger: Taosheng Publishing House / MHS Library, uncataloged China collection, 1964), 10.

⁹⁵⁶ "Another traditional method of learning is memorization. [...] This is even true among the Chinese seminary students. For example, Victor Hafner gave two different tests on identical subject matter at Concordia Seminary, Chia Yi, Taiwan. The test which could be answered by quoting almost verbatim from the textbook was passed with good marks, but the test which required an understanding of the principles in relation to practical problems was failed by most of the class." See Ch'iu, "Special problems affecting the educational task of the churches with a Chinese-language ministry," 40.

⁹⁵⁷ "For Confucius, education is almost always informal. We can not find a school schedule in the *Analects*, or anywhere that he gives a lecture to his disciples. He is often found in dialogue with

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has dialogue partners, whereas Jacobs both asks the questions and provides the answers himself.

The other main aspect of the Confucian concept of learning is the task of self-education. Confucius was convinced that only a minority is “born with knowledge.”⁹⁵⁸ It is, therefore, a matter of a person’s willingness to study diligently and work hard in order to attain the desired level of insights and understanding. Jacobs wrote his book “to the use of theological students, intelligent laymen, and active pastors.”⁹⁵⁹ The format and content of his treatment of the various dogmatic issues lets the reader know that it takes time and great effort to know the Bible, the Confessions, and the contributions of other theologians. It is the aim of Jacobs that pastors and other preachers and teachers in the church should be knowledgeable and well versed in the Christian message and its application in various settings. Just like Confucius based his teaching on his study of the classic writings, Jacobs refers to the Bible and what he regards as the classics of Christian doctrine from a Lutheran perspective.

In the Confucian tradition the cultivation of leadership also relies on *self-cultivation*. If a leader must be able to be a model and a good example for subordinates and followers, there is a lot of responsibility also for the individual leadership candidate. Knowing the important virtues and practicing them in the daily life in the family and society is a primary expectation. Jacobs does not, of course, deal with the Confucian virtues in his description of what a candidate for pastoral leadership should do in preparation for his ministry. His selection of virtues is taken from the Bible and from the example set by outstanding persons in the history of the Church. There are, however, similarities between the way this preparation is conceived by Jacobs and the Confucian view of self-cultivation. Although Jacobs emphasizes sinful nature of human beings he is optimistic about the prospects of a good and fruitful life for and by those who have become a new creation in Christ through faith and baptism. As the family and other social relationships form the basic environment for self-cultivation in the Confucian approach, the Christian family and community of believers is the place where Jacobs sees the source and energy for self-cultivation of leaders in this community.

In order to exemplify how the Chinese version of Jacobs’ textbook functioned and transmitted doctrines of pastoral leadership in a Chinese Confucian context, a few elements

and travelling with his disciples.” See Lam Tak-ho, “Education in wisdom tradition : a study in the Analects and its implications”, 83 (note 119).

⁹⁵⁸ *Analects* 16:9 in Chan, ed., *A source book in Chinese philosophy*, 45.

⁹⁵⁹ Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, vii.

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from chapter 30, “The Ministry,” will be presented. There are good reasons to believe that the second edition has the best choice of vocabulary,⁹⁶⁰ and this is also the version that was studied by the majority of the first generation of TLC pastors. The first edition, however, will be consulted when necessary.

Whereas the heading “The Ministry” in the original reminded most readers of the Latin word *ministerium* in article 5 of the Augsburg Confession, the heading “職員 *chih-yüan*” (official) in the first Chinese edition puts the focus on the 員 *yüan* (a person holding a position), namely, a person holding the position of 職 *chih* (official duty, office).⁹⁶¹ In the second edition, however, the heading was changed to “聖職 *sheng-chih*” (holy office), which is somewhat closer to the English original by underlining the office as such.⁹⁶² By adding the character 聖 *sheng* (holy), the translators were in line with the common trend to associate this word with a series of church-related words and expressions.⁹⁶³

⁹⁶⁰ A few years after the first edition in 1928, the Lutheran Board of Publication made available a reference book with the purpose of assisting a consistent use of Chinese equivalents to theological and religious terms and names of foreign origin. In the preface the editors express their difficult task: “In trying to present Christian ideas in the Chinese language we can never start out with the perfect term, but must find one which is as good as we know, and then the all important thing is to use it in a definite sort of way with a clear limitation of its field in relation to other ideas. Then it will gradually get the content it should have.” See Sten Bugge and others, eds., *Ying han tsung-chiao ming hui = Dictionary of religious names and terms*, First and tentative ed. (Hankow: Lutheran Board of Publication, 1935), 3. This task was still relevant at a later stage: “The past two years [1958-1959] have been spent translating Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian Faith*, into the Chinese language. Here in handling the basic beliefs of our Lutheran faith, Pastor Eid is very much aware of the necessity to translate them in a correct and meaningful way for the Chinese student or pastor.” See Carl M. Westby Jr., “Luthard Eid : missionary (evangelist, teacher, administrator)” (Unpublished manuscript, Luther Theological Seminary, 1960), 10.

⁹⁶¹ The verb 職 *chih* means “to govern, to oversee, to manage, to direct”; Mathews, *A Chinese-English dictionary : compiled for the China Inland Mission*, 137. This character is used in several generic terms describing officials and their duties.

⁹⁶² The expression 職員 *chih-yüan* is not among the common terms describing the office of (Christian) ministry. “Ministry (ecclesiastical)” has been translated as 牧師職 *mu-shih chih*; see Bugge and others, eds., *Ying han tsung-chiao ming hui = Dictionary of religious names and terms*, 116. 職員 *chih-yüan* was rather used as a more generic term for staff members or employees. In the description of the organization and government of the local congregations in TLC, the pastors, evangelists, elders, deacons, and other offices are all listed as 職員 *chih-yüan*; see Taiwan Lutheran Church, “Chi-tu chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i hui : chang-ch'eng, hsi-tse, t'iao-li [Taiwan Lutheran Church : constitution, rules and regulations],” 14-15.

⁹⁶³ A few examples can be mentioned: 聖靈 *sheng-ling* (Holy Spirit); 聖餐 *sheng-ts'an* (holy meal, i.e. the Lord's Supper), and 聖誕節 *sheng-tan chieh* (holy birth festival, i.e. Christmas).

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This usage of 聖 *sheng* (holy) among Christian churches has not escaped the attention of caretakers of the Confucian tradition in Chinese society.⁹⁶⁴ Although 儒 *ju* (scholar) and 儒家 *ju-chia* (the family or house of scholars) are the most common designations of Confucianism and the Confucian school, this element of Chinese culture is also called 聖教 *sheng-chiao* (holy teaching). Confucius himself has been given the most revered title 聖子 *sheng-tzu* (the sage, literally “the holy son”). To call the office of Christian ministry 聖職 *sheng-chih* (holy ministry) claims considerable status for this office, although the term as such was an invention by those who coined and introduced it.

Jacobs underlined that a number of the offices in the church in the apostolic age later on merged into one, namely 如牧師, 教師, 傳道人, 長老或會長等 *ju mu-shih, chiao-shih, chuan-tao jen, chang-lao huo hui-chang teng* (that of the pastor, evangelist, preacher, elder or president of the congregation).⁹⁶⁵ The Chinese titles chosen here were the common designations of these functions in LCC, ELCHK and TLC. To the Chinese readers it must have been somewhat confusing that all these functions essentially were to be found in one office only, since they were used to encounter them in different persons in their congregations. It might make sense that a 牧師 *mu-shih* (pastor) took care of the tasks of the 教師 *chiao-shih* (evangelist) and 傳道人 *chuan-tao jen* (preacher) if such offices were not filled by separate persons in a given congregation. The responsibilities of the 長老 *chang-lao* (elders), however, were usually entrusted to other persons than the pastor or evangelist. It seems clear that Jacobs’ reason for mentioning the pastor first in this list of ministries is not to rank the ministry of the pastor highest, but rather to indicate that the pastor’s office essentially includes all the functions mentioned. In an actual context where local churches called and

⁹⁶⁴ During my years in Taiwan in the 1980s there were several reports in the media about demands from Confucianists that the Christian churches abandon the usage of 聖誕節 *sheng-tan chieh* (the holy birth festival) for “Christmas.” It should rather be called 耶誕節 *ye-tan chieh* (Jesus birth festival), a designation based on 耶穌 *ye-su*, which is the transliteration of “Jesus.” For further references to Confucius as holy, see above, chapter two, section 2.2.3.2.

⁹⁶⁵ Henry Eyster Jacobs, *Chi-tu-chiao hsin-yang te tsung-kang [The general principles of the Christian faith. Orig. title: A summary of the Christian faith]*, trans. Luthard Eid O. R. Wold, Liu Kuang-t’ien, Hu Ya-ke (James), Revised Chinese ed. (Hong Kong: Lutheran Missions Literature Society, 1960), 537. The original has the following expression: “that of the local pastor, teacher, preacher and chief presbyter” Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, 421.

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appointed evangelists, elders, deacons, and other assistants, Jacobs came to provide the arguments for the particular leadership role of the pastor. These arguments may have supported the role of the pastor as reflected in the constitution of TLC, in the chapter on organization and government of local congregations.

(1) The highest authority in this church organization is 全體教友議事會 *chüan t'i chiao-yu i-shih hui* (the council of all members of the congregation, i.e. the congregational meeting). (2) This church has established board of elders and board of deacons to carry out the church affairs. The rules and regulations for the handling of these affairs are dealt with separately. (3) 職員 *chih-yüan* (officers): a) 牧師 *mu-shih* (pastor): This church 聘請牧師 *p'in-ch'ing mu-shih* (invites pastors for service)⁹⁶⁶ to preach 真道 *chen-tao* (the true word), 施行聖禮 *shih-hsing sheng-li* (administer the sacraments), 領導會務 *ling-tao hui-wu* (lead the church affairs), and also to serve as 主席 *chu-hsi* (chairman) of the congregational meeting and the joint meeting of the board of elders and the board of deacons. [...].⁹⁶⁷

Given the importance of pastoral leadership in the congregations, the selection, training, calling and ordination become decisive elements in the life of the church and of each candidate. Representatives of the church will keep their eyes on the candidates, who during the course of preparation also 一天一天的多知道自己 *i-t'ien i-t'ien te to chih-tao tzu-chi*" (day by day are more and more revealed to themselves).⁹⁶⁸ This expression might serve as an allusion to the Confucian concept of self-cultivation.

The course of preparation has reached its culmination when a candidate obtains the final official approval of the church in the recommendation to 收職 *shou-chih* (receive ordination).⁹⁶⁹ Whereas the English word ordination means the "ceremony of ordaining [i.e. making somebody a priest or minister],"⁹⁷⁰ the Chinese expression 收職 *shou-chih* literally means to receive an office or official duty. In this expression the focus is upon the official ministry as such, without suggestions of something happening to the person being ordained.

⁹⁶⁶ This verb is used in several expressions dealing with official employment and engagement. One example is *p'in-chün*, "a capable scholar recruited by the imperial court for public service" Liang Shih-chiu, ed., *A new practical Chinese-English dictionary*, 876.

⁹⁶⁷ Taiwan Lutheran Church, "Chi-tu chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i hui : chang-ch'eng, hsi-tse, t'iao-li [Taiwan Lutheran Church : constitution, rules and regulations]," 14.

⁹⁶⁸ Jacobs, *Chi-tu-chiao hsin-yang te tsung-kang*, 544.

⁹⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁷⁰ A. S. Hornby and A. P. Cowie, eds., *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary of current English*, 3 ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 590-591.

This brings the Chinese reader very close to Jacobs' point of view, which makes it clear that 聖職是一個職務, 不是一個聖品制 *sheng-chih shih i-ke chih-wu, pu shih i-ke sheng-p'in*⁹⁷¹ *chih*⁹⁷² (the holy ministry is an office, not a system of holy rank).⁹⁷³

5.1.4 Concluding remarks

With Jacobs' textbook the Chinese seminary students and pastors had the framework for and basic expressions of their ministry and leadership in the Lutheran churches in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. It provided them with references to and interpretation of the theological and ecclesial tradition that had formed the Christian fellowship of which they were a part. The Chinese editions of the textbook had transplanted its contents into a cultural environment far beyond the scope of the original.

As far as the Confucian element of this environment is concerned the format and method of the textbook proved helpful for its use and reception among teachers and students alike. Although only sections of the Chinese translation have been reviewed in this study it is quite evident that the choice of Chinese terms had at least two effects. On the one hand, some terms provided connections and allusions to key concepts in the Confucian tradition. On the other hand, some terms were probably new or uncommon for Chinese readers. As a key textbook in Lutheran dogmatics the Chinese version of Jacobs' textbook established fundamental expressions for use in preaching and teaching in the Christian congregations and schools. The indexes of terms in the Chinese editions also have the English equivalents. Apart from this index, however, there are no explanatory notes in the textbook to help the reader understand the choice of terms in the translation and their relationship to Chinese culture.

In the above section about Jacobs' understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership I reached the conclusion that he takes a rather trait oriented approach. Within the framework of Grint's interpretative model a trait approach implies that the most important task is to develop suitable candidates for a defined leadership role. Such development includes the

⁹⁷¹ In this expression the character 品 *p'in* refers to "rank or grade in government service in former times." Liang Shih-chiu, ed., *A new practical Chinese-English dictionary*, 151. The expression 聖品 *sheng-p'in* is translated "Holy Orders" in Mathews, *A Chinese-English dictionary: compiled for the China Inland Mission*, 800.

⁹⁷² The character 制 *chih* means "to establish; to institute; a system" Liang Shih-chiu, ed., *A new practical Chinese-English dictionary*, 101.

⁹⁷³ Jacobs, *Chi-tu-chiao hsin-yang te tsung-kang*, 548.; the original has the following: "For the ministry is an office, not an order." See Jacobs, *A summary of the Christian faith*, 431.

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establishment of reliable knowledge about the individual candidates. Jacobs has presented his recommendations for the preparation of pastors for ministry without a penetrating analysis of how such preparation must relate to the socio-cultural context of the candidates and of their prospective exercise of leadership. Such analysis would have been very useful for both the translation and use of his textbook in the Chinese Confucian setting.

There were, therefore, still quite a few issues that remained to be dealt with. The many practical aspects of pastoral leadership in the congregations raised questions related to the implementation of the Lutheran faith in the Chinese cultural environment. In order to give reliable answers to these questions, the seminary faculty, both Chinese and Westerners, had to make use of their own experience in church and mission work when providing advices regarding the understanding and cultivation of pastoral ministry and leadership. The majority of these advices were not written down and published. Among the exceptions to this pattern is the outline of pastoral theology by one of the Chinese teachers, namely, Peng Fu, whose textbook will be presented in the following section.

5.2 The textbook in pastoral theology by Peng Fu

Peng's textbook 教牧良助 *Chiao-mu liang-chu* (English title: Outline studies of pastoral theology)⁹⁷⁴ was published in 1960. The importance of the book as such for the training of pastors for TLC is related to its use at TLS, as no TLC pastors studied at LTS during the 1960s and first half of the 1970s. Since, however, the contents of the book is based on Peng's

⁹⁷⁴ Peng Fu, *Chiao-mu liang-chu = Outline studies of pastoral theology* (Hong Kong: Lutheran Missions Literature Society, 1960). The literary meaning of the Chinese title is "good help for the shepherds of the church." The other two theological books Peng published were the two volumes with a selection of his sermons. See Peng Fu, *Ching-yen liang pai chiang = 200 selected sermons (vol. 1)*, First ed., 2 vols. (Hong Kong: Lutheran Literature Society, 1958), Peng Fu, *Ching-yen liang pai chiang = 200 selected sermons (vol. 2)*, First ed., 2 vols. (Hong Kong: Lutheran Literature Society, 1959). The publisher, the Lutheran Literature Society in Hong Kong, recommended the first volume by saying that it was "the crystallization of a lifetime of work in the Church. Dr. Peng Fu at present is the President of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hong Kong, and has served the Church long and well as one of its outstanding leaders. We are especially happy to be publishing this book, for it is the first major work we have published by one of our own Lutheran men." Peng Fu, *Ching-yen liang pai chiang = 200 selected sermons (vol. 1)*, cover. The sermons in the two volumes are concise messages for Sunday worship services, according to the Lutheran series of texts. No sermons for special occasions, such as confirmation or ordination, are included. A volume with his lecture series on Chinese religions at LTS was also published, but the year of publication is not known; see his own biographical outline in Peng Fu, "Ch'i-shih nien shih kung-chi yao i-pa-pa-pa - i-chiu-wu-pa : hsü ch'i-shih nien shih-kung chi-yao chih i-chiu-liu-liu-nien [Eng. title: Highlights of seventy-year career 1888-1958 : continued to 1966]," (Hong Kong / Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1966).

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teaching at LTS, it reflects the pastoral theology he conveyed to the TLC candidates and other students at the seminary during the 1950s.

Harold Hauge Martinson 馬天生 (1905-1970), who served as LTS president 1956-1969,⁹⁷⁵ wrote the English preface. He was happy to introduce the book to its readers:

For many years we have felt the lack of a Chinese text book [*sic*] or outline studies in Pastoral Theology. Now at length a beginning is being made in supplying this want. As conditions in the Orient are different from those in the West, it is imperative that so important a subject should be treated from the native point of view. Many problems in the care of souls and church administration in the West do not apply here. On the other hand many problems occurring here are not dealt with in Western text books. Therefore, the translation of a text book from abroad is not the ideal method of meeting this urgent need. For a number of years Dr. Peng Fu has been teaching Practical Theology at our Lutheran Theological Seminary and we are grateful to him for now putting into outline form his lectures on Pastoral Theology. The value of these notes both in the class room [*sic*] and for workers in the Church is apparent. May God richly bless their usefulness as they go forth to meet a long-felt need!⁹⁷⁶

One of his Chinese colleagues at LTS, S. Y. Wang (Wang Hsieh-yao 汪燮堯) (1893-1963) wrote the Chinese preface. It has a distinct Chinese flavor of respect and politeness and it places the topic of Peng's book in the perspective of other theological disciplines.

Within the field of 使用神學 *shih-yung shen-hsüeh* (practical theology) “教牧神學 *chiao-mu hsüeh*” (pastoral theology) is designed to help those who have already studied Old and New Testament exegesis, systematic theology, church history, religious education, preaching, ethics, and social science to make use of this combined knowledge and experience in order to serve the church. This subject holds a very important position in the curriculum of theological education as it presents what really needs to be studied by all those who prepare to convey the truth and nature of the gospel of Jesus Christ into the hearts of people, by those who will share the life and development of people, by those who have the determination to assume the responsibility of 牧師聖職 *mu-shih sheng-chih* (the pastor's holy ministry). Till now our theological seminary has been somewhat hesitant in the selection of teaching material in “pastoral theology.” There are, of course, several valuable books on this subject written by European and American theologians, but, since the situation of the Chinese church is vastly different it is rather unsuitable to transfer and make use of a complete set of these

⁹⁷⁵ Martinson, the son of the ELC China missionaries Andrew and Anna Martinson, joined the faculty at LTS in 1946. Wu Ming-chieh (1916-1990), an LTS graduate who became a faculty member himself, wrote at the occasion of Harold H. Martinson's death about some of his impressions of his teacher: “[Martinson] 事親至孝 *shih ch'in chih hsiao* (treated his parents with great respect and tender affection). [...] In this matter Rev. Martinson served as a model for me. With his own behavior he revealed a truth to me: ‘本立而道生 *pen-li erh tao-sheng*’ (only by being an example in your own person can you lead the lives of students).” Wu Ming-chieh, “Wo so jen-shih te Ma T'ien-sheng mu-shih [Rev. Martinson as I knew him],” in *Ma T'ien-sheng mu-shih chi-nien t'e-k'an = Dr. Harold H. Martinson memorial booklet*, ed. Han Ch'ing-he (Peter) (Hong Kong: 1970), 5.

⁹⁷⁶ Peng Fu, *Chiao-mu liang-chu*, iii.

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books. In recent years we have been fortunate to have Dr. Peng Fu as the responsible teacher of this subject and he has compiled his lecture notes himself. Due to the fact that he has served in the pastor's holy ministry for more than forty years he has a very rich experience in the area of church administration, and he has also for several years held the office of synod and general synod president and this has shown that deserves to be called an experienced old hand in the area of church government. The lecture manuscripts he has now put together, based on revelations from real experiences in his early years in pastoral ministry, describing his duties accurately and in detail, without presenting dishonest generalizations, fit very well the context and situation encountered by today's Chinese church. Now, the literature department of our denomination has decided to send President Peng's "Good help for pastors" to press for publication. I hope that as soon as this book is available, a copy will be in the hand of every student of theology and preacher and that they will abide by it in their work.⁹⁷⁷

In the following section I will present the main developments in Peng's life and ministry and some characteristic features of his theology. Since his textbook is the main source of the below theological portrait, references to his understanding of pastoral leadership and his recommendations for its cultivation will be included as they appear in the various chapters of his book. This means that some overlap will occur when in section 5.2.2 these references form the basis for a more systematic description and exploration of Peng's understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership.

5.2.1 Biographical and theological portrait

Peng Fu 彭福 (1888-1975)⁹⁷⁸ was born in the small town of Junan, in Honan province in Central China. His father was a public official and his mother took him regularly to the local Buddhist temple. He received his basic education from his uncle, a Confucian literary man. At the age of 10 he met for the first time some foreigners, namely, an American Lutheran

⁹⁷⁷ *ibid.*, iv. Expressions in quotation marks appear as such in the original.

⁹⁷⁸ The presentation of Peng is partly based on my review of his textbook in the following two articles: Gustav Steensland, "Pastoral leadership in a Chinese context," in *Intercultural communication and contact : selected papers presented at the Nordic Symposium for Intercultural Communication, ... Stavanger, ... November 1994* (Stavanger: Misjonshøgskolens Forlag, 1995). and Gustav Steensland, "Luthersk pastoralteologi i en kinesisk kontekst : presentasjon og vurdering av en lærebok fra Hong Kong anno 1960 [Lutheran pastoral theology in a Chinese context : a presentation and analysis of a textbook from Hong Kong of the year 1960]," *Årsskrift for Misjonshøgskolen* (1996). In the second of these articles some corrections are made, mainly regarding chronological information in the first article. For a biography about Peng Fu, see Andrew S. Burgess, *Peng Fu from Junan*, 12th revised ed. (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1939). This book was translated into Chinese, and also Norwegian. See Andrew S. Burgess, *Peng Fu. En biografi*, trans. Erling Gilje (Stavanger: Det Norske Misjonsselskaps forlag, 1947).

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missionary couple that had come to his hometown.⁹⁷⁹ After some time Peng and two of his brothers attended Bible classes at the mission station. This was a turning point in his life and he was baptized on Easter Sunday in 1903. He went to Bible school and also worked as evangelist together with pastor Stokke, one of the missionaries. In 1916 he was among the first graduates at the LTS in Shekow. On 22 April 1928 he was ordained. At that time he had already led the congregational work in his hometown of Junan for several years.

In 1928 he became vice chairman in the Honan-Hupeh synod and from 1931 chairman. He became president of the Lutheran Church in China in 1936 and was reelected in 1946. In 1950 he fled to Hong Kong and joined the Lutheran church-planting ministry there. When the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hong Kong (ELCHK) was founded in 1954 he became its first president.⁹⁸⁰ He retired from this office in 1961, 73 years old.

During a visit to the United States in 1939 he was granted the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota.⁹⁸¹ From 1944 to 1945 he was president of LTS. After the school had been relocated to Hong Kong he taught pastoral theology, apologetics, Chinese religion and sociology from 1953 to 1966.⁹⁸²

With his textbook of pastoral theology as a frame of reference Peng's theology can be described as biblical and Protestant with a Lutheran orientation, consciously adapted to the Chinese cultural setting. Most of his arguments begin with or include references to biblical terms and passages and in some cases he also quote and comment Greek words in the New Testament. He emphasizes what he sees as benefits of the Reformation as it distanced itself from many of the doctrines and practices of the medieval Roman Catholic Church. Although he refers to key Lutheran documents, such as the Augsburg Confession and the Apology, he also makes use of confessional statements and literature from the Anglican and Reformed tradition. In my opinion Peng's objective is to find a way along the central line of Protestant

⁹⁷⁹ Knut S. Stokke, an ordained pastor, and his wife Marie belonged to the American Lutheran Mission, which was organized by the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. See Carlberg, *The changing China scene*, 19.

⁹⁸⁰ One of his colleagues at LTS described him with these words: "His wisdom, tact, and wideness of experience, together with graciousness of character, combine to make him an ideal and effective leader." *ibid.*, 242.

⁹⁸¹ See *ibid.*

⁹⁸² According to minutes from a special meeting of the LTS Seminary Board it was decided that "Dr. Peng Fu be called to serve as Professor and Spiritual Advisor [...]" Lutheran Theological Seminary, "Special meeting of Seminary Board 3 September [1953]," (Hong Kong / St. Paul, Minnesota: ELCA Region 3 Archives, "Formosa and Hong Kong documents 1953-1957" (bound volume, black, 24x30 cm), [1953]).

Christianity. His approach is quite confluent with the Confucian ideal of 中庸 *chung yung* (the Golden Mean),⁹⁸³ and this approach also applies to his application and adaptation of pastoral theology to the Chinese context. He attempts to hold together mainstream Protestant ideals for pastoral ministry with what he regards as widely accepted wisdom and guidance in the Chinese Confucian tradition.

The textbook is based on Peng's lectures in pastoral theology. It consists of ten chapters that cover the theological foundations and practical applications of pastoral ministry in a Chinese setting. A closer look at the contents of the textbook reveals the basic elements in Peng's approach. The textbook can be divided into four parts: a) The history and developments of the field of pastoral theology (chapters 1-2); b) The understanding of the Church (chapter 3); c) The foundation and tasks of pastoral ministry (chapters 4-6); d) The challenges and tasks for the local and universal Church (chapters 7-10).

In *chapter one* "What is pastoral theology?" he underlines that it takes more than theological knowledge to become a good pastor. Pastoral theology shall prepare the whole person for the real life of ministry. He gives some examples of the importance of pastoral theology: Theology without pastoral theology is like a well equipped army without commanding officers; it is like a paint box full of different colors, but without a brush; it is like a beautiful 100 story skyscraper without a lift; it is like a stomach filled up with the best food, but without a functioning digestive apparatus.

"The history of pastoral theology" is the title of *chapter two*. Here he gives an outline of the development of pastoral theology, from the time of Jesus and the apostles, through the middle ages, Reformation and to the present. We must learn from the past, but always be able to cope with the challenges of the present time in a given cultural setting. This is how he describes how Jesus taught pastoral theology:

The study of pastoral theology is not at all a new subject. From the time Jesus selected and called his disciples, we find the beginnings of the 培養 *p'ei-yang* (cultivation) and

⁹⁸³ Peng not only quotes from the Chinese classic with this title; see Peng Fu, *Chiao-mu liang-chu*, 29. He also tries to find the medium between extremes in all of his deliberations. Andrew K.H. Hsiao later promoted ecumenical cooperation in theological education by saying about himself: "In fact, the writer as a Chinese worker in theological education has been deeply influenced by Confucian teaching, so should being a bit "Golden Mean-ish" be considered strange?" Andrew K.H. Hsiao, "The theological education which we need : a discussion of our seminary's future," in *Anniversary memorial bulletin (Lutheran Theological Seminary 1913-1973)*, ed. Paul L.H. Hu and Kwang Liang Hung (Hong Kong: Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1973), 18.

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訓練 *hsün-lien* (training) of 教牧人員 *chiao-mu jen-yüan* (personnel for pastoral ministry). The way in which Jesus instructed and set an example for his twelve disciples is in fact the basic course the 教牧們 *chiao-mu men* (pastors) must 修 *hsiu* (study, i.e. cultivate). From the four gospels we see that the individual call of Jesus to each apostle was very careful, and that the course he used when he taught them was very extensive and thorough. His method for the selection of disciples can be divided into four steps: 1) 觀察 *kuan-ch'a* (inspection) [...]; 2) 選拔 *hsüan-pa* (selection) [...]; 3) 教訓 *chiao-hsün* (instruction) [...]; 4) 差遣 *ch'ai-ch'ien* (sending) – consequently he moreover gave them the power of the Holy Spirit and the authority to perform miracles. Then he commissioned them to go to the whole world and 傳道 *ch'uan-tao* (preach the gospel). So, this is the complete procedure Jesus followed in his instruction of the apostles from the selection and calling until the commissioning; it is the very first and most productive demonstration of 教牧學 *chiao-mu hsüeh* (pastoral theology). From the founding of the 基督教 *chi-tu chiao* (church) and until now this is the example to follow in the selection of 傳道人 *ch'uan-tao jen* (preachers). The overall purpose of this selection, calling and instruction was that His disciples were told to be a “好牧人 *hao mu-jen*” (good shepherd), like Jesus said about himself: “I am the good shepherd, and the good shepherd lays down his life for the flock.” What is then a “good shepherd”? A good shepherd must know his sheep, 餵養 *wei-yang* (raise) his sheep, 領導 *ling-tao* (lead) and protect his sheep, and, in the end be willing to lay down his life for the sheep; this is really the great purpose that Jesus established for pastoral theology.⁹⁸⁴

As Peng outlines the developments of pastoral theology in the Middle Ages he puts the focus on the Roman Catholic church. The “教會的牧人 *chiao-hui te mu-jen*” (shepherds of the church) were seen as “祭思 *chi-szu*” (priests), and through their “按立 *an-li*” (ordination) within the apostolic succession they were no longer on the same level as “普通的信徒 *p'u-t'ung te hsin-t'u*” (ordinary believers).⁹⁸⁵ Peng quotes a statement by Gregory the Great, who said that “the pastor is the 治理者 *chih-li che* (ruler) of the parish, and the people in the parish are ruled by the pastor.”⁹⁸⁶ The notion of “神品人 *shen-p'in jen*” (clergy) was also developed alongside the monastic ideals. “修道士 *hsiu-tao-shih*” (monks) and their life and ministry became models for the cultivation of shepherds of the church. In Peng’s opinion, however, the medieval monastic tradition is quite similar to the role and practices of “僧人 *seng-jen*”

⁹⁸⁴ Peng Fu, *Chiao-mu liang-chu*, 5-6.

⁹⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 8.

⁹⁸⁶ *ibid.*

(Buddhist monks) and “道士 *tao-shih*” (Taoist priests) in China.⁹⁸⁷ A secluded life and individualistic religion is not according to the true character of the Christian church, and Peng sees the Middle Ages as a “dark period” in the history of pastoral theology.⁹⁸⁸

With the age of the Reformation important changes were introduced. As all Christians are “祭司 *chi-szu*” (priests) there is no longer room for a clergy of a higher rank than other believers. He refers to Martin Luther who said that the status of a “pastor” is not higher than that of a “farmer” or a “worker.”⁹⁸⁹ Peng is of the opinion that this is a biblical understanding. He regards servant leadership as the appropriate ideal. “We know from a spiritual perspective that a pastor is the 領袖 *ling-hsiu* (leader) of the church, but, at the same time he is also the 僕人 *p'u-jen* (servant) of the whole church, and only in as much he is a servant can he be a leader of the church (Luke 22:26-28; Mark 10:4-15); [...]. To 服事 *fu-shih* (serve) the church is the 天職 *t'ien-chih* (heavenly duty) of a pastor.”⁹⁹⁰

Chapter three about “What is the Church” presents his basic views on ecclesiology. He explains the origin of the term “church,” presents the definition of the Church as a communion of believers, underlines the nature of the Church as both local and universal, and, finally, he points to the significance of church architecture and liturgy.

In *chapter four* he describes “The origin of the pastoral titles.” This chapter deserves a more detailed presentation, as it is particularly relevant to Peng’s understanding of church leadership in general and pastoral leadership in particular. He opens the chapter with the following statements.

The Church is the body of believers, and having an organization the need for 領袖 *ling-hsiu* (a leader, or leaders) is obvious; this is quite natural. This type of leader functions according to the spirit of religious communities as 領導者 *ling-tao che* (a leader and guide) and 培護者 *p'ei-hu che* (a cultivator and protector), and this is a very important responsibility.⁹⁹¹

⁹⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 8-9.

⁹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 9.

⁹⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 10.

⁹⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹⁹¹ *ibid.*, 21.

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In Peng's opinion the variety of pastoral titles mainly has to do with the different ecclesial backgrounds. In the Greek Orthodox Church the term is 祭司 *chi-szu* (priest); the Catholic Church has the following titles: 神父 *shen-fu* (father; literally 'god-father'), 主教 *chu-chiao* (bishop; literally 'lord of the church'), 大主教 *ta chu-chiao* (cardinal; literally 'great lord of the church'), and on the highest level 教皇 *chiao-huang* (pope; literally 'emperor of the church'); in the Protestant churches they have titles such as 監督 *chien-tu* (president; literally 'supervisor'), 長老 *chang-lao* (elder) or 牧師 *mu-shih* (pastor). Among these the term 牧師 *mu-shih* (pastor) is the most common. Except for Ephesians 4:11, the title "牧師 *mu-shih* Pastor" is not used elsewhere in the New Testament. Peng gives three reasons why the title 牧師 *mu-shih* (pastor) is so common among Chinese Protestant churches. Firstly, there is the biblical foundation of the term "shepherd" as a leadership title.⁹⁹² Secondly, the Church Fathers and the society of their time often used the same title.⁹⁹³ Thirdly, the implications of the Chinese title should be noted. The following is a translation of three paragraphs in chapter four describing these implications, beginning with his discussion of the Chinese equivalent to the English term pastor.

In Chinese, the translation is not literally "牧人 *mu-jen*" (shepherd), but "牧師 *mu-shih*" (shepherd teacher), and this implicates the meaning of respect and honor. The character "師 *shih*" (master, teacher, tutor) is normally used in the expression "教師 *chiao-shih*" (educator teacher); in traditional Chinese society, the teacher has a high position. On the niche for gods in almost every Chinese home it is written: This is the memorial tablet of "天地君親師 *tien, ti, chün, ch'in, shih*" (heaven, earth, sovereigns, parents, teachers), and this indicates the position of the teacher, which is just below heaven, earth, sovereigns and parents. And because the teacher is the main educator of man's talents and abilities, and also is the one who passes on the orthodoxy of teachings, therefore "重道 *chung tao*" (to value teaching) also means "尊師 *tsun shih*" (to respect the teacher).

⁹⁹² See *ibid.*, 21-23. Peng has found that the major reason why leaders of the church are called shepherds of a herd is that they should exemplify the love and compassion God and Jesus has shown us as our shepherds. Several quotations from the Old and New testaments are mentioned, in which God and Jesus are called shepherd (牧者 *mu-che* or 牧人 *mu-jen*; both terms are used in the Chinese translation of the Bible Peng refers to). Before Jesus left this world he transferred the shepherding responsibility to his disciples who then passed it on to leaders of local Christian communities and congregations. Peng gives some examples from the Gospel of John and the letters of Peter and Paul to support this view.

⁹⁹³ Peng refers to the writings of "Hermas," "Clement" and "Irenaeus." He also mentions that the image of a (young) shepherd, with a staff in his hand and a lamb on his shoulders, was frequently used in Christian decorations in the early church. See *ibid.*, 23-24.

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Not only the people should do so, but also the Emperor, as the saying goes: "作之君，作之師 *tso chih chün, tso chih shih*" (to be a sovereign, one has to be a teacher), this is to say: if you want to be a good sovereign-king, you have to be a good teacher as well. Old Confucius was called "聖王 *sheng wang*" (holy king), as well as "萬世師表 *wan-shih shih-piao*" (the model teacher for the whole world), thus giving him the highest honor. The character "師 *shih*" (master, teacher, tutor; to teach) in the title "牧師 *mu-shih*" (pastor) carries the same meaning.

At the same time, the character "牧 *mu*" (to tend a herd) is not a direct translation, carrying the identical ideas of the foreign original word [i.e. pastor]; in reality, this character in itself derives its meaning from Chinese history. In the old days in China, as far as economy was concerned, animal husbandry and farming were equally important, and to keep cattle and sheep in the family farm was the number one profession in society. In the dialogue between Mencius and Kung Sun Chou, Mencius says: "Today one who is the caretaker of another person's cattle and sheep, is called a shepherd." The government had set up the official position, taking special care of cattle farming and administration of grazing areas, with the title "牧正 *mu-cheng*" (chief shepherd) or "牧師 *mu-shih*" (shepherd teacher). Confucius himself once held this kind of position. Tso Chuan⁹⁹⁴ describes the first year of Ai: "Now it is right to be a shepherd." Soon this became the common title of a political leader. In the Book of Rites one ceremony has the following expression: "The lord of nine regions, who enters the kingdom of the Son of Heaven, shall be called '牧 *mu*' (shepherd)." Until the Tang dynasty, the chief in each administrative region was called "州牧 *chou-mu*" (region shepherd). The character 牧 *mu* also means to feed. Yi Ch'ien says: "To be a modest, self disciplined gentleman, one must shepherd oneself in a humble way." The explanatory note⁹⁹⁵ following this expression is: "恆以謙卑自養其德也 *heng-yi ch'ien-pei tzu-yang ch'i te ye*" (one shall persevere in being humble and modest in one's own self-cultivation in order to become a man of virtue). This is then the basic explanation of the character and morals of a "牧師 *mu-shih*" (pastor). A pastor must have a humble and modest moral character; only then can he be a shepherd of the flock. Therefore, based upon the tradition from old Chinese history, the meaning of the title "牧師 *mu-shih*" is completely identical with the corresponding biblical term.

As seen from these three aspects⁹⁹⁶ and their implications, we know what kind of person a pastor should be.⁹⁹⁷

Chapter five deals with "The calling and responsibilities of the pastor." This chapter of his book reveals several of the basic elements in Peng's approach towards cultivation of pastoral leadership. His motivating examples and lessons are drawn from the Bible and the Chinese

⁹⁹⁴ This is a commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, one of the Chinese classics.

⁹⁹⁵ This note appears in the Chinese classic from which Peng is quoting.

⁹⁹⁶ I.e. the above mentioned three reasons why, according to Peng, the title *mu shih* (pastor) is so common among Chinese Protestant churches.

⁹⁹⁷ Peng Fu, *Chiao-mu liang-chu*, 24-26. Terms with quotation marks appear as such in the original.

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classics. Based on how Jesus called his disciples, Peng here distinguishes between two factors in the meaning of “calling”: firstly, the subjective element; secondly, the objective element. The responsibilities of the pastor are to preach the gospel, lead the liturgy, care for the congregation and take care of one's own needs. Below are some of the important passages from the first part of this chapter, describing the two factors of the calling.

In the previous chapter we have already discussed some of the steps Jesus made when he selected and called disciples during his time on earth; these steps, however, were all objective steps. The Bible has not explained directly whether Jesus by the time he selected and called these disciples specified some subjective qualifications. [...] Although Jesus today is not approaching us face to face and because he, according to the will and power of God, thus cannot lead us in the same way as before, he, nevertheless, personally wants to select and call 他牧養教會的人 *t'a mu-yang chiao-hui te jen* (those who shall shepherd and nourish his church). But then, how can we determine who have received this selection and calling?

If the term “選召 *hsüan-chao*” (selection and calling) or “呼召 *hu-chao*” (summoning and calling), in English “Calling,” is expressed in archaic Chinese it is somewhat similar to the “天命 *t'ien-ming*” (mandate of heaven), which God gives to every person as a special assignment in life. When God gives every person this special assignment, he must also provide this person with the subjective instinct and the objective environment. This means that from a subjective perspective he [i.e. this person] has the possibility of all kinds of conditions and the inclination to all kinds of desires, and, from an objective perspective he also has all kinds of real needs and allowances from the environment. The Golden Mean says: “天命之謂性 *t'ien-ming chih wei hsing*” (the mandate of heaven is called nature). This “性 *hsing*” (nature), however, is a subjective condition, which includes the “靈質 *ling-chih*” (spiritual element) and the “體質 *t'i-chih*” (bodily element). To express it in more detail, it [i.e. this nature] includes the soul, the will, the thoughts, the knowledge, the abilities, the interests, the health, and other personal essential qualities, and, to take the opportunity of the development of this kind of essential qualities is in fact a person's calling. For example: In his childhood Confucius really liked things such as the history of the ancestral temple and utensils used in the memorial offering rituals. Therefore, he became 歷史文教的聖人 *li-shih wen-chiao te sheng-jen* (the holy one of historical culture and education). When Hsiang Yu⁹⁹⁸ was a child he really was determined to study the art of war for military tactics, and thus he became an outstanding and famous general. Especially Lord Jesus from his childhood onwards always set his mind on the Heavenly Father's affairs; thus he testified that He was the Son of God, and that He could fulfill the mission God had given him to save the world. These are, of course, especially obvious examples. For several people the calling is not that obvious, but, if you can carefully observe, study and learn from your experience you will realize it very clearly; therefore, if we want to know if we have received the calling to be a 教會牧人 *chiao-hui mu-jen* (shepherd of the church), we should also first examine ourselves to see if we have 作牧人的本質 *tso mu-jen te pen-chih* (the essential qualities to be a shepherd) or not.

⁹⁹⁸ Hsiang Yu was “a great warrior who contested the throne with the founding emperor of the Han dynasty and lost.” Liang Shih-chiu, ed., *A new practical Chinese-English dictionary*, 1214.

a) The subjective factors of 蒙召 *meng-chao* (receiving the call).

The above-mentioned essential qualities of a 牧師 *mu-shih* (pastor), which must also include the 混合人格 *hun he jen-ke* (mixed character) of governing officials [in the church], 教師 *chiao-shih* (evangelists), 牧人 *mu-jen* (shepherds) and 僕人 *p'u-jen* (servants), belong both to this world and to the Kingdom of Heaven. His [i.e. the pastor's] task is very significant, difficult and complex. Therefore, he must meet rather appropriate, or shall we say superior, requirements. He must have 1) a strong purpose; [...] 2) a pure and clean sense of righteousness; [...] 3) abundant 學識 *hsüeh-shih* (learning and knowledge); [...] 4) a healthy body; [...].

b) The objective factors of receiving the call.

Even though there are some good conditions in terms of the subjective factors, one must consider whether or not there are cooperative objective conditions; what are then these objective conditions? They are 1) the needs of the church organization, 2) the needs of the social situation. As it is mentioned above: they [i.e. the objective conditions] depend on whether the church has issued to you a call to work or not. When seen from an objective point of view, the church also needs your help and service. This is clearly the will of God. At times, however, when the objective circumstances and the subjective conditions are in conflict, such as if the intentions of 教會與傳道人 *chiao-hui yü ch'uan-tao jen* (the church and the preacher) cannot be unified, then one must rely on prayer and self-examination, in order to clarify the mistakes of both parties. Even though, however, the 牧人蒙召 *mu-jen meng-chao* (shepherd's calling) is a very important factor of the objective circumstances, it is not an absolute factor. It is at least only a temporary factor and not a lasting factor. In the end one must even more consider the needs of the social situation. Suppose that a place does not have an established church at all and does need your voluntary evangelistic outreach in order to establish a church, you can rely on the subjective factor to determine whether you should be called to be a shepherd or not.⁹⁹⁹

“The life of the pastor in society” is the topic of *chapter six*. The pastor is the 嚮導 *hsiang-tao* (guide) of a large group of people. This means that he must know the people he shall lead. Through contact with individuals, in small group or house meetings, and by participation in happy events and involvement in discussion meetings, he will expand his knowledge. He must also know the society. It is not enough to get in touch with a limited selection of people, but one should even involve in society as such in order to understand its current situation and the living conditions of the people.

Peng then expands the perspective in *chapter seven* to describe the relationship between “The Church and society.” The Church has to live in this world, in society, and must learn how to

⁹⁹⁹ Peng Fu, *Chiao-mu liang-chu*, 27-34. Terms with quotation marks appear as such in the original.

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relate to it. Four basic ideas are mentioned: 1) The oneness of mankind, 2) All men should break away from sin, 3) The common objective of the Church and society is to seek the truth, 4) The Church shall promote the progress in society. Christians can contribute to the well-being of society by seeking the Kingdom of God and his righteousness. This righteousness is a gift from God and it has the power to transform the lives and deeds of Christians to the benefit of their environment. In Chinese Confucianism righteousness is also a key term, but in Peng's opinion the Confucian use of the term¹⁰⁰⁰ cannot express the righteousness of God.

Chapter eight is about "Organization and administration of church work." The Church is a spiritual fellowship, as well as a human organization. This means that it shall be governed both according to the guidance of the Holy Spirit and with the best administration structures available. "On the one hand the work of the church must emphasize 靈性的培養 *ling-hsing te p'ei-yang* (spiritual cultivation), on the other hand it must also pay attention to how it can look after the general social affairs."¹⁰⁰¹ The pastor as a leader must contribute to the balance of both aspects, and not only preach and pray. According to Peng, the work of the Church can be divided into four parts: 1) Preaching ministry, 2) Teaching ministry, 3) Managing of general affairs, 4) Humanitarian welfare work. All four must be taken care of; otherwise the whole ministry of the Church will suffer. What he says about the teaching ministry is of particular interest because he links it to the emphasis on education and teaching in the Confucian tradition.

Many people think that the church is not a 學校 *hsüeh-hsiao* (school), that it should not be concerned with matters of 教育 *chiao-yü* (education); or they say that the church is a spiritual fellowship, which should not worry about the educational work of this world; all these prejudices are not correct. On the contrary, the church should not only emphasize educational work but also give consideration to 宗教以外的教育 *tsung-chiao i-wai te chiao-yü* (education outside the area of religion). It should even pay attention to the entire field of education throughout history. In the countries of Europe and America the universities with the longest history and most remarkable success have all been established and operated by 基督教教會 *chi-tu chiao chiao-hui* (Christian churches). As far as the situation in China is concerned all the schools previously operated by the church were also extremely successful. This is a kind of work worthy of continuous development. Our church should make efforts to participate in the educational work in

¹⁰⁰⁰ Peng here quotes two Confucian sayings without giving reference: "義者事之宜也 *i-che shih chih i yeh*" (the deeds of the righteous are proper), and "行而直之謂義 *hsing erh i chi wei i*" (proper conduct is called righteousness). These sayings do not appear in any of the Chinese classics and their origin is most likely some of the commentaries to the classics. See Ole Bjørn Rongen, "Letter to Gustav Steensland, 5 August 2004," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 2004).

¹⁰⁰¹ Peng Fu, *Chiao-mu liang-chu*, 64.

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the society and to devise ways in which we can establish and operate all kinds of schools; we should make detailed and effective plans in order to 培養 *p'ei-yang* (foster) specialized personnel for all departments of the church. At the same time we should do whatever we can to 訓練 *hsün-lien* (train) useful workers on behalf of the society. In our contribution to the improvement and progress of society we pray that God's kingdom will come and that God's plan will have a widespread success.

Confucius says: “得天下英才而教育之，一樂也 *te tien-hsia ying-ts'ai erh chiao-yü chih, i lê yeh*” (to receive persons of outstanding ability in this world and teach and nourish them, is a joy).¹⁰⁰² He regarded 教書 *chiao-shu* (teaching) as a joyous thing because it is a philanthropic act, which benefits all people in society. He even held the view that all kinds of people should receive education, as he said that “in receiving education there are no categories,” and throughout his life he used his strength in learning without dislike, teaching without weariness. As a result he was respected as 聖人 *sheng-jen* (the holy one) of all times, with his merits in 文教 *wen-chiao* (culture and education). During his three years in this world there was not one day that Jesus did not exert his efforts in 教訓 *chiao-hsün* (teaching and training), forgetting about his weariness and food (Matt 9:35; Mark 3:20; Mark 6:30-31). Shortly before his ascension to heaven he summoned his disciples and told them to preach the gospel for all mankind, saying: “all that I have commanded you, teach them to observe” (Matt 28:20). How can we teach people to observe the word of the Lord? We can do it by means of education, and this does not only mean in the classes of church education, but also in universities, high schools, elementary schools and kindergartens, so that the word of the Lord becomes the center of human learning. From young age to old, no one will be able to leave his teaching. The church must keenly consider this purpose.¹⁰⁰³

In *chapter nine* the topic is “Church economy.” Here he underlines that this is not only a question of money, but of faithful stewardship in all its aspects. The word “economy” comes from the Greek “oikonomia”: management of a household. Bad economical management has ruined many churches. The pastor has his own responsibility, along with the church council and all the members, that money matters are in faithful hands.

The final chapter is about “The common mission of the worldwide Church.” The Church is one in Christ. He is the head of the body, and the Christians are the parts of this one

¹⁰⁰² The saying is a slightly changed quotation from *Book of Mencius*, book 7, chapter 20, verse 4. Teaching is, in fact, one of three fundamental joys. Legge has this translation of this chapter: “1. Mencius said, 'The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be a ruler of the empire [天下 *t'ien-hsia*] is not one of them. 2. 'That his father and mother are both alive, and that the condition of his brothers affords no cause for anxiety; -- this is one delight. 3. 'That, when looking up, he has no occasion for shame before Heaven, and, below, he has no occasion to blush before men; -- this is a second delight. 4. 'That he can get from the whole empire [天下 *t'ien-hsia*] the most talented individuals, and teach and nourish them; -- this is the third delight. 5. 'The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be the ruler over the empire is not one of them.’” Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 2*, 334-335.

¹⁰⁰³ Peng Fu, *Chiao-mu liang-chu*, 71-72.

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body. Therefore the whole universal Church shares all the responsibilities in the ministry. These are 1) To spread the gospel, 2) Through love unite the whole Church, 3) In faithfulness to the truth, all religions should mutually tolerate each other, and 4) To govern the Church harmoniously based on sound moral principles.

5.2.2 Characteristics of Peng's approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership

What are the characteristic features of Peng's understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership as presented in his textbook? How does he describe the pastor's role and responsibilities as a leader? How can a candidate be prepared for pastoral ministry? I will begin with an exploration of his understanding and then proceed to his suggested forms and means for the cultivation of such leadership. For both aspects the dynamic between individual and context is seen as a key factor.

Peng's *understanding* of pastoral leadership is reflected throughout his book. As far as knowledge about the *individual* (a candidate for ministry or an ordained pastor) is concerned Peng emphasizes a set of qualities. These qualities are of both ordinary and extraordinary nature and he seems to be quite confident that sufficient and reliable knowledge can be established about both aspects. By qualities of ordinary nature I refer to the common human gifts, talents and abilities which according to Peng are refined and developed through social interaction, education and training in a given cultural context. In this respect Peng makes use of his grasp of both his own Chinese culture and experiences from encounters with some western cultures. By qualities of extraordinary nature I refer to spiritual gifts and insights that Peng is confident can be given by God to those who are called and ordained to ministry. In the language of Grint's explanatory model I find, therefore, that Peng represents a rather essentialist view of the individual leader. By the combination of a candidate's careful self-reflection and conscious evaluation by trusted agencies in the church Peng is of the opinion that it should be possible to determine a candidate's qualifications for the leadership tasks of a pastor. Depending on his view of the context Peng's approach to pastoral leadership will be somewhere along the continuum between a contingency approach and a trait approach. The question is to what degree Peng thinks it is possible to establish precise and objective knowledge about the context.

In Peng's understanding of pastoral leadership the *context* is an important factor. This context has several elements and among these he emphasizes the ecclesial and socio-cultural

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elements. The *ecclesial element* has to do with the setting and conditions within the church. This ecclesial element of the context has two facets, one local and one universal. As I see it Peng does not discuss this element with regard to oversight and supervision on for example the regional, synodal, national or denominational levels. The local facet indicates that the pastor has a leadership function in the congregation. A pastor exercises leadership in the community of believers by having a primary responsibility for the proclamation of the gospel and for the care for those in need. Peng does not pay much attention to the aspect of pastoral leadership in the administration of the sacraments. He underlines, however, the role of the pastor as leader of the liturgy and worship. When it comes to general administration and financial affairs pastor shares the task of leadership with the elected members of church councils. In this area of church leadership the pastor's responsibility is both personal and communal. The pastor's own management and handling of financial affairs must be sound and transparent, and he must also inspire and contribute to similar treatment of issues in the church councils. As a leader the pastor is both a model and a guide. The universal facet of the ecclesial element of the context indicates that a pastor must be aware of the global nature of the church. One of the leadership tasks of a pastor is, therefore, to preach and teach in the local congregation about its part in worldwide mission and in the ecumenical work towards Christian unity. The *socio-cultural element* of the context is about relations with the surrounding community and public society. Given the Chinese setting a rather striking feature is that Peng does not include in the social element a pastor's concern for his own family relations as for example a spouse, father or filial son. The focus is on how a pastor serves in wider relationships. By conscious and careful involvement in the social affairs and situation of church members and other people in the area the pastor can gain considerable and valuable knowledge. This knowledge is crucial for guidance of individuals and for prophetic and critical statements regarding public and political issues. Being such a guide, prophet and critic is a part of pastor's leadership responsibility. From Peng's point of view the socio-cultural element of the context points especially to the importance of religious and educational matters. A pastor should know the variety of religions where the church is located. To some extent a Christian must have a critical distance towards the doctrines and practices of other religions and a pastor should be able to provide guidance and insights in this area. Peng is also concerned that there can be a climate of mutual understanding and tolerance between the church and the other religions. A contribution to this kind of attitude is, therefore, a key aspect of what the church can expect from pastoral leadership. Regarding the educational matters a pastor is supposed to be well educated and also have the ability to train the members

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of the congregation. A pastor should also emphasize the key role of general education for the development of society. The importance of education and training for a well-functioning pastoral ministry is reflected in Peng's emphasis of the teaching aspect in the Chinese pastoral title 牧師 *mu-shih* (pastor).

The dynamic between knowledge about the individual and the context in Peng's understanding of pastoral leadership is based on his opinion that both elements are of almost equal importance. It seems that he thinks it is not a matter of if but of how one can establish reliable knowledge about the context. My exploration indicates, therefore, that also his view of the context of pastoral leadership is rather essentialist. It should be possible to conclude that Peng prefers a contingency approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership.

I will now investigate to what extent Peng's suggested forms and means for the *cultivation* of pastoral leadership are in line with his contingency approach. As mentioned in chapter (section 3.2.2) three the aim of cultivation within this approach will usually be to help individuals to clarify and develop their own leadership skills and also to lay the foundation for a realistic understanding of the context.

Peng combines two forms of cultivation, namely, self-cultivation and cultivation by others. He has also found that the development of a candidate for pastoral leadership is a matter of combining internal and external elements in the cultivation process. Internal elements are the personal factors such as motivation, will, purpose, determination, skills, and abilities. The external elements are the various environmental factors more or less determined by the calling congregation and church as institutions and by the needs and demands in the social and political situation. To deal with the internal and external elements is a challenge in both self-cultivation and cultivation by others.

What is then, according to Peng, the task of self-cultivation in the development of pastoral leadership? In other words, what is the responsibility and challenges for the individual candidate? As noted above, when Peng distinguishes between subjective and objective aspects of the calling to ministry, one could think that self-cultivation only applies to the subjective aspect. My reading of his textbook indicates that this is not the case. On the one hand a candidate should read the Bible, pray and seek advice in order to become confident that the subjective aspect of the call is sincere and valid. There are many sources for this aspect of the call. Jesus and his apostles represent the primary models for pastoral leadership. Candidates will also benefit from extensive knowledge about how such leadership

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has been defined and exercised throughout the history of the church and Peng gives some advice to his readers about relevant literature. On the other hand the objective aspect of the call becomes evident when a congregation invites a candidate to become its pastor and ordination is performed. In order to obtain such invitation and be accepted as ordinand a candidate must fulfill certain obligations such as required education and tests. A part of self-cultivation is, therefore, related to a candidate's willingness to attend a seminary and determination to follow a curriculum that includes theological and socio-cultural subjects, practical skills and ministry experience. Peng wants to inspire pastors to combine a well-grounded knowledge of Christian doctrine with updated insights about the society and the culture. Only with this kind of knowledge and insight can a pastor truly be a leader.

Self-cultivation involves, as Peng mentions, the whole person, with body, mind and soul. A good health depends in part on how a person balances the needs of these three elements. Although he describes self-cultivation as a process from childhood and a way of learning from experience, Peng also emphasizes that a mature person performs self-examination. Such examination keeps a person aware of personal issues that can positively or negatively influence the exercise of pastoral leadership.

Cultivation by others is also very important. The triune God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, is the primary cultivator. What Jesus did and does is not only a good example to follow but also represents a renewing and transforming power. Peng is, therefore, frequently referring to stories and messages in the New Testament describing Jesus and how he led his disciples. The teaching and instruction by the apostles and others in the early church are also basic elements in the cultivation of pastoral leadership.

During the period of formal training a candidate for pastoral ministry is in the hands of teachers and mentors who have been given the task of developing leaders for the church. As cultivators they are responsible for providing optimal learning opportunities. Through their instruction and personal example they can help to establish the essential qualities that a candidate should possess. Being a reliable model is a very important aspect of cultivation.

With the emphasis Peng has put on theological and socio-cultural knowledge the cultivators must see to it that they function as and lead to sources of such knowledge. The cultivators should also help the candidates clarify and interpret the needs in the church and society to which pastoral leadership must respond.

My findings support the conclusion that Peng's approach to cultivation of pastoral leadership is in line with his contingency approach to the understanding of such leadership. What is needed is a careful and conscious balance of the qualities of the individual candidate

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and comprehensive knowledge of the context. In the following section I attempt to describe how Peng's approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership has taken into consideration the Confucian concepts in my research model.

5.2.3 Interpretation of Peng's approach in light of the Confucian concepts

In his childhood and primary education Peng most likely became quite familiar with Confucianism, as was mentioned above in my short account of his background. From my introduction of Peng's textbook it is evident that he makes some use of the Chinese classics and that he refers to the life and thoughts of Confucius. Three Confucian concepts are highlighted in my research model, namely, those regarding leadership, learning, and self-cultivation. My investigation is meant to clarify possible implications of these concepts in Peng's approach.

The *Confucian concept of leadership* was described in chapter two (section 2.2.3.1) as rooted to a large extent in the view of human nature and the precept of filial piety. As a consequence the exercise of leadership rests on the notions that both leaders and followers have the ability to moral behavior and that leadership will be either authoritarian or considerate or somewhere along a continuum between the two extremes. Even with a leader that is not strictly authoritarian subordinates who have internalized filial piety are likely to be compliant and obedient. So, what traces of the Confucian concept of leadership and possible implications for pastoral leadership can be found in Peng's textbook?

In his discussion of the selection and calling of pastors Peng does not hesitate to compare the calling with 天命 *t'ien-ming* (the mandate of heaven). From a Christian perspective he thinks that it is God who is the origin and power behind the mandate. Peng also incorporates the Confucian view of the mandate in his theological interpretation. The mandate is seen as a potential in 性 *hsing* (human nature) and the task is to fully develop this potential. Although there is the possibility that man can follow the "inclination to all kinds of desires,"¹⁰⁰⁴ which can lead to various forms of sinfulness, Peng emphasizes the positive opportunities for moral development and attainment of qualities that can sustain pastoral leadership. As good examples to follow and to be inspired by he mentions Confucius, Hsiang Yu and Jesus. It seems, therefore, that Peng is influenced by the positive view of human nature in the Confucian tradition.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *ibid.*, 29.

The term 孝 *hsiao* (filial piety), however, is not even mentioned in the book. The term as such is neither used in connection with the understanding nor with the cultivation of pastoral leadership. A Christian response and attitude towards filial piety is even not brought up as a challenge for pastoral care. One is left with a search for more or less evident implications of filial piety in Peng's approach to pastoral leadership. There are, for example, several places where Peng emphasizes that respect for pastors and their ministry is important. They should be respected because of their role as teachers, and the position of teachers is just below that of parents in the Chinese social hierarchy. Respect is also dependent on the pastor himself. His words and deeds as pastor should be worthy the respect of all groups in the congregation. By supporting the ideal of servant leadership Peng most likely will rule out authoritarian pastoral leadership in the church.

The *Confucian concept of learning* was described in chapter two (section 2.2.3.1) as a combination of self-education and the contribution of teachers. This double-sided concept is a key element in the cultivation of human beings in general and of leaders in particular. Learning stands out as very important in Peng's understanding of pastoral ministry and consequently also in his view of pastoral leadership. He is convinced that the process of learning must begin in a person's childhood as can be seen in his references to the experience of both Confucius and Jesus.¹⁰⁰⁵ Both during the time of preparation and in daily ministry a pastor should be diligent and determined in his self-study in order to gain and uphold sufficient knowledge. The demands within the church and in the surrounding society require that a pastor is a person of considerable learning.

In several ways Peng emphasizes the role and status of teachers. As he discusses the implications of the pastoral title 牧師 *mu-shih* (pastor) he sees a strong connection to the image of the teacher in the Chinese tradition. As a teacher a pastor should not only gain respect because of his learning but also be a model for others by his way of life. The task of education in the church is a joyous and demanding task. By quoting from the Bible and the Chinese classics Peng lets his readers know that motivation and inspiration can be found both in Jesus and in Confucius. They were great teachers and trainers. One of the important goals in the educational ministry of the church is to train, foster and develop specialized personnel and this includes those who shall serve as pastors.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *ibid.*, 28-30.

The *Confucian concept of self-cultivation* is partly expressed in the above-mentioned element of self-study. From a Confucian point of view learning is, therefore, not only a matter of intellectual efforts but involves also the shaping of the person and his or her way of life. One of the aims of this shaping is to become a person of 德 *te* (virtue), as Peng mentioned in his presentation of the image of the shepherd in the Chinese pastoral title.¹⁰⁰⁶ An important method to attain virtue is 自養 *tzu-yang* (self-cultivation), according to his quotation from one of the Chinese classics.¹⁰⁰⁷ This is the only time that this term is used in his textbook but it is a valid evidence that self-cultivation is a part of his approach to the development of pastors.

A more frequently used term in his book, however, is 修 *hsiu*. This term has several meanings but a common usage of 修 *hsiu* is as the verbs study and cultivate. Although Peng does not mention the traditional Confucian expression 修身 *hsiu-shen* (self-cultivation), I am convinced that Peng deliberately includes 修 *hsiu* in his textbook vocabulary in order to establish the connection to the Confucian tradition. He uses the term about the tasks of studying theology and learning from the example of Jesus.¹⁰⁰⁸ Peng distances himself, however, from the self-cultivation represented by the monastic ideals of both the medieval church and Buddhist and Taoist practices. He refers to the fact that in Chinese a monk is generally called 修導士 *hsiu-tao-shih* and monasticism 修導主義 *hsiu-tao chu-i*.¹⁰⁰⁹ With respect to self-cultivation 僧人 *seng-jen* (Buddhist monks) and 導士 *tao-shih* (Taoist priests) are models to be avoided just as the monks in the history of the church. Christians in general and pastors in particular should not perform self-cultivation in ascetic isolation and seclusion. It can be said that Peng rather is in favor of the Confucian approach to cultivation, which is performed by candidates and cultivators more openly in their proper social setting.

5.2.4 Concluding remarks

My description and exploration of the contents of Peng's textbook has shown that there is a close connection between his understanding of pastoral leadership and his recommendations

¹⁰⁰⁶ *ibid.*, 25.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 3 and 5.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 8.

Section 5.2 The textbook in pastoral theology by Peng Fu

for its cultivation. In accordance with his contingency approach pastoral leadership requires solid knowledge of both the context and the individual. Cultivation of pastoral leadership thus depends on a double task, which must be undertaken by candidates and cultivators alike. Candidates must diligently study the various aspects of the context of their ministry as well as carefully develop the virtues and skills in themselves. Cultivators must be able to guide the candidates to a comprehensive grasp of the context and serve as models and instructors in the fostering of the coming leaders of the church. In the process from understanding to cultivation of pastoral leadership the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning and self-cultivation were found to be influential. In Peng's approach the concept of learning is the most important of the three concepts. He does not, however, thoroughly discuss the relationship between a Christian and Confucian view of human nature, and filial piety is not explicitly mentioned. The concept of self-cultivation is presented but he does not elaborate on its links to the Confucian tradition. Peng's treatment and use of Confucianism in a Chinese Christian setting can be compared to the role of a backdrop on a stage. As an important element of the Chinese socio-cultural context Confucianism is always there in the background. Peng supposes that actors in the play and the audience are naturally able to understand the implications of the Confucian tradition and its values for their words and deeds. What stands out with regard to the cultivation and exercise of pastoral leadership in a Chinese environment is that a pastor should be a person of knowledge and learning, able to preach and teach and willing to enter into the debates and processes in the social and public challenges of the church. If a pastor can fulfill these tasks in a reasonable manner he will be a respected leader.

5.3 The textbook in pastoral theology by Lin Tao-liang

The book 教會增長秘訣 *chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh* (The secret of church growth) by Lin Tao-liang (Timothy) 林道亮 (b. 1911) was first published in 1983¹⁰¹⁰ and used as a textbook in his course in pastoral theology at CES, at least until 1990.¹⁰¹¹ It points to important

¹⁰¹⁰ See Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh [The secret of church growth]* (Taipei: China Evangelical Seminary, 1983; reprint, 1995). An English translation was published in 1992; see Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, trans. Ruth Wai-Hing Taniguchi (Los Angeles, California: First Chinese Baptist Church, 1992). For the purpose of this study the English translation will be used for most of the quotations. At some points, however, the translation is not an exact rendering of the Chinese original, and some explanatory additions and remarks have been made for the benefit of English-speaking readers. Reference to the Chinese edition will, therefore, be made when applicable.

¹⁰¹¹ It was included in the list of required readings for his course in pastoral theology. See for example the one for the spring term in 1989: Lin Tao-liang, "Textbook-reserve book list for course no. PA

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elements in the life and ministry of local congregations and is a valid example of Lin's teaching and theology.¹⁰¹² In one of his later publications he tells about his motivation for writing the textbook:

In recent years, by God's grace, I was invited to minister to many Chinese churches in both the Far East and the West. During these interactions, a nagging feeling developed within me that the Chinese churches as a whole are either spiritually juvenile and immature or have grown decrepit and aged. That is, they lack either substance in their messages or strength in their endeavors. With the exception of a few admirable young churches, most churches lack either pre-natal care or after-birth nutrition for newborn Christians. Some churches are so ill spiritually that their case is terminal. They live in a dream world wistfully thinking that "although there was no progress this year, neither did we lose ground." What they do not know is that spiritual progress is like a salmon swimming up the river; if it is not advancing, it is being swept backward.

Consequently, about 1980, I started to observe, interview and research in order to find out what was blocking spiritual progress in Chinese churches. Some indirect causes were uncovered and at least three prominent direct causes, namely: a superficial understanding of God's truth; a present salvation without the hope of future glory; and a failure to practice the presence of God. I wrote *The Secret of Church Growth* to help churches and individuals know how to practice God's presence. This book concerning the Kingdom of God is written to enable believers to understand that God has a glorious future for those willing to live up to His conditions.¹⁰¹³

The main task in this study is to describe and explore how Lin's textbook reflects his approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership and how he relates his approach to the Confucian context. I begin, however, with a brief presentation of his background and some characteristics of his theology.

5.3.1 Biographical and theological portrait

In the English edition of his textbook, published by the Baptist congregation in California in which Lin served as senior pastor for several years, some biographical notes have been

100 Pastoral Theology," (Taipei: China Evangelical Seminary / Gustav Steensland collection, 1989). After Lin left the presidency of CES in 1990, he came back to teach part time until 1995. See Chow, "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997, notes." Chow, at the time acting president of CES, did not specify what courses Lin taught the last five years.

¹⁰¹² The CLS president, dr. Yu Chi-ping (Thomas), recommended this book to me during my visit at the seminary in March 1997 as being representative of Lin's view of church ministry and church leadership.

¹⁰¹³ Lin Tao-liang, *The kingdom of God and discipleship : revised edition of the author's book "The kingdom and what it means to the life of the believer," first published in Chinese 1988* (Carmel, Indiana: Biblical Studies Ministries International, Inc., 2003), 8.

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included.¹⁰¹⁴ On the basis of these notes and other sources I will outline and comment the main developments in his life and work and characterize his theological position.

Lin was born in the Chinese province of Chekiang,¹⁰¹⁵ where his father was a pastor. Although the available sources do not identify the ecclesial affiliation of his father's congregation the following statement about Lin indicates that it was a Protestant church, which may have practiced baptism of believers. "He was taught to read the Bible when he was six, began to preach when he was fifteen, but was not born again until age nineteen."¹⁰¹⁶ None of the reviewed sources have information about when and where he was baptized.

As far as his education is concerned, it is mentioned that he got a diploma from 三一書院 *san-i shu-yüan* (San-i academy) in 1930.¹⁰¹⁷ Not long afterwards he was admitted to a school of theology. It seems that he was not satisfied with the training he received and he "left Central Theological Seminary of Nanking in 1934 due to its modernistic teaching."¹⁰¹⁸ If what

¹⁰¹⁴ [Ruth Wai-Hing Taniguchi], "Biographical notes," in *The secret of church growth / by Lin Tao-liang* (Los Angeles, California: First Chinese Baptist Church of Los Angeles, 1992), 115-116. Ruth Wai-Hing Taniguchi is the translator of the book and in his foreword Lin calls her "sister," probably to indicate that she is a member of the congregation which published the book. See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, v. A slightly different version of the biography, which only adds a few pieces of information, is found in the English edition of one of his later publications; see Eugene Kimble, "A brief biography of Dr. Timothy Lin," in *The kingdom of God and discipleship (Revised edition of the author's book "The kingdom and what it means to the life of the believer," first published in Chinese 1988) / by Lin Tao-liang* (Carmel, Indiana: Biblical Studies Ministries International, Inc., 2003), 6. Eugene Kimble has had personal contact with Lin for several years. See Gustav Steensland, "Correspondence by email with Eugene Kimble," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 2002). In fact, Kimble "received his Ph.D. from Bob Jones University Graduate School, where Dr. Timothy Lin was one of his professors." See Eugene Kimble, "A brief biography of Dr. Eugene Kimble," (<http://www.bsmi.org> ; downloaded 13 April 2004: Biblical Studies Ministries International, Inc., 2000).

¹⁰¹⁵ [Ruth Wai-Hing Taniguchi], "Biographical notes," 115. Another source mistakenly says that Lin was "Hong Kong-born." See Rubinstein, *The Protestant community on modern Taiwan*, 100. Chekiang, the second smallest of the provinces in China, is located to the south of the municipality of Shanghai.

¹⁰¹⁶ Kimble, "A brief biography of Dr. Timothy Lin," 6. Another source says that Lin "came to a saving knowledge of our Savior Jesus Christ at the age of 19." See [Ruth Wai-Hing Taniguchi], "Biographical notes," 115.

¹⁰¹⁷ See the brief academic information about Lin as Professor Emeritus at CES, in China Evangelical Seminary, *Chung-hua fu-yin shen-hsüeh yüan - China Evangelical Seminary 1995-1997*, 30. The term 書院 *shu-yüan* usually refers to a school (in former times) or an "academy of classical learning." See Su Sheng-hao, *Concise Chinese-English dictionary*, 1162.

¹⁰¹⁸ See Kimble, "A brief biography of Dr. Timothy Lin," 6. This must be a reference to Nanking Theological Seminary, which had been "going on since 1911 when it was established by the joint action of four missionary boards; the Presbyterian, U.S.A., the Presbyterian, U.S., The Disciples of Christ, and the Methodist Episcopal. Later, the Southern Methodist Board and the Northern Baptist Board entered into the Union." See Anderson and Smith, *The Anderson-Smith report*, iii.

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is said in the biographical notes reflects his own evaluation he thought that “theological education in China was very superficial.”¹⁰¹⁹ At a later stage he got a chance to study Hebrew and Greek in the United States in 1940, at Concordia Theological Seminary and Washington University. He then returned and spent “the difficult years of World War II” in China.¹⁰²⁰ The fact that he earned a Bachelor of Theology degree in 1948 from 華北神學院 *hua-pei shen-hsüeh yüan* (Huapei Theological Seminary)¹⁰²¹ tells that he had not finished the curriculum in the Nanking seminary. Now, however, he was qualified for further studies and again he went to the United States. Within a period of three years he got a Bachelor of Divinity degree (in 1950) and a S.T.M. (in 1951) at Faith Theological Seminary, at the time located in Wilmington, Delaware. Along with Westminster Seminary in Philadelphia and Dallas Seminary this orthodox Presbyterian school had a reputation as a strong proponent of the “fundamentalist-evangelical movement” in America.¹⁰²² The final stage in Lin’s academic training was accomplished in 1954 when he was awarded a Ph.D. in Old Testament Hebrew from the College of Hebrew and Cognate Learnings at what was then called Dropsie University, located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.¹⁰²³

What about Lin’s experience from church work and pastoral ministry? As mentioned above he began his preaching career as a teenager, and his first experience as a pastor occurred as he

¹⁰¹⁹ [Ruth Wai-Hing Taniguchi], “Biographical notes,” 115.

¹⁰²⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁰²¹ See China Evangelical Seminary, *Chung-hua fu-yin shen-hsüeh yüan - China Evangelical Seminary 1995-1997*, 30.

¹⁰²² See Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism : Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism*, 24. Later developments has made Faith Theological Seminary open to other denominatoin. As of 2002 the following general information was posted on the seminary’s website: “It has worked in close fellowship with the Bible Presbyterian Church, the Independent Boards for Presbyterian Home and Foreign Missions and the International Council of Christian Churches, but remains denominationally unrelated. The faculty, governing boards, and students are members of various denominational or independent churches. The Seminary seeks to serve those of like biblical faith who stand uncompromisingly for the Faith once delivered to the saints.” See *General information*, [Website] (Faith Theological Seminary, 2002, accessed July 2002); available from <http://www.faiththeological.org/FaithGenInfoFull.html#a>: (link no longer active).

¹⁰²³ See his thesis, Lin Tao-liang, “Egyptian and its Hebraic affinities” (Ph. D., Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1954). “From its inception in 1907 as the Dropsie College of Hebrew and Cognate Learning, the Center has played a central role in advancing the study of Judaism in the United States. Originally chartered as a degree-granting institution, Dropsie College awarded more than 200 Ph.D. degrees, becoming a primary educator for the country’s Judaic scholars.” See *History of CAJS*, [Website] (The Center for Advanced Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, 2005, accessed 11 February 2005); available from <http://www.cjs.upenn.edu/history/history.htm>.

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was called to serve the Jubilee Church in Shanghai. His ministry there lasted for about two years,¹⁰²⁴ and the following memories are mentioned in his textbook.

The church I first pastored (in 1933 [1935])¹⁰²⁵ was a small one whose congregation constantly fought against one another. Following Sunday service each Lord's day, the two parties would pound on the table fighting and accusing one another as a matter of course. After pastoring them for half a year and seeing no improvement in sight, I started to doubt if I was called and sent by God. I began fasting and praying to God earnestly. One day, in a vision, I saw an angel summon me to an examination. After the examination, this angel told me, 'You have passed. God has called you to preach to the world, that they may be convicted concerning sin, and righteousness, and judgment.' From that moment onward, not only have my sermons been empowered by the Holy Spirit, touching those who listen, but God Himself has also been in charge of all situations, solving every problem that arises.¹⁰²⁶

The early years of his church work also included pastoral and administrative duties in Kwangsi province, and during World War II he was "head of an orphanage" in Shanghai.¹⁰²⁷ It was not until 1961 that he again came to serve in a local congregation, namely, as interim pastor of the First Chinese Baptist Church of Los Angeles.¹⁰²⁸ In 1962 Lin became its permanent pastor, until he retired over thirty years later.¹⁰²⁹ He must have had a special agreement with the congregation since he, alongside his duties as their pastor, could commit himself to quite extensive tasks in other places, such as CES. In the work towards the New American Standard Bible, which was completed in 1971, "he was a member of the translation team for the Old Testament section."¹⁰³⁰ It is, however, as teacher and administrator in the area of theological education that he has been most active.

¹⁰²⁴ Lin served this congregation until 1937; see Kimble, "A brief biography of Dr. Timothy Lin," 6.

¹⁰²⁵ In the Chinese original the year of his first pastorate is 1935; see Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 13.

¹⁰²⁶ See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 24.

¹⁰²⁷ See [Ruth Wai-Hing Taniguchi], "Biographical notes," 115.

¹⁰²⁸ The second-generation China missionary Manley W. Rankin of the Southern Baptist Convention had helped to found the congregation in 1951.

¹⁰²⁹ See *History*, [Website] (First Chinese Baptist Church of Los Angeles, 2005, accessed 11 February 2005); available from <http://www.fcbc.org/aboutus/history.html>. This website lists Lin as Pastor Emeritus, but his year of retirement is not specified. A biography written in 1998 says that Lin "retired as Senior Pastor a few years ago," which indicates that it occurred around 1995. See Eugene Kimble, "A brief biography of Dr. Timothy Lin [written in 1998]," in *The kingdom and what it means to the life of the believer* (First published in Chinese 1988; revised English edition, October 2002), ed. Lin Tao-liang (Carmel, Indiana: Biblical Studies Ministries International, Inc., 2002 (first published 1998)).

¹⁰³⁰ [Ruth Wai-Hing Taniguchi], "Biographical notes," 116. See also *Translators of NASB*, [Website] (The Lockman Foundation, 2001, accessed 12 February 2005); available from <http://www.gospelcom.net/lockman/nasb/nasbtrans.php>.

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At the age of twenty-seven he got his first assignment as educator, in southwestern China. "In 1938-39 he was principal of the Christian and Missionary Alliance Bible Institute of Kwangsi."¹⁰³¹ Following his return from the United States in 1940 he worked as "principal of a high school and dean of a Bible college" in Shanghai.¹⁰³² After World War II he accepted the call to become president of the East China Theological College in Hangchow, a Reformed institution in the capital of his home province. The China Inland Mission cosponsored the college. He held this position until 1948 when he returned to the United States for further studies. With his doctoral degree in place in 1954 he settled in America and taught for a period in the Graduate School of Bob Jones University, South Carolina, which is known as a very conservative and fundamentalist institution.¹⁰³³ Lin held classes here in "Systematic Theology, Biblical Theology, Old Testament Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Classic Arabic, and Peshitta Syriac."¹⁰³⁴ He has also taught at "Talbot Seminary"¹⁰³⁵ in Los Angeles, an interdenominational and evangelical school of theology,¹⁰³⁶ and at "Trinity Evangelical Seminary"¹⁰³⁷ in Chicago, a school of the Evangelical Free Church of America. In the late 1970s he "had to choose between working in an Overseas Chinese-related program at Trinity or serving as the first Chinese president of CES. He chose CES and has served since the fall of 1980 as both its chief administrator and a teacher of the Old Testament and Pastoral Ministry."¹⁰³⁸ As president Lin replaced James Hudson Taylor III, who in fact had prepared the ground for his "chosen successor."¹⁰³⁹ According to historian Murray A. Rubinstein Lin

¹⁰³¹ See Kimble, "A brief biography of Dr. Timothy Lin [written in 1998]," 6.

¹⁰³² [Ruth Wai-Hing Taniguchi], "Biographical notes," 115.

¹⁰³³ It presents itself as "the world's largest fundamental Christian School." See *Fast facts*, [Website] (Bob Jones University, 2005, accessed 12 February 2005); available from <http://www.bju.edu/about/fast.html>.

¹⁰³⁴ Lin Tao-liang, *The kingdom of God and discipleship*, 6.

¹⁰³⁵ [Ruth Wai-Hing Taniguchi], "Biographical notes," 116.

¹⁰³⁶ See *Talbot School of Theology: Mission*, [Website] (Biola University, 2005, accessed 12 February 2005); available from <http://www.talbot.edu/about/mission.cfm>.

¹⁰³⁷ [Ruth Wai-Hing Taniguchi], "Biographical notes," 116. The school is now called Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. See *About Trinity Evangelical Divinity School*, [Website] (Trinity International University, 2005, accessed 12 February 2005); available from <http://www.tiu.edu/trinity/about/about4-teds.htm>.

¹⁰³⁸ Rubinstein, *The Protestant community on modern Taiwan*, 104. Rubinstein's book is partly based on field studies and interviews conducted in Taiwan in the early 1980s, and the CES faculty and curriculum is offered considerable attention. The school in general, and Lin in particular, are said to represent a "bridge paradigm" as CES is "poised between two worlds. It acts as a conduit for Western neoevangelical knowledge and links Chinese neoevangelicals with the wider neoevangelical community beyond the island's shores." See Rubinstein, *The Protestant community on modern Taiwan*, 104, 109.

¹⁰³⁹ Rubinstein, *The Protestant community on modern Taiwan*, 100.

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“made his presence felt at CES, just as Taylor had done before him.”¹⁰⁴⁰ Lin exerted influence both as a teacher¹⁰⁴¹ and as a leader of the faculty.¹⁰⁴²

It is rather evident that Lin has found himself at home in a theologically conservative and Baptist oriented position. When commenting on Lin as a teacher at CES and cultivator of pastors, also for TLC, Wendell Friest said, “He wanted to make the church Chinese, but one should not forget his fundamentalist Baptist background.”¹⁰⁴³ For the following description of Lin’s theology I will concentrate on the contents of his textbook, since this was available to his students at CES within the period covered by this study.¹⁰⁴⁴ Lin’s textbook is not

¹⁰⁴⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴¹ According to Wendell Friest, who became a member of the faculty in 1979, Lin became the most influential teacher at CES in the 1980s. See Friest, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 11 July, notes." Within the period covered in this study Lin trained seven students who were later ordained for ministry in TLC. They graduated with MDiv degrees in the following years: 1982: 陳明理 Chen Ming-lee; 1984: 姚建德 Yao Chien-te, 莊東傑 Chuang Tung-chieh; 1985: 張復民 Chang Fu-min, 廖元威 Liao Yuan-wei; 1986: 顏添祥 Yen Tien-hsiang; 1987: 許宏達 Khor Heng-tart. A portrait of Chang Fu-min and his preparation for pastoral ministry, as well as his evaluation of Lin as a teacher, is found in chapter six, section 6.3.

¹⁰⁴² In 1997 I visited CES and met Peter K. Chow 周功和, at the time acting president, for an interview. This was seven years after Lin’s presidency and two years after he had left CES. The focus of our conversation was the contribution of the seminary in the preparation of TLC pastors for ministry and the role of Confucianism in the society in Taiwan and in leadership development among the Chinese. Chow, who had served on the faculty at CES 1975-1979 and from 1995 onwards, also commented on Lin’s leadership style. “He represented a kind of leadership characterized by Chinese patriotic leaders. [...] Previously the government [of the Republic of China] relied on Confucianism to legitimize their government. Now, new trends are coming in the society. [...] We have made a revision of the constitution of CES, and faculty members are now more outspoken, for example towards the dean in faculty meetings.” See Chow, "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997, notes." Chow’s remarks about “new trends” and the “revision” at CES indicate that the growing popular opposition in the 1980s against a quite authoritarian political system in Taiwan also provoked changes in the similar leadership culture in schools and academic institutions. He also indicates that Lin had been a part of this type of Confucianist culture and that changes at CES took place after Lin was no longer in charge. For a relevant analysis of the cultural trends in Taiwan in the 1980s, see Cohen, *Taiwan at the crossroads : human rights, political development and social change on the beautiful island*.

¹⁰⁴³ See Wendell P. Friest, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 9 July 2002, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 2002), 3.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Upon Lin’s request Eugene Kimble has helped to edit English translations of some of Lin’s later works and made them available at the website of Biblical Studies Ministries International, Inc. (see www.bsmi.org). The main titles are: Lin Tao-liang, *Genesis - a biblical theology*, First published 1997; fourth revised ed. (Carmel, Indiana: Biblical Studies Ministries International, Inc., 2002), Lin Tao-liang, *How the Holy Spirit works in believers’ lives today*, First published 1997; revised ed. (Carmel, Indiana: Biblical Studies Ministries International, Inc., 2002), Lin Tao-liang, *The kingdom and what it means to the life of the believer*, First published in Chinese 1988, in English 1998; revised English ed. (Carmel, Indiana: Biblical Studies Ministries International, Inc., 2002), Lin Tao-liang, *The kingdom of God and discipleship*. My reading of these publications indicates

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specifically about pastoral ministry. His aim is to aid and inspire local congregations to fulfill certain obligations so that they may experience “God’s presence”¹⁰⁴⁵ and be blessed in their life and ministry. There are, however, elements in the book that are relevant to Lin’s approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. These elements will be explored in more detail in the next section. Here I will present the main contents of the book, which is organized with a foreword, seven chapters, and a conclusion. The foreword reveals the basic motivation for his book and how he makes use of one of the Chinese classics. In order to show his mode of expression and not break up his line of thought I present a translation of the entire foreword in the Chinese edition

The lofty tone of church growth has, in the past twenty years or so, already resounded in the skies, as evidenced in church periodicals, books, and documents, as well as held a significant position in the fellowship of 信徒 *hsin-t’u* (believers),¹⁰⁴⁶ and in sermons and prayers. This is, of course, a good feature, testifying that believers have been really concerned about the expansion of 天國 *t’ien-kuo* (the kingdom of heaven).¹⁰⁴⁷ Things have, however, changed with time, and, what have the results been? Even in renowned churches, prayer meetings are still attended only by 我, 你, 他 *wo, ni, t’a* (me, you and him; i.e. the usual few)! No matter if workshops or seminars are held, the only ones present are old Li, old Chen and old Wang, these 老童生 *lao t’ung-sheng* (the faithful seniors)!¹⁰⁴⁸ What has gone wrong in the process? The Bible rightly says, “But let everything be done properly and in an orderly manner” [1 Cor 14:40]. 大學 *ta-hsüeh* (*Great Learning*) also says, “All things have roots and branches, and all affairs have beginnings and endings. The person, who is able to set the proper priority, truly understands the teachings of the great learning.” It also says, “With the roots in a chaotic turmoil, healthy branches can never be developed. No person will grossly neglect what is of crucial importance, yet painstakingly care for what is of trivial importance!”¹⁰⁴⁹ All things have roots and branches, beginnings and endings, and anyone who leaves the root in order to pursue the branches, or upsets the order of the first and the last things, will definitely find it difficult to succeed. This is also the case

that they, when compared to his textbook, do not show changes in Lin’s theological position and his approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership.

¹⁰⁴⁵ This expression is used in each chapter heading in the Chinese original. See the below presentation.

¹⁰⁴⁶ The English edition translates this term with “Christians.” See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, iii.

¹⁰⁴⁷ The English edition translates this term with “God’s kingdom.” See *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴⁸ The original meaning of 童生 *t’ung-sheng* is “a candidate for the lowest degree under the former civil service examination system.” See Liang Shih-chiu, ed., *A new practical Chinese-English dictionary*, 800.

¹⁰⁴⁹ For this and the previous quote from the *Great Learning* I have used the translation in the English edition of Lin’s book. See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, iv. According to Legge’s edition the quotes are from section I, parts 3 and 7 respectively. See Legge, ed., *The Chinese classics, volume 1*, 221, 223.

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with spiritual matters. If one wants church growth, there is, of course, some help and value in organizing workshops and studies of books and publications about church growth. But, to think that it is sufficient for church growth to take place by investigating external factors and recommending techniques and procedures, is really too naive. This approach is at best a way in which one tries to cope with the symptoms of a problem, rather than a conscious attempt to cure the roots of the problem. If we want to cure the root, we definitely have to look for answers in the Bible. This writer does not try to make presumptions, but, based on the decades of pastoral ministry the gracious Lord have let me experience, I hope that my humble opinion will be helpful for 華人教會 *hua-jen chiao-hui* (the Chinese church).¹⁰⁵⁰

Three thousand copies were printed in less than two years, and, because the buyers have come in a continuous stream it has been necessary to reprint the book. Ever since the publication several church workers have used it as a guideline for the establishment of churches and seen instant results, and some have even used the book as teaching material in 長執訓練班 *chang-chih hsün-lien pan* (classes for the training of elders and deacons) – thanks be to the Lord! I respectfully wish that the Head of the Church, who has revealed His promises and the conditions that go with them, will bestow His blessing to all that are happily willing to fulfill these conditions, that they may experience all He has promised them – Amen!¹⁰⁵¹

In chapter one, “教會增長秘訣何在 *chiao-hui tseng-chang te mi-chüeh he-tsai* (徒十一21) (Where the secret of church growth is found) (Acts 11:21),”¹⁰⁵² Lin presents the basis for his arguments in the book. As in all the other chapter headings the scripture reference is an indicator of his point of view. At an early stage in the expansion of the church some Christians proclaimed the gospel to Greeks in Antioch. “The Lord’s hand was with them, and a great number of people believed and turned to the Lord.”¹⁰⁵³ For Lin it is clear that any establishment and expansion of the church requires God’s presence. In addition to examples from the early church Lin also says, “In the Old Testament times, the prerequisite for God’s people to be blessed was to have God’s presence. Such a principle is clearly demonstrated through the lives of various Old Testament spiritual giants.”¹⁰⁵⁴ Even in relation to his own writing Lin counts on God’s presence. “I am deeply convinced that the content of this book has been gradually revealed to me by God over the span of some twenty years.”¹⁰⁵⁵ Lin argues on the basis of his faith and experience and he indicates that he has done his best to meet certain requirements for the appropriation of God’s grace in his life and ministry. He wants to

¹⁰⁵⁰ The English edition says, “God’s Church.” See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, v.

¹⁰⁵¹ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, v-vi.

¹⁰⁵² *ibid.*, 1. Chapter heading in the English edition: “The Secret of Church Growth – the necessity of having God’s presence.” See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, vii.

¹⁰⁵³ Acts 11:21.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 2.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *ibid.*

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inspire other Christians to do likewise. “In order for the Church to grow, we not only have to realize our need for God’s presence, but we also have to diligently practice the conditions required for His presence.”¹⁰⁵⁶ With this and other similar statements Lin is well aware that he may be criticized for advocating a legalistic interpretation of Christian faith. In order to fence off such criticism he concludes chapter one with the following words.

Some may think that carrying out the required conditions to receive God’s blessings is dependent on “works” – that is, on the Law; and that such dependence should not exist in the age of grace. They do not understand that the Holy Spirit never helps the lazy ones, nor do they realize that carrying out the conditions God requires is the only way leading to the enjoyment of God’s grace. For instance, fresh air and sunlight are both gifts from God. If we desire to enjoy them, we must carry out the conditions to be in contact with them. Otherwise, fresh air and sunlight will forever exist to us only as objective realities, not subjective blessings.¹⁰⁵⁷

The main emphasis in chapter two, “要神與教會同在，教會一定要「遵行這書上所寫的一切話」(書一8) *yao shen yü chiao-hui t’ung-tsai, chiao-hui i-ting yao ‘tsun-hsing che shu shang suo hsieh te i-ch’ieh hua’* (If the Church wants God’s presence, it surely must ‘obey all the words written in this book’ (Josh 1:8),”¹⁰⁵⁸ is that there is a causal connection between faithful adherence to the biblical text and the experience of God’s blessing in a Christian community. Lin uses four verbs to describe the contents of such adherence, namely, 遵行 *tsun-hsing* (to act on; to follow; to do), 謹守 *chin-shou* (to guard with care; to follow faithfully; to observe), 默想 *mo-hsiang* (to meditate), and 信任 *hsin-jen* (to trust).¹⁰⁵⁹ The link between these verbs is evident in his conclusion of the chapter.

The conditions required for God’s presence may be summed up as follows: (1) To have God’s presence, we must do according to His Word; (2) To do according to His Word, we must let His Word dwell in us; (3) To let His Word dwell in us, we must know how to meditate; (4) To meditate, we must trust in His Word.

If we follow these four steps diligently, our God who is faithful will definitely be with us, as He has promised in the Great Commission, “and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age” (Matt. 28:20). Praise the Lord!¹⁰⁶⁰

¹⁰⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵⁸ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 5. Chapter heading in the English edition: “Do According to God’s Word – the necessity of having God’s promise.” See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, vii.

¹⁰⁵⁹ See Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 5-8.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 17-18.

Chapter three, “要神與教會同在，傳道人一定要受差遣 (耶一4~10) *yao shen yü chiao-hui t'ung-tsai, ch'uan-tao jen i-ting yao shou ch'ai-ch'ien* (If the Church wants God's presence, preachers surely must be called and sent) (Jer 1:4-10),”¹⁰⁶¹ outlines the fundamental qualifications for pastoral ministry. For Lin the terms 傳道人 *ch'uan-tao jen* (preacher), 牧師 *mu-shih* (pastor), and 神的僕人 *shen te p'u-jen* (God's servant) are interchangeable, but 傳道人 *ch'uan-tao jen* (preacher) is his primary choice when he refers to pastors and their ministry. This choice makes sense in light of what he says in the beginning of the chapter about preaching as the foremost task of a pastor.

Standing at the pulpit, many seminary graduates of today can only give a lecture, but not preach a message. A pastor who does not know how to preach is likened to a chef who does not know how to cook! It is simply a fantasy to think that a restaurant with an unskilled chef will have a booming business.

A pastor has to be sent by God and be gifted in preaching before a church can have any growth. Otherwise, that pastor may need to consider another livelihood, so that as to avoid deceiving himself, misleading others and, later, being judged by God.¹⁰⁶²

Four aspects of pastoral ministry are highlighted in the rest of the chapter. Firstly, a preacher's 首要資格 *shou-yao tsu-ke* (chief qualification), which is to have “God's calling and gifts.”¹⁰⁶³ Pastors are regarded as “an élite task force selected and called by God Himself! If on top of God's calling and gifts, a pastor also has seminarian training, then, of course, that would be superb.”¹⁰⁶⁴ Secondly, Lin mentions 第一要務 *ti-i yao-wu* (the primary task) of a preacher. “The foremost task of a pastor is not visitation, but the distribution of spiritual nourishment to his congregation. It should be given at the proper time and according to their capacities, so as to sustain their spiritual needs.”¹⁰⁶⁵ Sunday sermons are most important, but messages at small meetings should not be taken lightly. Thirdly, he points to fasting and praying as a preacher's 亡羊補牢 *wang yang pu lao* (remedy; literally “to mend the fold after a sheep is lost”). Prayer provides direct contact with God, who “will answer you and guide

¹⁰⁶¹ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 11. Chapter heading in the English edition: “Pastors Must Be Called And Sent By God – the necessity of being a pastor.” See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, vii.

¹⁰⁶² Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 20-21.

¹⁰⁶³ *ibid.*, 21.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 22.

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your way according to His plan.”¹⁰⁶⁶ Fourthly, a preacher deserves 加倍敬奉 *chia-pei ching-feng* (a doubled respect and honor). A pastor is and should be honored in two ways. On the one hand, God honors a pastor by giving him the calling to ministry. On the other hand, the congregation should honor their pastor through “love and prayer.”¹⁰⁶⁷ Lin contrasts this second aspect by referring to negative examples.

In the past, pastors in mainland China were called “the gentlemen in charge” [坐堂先生 *tso t'ang hsien-sheng*]. To put it bluntly, the title meant “janitors” [看堂佬 *k'an t'ang lao*]. Pastors received no love, no respect and no encouragement from their congregation, but constant demands for harder work with little pay. The congregation seemed to be saying, “We want a fine horse that does not eat hay!”¹⁰⁶⁸

With chapter four, “要神與教會同在，弟兄們一定要彼此相愛 (徒二42~47；約壹四12~16) *yao shen yü chiao-hui t'ung-tsai, ti-hsiung men i-ting yao pi-tz'u hsiang-ai* (If the Church wants God's presence, the brothers surely must love one another) (Acts 2:42-47; 1 John 4:12-16),”¹⁰⁶⁹ Lin underlines the importance of internal relationships in the congregation. He specifies five aspects of mutual love. Firstly, it is God's commandment, in fact, the only commandment given to “New Testament Christians.”¹⁰⁷⁰ Secondly, it implies that Christians should lay down their selves for one another. Thirdly, it is expressed by imitating the Lord. Lin illustrates his point in the following manner.

For the sake of his brethren, a person is willing to lay down his **emotions** (his happiness, sorrow, love, hatred, desire and fear), his **intellect** (his opinions, goals, expectations and perceptions), and his **will** (his choices, rules and ideas).

Our Lord Jesus has set a good example for us. Because of His love for His parents, He laid down his desire for knowledge and returned to Nazareth with them. Because of His love for His disciples, He laid down his infinite understanding and put the disciples first in every matter. And, because of His compassion for the Canaanite woman, He laid down His rules and allowed her to share the crumbs that fell from the table.¹⁰⁷¹

¹⁰⁶⁶ *ibid.*, 24.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 25.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *ibid.* The Chinese expressions in brackets are quoted from the Chinese edition.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 15. Chapter heading in the English edition: “Christians Must Love One Another – the necessity of being God's children.” See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, vii.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 28.

¹⁰⁷¹ *ibid.*, 30-31 (Lin's emphasis). The three terms in boldface appear as such in the English edition but are not used in the Chinese original. The three steps are, however, clearly marked in Lin's sentence structure. They are strikingly similar to the set of three terms I have encountered during my years in Taiwan, namely, 情, 理, 法 *ch'ing, li, fa* (emotions, reason, law). I will mention one example. A student at the department of international trade at Feng Chia University in Taichung in the early 1980s told me that the three terms were used there in teaching and textbooks as an interpretative tool. In negotiations and establishment of relationships with western trading partners

Fourthly, mutual love between Christians is said to be a means to perfecting God's love and "a condition necessary for God's presence."¹⁰⁷² Finally, mutual love must be practiced "faithfully and continuously."¹⁰⁷³

The main focus in chapter five, "要神與教會同在，教會一定要區別為聖 (徒五1~14; 林後七14~18) *yao shen yü chiao-hui t'ung-tsai, chiao-hui i-ting yao ch'ü-pieh wei sheng* (If the Church wants God's presence, it surely must differentiate and become holy) (Acts 5:1-14; 2 Cor 7:14-18),"¹⁰⁷⁴ is on the special character of a Christian community. Lin concentrates his attention on three areas.

Firstly, with reference to 1 Cor 6:11 he says, "Christians must be holy."¹⁰⁷⁵ In this section he also refers to "the golden rules of pastoral ministry," by giving consent to an experienced pastor's advice to a young seminary graduate in the 1970s.

The elderly pastor kindly shared with him all the golden rules, such as – always being prepared, knowing the proper spiritual priorities, starting with the basics before proceeding to the profound, and setting examples by one's action. Before concluding his sharing, this veteran pastor solemnly warned him: Less is better than more! He also advised him not to overextend himself, nor set a foundation on sand, lest he suffer bitterly later on.¹⁰⁷⁶

Secondly, Lin says that "領袖要區別為聖 (徒二十8) *ling-hsiu yao ch'ü-pieh wei sheng* (leaders must differentiate and be holy) (Acts 20:28)."¹⁰⁷⁷ Although he does not contend that

the Chinese usually emphasize emotions, reason and law, and in that order. Feelings and personal relationships come before discussion and arguments, and contracts and regulations come third. It was also said that Westerners have a tendency to reverse the order of the three factors in their approach towards the Chinese. A tradesman from the West may begin by showing a prospective Chinese partner a draft for a contract, argue for it and then hope for a good personal relationship as a result of the deal. Cf. also Lin Yu-tang who in a treatment of Chinese logic concentrates his attention on two of the terms, namely, *ch'ing* [情], which he calls "human nature," and *li* [理], which he calls "eternal reason." He concludes, "Out of the combination of these two factors comes the standard of judgement for a course of action or an historical thesis. [...] In fact, to be 'in accord with human nature,' to be *chinch'ing* [盡情], is a greater consideration than to be logical. [...] The Chinese are willing to do anything against reason, but they will not accept anything that is not plausible in the light of human nature." Lin Yutang, *My country and my people*, 85-86.

¹⁰⁷² Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 31.

¹⁰⁷³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷⁴ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 19. Chapter heading in the English edition: "The Church Must Be Holy – the necessity of being Godly." See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, vii.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 37.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 38.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 22.

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there is a special type or degree of holiness for leaders, he emphasizes that leaders should set an example. “Not only should lay Christians be sanctified, but church leaders should also be holy. The failure of church leaders in conducting themselves as leaders and role models has been the primary cause for the stagnation of most Chinese churches in the past.”¹⁰⁷⁸ He is here referring to male leaders, namely, elders and deacons, but by extension I regard his statement as applicable also to pastors. Further, speaking about the holiness of leaders, Lin says that the church must not neglect some fundamental issues. “Wesley once said that the church must have four essential principles, like four pillars supporting the church. These four essential principles are ‘道理 *tao-li* (knowledge),’ ‘經驗 *ching-yen* (experience),’ ‘行為 *hsing-wei* (behavior),’ and ‘懲戒 *ch’eng-chieh* (discipline).’”¹⁰⁷⁹ His remarks about one of these principles are of particular interest for this study, as they shed some light on his view of cultivation. With regard to “experience,” which is called “faith” in the English edition,¹⁰⁸⁰ he says that one should pay serious attention to “真理上的栽培和靈性的造就 *chen-li shang te tsai-p’ei ho ling-hsing te tsao-chiu* (truth-based cultivation and spiritual edification).”¹⁰⁸¹ A Christian leader’s experience is, therefore, not meant to be a series of accidental events and their results but a conscious process with aims based on the biblical message and guidance by the Holy Spirit. This process should not only be kept in the personal sphere of the leader but it involves a public commitment. Lin, therefore, speaks about “領袖的公約 *ling-hsiu te kung-yüeh* (a leader’s public pact).”¹⁰⁸² He gives an example, quoting in boldface characters the nine “musts” a deacon candidate has to pledge loyalty to in the First Chinese Baptist Church in Los Angeles.

A deacon: (1) Must have a desire to serve, a sacrificing spirit, and a zeal to work for the Lord; (2) Must have the qualifications described in 1 Tim 3:1-10; (3) Must read the Bible and pray every day, and cheerfully give tithes on a monthly basis; (4) Must be a married brother, and his wife must also be willing to serve and to the best of her ability help her husband to be a good deacon; (5) Must be able to teach in Sunday school and be a useful leader in spiritual matters; (6) Must have a loving heart towards the brothers and be willing to assist in any matter, especially in visitation; (7) Must participate in all kinds of meetings in the church, and support all activities in the church; (8) Must be an example for the believers, and, except for training purposes, he should not be like an ordinary debater; (9) Must cooperate with the pastor and the other deacons and other

¹⁰⁷⁸ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 41.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 24.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 44.

¹⁰⁸¹ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 24.

¹⁰⁸² *ibid.*

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leaders in the church, not carelessly make another person angry.¹⁰⁸³

Thirdly, the finances of the church must be sanctified. Lin is worried that a church “longs for money” and “defiles” her finances. If so, the church will “lose God’s presence” and “wander away from the faith.”¹⁰⁸⁴

In chapter six, “要神與教會同在，教會一定要真知力行 (太二十八19、20) *yao shen yü chiao-hui t’ung-tsai, chiao-hui i-ting yao chen chih li hsing* (If the Church wants God’s presence, it surely must have genuine knowledge and practice energetically) (Mt 28:19-20),”¹⁰⁸⁵ Lin points to what he sees as the true meaning of the term “church,” and in his opinion this meaning is closely related to the development of Christian knowledge, insight and wisdom. He begins this longest chapter of the book by referring to some frequently encountered definitions of the church.

What is a church? Some say that a church is the place where we worship God on the Lord’s day; or where we listen to a pastor preach for the perfection of our spirituality; or where Christians fellowship with one another and serve God together. These, however, are merely the functions of a church. As for the essence of the church, we have yet to define it!¹⁰⁸⁶

The true meaning, however, of the term “church” Lin finds in the “Great Commission” in the final verses of the gospel according to Matthew. He suggests the following translation and application of verses 19-20:

Going, therefore, you **must make disciples** of all the nations, **baptizing** them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, **teaching** them to observe all that I have commanded you; and, lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age.

In other words, “go” is not a command, but “make disciples” is, and it is also the main theme of the Great Commission.

In light of this, a church is none other than a **school** that enrolls students of Christ from all the nations, a **training center** for the personnel of God’s kingdom, and a **seminary** of divine doctrines. Since a church is a school, it needs good students; in order to have good students the following steps are essential:

- Recruiting
- Registering

¹⁰⁸³ *ibid.*, 25. The English edition has a list of ten “musts,” with only slight differences in content. See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 45-46.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 53.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 31. Chapter heading in the English edition: “Be A Training Center – the necessity of having Sunday school.” See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, vii.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 55. The expression “perfection of our spirituality” is a translation of 修養靈性 *hsiu-yang ling-hsing* (to cultivate and nourish the spiritual nature (or character)); see Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 31.

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- Teaching¹⁰⁸⁷

He explains the three steps in the following manner. The primary means for recruiting new members to the church is the witnessing and sharing of the faith done by all Christians, based on their “born-again experience.”¹⁰⁸⁸ By registering he means the “thorough investigation”¹⁰⁸⁹ of any person who wants to become a church member. He recommends the following procedure.

If a church wants to have a bright and successful future, her standards for the acceptance of new members ought to be very strict. Before baptizing or accepting a person as a part of the Body of Christ, the church should first investigate thoroughly the following. Has he been truly born again? Have his priorities, thoughts and values been changed? Does he rely on God’s Word in his Christian walk?¹⁰⁹⁰

Having defined the church as 學校 *hsüeh-hsiao* (a school), 訓練中心 *hsün-lien chung-hsin* (a training center), and 神學院 *shen-hsüeh yüan* (a seminary), it goes without saying that the third step, namely, teaching, is a ministry of “paramount importance.”¹⁰⁹¹ The final two thirds of this chapter is devoted to a series of recommendations and suggestions for the teaching ministry, particularly that of the Sunday school. Lin provides detailed and practical guidelines for teaching, explanation, application and motivation. Some of these guidelines have similarities with Confucian ideals for teaching and learning.¹⁰⁹² Lin does his best to upgrade the status of Sunday school teachers and their contribution to church growth. These teachers are even called “小牧師 *hsiao mu-shih* (small pastors),”¹⁰⁹³ and they should have a key position in the structure of any Christian congregation.

In short, a Sunday school teacher is the pastor of his class of ten or fifteen students (like a small church). All these years, Chinese churches have been like scattered sand, without much sound organization. If Sunday school teachers consider their pastor to be the president of a country and themselves as governors under the president, and if they respect one another through their show of cooperation, then their church will have not only an organizational system, but will also possess a very good cell structure. The potential for church growth will then become very promising.¹⁰⁹⁴

¹⁰⁸⁷ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 57 (Lin's emphasis).

¹⁰⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 58.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 61.

¹⁰⁹⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹¹ *ibid.*, 62.

¹⁰⁹² Comments regarding these similarities will be given in section 5.5.3, in my interpretation of Lin’s approach in light of the selected Confucian concepts.

¹⁰⁹³ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 36-37.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 66.

Chapter seven has the following title: “要神與教會同在，教會一定要「同心合意地求．．．」，「奉我(主)的名聚會」 (太十八18~20；徒四24~31) *yao shen yü chiao-hui t'ung-tsai, chiao-hui i-ting yao 't'ung-hsin he-i ti ch'iu ...,' feng wo (chu) te ming chü-hui'* (If the Church wants God's presence, it surely must 'pray, united with one heart,' 'gathered in my (the Lord's) name' (Mt 18:18-20; Acts 4:24-31).”¹⁰⁹⁵ Lin's emphasis in this chapter is on prayer as the basis for spiritual authority in the church. The authority is related to the verbs “bind” and “loose” in the quotation from the Gospel of Matthew, and its aim is to “bind the work of Satan, to loose the downtrodden, and to further experience the reality of God's presence.”¹⁰⁹⁶ This authority is not given to individual Christians but to the church as a corporate entity.

Our Lord has emphatically reminded us that the utilization of this divine authority can never be achieved by the effort of one individual, but only through the corporate effort executed from the standpoint of the entire Church. In other words, only when Christians pray in one accord from the standpoint of the entire Church, can the Church then effectively use and enjoy such divine authority.¹⁰⁹⁷

Having combined the exercise of spiritual authority with the use of prayer Lin devotes the rest of the chapter to advices and admonitions for congregations and their pastors. The following two examples are illustrative. “Dear brothers and sisters, please keep in mind that participation in regular church prayer meetings is a condition for maintaining God's presence.”¹⁰⁹⁸ And, “A pastor in particular has to pray regularly (every day or every week) in an orderly manner for all the needs of his church. If some urgent matter comes up in the church, he then has to devote himself to fervent prayer with great concentration.”¹⁰⁹⁹

Lin concludes his book with what he sees as the divine purpose for the church. “The Church, according to God's design, should exercise leadership in the world; she should be ‘the leader, rather than the follower’ and ‘on the top, rather than at the bottom’ of society.”¹¹⁰⁰ For this leadership to be trustworthy, effective and able to produce growth of the church it

¹⁰⁹⁵ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 47. The order of the Scripture references in the title is inverted compared to the quotations. Chapter heading in the English edition: “Pray In One Accord – the necessity of executing the heavenly power.” See Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, vii.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 93.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *ibid.*, 92-93.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *ibid.*, 99.

¹⁰⁹⁹ *ibid.*, 102.

¹¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, 111. Lin does not mention the source of the two quotes.

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must not rely on its own strength but “ceaselessly seek God’s presence.”¹¹⁰¹ In line with his statements elsewhere in the book Lin confirms his understanding of the causality between human efforts and divine contribution in the mission and growth of the church. As Christians “we must try our best to pursue, execute and lay down ourselves for any condition that brings forth God’s presence, regardless of the cost and sacrifice. Then, the God of peace Himself will surely be with the Church, and He will help her carry out the Great Commission with which He has entrusted her.”¹¹⁰²

5.3.2 Characteristics of Lin’s approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership

According to my research model Lin’s approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership will be investigated from two angles, namely, regarding the type and level of knowledge about the individual and the context. The following questions are examples of what should guide the exploration in this section. Does he take an essentialist position with regard to the individual? In other words, is he confident about the establishment of reliable knowledge about candidates for pastoral leadership? Or, is he not so sure about what can and should be known about them? And, how important for him is insight and interpretation of the context? Should a church and its pastoral recruits make every effort to gain insight and interpret the contextual challenges?

Lin’s approach to the *understanding* of pastoral leadership is marked by a concentration on knowledge about the *individual* candidates. Firstly, both the candidate and the calling¹¹⁰³ church should be convinced that the candidate is also called and sent by God. If this conviction is not in place the primary means of clarification is determined prayer. Lin has such faith that God will answer prayers also of this kind, and a candidate for pastoral ministry should not hesitate to ask other Christians for their intercessional prayers for spiritual guidance. Secondly, a candidate must demonstrate that he has God’s gifts for ministry, and the most important of these is to be gifted in preaching. Preaching is the primary source of spiritual nourishment for the congregation. Lin is sure that it is or will be known whether or

¹¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, 112.

¹¹⁰² *ibid.*, 112-113.

¹¹⁰³ Nowhere in the reviewed sources have I found that Lin refers to ordination or a rite of installment of pastors, neither with regard to himself nor other pastors. An analogy to such public recognition is the pledge that deacon candidates in the First Chinese Baptist church must give. See Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 25.

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not a candidate or already appointed pastor has the gift of preaching. In Lin's opinion, if the gift is not in place, the candidate or pastor may have to consider another job. Thirdly, a pastor is supposed to be a role model for other Christians, for example in terms of regular prayer, discipline, and willingness to sacrifice time and efforts. Although Lin has not described the role in all details, he presupposes that the role is clearly understood by the pastor and made known to the church members.

Lin's approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership implies that a certain amount of knowledge about the *context* is required and obtainable. Taken together, however, contextual issues are far from prominent in his approach. As far as the *ecclesial element* of the context is concerned, his scope is on the local church or congregation. This community of believers should recognize a pastor's ministry, give him the deserved honor and show respect for his divine calling. Beyond the concerns of a given congregation, Lin does not indicate that knowledge about other denominations or the universal church is an important aspect of his understanding of pastoral leadership. As I see it, his use in the textbook of personal examples, experiences and observations from occasional preaching and teaching assignments, particularly in Chinese churches worldwide, does not undermine my evaluation at this point. In terms of the *socio-cultural element* of the context there are few signs of specific concerns in Lin's approach but some are worth mentioning. It was said about Lin that he wanted to make the church Chinese but this wish has not led to a very detailed and explicit treatment of the related issues. Some concerns, however, should be mentioned. Firstly, his story about the young seminary graduate who sought advice from a senior pastor indicates that knowledge about social patterns in general and among the Chinese in particular, will have a positive influence on pastoral ministry and leadership. Secondly, Lin's emphasis of the church as a school, staffed by able pastors and other teachers, is related to the Chinese cultural context, but only by extension, as the primary motivation is said to be found in the commission Jesus gave his disciples. Thirdly, if the list of nine pledges for deacons in his Baptist congregation can be seen as an indicator of Lin's requirements for pastoral ministry, it implies that pastors should have a life-style that earns respect not only in the church but also in society. Lin is concerned, however, that secular values can influence Christian individuals and congregations in an unbiblical direction. The ability to discern trends in society is, therefore, an aspect of pastoral leadership.

My conclusion is that Lin favors a trait/contingency approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership. Knowledge about qualities and skills of individual candidates are more

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dominant in his approach than knowledge about the challenges raised by the context. Some contextual issues have, however, a place in his thinking about pastoral leadership.

Does Lin follow the same trait/contingency approach also to *cultivation* of pastoral leadership? Yes, to large extent this is the case. My investigation indicates, however, that there are some differences, emphasizing the trait-oriented perspectives. If all his direct or indirect statements about the development of pastors and other church leaders are viewed together and applied to cultivation of pastoral leadership, I find in his approach a stronger concentration on knowledge about the individual candidate or pastor than on knowledge about the context.

In Lin's approach to cultivation matters related to the *context* are not in the forefront. Only a few aspects of the ecclesial element of the context are given serious consideration, such as the role of fellowship in prayer and diligent practice of a Christian life-style. Chinese socio-cultural issues are by and large indirectly mentioned. For example, Lin's use of quotations from the Chinese classics shows that he has some acquaintance with them. There is, however, no systematic discussion from a Christian perspective for example about the worldview and concept of human nature in the Chinese classics.¹¹⁰⁴ If the textbook is representative of his way of thinking, the main issue is to find points of contact with the audience, and proverbs, sayings or stories may be taken from both historical and contemporary sources and experiences relevant to those he communicates with. To the extent Lin speaks or writes to Chinese people he makes use of their common cultural heritage in order to create attention. By extension it is possible to say that Lin would expect a candidate for pastoral ministry in a Chinese church to gain and develop a certain level of proficiency in Chinese culture and its writings.

¹¹⁰⁴ A sign of principal reflection is found in one of his books, namely, in the foreword written by Eugene Kimble, who says the following about the material of the book, "Because it was taught and preached to the Chinese, Dr. Lin naturally quotes oriental sayings and authors appropriate to his audience (without implying that he agrees with them in toto or that the authors themselves are Christians), in much the same way that an American speaker or writer might use English sayings and authors." See Eugene Kimble, "Foreword," in *The kingdom of God and discipleship : revised edition of the author's book "The kingdom and what it means to the life of the believer," first published in Chinese 1988*, ed. Lin Tao-liang (Carmel, Indiana: Biblical Studies Ministries International, Inc., 2003), 7. On the one hand, Kimble's comment can be seen as his own evaluation. He may want to defend Lin against criticism for being too contextual in the sense of modifying the Christian message in order to accommodate the opinions of Chinese readers. On the other hand, Kimble may have discussed the wording of the foreword with Lin. If this is the case, Lin signals some limitations in his use of Chinese classics and similar sources in a Christian setting.

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The key aspect, however, in Lin's approach to cultivation of pastoral leadership is his concern about *individual* skills and qualities. These skills and qualities are acquired and developed both through self-cultivation, i.e. efforts by each candidate or pastor, and through the work of cultivators, i.e. teaching and influence from teachers and mentors. As far as the aspect of *self-cultivation* is concerned Lin emphasizes several forms and means. Personal awareness of God's calling is obtained through prayer, and fasting is also mentioned. The spiritual life of individual Christians, as well as congregations, is based on God's presence and this presence is maintained especially by doing, observing, meditating and trusting God's word in the Bible. Lin's attempt, in the conclusion of his chapter one,¹¹⁰⁵ to distance himself from a legalistic interpretation of Christian faith is not convincing. As I see it Lin's line of thought narrows the scope of God's grace. God's grace is said to be an objective reality, and the aim of Christian faith is to experience this grace as a subjective reality. This experience is, however, based on a person's efforts. Unless one is active and not lazy one cannot enjoy God's grace. Unless one meets certain conditions one cannot be sure that God will show his grace in one's life and ministry. In Lin's understanding God's grace is unconditional only as an "objective reality" and not in its application in the life of Christian individuals and communities. A Christian's attitude and loyalty to the biblical message is an important aspect of what Lin calls "truth-based cultivation and spiritual edification."¹¹⁰⁶ Self-cultivation also involves a balanced attention to one's emotions, intellect and will, and this attention is understood as a part of Christian discipline. As far as the role of *cultivators* is concerned Lin has primarily teachers in mind. On the congregational level he sees Sunday school teachers as crucial contributors to faith and leadership development. For pastors, however, theological knowledge and insight should be beyond that of ordinary church members, as Lin made clear with his above-mentioned comment, "If on top of God's calling and gifts, a pastor also has seminarian training, then, of course, that would be superb."¹¹⁰⁷ Seminary teachers have an influential position in the education and development of pastors, and if Lin's personal qualifications are representative, their teaching should be based on both scholarship and experience from church work.

My exploration of Lin's approach to cultivation of pastoral leadership has led me to the conclusion that it is basically in line with his trait/contingency approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership. There is, however, a little deviation as the trait-related

¹¹⁰⁵ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 7.

¹¹⁰⁶ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 24.

¹¹⁰⁷ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 21.

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aspects in his approach to cultivation are emphasized more than in his approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership. A combined view of the two approaches applied to the continuum in Grint's model implies that Lin's position is closer to the trait perspective than the contingent perspective.

5.3.3 Interpretation of Lin's approach in light of the Confucian concepts

There are several indicators in Lin's textbook of direct and indirect usage and reference to the three concepts in the Confucian tradition that have been chosen as moderator variables in my research model. These indicators can be seen as some of the reason behind Wendell Friest's above-mentioned observation that Lin "wanted to make the church Chinese."¹¹⁰⁸ In this section I will explore Lin's use of the three concepts and how they influence his approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership.

As far as the Confucian concept of *leadership* is concerned, one should bear in mind that it is rooted in the view of human nature and the precept of filial piety. Lin does not refer to these elements for example in the form of quotations from the Chinese classics. There is, nevertheless, a possibility that the prevalent interpretation of these two elements in the Confucian tradition has influenced Lin's thoughts about pastoral leadership. His motivation of discipline and a holy life in Christian communities in general and for their leaders in particular is based on a very positive view of a Christian's capacity for the required behavior. As was seen above in his remarks about the four Wesleyan principles,¹¹⁰⁹ Lin does not mean that "all achievements," for example even justification and salvation, depend on human efforts and behavior. A person who is justified and saved, however, will receive gifts from God enabling him or her to meet conditions necessary for having "God's presence, and, to perfect His love."¹¹¹⁰ Throughout his textbook there are statements about these conditions, such as mutual love between Christians, laying down oneself, sanctification, prayer, willingness to serve, and fulfilling the Great Commission. My reading of his book tells me that the key leadership tasks of pastors are to preach the gospel, and teach and admonish the members of the church about the conditions for having God's presence, without which there will be no growth and real spiritual life. Lin's theology creates expectations in a pastor of what he can accomplish as a leader of a Christian congregation. These expectations are

¹¹⁰⁸ Friest, "Interview in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 9 July 2002, notes," 3.

¹¹⁰⁹ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 24.

¹¹¹⁰ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 31.

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directed towards both the pastor and those he leads. If certain prerequisites are fulfilled God will bless the church and it will experience numerical and spiritual growth. As I see it the content and persistence in Lin's theology of sanctification can be a result of influence not only from Christian sources but also from the positive view of human nature in the Confucian tradition. The possibility of this dual influence is, however, not mentioned by Lin. Any Confucian imprint on his theology of sanctification is, therefore, implicit rather than explicit. This implicitness does also seem to apply to the role of the Confucian precept of filial piety in Lin's understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. The term 孝 *hsiao* (filial piety) is not used in the textbook. Lin's emphasis on the respect and honor, which should be shown to pastors and other leaders in the church, may, nevertheless, stem from filial piety and its practice in Chinese communities. Filial piety does not only represent a set of expectations towards subordinates but is also a call to proper behavior and attitudes for those in positions of authority. At one point Lin criticizes some elders in local churches for their "inability to conduct themselves as leaders,"¹¹¹¹ and he says it is important for them to "set a good example before younger Christians."¹¹¹² Such statements are fairly general and can be motivated by biblical values, but they get a special flavor in a setting shaped by the Confucian interpretation of filial piety. Lin does not, however, raise a discussion of the role of filial piety in the cultivation and exercise of leadership in Christian congregations.

According to my investigation it is beyond doubt that Lin's view of the church and pastoral leadership is influenced by the Confucian concept of *learning*. This influence, however, is not visible in the form of abundant quotations or references to the Confucian classics but rather as a strong presupposition. On the one hand, his theological arguments for regarding the church as a school and a training center are based on biblical texts, and in this regard his interpretation of the Great Commission in Matt. 28:18-20 is important. In this kind of church Lin gives the pastors and others with teaching responsibilities a prominent and honorable position. He also gives his consent to Wesley's selection of knowledge as one of four pillars on which the church is built. On the other hand, the emphasis on the church as a school and the contents and proportion of teaching-related guidelines in his textbook seem to have their roots not only in the Bible and the Christian tradition but also in Lin's appreciation of Confucian ideals. Firstly, there are ideals related to teachers. They have a high position with

¹¹¹¹ *ibid.*, 42.

¹¹¹² *ibid.*, 46.

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considerable authority, and they deserve respect. For example in chapter six of his textbook, about the church as a training center, Lin recommends that a pastor in a local congregation is considered to be like a “president of a country,” and as a “good shepherd” a pastor should “edify and equip his students in every aspect [...]”¹¹¹³ And, with the need for qualified personnel in Sunday schools, Lin hopes and expects that a pastor “has the gift and wisdom of training teachers.”¹¹¹⁴ This expectation is similar to the one in the Confucian tradition where the disciples at some point should become masters for new trainees. Secondly, there are ideals related to teaching and the relationship to students. In Lin’s opinion teachers should at all times have their students in mind. “Understand their background, spirituality, characteristics, peculiarities, and so on, that you may teach them according to their ability and need.”¹¹¹⁵ And, one of his “ten musts for the construction of a lesson outline” is this: “Based on the background, the age and the spiritual needs of your students, select an appropriate topic for the lesson.”¹¹¹⁶ When Lin says, “teaching according to each student’s need is also an obvious principle in the Bible,” his statement is not only based on his everyday example of a “wise mother” who will provide food that is “appropriate for her baby,”¹¹¹⁷ but can also be regarded as an allusion to the principle of “因材施教 *yin ts’ai shih chia* (teaching according to the student’s ability)”¹¹¹⁸ in the pedagogy of Confucius. Lin’s definition of “explanation” in Sunday school teaching also reflects key elements in the way of teaching that is found for example in the *Analects*, such as the use of dialogue and the ability to recollect the content of classic writings.

Explanation means that a teacher uses questions and answers, illustrations, narrations, metaphors, idioms, detailed descriptions and gestures to explain the content of a passage. These are essential to the students’ understanding and recollection of God’s Word, as well as the Holy Spirit’s enlightenment regarding its reality.¹¹¹⁹

Thirdly, as noted in chapter two (section 2.2.3.1) a Confucian ideal related to teaching is the expectation of a student’s willingness to learn and act according to fundamental principles such as 仁 *jen* (benevolence), 義 *i* (righteousness) and 禮 *li* (propriety). A reflection of this

¹¹¹³ *ibid.*, 66.

¹¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, 74.

¹¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, 70.

¹¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, 75.

¹¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, 68.

¹¹¹⁸ Chang Fu-min, one of his students at CES, makes a direct reference to Lin’s recognition of this principle. See chapter six, section 6.3.4.

¹¹¹⁹ Lin Tao-liang, *The secret of church growth*, 77.

ideal can be found for example in Lin's suggested definition and purposes of motivation in the area of teaching and learning.

(1) Definition: Motivation is to stimulate students to enthusiastically, effectively and practically apply or put into practice the truths they have learned in their daily personal lives or work. (2) Purposes of motivation: (a) to emphasize the importance of application. (b) To remind students of the purpose of applying God's revelation. (c) To strengthen the students' willingness to carry out the application. (d) To encourage students to lay down themselves willingly for the Lord, in order to apply what they have learned. (e) To motivate students to show empathy towards one another.¹¹²⁰

A couple of fundamental differences should be noted. Whereas Confucius and his followers refer to Heaven as the ultimate reality, Lin refers to God as the source of creation and revelation. And, whereas in Confucian ethics the primary task is to behave properly in prescribed social relationships, Lin says that the relationship with the Lord is the number one priority. Mutual love and empathy towards fellow human beings are seen as results of faith in God and his presence among Christians.

The Confucian concept of *self-cultivation* is usually expressed by the terms 自修 *tzu-hsiu* (self-cultivation) and 脩其身 *hsiu ch'i shen* (to cultivate oneself). None of these terms are found in Lin's textbook, but at one point he uses the expressions “栽培 *tsai-p'ei* (cultivation)” and “造就 *tsao-chiu* (edification).”¹¹²¹ Although these expressions can be used about an individual's self-efforts in training and education, their main emphasis is on the contribution of cultivators such as teachers and mentors. In my opinion there is, however, a general impression that Lin more indirectly is inspired by the Confucian concept of self-cultivation. Within the perspective of his Christian faith and theology he points to issues such as meditation, discipline, painstaking preparation for the task of teaching, careful observation of all that Jesus has commanded, and willingness to lay down one's emotions, intellect and will for the sake of God's kingdom. And, as self-cultivation from a Confucian perspective is supposed to take place primarily in a social setting, there is in Lin's approach to cultivation of Christian spirituality a focus on corporate efforts.

¹¹²⁰ *ibid.*, 84 (Lin's underlining).

¹¹²¹ Lin Tao-liang, *Chiao-hui tseng-chang mi-chüeh*, 24.

5.3.4 Concluding remarks

Lin's textbook has been presented as a valid example of the theology and teaching he provided the students at CES. His background and education shaped his theological profile and prepared him for his tasks as seminary professor and administrator. In addition his ministerial experience as a pastor, both in China and in the Chinese Baptist congregation in California, gave him a valuable source for his recommendations and admonitions to students preparing for pastoral ministry and leadership.

The description and exploration in this chapter of his ideals for pastoral leadership and its cultivation has led to the conclusion that he favors a trait/contingency approach. Within his approach the knowledge about the individual candidate or pastor is more important than knowledge about contextual issues. Lin seems to be convinced that both types of knowledge can be established through the combined efforts of church leaders, teachers, advisors, and the candidates themselves. These efforts include for example observation, encouragement, well-prepared teaching, evaluation, diligent studies, discipline and prayer. Especially with regard to knowledge about individual candidates Lin makes it clear that it is a matter of more than general human insight. The key aspects can be fully understood and clarified only in a faith perspective. One must make sure that a candidate or a pastor has God's calling and the necessary spiritual gifts and qualities.

With his definition of the church as a school in mind it makes sense that the Confucian concept of learning is more important for Lin than the concepts of leadership and self-cultivation. As a whole his understanding of pastoral leadership and his recommendations for its cultivation are both openly and implicitly influenced by key elements and values in the Confucian tradition. It seems fair to say that Lin wanted to train pastors and other leaders who could make Chinese churches Chinese enough to facilitate their spiritual and numerical growth. By publishing his textbook in English he shows that he thinks his teaching about church growth can be applied also to non-Chinese communities.

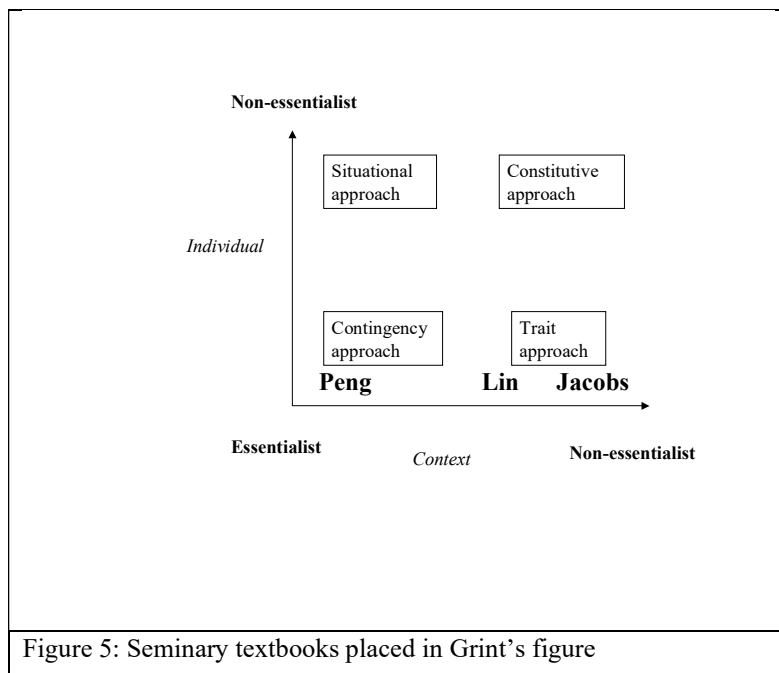
For his readers in both Chinese and non-Chinese contexts Lin's textbook offers theological insights and practical suggestions for church work. Although the book does not aim at a comprehensive and documented presentation of the forms and means of church growth, one could, nevertheless, have expected to find signs of principal problems and challenges regarding the contextualization of these forms and means in the Chinese and other socio-cultural settings. When one considers that Lin's textbook has been a key source of pastoral theology at CES, this expectation is even more relevant. Without a conscious attitude

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to the theological task of contextualization in the training and cultivation of pastors there is always a chance that strong cultural patterns will leave an imprint on teaching and practices in the church. There is, for example, a possible connection between the rather legalistic tendency in Lin's theology and the optimistic view in the Confucian tradition of human nature and its capacity for moral behavior.

5.4 Summary of chapter five

Three textbooks have been described and explored in this chapter. In light of a biographical and theological portrait of the authors their approaches to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership have been presented and characterized. Although there are differences in their types of approaches they can all be located in the continuum ranging from contingent perspectives to trait perspectives on leadership and its development. In Grint's heuristic model they can be placed as indicated in the below figure.



Henry Eyster Jacobs wrote his textbook of dogmatics for an American audience, particularly within the Lutheran constituency. Although a few signs were found that he sees the need to adapt his theology to challenges in the American setting, his scope and discussion of pastoral ministry and cultivation of pastoral leadership concentrates on the development of individual candidates. His approach was characterized as a rather trait-oriented type, which means that he has an essentialist view of knowledge about individual candidates.

With his contingency approach Peng Fu aims at the establishment of reliable knowledge about both the individual candidates and the context. His textbook was designed and written on the basis of his lectures in pastoral theology at LTS. This is most likely the reason why he treats the various aspects of pastoral ministry and leadership in a systematic manner, including some issues related to contextualization in a Chinese environment.

The description and exploration of Lin Tao-liang's textbook led to the conclusion that he favors a trait/contingency approach, with an emphasis on the trait-oriented perspectives. For him the knowledge about the gifts and skills of candidates for ministry is somewhat more important than insight about the context.

As far as the role of the Confucian concepts as moderator variables is concerned it is possible to indicate some ranking of their importance in the approach of each of the three textbooks. The following table illustrates the results of my interpretation presented in this chapter, related to each author.

Author	Rank of Confucian concepts		
	Most important	Less important	Least important
Henry Eyster Jacobs	self-cultivation	learning	leadership
Peng Fu	learning	self-cultivation	leadership
Lin Tao-liang	learning	leadership	self-cultivation

Table 8: Seminary textbooks and rank of Confucian concepts

Further comments about the findings in this chapter will be given in chapter seven, in which the combined results of the study will be analyzed and evaluated.

6 Candidates for ministry

The experiences and developments of candidates for ministry represent a key source of information about the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. For the purpose of this thesis I have selected three candidates. They have been trained at the three main seminaries that have provided candidates for TLC, namely LTS, TLS, and CES. In addition to my interviews with the candidates I have looked for other available information about them in libraries and archives. Some of those who were involved in or have knowledge about the candidates' seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination have also been interviewed or consulted. The first candidate began his seminary training on the mainland in the late 1940s and completed it in Hong Kong in 1951, whereas the other two had their preparation for ministry in Taiwan, in the 1960s and 1980s respectively. One can say that they represent the three first generations of TLC pastors.

My presentation of the three candidates is primarily aimed at their development until the time of their ordination. When it comes, however, to their opinions and reflections with regard to pastoral leadership and the Confucian context, I have also included material from later stages in their life and ministry. The presentation of the candidates is patterned as follows. After a description of their background and seminary training, in the second section I look into their work as evangelists as the final preparation for their ordination. The third section contains my interpretative review of how each candidate approaches the issue of understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. The interpretation is performed in light of the four approaches to leadership in Grint's analytical model. With the contents of the previous three sections in mind the fourth section is an attempt to indicate the implications with regard to the Confucian concepts identified as moderator variables in my research model. The presentation of each candidate ends with some concluding remarks.

6.1 Tung Shang-yung

Tung Shang-yung (Stanley) 董尚勇 (1925-2000)¹¹²² traces his roots to Honan province on the mainland.¹¹²³ Following his theological education at LTS, he was the second candidate

¹¹²² For a brief obituary, see "In memoriam : Rev. Stanley Tung Shang-yung 1925-2000," *Spotlight on China : the quarterly bulletin of the Lutheran Literature Society for the Chinese*, December 2000. An account of his life until 1980 is found in Jones, *Christ calls the Chinese : the Taiwan story*, 112-124. Parts of that account were also told in Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997, translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997).

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ordained in TLC. He held several leadership positions, both as a local pastor and at the synod level. In June 1990 he finished his last term as church president, an office he had served in during the years 1956-1959, 1966-1970, and 1986-1990.¹¹²⁴

6.1.1 Background and seminary training

Tung was born into a Lutheran family.¹¹²⁵ Baptized as an infant, he not only grew up in a Christian home but he also developed personal relationships with Lutheran missionaries and their children. Through these relationships he became acquainted with people that would guide him throughout his life and ministry. Among the 長者 *chang-che* (seniors) he especially recalls Herman W. Bly, who was his Bible teacher at middle school and later at a pre-seminary course, and the ELFCN missionaries Johan Tidemann Johansen 尤漢森 (1898-1986), Nils Lian 李安 (1904-1975), and Sigurd Aske 安思恪 (1914-1991).¹¹²⁶ They helped him during his final two months of pre-seminary Bible school training. Away from home and a poor student, he appreciated their care.

They also 在靈性上照顧我 *tsai ling-hsing shang chao-ku wo* (attended to my spiritual needs). This is how God leads a person. Aske came to see me many times, caring for me. He had a solid understanding of the Bible, and he was also quite able to write letters in Chinese. His assistance to me became of long-lasting importance for my later ministry.¹¹²⁷

Arne B. Sovik 魏德光 (b. 1918) and Johan Tidemann Johansen jr. 尤約翰 (b. 1938) were some of the missionary children Tung counted among his friends. Later on, in Taiwan, he would

¹¹²³ Tung was born in one of the villages near Kioshan, which was the first city of Honan to hear the gospel when missionaries from China Inland Mission arrived there. See Amanda Netland Skepstad, "Pioneer days in China," *The Missionary*, October 1957, 16. Honan province, which in many ways became a stronghold for Lutheran mission in China, was the working area for the missionaries from ELC, Augustana, LBC, and the LFC.

¹¹²⁴ See Chuang Tung-chieh, ed., *Shih wan-min tso chu men-t'u*, 42.

¹¹²⁵ His father had been baptized as a middle school student, and later worked as a medical practitioner at the Lutheran hospital in Sinyang. Here he collaborated with several of the American missionaries. The one who baptized Tung's father was John Marius Bly, an ELC missionary pastor, the elder brother of Herman W. Bly. See Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 1. For biographical information concerning the Bly brothers, see John Peterson, Olaf Lysnes, and Gerald Giving, eds., *A biographical directory of pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952), 60.

¹¹²⁶ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 2. For biographical data about the missionaries, see Johan Tidemann Johansen, "Letter to Gustav Steensland," (Porsgrunn: 2004).

¹¹²⁷ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 2.

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meet some of them again, both parents and children. Young and old, they had become his 老朋友 *lao p'eng-yu* (old friends),¹¹²⁸ an expression used among the Chinese about close and reliable friendships.

It did not seem like Tung should become a pastor. Well under way in medical school, as he was preparing himself to become a physician like his father and elder brother, an event triggered changes in his plans.¹¹²⁹ During five dramatic nights of fighting between Communist and Nationalist forces around Chinese New Year in 1946, while Tung was home on winter vacation, he had promised God to give up his medical studies and to become a pastor if his life was spared. When the battle was over, however, he was not sure if he would keep his promise. Without peace in his mind, he went to see his father, who was clear in his advice. This was a matter between his son and God. Thus Tung knew that he had his father's approval whatever choice he made. Shortly afterwards he made his way to the Bible school in Sinyang.

The teachers there prayed for me. One night one of the teachers said to me: 'I will pray for you tonight.' The moon was clear that night. I resolved that I would give my life to the Lord. I immediately read a piece in the Bible, namely, Jeremiah chapter one, how God called Jeremiah. Like Jeremiah, I was young and not able to speak. The next morning I went to see the teacher, and he said: 'I prayed for you last night.' I told him about my decision. But, how should I proceed in order to attend seminary? At that time, if you wanted to go to seminary, you had to have a recommendation from a local congregation, as well as from the church district. In addition, the synod had to approve the plan. My relation was to the ELC church. Following the approval, you had to pass the admission test at Shekow. But, at this time, after the war, this procedure was not possible. There were no congregation, no boards that I could relate to where I was. I therefore wrote a letter to a Chinese pastor, and he said that they would welcome me into the ministry. He promised many things, but what should I do? My teacher at the Bible school said: 'Give it a try, and see where God will lead you. Go to Hankow, to Shekow!'¹¹³⁰

The teacher who suggested this was most likely Herman W. Bly, who had returned to China the same year. The Chinese had great respect for Bly's leadership abilities.¹¹³¹ And, for Tung,

¹¹²⁸ *ibid.*, 3.

¹¹²⁹ See Jones, *Christ calls the Chinese : the Taiwan story*, 112-115. Jones provides a detailed account of this transforming event. Tung retold the story almost identically about seventeen years later in my interview with him; see Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997."

¹¹³⁰ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 2.

¹¹³¹ During his three years of absence, the Chinese themselves seemingly had been in charge of the school. "In 1946, the teachers wanted me to be principal [as he had been earlier]. I suggested that one of their number, a Pastor Tan, who was vice-principal, be in charge. They wanted me to be in charge, so I said, 'Well, I'll be in charge in name, but I want Mr. Tan to be in on all decisions, and

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who had known him since childhood, Bly was a natural advisor. Much of the infrastructure in China had been damaged during the war, but the section of railroad from Hankow to Sinyang had just been repaired by the time Tung headed for LTS, located in the town of Shekow, a few miles north of Hankow.¹¹³² He had “peace in his heart” because of his decision to study theology,¹¹³³ although he was not sure if he could be admitted to the seminary.

The semester had already started, and I did not have all the documents I needed. But I went there anyway. It was late afternoon as I got off the train. I did not know anybody, and I just walked over to the Shekow campus. Only one light was on, and I walked towards that room. There was Wu Ming-chieh, who was studying there. I knew him from before, because we were from the same district! He wanted to take me to the president. But because of vacation the president was not there. I got to see the vice-president, Harold Martinson. So, you see, I got to know a lot of the missionaries. He asked me to tell my story. Having heard about my decision, he said, ‘You’ll have to take the test. Although you have a 奉獻的心 *feng-hsien te hsin* (sacrificing heart) you must first pass the test.’ I said: ‘Well, now that I am here, I will take the test right away.’ The easiest part of the test was Bible knowledge. Two days later he contacted Wu Ming-chieh, because I was staying with him. I got the message that I had passed the test. But, I still had none of the regular documents from the church as such. Martinson said: You write letters, and so will we. Then I wrote to the congregation, district, synod.... Following the approval, I was admitted as a regular student.¹¹³⁴

This was in February 1947, and at this time the seminary enjoyed “a needed respite from the seemingly perpetual difficulties of life in China.”¹¹³⁵ One of the newly arrived teachers described the atmosphere on campus.

Rehabilitation work had been carried on through the summer [of 1946], so the premises were usable, though the repairs were far from completed. For almost two and a half years we were able to carry on undisturbed. Each year saw great improvements both as regards the spirit and caliber of the student body, as well as the physical plant and equipment.¹¹³⁶

Early in 1948, however, escalations in the civil war triggered deliberations about a temporary relocation of the LTS to a safer place.¹¹³⁷ Tung decided to join the group of staff and students

the faculty to be the deciding group.’ That’s the way we operated our Bible school in Sinyang. So he was entirely ready and able to take over when I had to leave.” See Herman W. Bly, “Midwest China oral history and archives project” : a typed transcript of tape-recorded interviews,” (Midwest China Oral History and Archives Collection, 1977), 55.

¹¹³² *ibid.*, 54.

¹¹³³ Jones, *Christ calls the Chinese : the Taiwan story*, 114.

¹¹³⁴ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), “Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997,” 3.

¹¹³⁵ LeMond, “A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong”, 96.

¹¹³⁶ Harold H. Martinson, “Our Lutheran Theological Seminary in China,” *The Missionary*, May 1949, 27.

¹¹³⁷ “[I]n order to keep the vital work of the Seminary of our Chinese Church continuing as long as possible and in order to secure a better atmosphere for scholastic work, it was decided to move our

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that made its way to Tao Fong Shan in Hong Kong, arriving there 1 December the same year.¹¹³⁸ The way he recalls his decision to follow the seminary out of the mainland, reveals some of his sense of independence and self-reliance.

When it was decided that the Seminary should move to Hongkong, many students went home because they wanted to see their families. I wanted to go home too; but I did not have a family so I didn't go home. Many of the students who went home didn't come back. [...] People asked me when I arrived in Hongkong if I was lonely, and I said, 'No'. I think of my family, but I am not lonely because I have my brothers and sisters in the Church.¹¹³⁹

A likely interpretation of the above quote is that Tung uses the term "family" in two different ways. He was unmarried at the time and thus he did not have a family back home in the sense of a wife and children. Even though he appreciated the relationship to his Christian "brothers and sisters," his comment is not intending that they could substitute his own family in the sense of his parents and relatives. Being a second-generation Christian he had the necessary backing and support from his family, and, as was noted above, his father had set him free to make his decision about entering seminary. In Hong Kong and later on in Taiwan his thoughts would still go to his family back on the mainland, but it seems that he seldom shared these thoughts with others.¹¹⁴⁰

In 1951 Tung graduated together with the other eight members of his class.¹¹⁴¹ During his time at the seminary he had also got acquainted with fellow students in other classes, some of whom would become his colleagues in Taiwan: Peng Rwo-kao 彭若羔 (1949 graduate); Shen Yu-ch'ing 諶育清 and Kung T'ien-min 龔天民 (1952 graduates, who both became teachers at TLS); Chou Ching-fu 周景福 (1953 graduate).¹¹⁴² The students not only lived closely together, but they also shared common spiritual concerns.

institution out of the chaotic conditions of Central China into the comparative peace of British rule at Hongkong. No one knows how long we shall be able to continue at this place, but for the present we are enjoying stability and the students can concentrate on their studies without any outside distractions." *ibid.*

¹¹³⁸ For a detailed account of the deliberations and decisions that led to the move, see LeMond, "A history of Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong", 96-104.

¹¹³⁹ Jones, *Christ calls the Chinese : the Taiwan story*, 115.

¹¹⁴⁰ One indication of Tung's attitude is found in a remark by Sovik, "I don't recall Tung ever talked about his family." Arne B. Sovik, "Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 20 April 1998, notes," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998), 3.

¹¹⁴¹ See the photograph in Hu Lien-hui (Paul) and Hung Kwang-liang, eds., *Sixtieth anniversary memorial bulletin : Lutheran Theological Seminary 1913-1973*, 49.

¹¹⁴² See *ibid.*, 48-50.

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During this school year there has been a notable undercurrent of revival in our student body. The men gather in small prayer groups. Their spiritual life is maintained on a high level. They are sensitive to the entrance of sins into their lives and relationships, and have confessed their sins and made restitution where necessary. [...] We covet your prayers for our Seminary work and for this group of young men who have laid their lives upon God's altar.¹¹⁴³

During his time at LTS Tung was exposed to at least ten regular faculty members.¹¹⁴⁴ In addition there were several part-time lecturers and instructors. When asked about the teachers that taught him 教牧學 *chiao-mu hsüeh* (pastoral theology) he gave me this answer:

At the Bible school where Bly was teaching, even though it was a preparatory class for seminary education, we were given a solid doctrinal foundation. Bly taught us basic dogmatics and Bible knowledge. Later, in seminary, a lot of teachers taught dogmatics to me. Carlberg was one of them. Nelson was another; his classes came a little later. And then Martinson. These three taught me the basics in dogmatics. There were, of course, also other teachers, but these were the most important in the field of dogmatics. This field we studied every year in the seminary. What they taught me was the basics of dogmatics; they did not fancy the 新潮 *hsin ch'ao* (new currents). Since I was a child I had learned to appreciate the traditional form of Christian doctrine. I had grown up in the church and never quite liked the new currents. This was also what I learned from these senior teachers. So my theological training was very 保守 *pao-shou* (conservative).¹¹⁴⁵

A conspicuous feature in the above quotation is that Tung does not mention teachers in practical theology in general or pastoral theology in particular.¹¹⁴⁶ As was noted in my presentation of Peng Fu's textbook in pastoral theology, the curriculum at LTS did not include Chinese textbooks in the field of practical theology by the time Tung was a student there. Each in his own way his teachers contributed to Tung's understanding of pastoral ministry. The importance of his Bible school training for supplying the fundamental elements in the understanding of ministry should also be noted.

In Tung's opinion pastoral ministry and the theology sustaining it should be related to the Chinese environment, but it seems that his teachers did not provide a sufficient interpretation of this task.

My teachers put their emphasis upon the basics of Christian faith, the central elements.

¹¹⁴³ Martinson, "Our Lutheran Theological Seminary in China," 28.

¹¹⁴⁴ A list of the faculty is found in Chan, ed., *Lutheran Theological Seminary 1913 (Shekow) - 1993 (Tao Fong Shan) eightieth anniversary memorial bulletin*, 99-101.

¹¹⁴⁵ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 3.

¹¹⁴⁶ I failed to ask Tung a follow-up question about teachers (and textbooks) in practical theology.

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With regard to Chinese culture, because they were all foreign teachers,¹¹⁴⁷ they knew something about it, but they did not know very much. They were aware of some of the more obvious elements. The deeper aspects of our culture, they were not able to understand. They had not read all the written sources of our culture. Therefore they could not talk about it. As I remember now, what they taught us was the basics of theology. What they taught us about Chinese culture was more or less what everybody knew. Among us Chinese students, we understood some of our own culture. When it came to the deeper aspects of our culture, the philosophy of Confucius and his thoughts, we knew that this was a very wide field. It could be divided into many parts and kinds. Some elements could be criticized and some elements we could agree to. In the thinking of Confucius, there were things to be criticized. Not all of it was good. Later, I have come to the conclusion that theological education for the Chinese should include both the basics of theology and the fundamental elements of Chinese culture, so that all of us can have a more comprehensive knowledge. So, if our teachers did not have sufficient knowledge about our culture and philosophy, how could they compare it with Christian faith? Therefore, if in our time a western theologian should come to serve as a teacher in our seminaries, it is imperative that he has studied to some extent our Chinese culture. There might be things that he cannot accept, but nevertheless he would understand them. If he does not understand, his task becomes very difficult.¹¹⁴⁸

With regard to the issue of contextualization it is clear that Tung questioned the quality of the seminary teaching. Even though Chinese culture and Confucianism presents a tremendous challenge for theological education Tung is of the opinion that this challenge must be adequately met and dealt with. This challenge should also be related to Tung's comment about the limited insight among the seminary students about the philosophy and thoughts of Confucius. Further presentation and exploration of Tung's arguments regarding the implications of Confucian concepts for the cultivation of pastoral leadership will follow below in section 6.1.4.

6.1.2 Evangelist ministry and ordination

In addition to his theological education the evangelist ministry and ordination functioned as important elements in Tung's preparation for pastoral ministry. By the time he was about to finish his studies at LTS the expanding Lutheran work among mainland refugees in Hong Kong offered opportunities for ministry for Mandarin speaking graduates. He began to serve

¹¹⁴⁷ The questions he replied to were: "When you studied theology, to what extent did your teachers take this aspect into account? How did they unite Christian theology with Chinese culture? Did your teachers resemble those missionaries you just told me about?" Although he had some Chinese teachers, he did not include any comments about their contribution to the issue of contextualization. See Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 6.

¹¹⁴⁸ *ibid.* In my translation of the last three sentences I have used the male pronouns (he/his), although there is no difference between male or female pronouns in spoken Chinese.

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as 傳道人 *ch'uan-tao jen* (preacher) at Diamond Hill congregation from January 1951, in fact a few months before his graduation.¹¹⁴⁹ About one year later he got his 'Macedonian call' in the form of a letter from the leader of TLM.

At that time Arne Sovik was serving at Grace Church¹¹⁵⁰ in Taipei. I had known him from childhood. His father had been the pastor at the congregation connected to the hospital where my father worked. As children we played together, although he was older than I. He knew that I had graduated from seminary in Hong Kong, and he had just arrived here in Taiwan to do missionary work. He wrote to me in Hong Kong, begging me to come over to Taiwan. I prayed about it, and I decided to come here.¹¹⁵¹

This was, however, not the first time Sovik had approached his childhood friend about coming over to Taiwan. On their way by boat from America in 1951 the Soviks had stopped off at Hong Kong "to make final preparations for their work in Formosa."¹¹⁵² An important element in these preparations was to look for possible co-workers, and LTS was the place to go to. Even though Tung had already graduated, Sovik happened to meet him at the seminary.¹¹⁵³ "He is a good kid with plenty of initiative, and I think I shall try to get him to Taipei," Sovik wrote to his father.¹¹⁵⁴ Sovik not only invited Tung to Taiwan, but also made

¹¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 3.

¹¹⁵⁰ Grace Church had been organized as a congregation in 1953, as the result of efforts by several missionaries and Chinese Christians. See Lenora I. Erickson, "Taipei district : Grace Lutheran Church, Taipei," in *Ten years in Taiwan : The Lutheran story; the story of how the word of God has worked through the Lutheran witness over a period of ten years 1951-1961*, ed. Ethel Akins and Clara J. Jones (Taichung: Taiwan Lutheran Mission, 1962).

¹¹⁵¹ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 3. Sovik recalls his childhood friendship with Tung: "I had known him since he was a little boy, and I think that that was probably determinative in my invitation to him to come, because I knew him even though we were not of the same age. As a little boy he was riding on my back on a sledge. He was eight and I was fifteen or something like that." Sovik, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 5 November 1997," 1.

¹¹⁵² Rolf A. Syrdal, "Word has just come : China," *The Missionary*, February 1952, 15. In this brief newsnote it is also mentioned: "Rev. and Mrs. Sovik [...] will be the first persons of our mission [ELC] to answer the call of Formosa with its many opportunities for evangelistic work. They will be stationed in Taipeh."

¹¹⁵³ "When we came to Taiwan, and even before that, we knew that we would need some Chinese colleagues. And I went up to the seminary, and Stanley Tung was just finishing." Sovik, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 5 November 1997," 1. Although Sovik is mistaken about the time of Tung's graduation, this source confirms their contact at this point.

¹¹⁵⁴ From a letter to Edward Sovik, written in March 1952, quoted in Sovik, "Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 20 April 1998, notes," 2. Edward Sovik had been a missionary pastor in Honan from 1914 to 1948. See Andrew S. Burgess, "This one thing I do : a tribute to the Rev. Edward Andersen Sovik," *Lutheran Literature Society for the Chinese Bulletin*, September 1977. His brother, Erik Sovik, was a professor at LTS from 1913 to 1948. See Carlberg, *The changing China scene*, 141. What is said about Erik Sovik most likely also applies to his brother Edward: "As a missionary Erik Sovik was a product of powerful spiritual forces at work in his native Norway. There was the Haugian awakening followed by an evangelistic movement within

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arrangements¹¹⁵⁵ so that he could join the work at Grace Church as evangelist. “In November, 1952, we were happy to have Mr. Stanley Tung [...] join us. He was a son of the Lutheran work on the Honan field.”¹¹⁵⁶ After a period of adjustment¹¹⁵⁷ he worked his way into the many aspects of the congregational work. The two years in this position as evangelist proved to be quite important for his future ministry.

In my opinion, this time of evangelist ministry has two aspects. One is that this is the regulation of the church. The other is that this one- to two-year period of learning is an extension of the training for pastoral ministry that started in the seminary. As evangelist you should practice, train, and figure things out. This was 真正的學習 *chen-cheng te hsüeh-hsi* (real training). To me, those two years were very important. The members in the congregation did not see me as their pastor, but we shared our insights as we studied the Bible. We were like good friends. We could have different points of view, and it was a good time of learning. In fact, that time passed very fast. There was also another candidate in our fellowship, an intern from Luther Seminary, who had finished two years of seminary. He came to us for one year of practical training, and we helped each other and 彼此學習 *pi-tsu hsüeh-hsi* (studied together). That time went fast, but I felt that I learned a lot. I got to know the traditions of the church, and it was also a time of 考驗 *k'ao-yan* (trial). I found out what I was good at, and what I had to improve. Those two years were very good training, a good experience. I got to know what a pastor's ministry would be like.¹¹⁵⁸

The intern from Luther Theological Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, was Leonard Erling Klippen (b. 1931),¹¹⁵⁹ and he got to know Tung quite well. They had rooms next to each other, ate together, and had help from the same servant girl.¹¹⁶⁰ Klippen recalls that Tung was

the church and a more free expression of evangelism through the preaching of C. O. Rosenius in Sweden.” See [Sovik / Edward A.], “In memoriam : Dr. Gustav Carlberg - Mrs. Lena Rygh Holm - Dr. Erik Sovik,” *Lutheran Literature Society for China Bulletin*, March 1971.

¹¹⁵⁵ At this time it was not possible to get travel documents for transfer from Hong Kong to Taiwan without the necessary recommendations. In order to obtain such documents for Tung and two other church workers Sovik wrote a letter, in the capacity of Acting Superintendent of the not yet organized Lutheran church in Taiwan, asking the authorities for help. See Arne B. Sovik, “Letter to Governor K.C. Wu, Taiwan Provincial Government, 30 July 1952,” (Taipei: TLM Archives, TLC office, 1952).

¹¹⁵⁶ Erickson, “Taipei district : Grace Lutheran Church, Taipei,” 61.

¹¹⁵⁷ “Tung seems to have trouble taking the job on, doesn’t get very busy.” Arne B. Sovik in a letter to his father in December 1952, quoted in Sovik, “Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 20 April 1998, notes,” 2.

¹¹⁵⁸ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), “Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997,” 7-8.

¹¹⁵⁹ Klippen graduated from Luther Theological Seminary with a BDiv in 1956 and was ordained in 1957 in the ELC. See Leonard Erling Klippen, “Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 2 April 1998, notes,” (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1998), 2.

¹¹⁶⁰ Since his arrival in Taiwan Tung had stayed with the Soviks for some months, and early in 1953 he moved into the newly rented property for Grace church, farther away from where Sovik lived. In March the same year Sovik wrote to his father: “Now he is going to have to assume fuller responsibility than he has heretofore, and I think it will be good for him and the congregation.”

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“sensitive to the economic disparities between the Chinese and the missionaries.”¹¹⁶¹ As an intern Klippen had more money than Tung, who was ready to be ordained. According to Klippen this was a situation that Tung thought was not fair. He remembers that Tung said, “I could be a pedicab driver and be better off!” In commenting on this issue, Sovik is well aware that this was a real problem.

I can understand that Stanley felt what he felt concerning the difference in salary. I was interested in doing as soon as possible what I could to get the Chinese workers into the churches’ payroll. It was impossible, however, to place them above regular people’s income level. At this time, Manikam from the IMC came on a visit to Taiwan, and we talked for two hours about that problem. He said: “This is not a soluble question. Be conscious of it, try to understand it, struggle to do what you can do about it.”¹¹⁶²

In conversations Klippen brought up ideas from his pre-seminary years at University of California, Berkeley, and at times they had “rebellious talks” together.¹¹⁶³ Tung could be “explosive” and he had “a conflictual relationship with Arne B. Sovik.”¹¹⁶⁴ In Klippen’s opinion, Tung was ready to “become an independent person, and not only in the mold that the missionaries wanted him to be in.”¹¹⁶⁵ Sovik was, nevertheless, pleased with Tung’s development during his evangelist ministry.

What I liked about him was that he was honest, *lao-hsih*,¹¹⁶⁶ loyal, willing to assume responsibility, willing to spend his time helping Ruth [Sovik’s wife] learn Chinese. He stayed with us for some weeks or months when he first came. And, he developed in a way that I was pleased with. He was not at that time a powerful young man. There were others who were more ambitious. [...] I was sure, however, that he would develop as a

Quoted in Sovik, "Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 20 April 1998, notes," 2.

¹¹⁶¹ “Stanley got 40 USD a month. Some others among the Chinese raised families on that! I had 250 USD a month.” *ibid.*, 1.

¹¹⁶² *ibid.* The visitor was Rajah Bushanam Manikam, who later served as the first joint East Asia Secretary of the IMC-WCC. He became bishop of the Lutheran See of Tranquebar in South India.

¹¹⁶³ According to his experience, Berkeley was “a source of some new ideas and social unrest.” See Klippen, "Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 30 April 1998, notes."

¹¹⁶⁴ “I am surprised that there was not more about him in my letters [to Edward and Erik Sovik], considered that Stanley was so important in the work. I was sometimes critical towards Stanley, but I cannot recall something like a conflict.” Sovik, "Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 20 April 1998, notes," 2. Tung did not mention any kind of conflict in my interview with him, either. See Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997." A reasonable interpretation of the fact that Klippen had observed a “conflictual relationship” between Tung and Sovik, could be that Tung felt it easier to express any experiences and feelings of this kind to someone younger than himself. Klippen also represented a neutral position between the Chinese and the missionaries, and, as we have seen, he and Tung “helped each other.”

¹¹⁶⁵ Klippen, "Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 2 April 1998, notes," 2.

¹¹⁶⁶ By using the the Chinese term for “honest” Sovik underlines this element in his description of Tung.

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leader. He did not demand leadership, he was rather ... [sic!] and, of course, he was very young then. But, he took responsibility when it was given to him, and handled it easily and soundly. Theologically, he was a biblical preacher, and I am not sure if he was interested in reading theology as such. He was interested in the preaching. A very practical man.¹¹⁶⁷

Two years after his arrival in Taiwan he was ready to be ordained. Grace Church had called him to be its pastor, and the only remaining requirement was the examination before the ministerium. His written essays approved, the oral examination was next.

They concentrated on the tasks of pastoral ministry. Two aspects were important. Firstly, they wanted to test my 神學方面的了解 *shen-hsüeh fang-mien te liao-chieh* (understanding of theology), my 信仰 *hsin-yang* (faith). Secondly, they wanted to know more about the practical aspect, such as how I would handle various cases in my ministry, how I would prepare people for church membership, work with families, friends and neighbors, anything that had to do with the work of a pastor. The main part of the examination, however, had to do with doctrinal and faith matters. At this time the church, the TLC, was not organized. All Lutherans in Taiwan were together in one common fellowship. Chinese and missionary pastors from all of the different groups that had worked on the mainland, such as the 中國信義會 *chung-kuo hsin-i hui* (LCRC), 中華信義會 *chung-hua hsin-i hui* (CLBC), 台灣信義會 *t'ai-wan hsin-i hui* (TLC), came forward to ask me questions and admonish me before my ordination. We did not have a fixed organization, only a joint community.¹¹⁶⁸

The ordination took place in Grace Church,¹¹⁶⁹ which had got its permanent property and new church building in November 1953. One of the missionaries reported, "On June 6, 1954, Mr. Stanley Tung was ordained as the first Chinese pastor of our congregation."¹¹⁷⁰ Peng Fu, the president of ELCHK, was the ordinator, and his sermon made a lasting impression on Tung.

I remember very well the sermon that was held for me when I was ordained. It was the old president Peng Fu who came from Hong Kong to lead the ordination. The main point in his sermon was that I should be a housekeeper in God's household, a steward. His message has followed me ever since. How could I be a faithful steward? I should be a faithful steward towards God, and towards people I should be filled with love. This was his main point, the central message. I should give my own life, give all my strength to this ministry. I should have a warm heart in all my work. I should be trustworthy towards God, and love people. All in all I should be a faithful steward. His message and the way he explained the Bible, has been a lasting help for me. Therefore, the sermon

¹¹⁶⁷ Sovik, "Interview in Minneapolis by Gustav Steensland 5 November 1997," 1-2. Sovik remarked in a letter to his father late in 1954 that Tung was "a potential *pu-tao* [sic] of considerable strength." Quoted in Sovik, "Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 20 April 1998, notes," 2. The Chinese expression 布道 *pu-tao* means "evangelistic preacher."

¹¹⁶⁸ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 8.

¹¹⁶⁹ See photo from the event in Rolf A. Syrdal, "Formosa," *The Missionary*, October 1954.

¹¹⁷⁰ Erickson, "Taipei district : Grace Lutheran Church, Taipei," 62.

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delivered to ordination candidates is very important.¹¹⁷¹

Among those participating in the laying on of hands were Liu Tao-sheng 劉道生 (1884-1961),¹¹⁷² Herman W. Bly, Albert Olson 吳立本 (b. 1917), Arne B. Sovik, and Victor Emanuel Swenson 孫維德 (1913-1965).¹¹⁷³ Sovik wrote to his father about the event:

On Sunday afternoon Stanley was ordained. That was one of the most happy events since we came here. The Chinese had made all the preparations with scarcely a word even of advice from us, and they did a fine job. Stanley had apparently found a place with them, for there were a lot of gifts for him. The congregational organizations and some individuals bought him his gown. The church was well decorated, and we had a fine tea and then congregational supper afterwards. The local ministry was out in force: including Peng Fu we had five Chinese and six foreign pastors present. The ceremony was quite impressive. I am glad you sent a gift, Dad. He appreciated it very much. He is improving in his work and taking on more responsibility than he did.¹¹⁷⁴

The ordination opened up new areas of ministry for Tung. He could now administer the sacraments, both in regular worship services and in homes or at hospital beds.¹¹⁷⁵ His new status also brought changes in the working relationship between him and Sovik, who chose to step down as senior pastor.

After Stanley was ordained, he was the pastor, and I was the assistant pastor. He did the parish work. I tried to make it that he was in charge. I had so much administrative work and did not have time for much work in the congregation. Maybe we shared the preaching evenly between us, and I also did some teaching of Bible classes.¹¹⁷⁶

In the spring of 1955, when Sovik left for his new LWF position in Geneva, “the burden of the work as pastor fell on the young shoulders of the Rev. Tung.”¹¹⁷⁷ Sovik had helped to

¹¹⁷¹ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 10.

¹¹⁷² For an early biography about Liu, see P.A Bredvei, *Liu Dao-seng : vår misjonsmarks fagreste frukt [... : the most beautiful fruit of our mission field]* (Oslo: Gry Forlag, 1948).. His death is mentioned in Kaj Olsen, "En begyndelse i ubemærkethed -," *Dansk Missionsblad*, 22 November 1963.

¹¹⁷³ See report and photograph in Syrdal, "Formosa." Five others were also participating in the laying on of hands, but they are not easily identified in the photograph.

¹¹⁷⁴ From a letter of June 1954, quoted in Sovik, "Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 20 April 1998, notes," 2.

¹¹⁷⁵ “Send two of the small communion sets, one for me and one for Stanley,” Sovik wrote to his father after Tung’s ordination. Quoted in *ibid.*

¹¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 3.

¹¹⁷⁷ “This work he continued to do faithfully and well until he left for further study in the fall of 1959.” Erickson, "Taipei district : Grace Lutheran Church, Taipei," 62. In my interview with Tung he told me that Alyce Eleanor S. Anderson, one of the Augustana missionaries in Taiwan, had advised him not to go abroad. “The theology in America is very 亂 *luan* (in confusion). What they teach you is a lot of very new things.” Tung’s reply shows some of his approach towards theological

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prepare him for this task by giving him quite a lot of responsibility at an early stage. As a young pastor, he had to adapt to the way Chinese deal with younger members in their communities. That this also applies to Christian fellowships is very clearly seen in his remarks about the early period of his ministry.

When the congregation called me I was a young man. I served in Grace church. I should be their 傳道人 *ch'uan-tao jen* (preacher). Grace church was my first congregation, and I was ordained there. I was in my twenties. In terms of 人與人之間 *jen yü jen chih chien* (personal relationships), the way Chinese people live together in a family, I was a 晚輩 *wan-pei* (junior). The older members of the congregation looked upon me as a 老弟 *lao-ti* (young son) in the family. My ministry, however, the pastoral ministry I had received through my ordination, they held in high regard. So, when it came to my preaching, my teaching, and my caretaking of the ministry, they paid respect to my ideas, and very much so. This situation had two aspects. One had to do with the authority that the church had given to me. I was supposed to give my life as an offering, and in this way be an example to the church, by God's power. The other aspect had to do with my age. In my relation to most of the others in the congregation, in the church family, I was considered a junior, a member of the younger generation. As a junior, I could not use my pastoral authority to command and direct them according to my own wishes. This was how I thought about it. As I grew older, my authority grew as well. This also had to do with my family background. The Chinese 敬長 *ching chang* (respect seniors), 尊敬長者 *tsun-ching chang-che* (honor and respect the elders), and they think that young people should be taught in accordance with this pattern. [...] They [i.e. the seniors in the congregation] respected my 職分 *chih-fen* (particular ministry), but at the same time they could guide me, criticize some things. It was all in order to be of assistance to me, to help me. The older people would talk to me as if they were my parents, and in various ways they would admonish me. In their minds, my authority as a pastor was very broad. I felt that their guidance was of great help to me as a young pastor. I had a lot to learn and they provided me a good learning environment.¹¹⁷⁸

Thus began Tung's pastoral ministry and leadership tasks. He had grown up, been trained, called and ordained within the framework of the Lutheran tradition inherited from the western

education. "When you pray, you should not be worried. The institution I am going to is Luther Seminary. When I study theology, I do it like I eat fish. When you eat fish, you eat the meat, and throw away the bones! I will not chew the bones and swallow them. I will eat the good parts, the bad parts I will throw away. I have been a pastor for several years, and the Lord has protected me, and he will continue to do so. I have a solid foundation." See Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 3-4. Tung graduated 27 May 1962 from Luther Theological Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, with a Bachelor of Divinity degree. This was converted to a Master of Divinity degree 20 June 1978; the new degree was only a change in nomenclature. See Diane Doncits, "Letter to Gustav Steensland, 7 April 1998," (St. Paul, Minnesota: Office of the Registrar, Luther Seminary / Gustav Steensland collection, 1998).

¹¹⁷⁸ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 6-7.

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missions.¹¹⁷⁹ Commenting on this he said, “Yes, this is true, but my Chinese culture I have not 放棄 *fang-ch’i* (given up; abandoned; renounced).”¹¹⁸⁰ In the following two sections his approach to pastoral leadership and its cultivation in a Chinese Confucian setting will be described and explored, based on the above presentation of his background, seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination, as well as on other available sources.

6.1.3 Characteristics of Tung’s approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership

As far as Tung’s *understanding* of pastoral leadership is concerned I will describe and explore how he expresses and balances knowledge about individual candidates and about the context of pastoral leadership. My focus on these two aspects is according to Grint’s model, where the type and level of knowledge about the individual and the context are seen as crucial factors in the understanding of leadership.

From Tung’s perspective what can be known about *individual* candidates for pastoral leadership? Two aspects are evident in his view. On the one hand he refers to his knowledge about himself, his self-insight. On the other hand he refers to what his mentors, teachers, fellow students, congregations, and church officials know or ought to know about him and other candidates for pastoral ministry. As far as his self-insight is concerned he emphasizes what he has learnt through developments and experiences in his upbringing, education, church life, and interpersonal relationships. This self-insight also includes a spiritual factor, by which he means evidences of Christian faith such as prayer and openness for counseling and advice. When it comes to the knowledge others should have about candidates for pastoral ministry and leadership Tung does not question that it is possible and required that several aspects of the theology, faith and skills of the candidates are clarified before ordination takes place. As a member of the ministerium and in his role as ordinator during his years as TLC president he continued the pattern of the examination of candidates that he himself had been exposed to.

The oral examination was only the last part of the examination. First you had to write an essay and this was evaluated by the representatives of the ministerium. They would

¹¹⁷⁹ Referring to the role of the “Institute for churchmen from Asia and Africa” at Luther Theological Seminary in St. Paul, Stanley Tung is mentioned as one of the “outstanding leaders” raised by the Lord “through this concern in education.” See Alton C. O. Halverson, “From the desk of . . . Alton C. O. Halverson,” *The Missionary*, April 1967, 4. One of the NMS missionaries in TLC also emphasizes Tung’s leadership abilities. See Helge Fløttum Høen, “Taiwan profil : radioprest og tordenskjoldssoldat [Taiwan profile : radio pastor and 'Tordenskjold's soldier' (i.e. a very useful servant)],” in *Årbok for Det Norske Misjonsselskap* (Stavanger: Det Norske Misjonsselskap, 1986).

¹¹⁸⁰ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), “Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997,” 5.

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bring a report and this report was discussed at a meeting of the ministerium. There would be comments on the contents and quality of the essay. If approved, the candidate would be called to the oral examination. The questions would partly relate to the contents of the essay, and partly to the tasks of a pastor's ministry. How will you work as a pastor? How will you lead Bible studies and fellowships in the congregation? How will you prepare your sermons? How will you do visitation work? How will you teach and train the church members? This kind of questions we would concentrate on. The candidate would not be present during our discussion of his essay but we would ask questions about it during the oral examination. We would also ask more personal questions, about his life. The unmarried candidates were asked how they would live as pastors and how their single status might influence their ministry. Those who had families would be asked similar questions. Some had perhaps made some failures and they would bring them to our attention. So, one part of the examination had to do with doctrinal issues, the other with their attitude and abilities to handle various challenges in the ministry, such as they would conduct themselves in society, how they would relate to people, how they would work on their planning and tactics.¹¹⁸¹

The above presentation has shown a rather strong emphasis on knowledge about the individual candidates. Does this emphasis indicate that Tung favors a trait approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership? It is important to investigate his opinion regarding knowledge about the *context* of such leadership before a conclusion is reached about the type of approach he favors.

As far as the *ecclesial element* of the context is concerned I find that Tung thinks that knowledge about this element is important both for the individual candidate and for the Christian community. Tung distinguishes between three aspects of this knowledge. Firstly, he mentions the individual or personal aspect. It meant a lot to him that he came from a Christian family and had grown up in the church. Although he would not expect all ordination candidates to have such a background it is fairly evident that in his opinion each of them should have a certain amount of knowledge about and experience from the church prior to their ordination. Secondly, he emphasizes the communal aspect. It is important to develop and sustain interpersonal relationships and regard the church as a family. In this way the candidates will know the patterns of behavior and attitudes that are needed for their adaptation to life in the church and the attainment of a respected leadership role as a pastor. Thirdly, he underlines the doctrinal aspect. The theology and the message of the church are crucial factors in the ecclesial element of the context of pastoral leadership. Careful selection of candidates, sufficient seminary training, a period of evangelist ministry, and proper ordination procedures are seen by Tung as useful instruments in securing adequate evidence about the ordinand's grasp and communication of the theology and message of the church.

¹¹⁸¹ *ibid.*, 8-9.

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Tung by no means neglects knowledge about the *socio-cultural* element of the context of pastoral leadership. In several instances he refers to this element, especially from a Chinese point of view. Every pastor must be familiar with the social fabric in which his ministry is interwoven. There are patterns of behavior to be acquainted with. One should also have insights about formal and informal rules that regulate community life. In my interview with Tung I asked him how the Chinese society in Taiwan regards pastors and pastoral ministry.

That depends on your vantage point. As seen from society in general, if pastors have a higher education, their status is not seen as a low one. Presently, also in our church, we think that the education of pastors is important, and we require graduation from university or college before admission to seminary. Pastors are seen as highly qualified religious workers, as people with noble characters. I think that those who do not approve of pastors are not those with higher education and the people in the government. I have had good relations with many of these and they have not looked down upon me or my ministry. As individuals, however, some pastors have caused others to look down upon them. This has been for personal reasons and not because of their ministerial office as such. Their behavior has sometimes attracted negative attention. This has happened many times. An earnestly serving 傳道人 *ch'uan-tao jen* (pastor or evangelist), however, who pays attention to his life and ministry, will be held in high esteem by all people. Like for myself, when I ride bicycle and people ask me, "Are you a teacher," I say, "I am not a teacher, I am a pastor. I am a preacher and I teach the Bible." Most people will think that I have given up a lot to be a pastor, that I have offered myself to the ministry. They might say that I could have been a professor or a person with a higher position, but I never felt looked down upon. If you are looked down upon you have caused it yourself.¹¹⁸²

Based on the above quotation it can be said that Tung argues that a pastor must match a certain level of education in order to be accepted and respected as a leader. If the level of education is increased in society in general it is mandatory that the same is the case with the education of pastors. Education alone, however, is not sufficient, no matter how highly it is regarded among the Chinese. Personal qualities and behavior of pastors should meet standards that are set by the church on the basis of the Bible. Within certain limits these standards can be defended and upheld in the social setting, as can be seen in Tung's comments on the issue of indigenization.

Some people say today that we have to indigenize our faith. I am not of this opinion. My view is that our faith must be founded upon the Word of God. What is not according to the Bible, we cannot approve of or introduce in the church. Chinese culture is about 生活 *sheng-huo* (way of life). We can mention the teachings of Confucius, or the teachings of Laotse. They all have to do with the way of life. Confucius represents the old ways of China, some of which are very good. When we become Christians, it does not mean that we have to say that everything in our old culture is bad.¹¹⁸³

¹¹⁸² *ibid.*, 9.

¹¹⁸³ *ibid.*, 5.

It seems that Tung is primarily occupied with the implications of Confucianism and Taoism in the areas of ethics and moral behavior. In the sources reviewed for this thesis he does not discuss in much detail the religious or spiritual aspects of Chinese culture. To his above comments on indigenization, however, he added an experience from his childhood, which may show some of his evaluation of Chinese ethics and behavior.

At that time some overseas missionaries told us that only Christianity had the very best things, the most valuable and beautiful things. But they forgot one important thing. The good parts of Chinese culture are from God, who created us all! One example is the Golden Rule, which in Chinese says, "What you do not want others to do to you, you shall not do to them." Jesus said the same, just in a positive form. Jesus also taught people how to live. One of the missionaries made an illustration, a poster. "We are against Buddha, we are against Mohammed, we are against Confucius." In the painted illustration these were all bad things. But the Chinese were not ready to accept this way of thinking.¹¹⁸⁴

It seems clear that Tung expects that missionaries should have a combination of insight and sensitivity with regard to the socio-cultural context. By extension it is also possible to say that such insight and sensitivity are also a part of Tung's expectations of pastoral leadership in general. His treatment of the ecclesial and socio-cultural elements of the context indicates that he thinks it is possible and necessary to obtain relevant and reliable knowledge about the context of pastoral leadership. With the above-mentioned emphasis of knowledge about the individual in mind my conclusion is that Tung favors a contingency approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership, in other words, that knowledge about the individual and knowledge about the context are of fairly equal importance.

It is now the task to describe and explore Tung's approach to the *cultivation* of pastoral leadership. I will investigate to what extent Tung's suggested forms and means for the cultivation of pastoral leadership are in line with his contingency approach to the understanding of such leadership. As mentioned in chapter three (section 3.2.2) the aim of cultivation within this approach will usually be to help individuals to clarify and develop their own leadership skills and also to lay the foundation for a realistic understanding of the context.

The point of departure for Tung's approach to cultivation of church workers and consequently of pastoral leadership is the Word of God. His attitude and arguments are primarily based on his Christian theology and his evaluation of the situation within the church and there are few references to elements in Chinese culture. At the occasion of the five-year

¹¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*

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anniversary of TLC he wrote a small piece in a booklet, and here is found an example of how he treats the issue of cultivation of workers for the church.

Much work, few workers - this situation is one of the most trying problems of the Taiwan Lutheran Church. Good work calls for sharp tools. The training of personnel is one of the foremost tasks of the church at this time. Establishing a middle school, enlarging the Bible school, founding a theological seminary, as well as sending abroad specially selected students for advanced training, will equip people to meet the increasing responsibilities in a growing church. [...] We must apply the Word of God in raising the spiritual level of the Christians so that they will eagerly and fervently offer their abilities, strengths and possessions in order to carry on the program of the Church, and promote the proclamation of the gospel of Christ.¹¹⁸⁵

In a farewell greeting to mission supporters after he had visited several Lutheran Churches in the United States in connection with his participation at the LWF Assembly in Minneapolis in 1957 he expresses his conviction that the grace of God is the source of Christian life and ministry.

The Church of Christ is like a tree planted by the streams of water. It is a large tree with long branches. The Taiwan Lutheran Church is a young branch of this large tree. She is growing and flourishing, drawing her nourishment from God's unfailing Grace. There is much work but there are few workers in Taiwan. Although we have different thoughts, we speak different language, we worship in different places, but in Jesus Christ we are one. We have the same Lord. Therefore, we must go to work with one mind and one heart.¹¹⁸⁶

The two above quotations indicate that Tung combines two elements in his approach to cultivation of members and coworkers in the church. On the one hand he underlines the role of the church as a community and its choice of means and instruments for the task of cultivation. On the other hand he places considerable responsibility on the individual believer with regard to willingness and preparation for Christian ministry. The combination of these two elements was also evident in his own preparation for the work and leadership as a pastor. The Christian family in which he grew up, the local congregation, pastors, teachers and missionaries were all influential in guiding and helping Tung towards training and ordination. Alongside this process he was also consciously working on his own development. For instance in his period as evangelist before ordination he was well aware of his obligation to be a respected model, showing faithfulness and sincerity in his ministry. He also considered his time as evangelist as a kind of trial and testing of his personal skills and motivation.

¹¹⁸⁵ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Pressing on," in *Taiwan : Five year anniversary edition of the Taiwan Lutheran Church and Mission*, ed. Anders B. Hanson, Jan Haugland, and Donald Lee (Taiwan Lutheran Church/Taiwan Lutheran Mission, 1956), 10-11.

¹¹⁸⁶ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "A letter from Rev. Stanley Tung," *The Missionary*, December 1957.

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As mentioned above Tung remembered very well his ordination and the sermon the ordinator Peng Fu delivered at that occasion. When Tung served as TLC president he ordained several candidates himself and Peng's sermon was a model for him.

I would focus on the main elements in pastoral ministry, just like he did. In fact, I often presented just the same topic. It has been my message as well. What I had to change was the application to different times and situations in the church. Sometimes I would also preach about the Great Commission or about Christian unity, according to the situation in the church. At times I would also talk about the relationship between pastors and the congregation. The congregation's attitude toward the pastor has not always been appropriate. And, the pastors have not always had a good relationship to the other coworkers. You mentioned earlier the status of pastors in society. Sometimes the local congregations have looked down upon their own pastors, and the pastors have looked down upon the congregations. In most cases the fault has been with the pastor, his way of life, his behavior. So, I would always focus on the relationship between the pastor and the congregation. One of the main weaknesses of our Lutheran church has to do with this issue. Many congregations see themselves at the boss and the pastor as their slave or servant. Several times I talked about a healthy relationship between a pastor and the congregation.¹¹⁸⁷

Notable in the above quote is the link to cultivation of pastoral leadership. There is on the one hand a clear hint to self-cultivation, as candidates for pastoral ministry should pay close attention to their behavior and function in various relationships. Pastors should also develop a certain level of confidence in their role in order to resist the notion of a pastor as a slave or servant under the command of the congregation. On the other hand members and governing bodies in the congregations should contribute to the cultivation of pastoral leadership by realizing what a healthy relationship between a pastor and a congregation means and implies. From Tung's point of view there seems to be a necessary and delicate balance between pastoral leadership and the leadership exercised by the congregation. Neither of the two should seek dominance and power. And, the call for proper Christian behavior is directed to pastors and church members alike.

So far, Tung's approach to the context of cultivation of pastoral leadership has been explored with regard to the ecclesial element. The socio-cultural element, however, is also important to him. His comments regarding the treatment of the issue of contextualization in his own theological education show that a pastor needs a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the society and culture in which his ministry and leadership will take place and be exercised. Given the complexity of Chinese society and culture Tung argues that the greater part of the responsibility for the development of sufficient knowledge and understanding rests on the teachers at theological schools. As far as his own theological

¹¹⁸⁷ Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 10.

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education is concerned the development did not meet his expectations, partly because several of the faculty members were foreigners without sufficient insights of things Chinese. Tung's view of the role of the Confucian elements in the Chinese tradition for the cultivation of pastoral leadership is the topic of the following section. Before I turn to that issue, however, it is possible to indicate that Tung's reflections regarding the cultivation of pastoral leadership are coherent with his contingency approach to the understanding of such leadership. If cultivation of pastoral leadership shall be fruitful and reliable Tung is of the opinion that it must combine the development of knowledge about both the individual candidate with knowledge about the context. He emphasizes that the candidates themselves must obtain these two kinds of knowledge and so must the church in which they will serve as leaders.

6.1.4 Interpretation of Tung's approach in light of the Confucian concepts

A set of three concepts in the Confucian tradition have been singled out in chapter three as relevant moderator variables in my research model describing the process from an understanding of pastoral leadership to its cultivation in a Chinese context. The question here is if and how Tung's view of this process includes the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation.

The general impression from the above description and exploration of Tung's approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership in a Chinese context is that he does not go into much detail regarding the Confucian element of this context. He admitted that he and his fellow seminary students had limited insight about the "deeper aspects" of Chinese culture and of "the philosophy of Confucius and his thoughts."¹¹⁸⁸ They reached, nevertheless, the understanding that "some elements could be criticized, and some elements we could agree to."¹¹⁸⁹ It is, therefore, to be expected that more indirect than direct implications of Confucianism will be found in the available material regarding Tung's approach to cultivation of pastoral leadership.

As far as the *Confucian concept of leadership* is concerned, it was mentioned in chapter two (section 2.2.3.1) that this concept primarily is derived from the view of human nature and the precept of filial piety. As a consequence the exercise of leadership rests on the notions that both leaders and followers have the ability to moral behavior and that leadership will be either authoritarian or considerate or somewhere along a continuum between the two extremes. Even with a leader that is not strictly authoritarian subordinates who have

¹¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*

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internalized filial piety are likely to be compliant and obedient. So, what traces of the Confucian concept of leadership and possible implications for cultivation of pastoral leadership can be found in what is presented above about Tung? It should be kept in mind that the forms and means he suggests for the cultivation of pastoral leadership are consistent to his understanding of such leadership.

As far as I have investigated Tung's position there are no direct references to the Confucian view of human nature. One must, therefore, look for the possibility of more indirect influence. Tung seems convinced that it is within reach to train qualified and noble candidates for pastoral leadership and establish a healthy relationship between a pastor and the congregation. He is, however, also aware of weaknesses in the church due to improper or selfish behavior among pastors as well as other church members. Although he approves of selected elements in the teachings of Confucius and other parts of Chinese culture, Tung's approach to the cultivation of pastoral leadership does not seem to be influenced by the issue of human nature in Confucianism. He is careful to base his arguments and suggestions regarding such cultivation primarily on biblical principles. When it comes to the Confucian precept of filial piety, however, there are more significant allusions in Tung's approach. Even though he does not use the term 孝 *hsiao* (filial piety) he refers to the prevalent respect in Chinese culture for the older generation. When he was ordained and began his ministry in Grace Church he accepted the position as a junior, a young son. He knew that with proper behavior he would also enjoy the care of the older members in the congregation. Also at the earlier stages in his road to pastoral ministry he sought advice and comfort from his father and other seniors, such as missionaries and seminary teachers. The issue of age is important for Tung.¹¹⁹⁰ The respect a young pastor deserves according to the importance of his ministry and leadership role in the church must be balanced with the respect for age and seniors among the Chinese and the way this respect is described and interpreted in the Confucian tradition. The basis for this respect is the precept of filial piety, and in Tung's understanding this precept should combine authority and mutual care. It is also clear that Tung recommends that cultivation of pastoral leadership in a Confucian context must take place over an extended period of time, beyond the years of seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination.¹¹⁹¹

¹¹⁹⁰ When he was elected at the age of 32 to his first term as president of TLC, he felt strongly his young age. See Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Wo shih nien-yu te [I am young]," *Hsin-i chih sheng* = *The Lutheran Voice*, 1 January 1957.

¹¹⁹¹ Tung would probably agree with what one of his fellow students at LTS later wrote as TLC president, "We need more workers to carry out our holy task in the fields of Evangelism,

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The *Confucian concept of learning* combines the role of the teacher with a student's self-efforts. In Tung's approach to cultivation of pastoral leadership both elements are evident. Throughout his own experience and development from childhood until ordination he showed respect for his teachers and relied on their advice and support. This attitude corresponds very well to the elevated status of teachers in the Confucian tradition. What Tung has told about himself and the reputation he earned seem to confirm that he also was a diligent and focused student. Given his Chinese cultural background Tung's comments about the role of teachers and a student's self-efforts are, however, of a fairly general nature and not specifically derived from the Confucian concept of learning. He does not quote from the Confucian classics or discusses their relevance with regard to the teaching and training of pastors or other church workers. It should be noted, however, that he emphasized that knowledge about Chinese culture is vital for foreign teachers who take part in the education of pastors. One must assume that such knowledge should include familiarity with the Confucian concept of learning.

Also regarding the *Confucian concept of self-cultivation* there are no direct references to the Confucian classics in my material about Tung or in his own statements. Self-cultivation as such, however, is quite prominent and Tung sees the concept both from a socio-cultural and a theological point of view. In his opinion Chinese culture has a focus on 生活 *sheng-huo* (way of life) and he has found that this focus is also a central element in the teachings of Confucius. Individuals must pay attention to and develop their way of thinking and their patterns of behavior. The most important aspect of his treatment of self-cultivation from his vantage point within a Chinese socio-cultural context is the somewhat one-sided concentration on interpersonal relationships. When it comes to his theological interpretation of self-cultivation I find that it is more balanced. This is a balance between a person's inner life and a person's interaction with others. On the one hand he says that as a pastor he should be an "example to the church, by God's power."¹¹⁹² In other words, Tung is convinced that a Christian needs to cultivate a spiritual life that is created and sustained by God. On the other hand, a theological interpretation of self-cultivation is not complete without an emphasis

Education, Medicine, Radio Broadcasting etc. It takes time to train these men as a Chinese proverb has said: 'Ten years, a tree; A hundred years, a man.'" See Chou Ching-fu (Peter), "Chien-tu pao-kao : report of the president," 74. The characters used in the Chinese version of the proverb are illustrative. 十年樹木, 百年樹人 *shih nien shu mu, pai nien shu jen* (ten years to plant a tree, hundred years to plant (i.e. cultivate) a person). See Chou Ching-fu (Peter), "Chien-tu pao-kao : report of the president," 6.

¹¹⁹² Tung Shang-yung (Stanley), "Interview in Taipei by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 7.

on its role in interpersonal relationships and in the building of a Christian community. As far as cultivation of pastoral leadership is concerned Tung underlines the importance of a “good learning environment” in the congregation.¹¹⁹³

6.1.5 Concluding remarks

The above description and exploration of Tung’s preparation for pastoral ministry, his own statements and comments, and other related sources lead to the conclusion that his suggested forms and means for the cultivation of pastoral leadership are congruent with his understanding of such leadership. He favors a contingency approach both to the understanding and the cultivation of pastoral leadership. This approach implies that he thinks that knowledge about the individual candidate and the context is necessary and obtainable. On the one hand the candidates must know themselves well and carefully investigate the context of pastoral leadership. On the other hand the church must use a variety of means to get acquainted with the candidates and secure reliable insights about the setting in which pastoral leadership is developed and exercised. A review of how Tung sees the process from understanding to cultivation of pastoral leadership points to the role of the moderator variables in my research model, namely, the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation. Although Tung is not very specific in his references and use of these concepts my investigation has shown that they seem to function as an influential presupposition for his reflection and argumentation. His aim is, nevertheless, to establish a valid balance between Chinese culture, which to a large degree is influenced by Confucianism, and a Christian world-view. He is, therefore, cautious in not allowing cultural concerns taking precedence in the establishment of this balance. Loyalty to Christian faith and the Lutheran tradition should be the primary guideline for the cultivation of pastoral leadership in TLC. His own preparation for ministry and his contribution as ordinator of TLC pastors emphasized such loyalty. Still, for TLC pastors their cultivation and exercise of leadership should include insight about the ramifications of Chinese culture in general and the Confucian teachings in particular.

¹¹⁹³ *ibid.*

6.2 Hwang Chih-chung

Hwang Chih-chung 黃志中 (b. 1929) graduated from TLS in 1965 and was ordained as a TLC pastor three years later. In addition to his ministry as parish pastor in the Taichung area, he has held various positions in the church, such the chairman of the TLC committee for theological education.¹¹⁹⁴ The main sources for the below description and exploration of Hwang's preparation for ministry and his approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership are the two test papers submitted in connection with his ordination in 1968,¹¹⁹⁵ and my interview with him in 1997.¹¹⁹⁶ These sources also contain information about his background and seminary training, which are the topics of the following section.

6.2.1 Background and seminary training

Hwang was born in Hupeh province in central China.¹¹⁹⁷ His father, who was baptized in 1931, participated actively in the Lutheran congregation.¹¹⁹⁸ As his mother also was a church member Hwang grew up in a Christian family, attended Sunday school, and went regularly to worship services in the congregation. The many and respectful words about his parents in his testimony show that he was grateful for their contribution to his personal and Christian development.¹¹⁹⁹ He regards this upbringing as the foundation of his own salvation. "It was

¹¹⁹⁴ During his time on this committee he was the chief editor of a booklet describing selected TLC candidates' road to full-time ministry in the church. See Hwang Chih-chung and others, eds., *Chien-cheng yü cheng-chien [Witness and testimony]* (Taipei: Committee of Theological Education [Taiwan Lutheran Church], 1984). During my visit to the TLC head office in March 1997 I was given access to the synod archives. The folder with documents related to the Committee for Theological Education contained minutes from a few of the committee's meetings and some handwritten notes, none of which I regarded as providing relevant information for my thesis.

¹¹⁹⁵ In connection with my interview with Hwang he gave me the mimeographed copies of the two papers, namely, his testimony about his road to pastoral ministry, and his theological essay. See Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]," (Taichung / Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1968), Hwang Chih-chung, "I sheng chi-tu chiao-hui [One holy Christian church]," (Taichung / Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1968).

¹¹⁹⁶ Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997).

¹¹⁹⁷ See Chuang Tung-chieh, ed., *Shih wan-min tso chu men-t'u*, 121. According to the list of TLC co-workers in this publication, Hwang is the only ordained pastor from Hupeh province.

¹¹⁹⁸ Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]," 8.

¹¹⁹⁹ The sections about his birth and family background totals about 7 of the 33 pages in his testimony. See *ibid.*, 4-10.

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like a seed planted in the soil, waiting for the springtime so that it could grow, display flowers and bear fruit.”¹²⁰⁰

As a catechumen Hwang got to study for the first time Luther’s small catechism, which since then has been a lasting foundation for his faith and ministry.¹²⁰¹ He was baptized about twelve years old at Easter 1941 by pastor Carl William Landahl 藍大德 (1870-1964),¹²⁰² an American Lutheran missionary at the time representing the ELC. During parts of his primary and secondary education in the 1940s Hwang had to stay away from home due to all the military activities in his home area, partly lodged in boarding facilities at the school. In this situation he lost some of the contact with the church and he felt that his Christian faith was weakened.¹²⁰³

After 1945 his father, who was serving in the Nationalist army, admonished him to become a soldier. Unlike his father who remained on the mainland, Hwang followed the troops that made it over to Taiwan in the fall of 1949.¹²⁰⁴ In 1951 he was granted the opportunity to enter a three-year program at an Army academy. Due to illness in this period he was decommissioned from military service and began looking for an alternative career. At this time he got married with a third generation Christian woman in Keelung with a Lutheran background on the mainland. On her initiative Hwang also joined her as member of 福音堂 *fu-yin t’ang* (Gospel church), the newly established Lutheran congregation in the city.¹²⁰⁵

¹²⁰⁰ *ibid.*, 10.

¹²⁰¹ Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 1.

¹²⁰² Hwang uses the character 藍 *lan* (blue, indigo; a Chinese surname) for Landahl’s Chinese surname. See Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]," 12. Erik Sovik, however, who designed the cover for the biography about Landahl, uses the character 蘭 *lan* (orchid). See Andrew S. Burgess, *Lan Ta-Tê : Landahl of China* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941). I believe, however, there is no doubt that Hwang refers to the missionary who arrived in China for the first time in 1895, sent by the Hauge Synod Mission Board. According to one source Landahl served on the Honan/Hupeh field until 1939. See John M. Jensen, Carl E. Linder, and Gerald Giving, eds., *A biographical directory of pastors of the American Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962), 407. In his testimony Hwang says that Landahl baptized him in 1941. See Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]," 12-13. This means that Landahl most likely left China at least two years later than what is said in the above-mentioned directory. Among Landahl’s many leadership assignments as a missionary was that of chairman of the first general assembly of the LCC, held at Kikungshan 20-24 August 1920. See Burgess, *Winning the nations : ten studies in foreign missions*, 85.

¹²⁰³ Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]," 13.

¹²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, 16.

¹²⁰⁵ Missionary Gjertrud Fitje of NMS began evangelistic outreach in the area in March 1952. The formal establishment of the congregation took place 27 December 1953. See Chiu Kuo-tung, *Chi-*

Among the workers at that time he especially mentions pastor Emil K. Aarsheim 武思恩 of NMS and the evangelists Liu Shih-huang 劉世璜 and Ho Yü-shan 何蔚珊.¹²⁰⁶ The youth fellowship in the congregation offered important training opportunities for him. "I am thankful for God's guidance in my advance from study group leader to assistant leader and then leader of the whole fellowship. We had many activities and one of the most important tasks was 靈性的培養 *ling-hsing te p'ei-yang* (the cultivation of spiritual life)."¹²⁰⁷

Gradually Hwang began contemplating full-time Christian ministry. At a joint evangelistic meeting in Keelung Presbyterian Church during Pentecost 1958 he responded to a challenge to spread the Gospel. With reference to the calling of the prophet Isaiah the preacher asked the 100 members in the youth choir, "You young people, will you bring yourselves as living sacrifices to the Lord?"¹²⁰⁸ Hwang was one of the twelve who stood up in response. At this occasion he was determined to become a preacher himself.

On the basis of a letter of recommendation from his congregation he was admitted as a student at LBI in Kaohsiung in October 1958. With a scholarship from the school and additional help in securing accommodation for his wife and children he could concentrate on his studies. The two years in Kaohsiung made a deep impression on Hwang, not the least because his time there gave him a thorough introduction to the Bible. What the teachers and his work with the curriculum gave him in terms of basic Christian knowledge, was not only a valuable pre-seminary education but has served as a lasting source for his sermons, teaching and pastoral care.¹²⁰⁹ Although the following evaluation by one of the teachers refers to LBI students as of 1957, it probably describes experiences similar to Hwang's.

They are different in many ways, but we have been privileged to see the spirit of God working in their hearts during their time at school. Many have come to a keener

tu chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i hui chi-lung fu-yin t'ang 1953-1973 (Eng. title : The Gospel Lutheran Church 20th anniversary) (Keelung: Gospel Lutheran Church, 1973), 47.

¹²⁰⁶ Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]," 23. Aarsheim served in the congregation from October 1953 until August 1958, Mr. Liu from June 1955 until February 1957, and Ms. Ho from June 1954 until January 1956. See Chiu Kuo-tung, *Chi-tu chiao t'ai-wan hsin-i hui chi-lung fu-yin t'ang 1953-1973 (Eng. title : The Gospel Lutheran Church 20th anniversary)*, 43. I have not found further biographical data about Liu and Ho.

¹²⁰⁷ Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]," 24.

¹²⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 27.

¹²⁰⁹ When Hwang compares his own theological training with that of the younger generation of pastors in TLC, he finds that the two years of Bible school makes a difference. Without this opportunity the pastors' seminary education does not seem to provide the same fundamental instruction in the Bible. See Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 2.

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realization of their own sin, and have therefore also experienced a deeper meaning of Salvation. Our prayer is that they may be fit instruments, equipped for the service of the Lord among their fellowmen here in Taiwan, and, too, on the mainland if circumstances should allow them to return there later on.¹²¹⁰

In line with the established pattern among the majority of the graduates, Hwang also found his way from Bible school to evangelist ministry in TLC. From June 1960 until September 1961 the Hsin-i Church in Taipei provided him with opportunities to try out what he had studied.¹²¹¹

On the one hand, as evangelists we should practice what we had learned at the LBI, to take part in the teaching ministry; on the other hand, we looked at the experienced pastors, 他們怎麼牧會 *ta-men tsen-ma mu-hui* (how they were working as pastors). We learned by seeing how they were teaching, caring, and visiting members in the congregation, etc. We were partly 觀察 *kuan-ch'a* (watching), partly 學習 *hsüeh-hsi* (practicing).¹²¹²

One of those who encouraged Hwang to become a pastor was NLM missionary Asbjørn Aavik 俞柳生 (1902-1997),¹²¹³ who was one of his teachers at LBI. Aavik and Emil K. Aarsheim served as key role models for Hwang. "My pastor in Taiwan was pastor Aarsheim but I also had a close relationship with pastor¹²¹⁴ Aavik. From them I learned what a pastor is

¹²¹⁰ Helga Bech-Andersen, "The Lutheran Bible Institute," in *Ten years in Taiwan : The Lutheran story; the story of how the word of God has worked through the Lutheran witness over a period of ten years 1951-1961*, ed. Ethel Akins and Clara J. Jones (Taichung: Taiwan Lutheran Mission, 1962), 14.

¹²¹¹ See Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]," 31.

¹²¹² Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 1.

¹²¹³ Aavik worked as NLM missionary for several years, first in China 1928-1935 and 1937-1945, and then in Taiwan 1952-1955, 1956-1962, and 1963-1967. See Trine Ottosen, "Drevet av kallet : Asbjørn Aaviks enestående misjonær- og forfatterliv [Powered by the call : Asbjørn Aavik's unique life as missionary and author]," in *Arven fra Aavik (1902-1997) : jubileumsutgave med klassikerne Åndens tempel og Hellig uro, samt en artikkel om Aaviks enestående liv [The Aavik heritage (1902-1997) : anniversary edition with the classics The temple of the Spirit and Holy restlessness, including an article about Aavik's unique life]*, ed. Espen Ottosen (Oslo: Lunde Forlag, 2002).

¹²¹⁴ Hwang is in line with the common practice in the Lutheran constituency in Taiwan when male NLM missionaries working as preachers, evangelists, congregation leaders, etc. are entitled and recognized as 牧師 *mu-shih* (pastor). These missionaries are, however, not officially regarded as ordained pastors in the Church of Norway, within which NLM is one of the independent mission organizations. NLM missionaries are commissioned to their ministry by public prayer and laying on of hands, not in a regular ordination ceremony led by a bishop in a congregation in the Church of Norway, but by a leader in a NLM gathering in Norway. For discussion and personal reflections about the relationship between ordination and NLM commissioning of missionaries, see the essay by one of the missionaries in Taiwan: Ingvar Fløysvik, "'Rite vocatus" and me : an investigation into the meaning of CA 14 and its application to the call in Norwegian Lutheran Mission

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supposed to be and to do. They influenced me quite much and encouraged me to seek further education.”¹²¹⁵

Hwang saw it as God’s guidance that he got the opportunity to enter seminary. His studies at TLS started in the fall of 1961, and together with seven classmates he set out to work his way through the required four years of training. In speaking about his time there, he is confident that he got a solid and useful education. It became the foundation of his pastoral ministry, and his concepts of pastoral leadership have been influenced to a large extent by biblical studies.

When I was at the seminary, there was an American teacher there, Lundby, and he said: ‘Some seminary students graduate after four years of study, start their ministry, and four years later, they transfer to another congregation. They have nothing to preach about.’ In other words, if you are not well founded on the Bible, this can happen. The Bible is very precious, the living and everlasting Word of God. ‘If you have a mine, it depends on how you dig it.’¹²¹⁶ When I was through with my education, including the two years at LBI in Kaohsiung, and my four years here, I had learned by heart twelve hundred Bible verses. So, these I can use when I prepare my sermons or work with Bible study groups. Therefore, if you have a good foundation in Bible knowledge, it serves as a very useful source. You can always refer to the Bible in your preaching, to the Word of God.¹²¹⁷

In my interview with Hwang I concentrated the attention on his teachers and textbooks in the two areas of theology I had selected as having particular relevance to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. Two teachers and some textbooks came to his mind. He

(Unpublished term paper, S-823 Sem Augsburg Confession, with dr. C. Arand, July 1993),” (St. Louis, Missouri / Stavanger: Ingvar Fløysvik / Gustav Steensland collection, 1993). His conclusion is that candidates (like himself) who are called to the ”ministry with the Word” by NLM, can safely consider themselves as rightly called in accordance with CA 14. The essay includes a useful bibliography.

¹²¹⁵ Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 1.

¹²¹⁶ Hwang quotes a Chinese proverb.

¹²¹⁷ Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 3. The American teacher referred to here is Gerald H. Lundby 倫德柏 (b. 1924), who arrived in Taiwan for his first term in 1954. He was teacher and assistant principal at LBI in Kaohsiung from 1957 to 1959. At TLS, where he served on the faculty from the fall of 1961 to the spring of 1965, he was responsible for courses in “the New Testament and some in practical theology, as well as English as a second language.” See Lundby, "Letter to Gustav Steensland, 13 January 1998," 2. For information about Lundby, see Arnold R. Mickelson and Robert C. Wiederaenders, eds., *A biographical directory of clergymen of the American Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), 560. Andrew S. Burgess, professor of Missions at Luther Theological Seminary in St. Paul, was instrumental in calling Lundby to mission work in China, an option Lundby had not considered himself. See Lundby, "Interview on telephone in St. Paul by Gustav Steensland 19 February 1998, notes."

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referred to Chin Chung-an as his teacher of dogmatics. The main textbooks were Martin Luther's Catechism¹²¹⁸ and the revised edition of “雅各布 *ya ke pu* (Jacobs).”¹²¹⁹ As far as teachers of 教牧學 *chiao-mu hsüeh* (pastoral theology) were concerned, he referred to Lars Bjørsvik. “He was 很好的一個老師 *hen hao te yi ke lao-shih* (a very good teacher).”¹²²⁰ Hwang recalls that Bjørsvik introduced the students to several books, including the one by Peng Fu.¹²²¹ In addition Bjørsvik provided some of his own mimeographed lecture notes and teaching material for use in the classroom.¹²²²

Hwang is thankful for his seminary training and he summarizes his experiences at TLS with these words: “With the Lord’s permission and guidance I was admitted to the seminary of our church in Taichung, receiving four years of 造就 *tsao-chiu* (education, training). In the midst of this period I experienced some difficulties, but thanks be to the Lord whose grace is sufficient for me. Trusting His grace I overcame my troubles, and on the 31st day in the 5th month of the 54th year¹²²³ I completed my seminary education.”¹²²⁴

6.2.2 Evangelist ministry and ordination

After graduating from seminary, Hwang worked for about three years as evangelist. He must have sensed that this was a time when his future career as a pastor was at stake. To have a diploma from the seminary was not enough to be called and ordained. In the following quote he refers to his experiences as evangelist both before and after his seminary training.

The transfer from evangelist to pastor involved very strict regulations, very strict. When we were to be ordained, there were a lot of procedures to be observed. Like in my case, I worked for three years after graduation from seminary before I was ordained. During these three years you were observed by the others, concerning your pastoring skills,

¹²¹⁸ Hwang referred to a Chinese edition, published in Hong Kong by the Lutheran Literature Society, most likely Jacobs, *Chi-tu-chiao hsin-yang te tsung-kang*.

¹²¹⁹ Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 1. According to the custom, Hwang refers to the author's name only.

¹²²⁰ *ibid.*

¹²²¹ See Peng Fu, *Chiao-mu liang-chu*. In my interview Hwang told me he had read the book even before he came to TLS.

¹²²² Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 1.

¹²²³ I.e. 31 May 1965. Sometimes, as here, Hwang uses the calendar of the Republic of China, which counts years from the founding of the republic in 1911. Elsewhere in his essay he also uses the common international calendar.

¹²²⁴ Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]," 31.

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your 恩賜 *en-ts'e* (spiritual gifts), your 個人的生活 *ke-jen te sheng-huo* (personal life-style), your 品格 *p'in ke* (moral character), the 牧會所產生的效果 *mu-hui suo ch'an-sheng te hsiao-kuo* (results of your pastoral work). For example, when I came to Hsin-i Church, the Sunday worship attendance was about 20-30. After one year, the number was 70-80. This is one of the more important results. The ministry at the student center in Feng Chia I started from scratch. After one year, more than seventy students came to our worship services. [...] So, they were watching your pastoral performance, to see if you have the gift.¹²²⁵

As already mentioned Hsin-i Church is the congregation in which Hwang was evangelist for one year following his graduation from LBI. After his years at TLS he got opportunities in Taichung. The student ministry in the vicinity of Feng Chia University was closely related to the His-tun chapel, which was an outreach project from the Yung-sheng Church on Ta-ya road. Having served as evangelist in His-tun for about a year he transferred to the Yung-sheng Church 1 February 1967. Thus this congregation got to know Hwang quite well. They extended a call to him to become their pastor, "after approval by the local church council and the congregational meeting."¹²²⁶ Based on this call, his application for ordination was considered by the ministerium, which arranged the usual examination. The examination had the following schedule. Firstly, Hwang and the other candidates had to sit in for a joint written test. Secondly, they should submit two individual papers, namely, a personal testimony and a theological essay. Thirdly, an oral examination of each candidate took place. Hwang described to me the first two elements of the examination.

In our case, we first had a written test, which lasted from 3 PM to 8 PM, approximately 5 hours. They gave us 4 major topics. I still remember my topics. One of them was from Luke 18, and I remember it very clearly. I will never forget. Luke 18:35-43, about the blind man who was healed. Based on this text you were supposed to write a manuscript for a sermon, and I chose to call it 'The ministry of Messiah.' We were not allowed to use a Bible or any other books. Jesus, who is the Messiah, could heal this man's eyes. The deeper meaning of this physical healing, however, is that Jesus wants to heal the eye of your heart. In addition you should write your own testimony about how you came to believe in Christ, about 你得救的經驗 *ni te-chiu te ching-yen* (your salvation experience), how you 蒙恩的經驗 *meng-en te ching-yen* (received [God's] grace). Then you should write a theological essay, and my topic was 一聖基督教會 *i sheng chi-tu chiao-hui* (One Holy Christian Church). From God's point of view, there is only one church on earth. This is what we confess in our Lutheran liturgy: 'I believe in one, holy, Christian church.'¹²²⁷

¹²²⁵ Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 2.

¹²²⁶ *ibid.*

¹²²⁷ *ibid.* At this point Hwang also mentions that Jørgen Hansen, a missionary pastor of the DMS, supported him in this examination process. "He paid the printing expenses. He was 很有愛心 *hen*

Hwang did not mention all four topics in the written test, and a copy of the sermon he most likely did not have at hand when I interviewed him. The two examination papers he gave me still provide valuable information about his personal development, Christian faith and theology. References to his testimony¹²²⁸ have already been made in the above presentation. His theological essay¹²²⁹ has thirty-one pages and is divided into eight brief chapters, dealing with the 意義 *i-i* (meaning), 起源 *ch'i-yüan* (origin), 根基 *ken-chi* (foundation), 使命 *shih-ming* (mission), 聖禮 *sheng-li* (sacraments), 類別 *lei-pieh* (classification), 屬性 *shu-hsing* (attributes), and 生活 *sheng-huo* (life) of the church. For his writing of the essay he made use of "the resources he had at hand," a total of eighteen publications.¹²³⁰ In the text there are specific references to items like the *Augsburg confession*, *A summary of the Christian faith* by Henry Eyster Jacobs, and *Reformation and catholicity* by Gustaf Aulén.¹²³¹ I will make use of Hwang's essay in the below description of his approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership.

Hwang passed the written test and his two papers were accepted as satisfactory. Having fulfilled the oral examination the TLC ministerium then voted in favor of approving him for ordination. The ordination in 1968 was led by TLC president Tung Shang-yung at Yung-sheng Church in Taichung, where Hwang served as pastor until his retirement.

yu ai-hsin (a very warm-hearted man), and he encouraged me, 'You have written a very good essay. I will cover the expenses!'" Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 3. The printing expenses is related to the requirement that the candidates' ordination test papers should be mimeographed and distributed to all members of the TLC ministerium.

¹²²⁸ See Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]."

¹²²⁹ See Hwang Chih-chung, "I sheng chi-tu chiao-hui [One holy Christian church]."

¹²³⁰ *ibid.*, 1.

¹²³¹ The bibliography in Hwang's essay is a list of book titles in Chinese, without author, publisher and year of publication. See *ibid.*, 31. My assumption is that all the books are in Chinese, mostly translations and a few original works by Chinese authors. As far as Aulén's book is concerned, Hwang probably had the following edition: Gustaf Aulén, *Kai-chiao yün-tung yü ta-kung chiao-hui : Reformation and catholicity / [translated by Têng Chao-ming from J. Dunns English translation of the author's book Reformation och katolicitet]* (Hong Kong: Taosheng Publishing House, 1964).

6.2.3 Characteristics of Hwang's approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership

In none of the sources available for this thesis Hwang has presented a systematized outline of his view of pastoral leadership. His approach to the understanding and cultivation of such leadership must, therefore, be derived from my above presentation of him and from those parts of my sources not yet referred to. By asking explorative questions some answers can be found. For example, in Hwang's understanding of pastoral leadership, how does he balance the knowledge about individual candidates and knowledge about the context? And, how does he reflect on this balance with regard to the cultivation of such leadership?

As he looks back, Hwang sees several factors that have shaped his *understanding* of pastoral ministry in general and of pastoral leadership in particular. The combined influence of his theological education and the examples of “*教牧長輩 chiao-mu chang-pei* (the senior generation of pastors),”¹²³² both Chinese and westerners, provided the necessary foundation for his ministry. He makes use of an example from the New Testament to illustrate the importance of role models.

“Just like [the relationship between] Timothy and Paul. We learned some from our textbooks and studies, but also a lot from looking at how senior pastors were doing their ministry. They have a lot of *經驗 ching yen* (experience). These two aspects must be held together. Otherwise you would have to rely on your own ideas only when pastoring a congregation.”¹²³³

In chapter one of his theological essay he writes about the meaning of the church. Here he concludes with a reference to the main points in “Dr. Martin Luther's”¹²³⁴ ecclesiology. The fact that Hwang does not add any comments most likely indicates that he gives his consent to Luther's view of the church.

1. Now, the church is *聖徒的結合 sheng-t'u te chieh-ho* (the community of the holy disciples, i.e. believers) – in other words, the church is a flock of people, a flock of people called out by God. When these people come together they become a fellowship, and this fellowship is the church.
2. Where the true gospel is *正確被宣揚 cheng-ch'üeh pei hsüan-yang* (correctly preached) and the sacraments are *合理的施行 ho-li te shih-hsing* (properly administered), there is the church.¹²³⁵

¹²³² Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 3.

¹²³³ *ibid.*

¹²³⁴ Hwang Chih-chung, "I sheng chi-tu chiao-hui [One holy Christian church]," 5.

¹²³⁵ *ibid.*

It is also clear that Hwang sees the proper administration of the sacraments as the responsibility of ordained pastors,¹²³⁶ and this responsibility is one of the signs of their leadership role. In his opinion the nature of pastoral leadership is two-fold. It is based on a spiritual gift from God, and it is an official position in the church. As he expresses this opinion he also indicates aspects of what should be known about *individuals* who become candidates for pastoral ministry.

We should emphasize what it means to be a leader in a Lutheran church. What special qualities should we look for? To be a Lutheran pastor, in addition to possess the qualities that any pastor should have, certain aspects must be mentioned. We would say that pastors do not represent 階級 *chieh-chi* (a special class). To be a pastor means to have 恩賜 *en-ts'e* (a spiritual gift). If you don't have this spiritual gift, 你不能牧會 *ni pu neng mu-hui* (you cannot pastor a congregation). To be a pastor is to have 職分 *chih-fen* (an official position). This is not because you are above others, that you are higher than the brothers and sisters [in the Christian fellowship].¹²³⁷

As mentioned earlier Hwang believes that supervisors and mentors through observation can know that a candidate for pastoral ministry has the required spiritual gift. Although he probably would agree that this gift could be bestowed by the Holy Spirit in the ordination, he also seems to think that evidence of this gift can be discovered during seminary training, evangelist ministry, and the procedures before ordination. Several places in his written testimony he refers to his own faith and spiritual development, as if he assumes and hopes that the readers (i.e. the TLC ministerium) will interpret his references as signs of the spiritual gift for pastoral ministry.¹²³⁸ The above block quote also makes it clear that it must be publicly known that a pastor has an official position in the church. If this position is properly understood by everyone in the church, Hwang is convinced that the pastor and his ministry will be respected.

They [the church members] regard this ministry as a ministry that is from God. If you have received God's call, received God's commission, to do the work of God, to shepherd the flock, they will respect this office of ministry. You are commissioned by God, and your authority is from God. This they will respect.¹²³⁹

¹²³⁶ Here is a comment regarding baptism: "The younger generation of [TLC] pastors does not wear the pastoral gown, not even when there is a baptism. We older pastors would think that baptism is a great event, and we would wear the gown." See Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 4.

¹²³⁷ *ibid.*

¹²³⁸ See Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]," for example pp. 12, 13, 16, 24-25.

¹²³⁹ Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 5.

There is thus in Hwang's approach a rather sharp focus on the knowledge about individual candidates for pastoral leadership. The confirmation of God's call and commission of an individual is made public by the church through the call from a local congregation and the ordination arranged by the TLC synod. Knowledge about the *context* of pastoral leadership is, therefore, also an integrated part of Hwang's understanding of such leadership.

When asked about issues related to the balance in TLC between pastoral leadership and the responsibilities of the congregation, some of Hwang's thoughts about the *ecclesial element* of the context of pastoral leadership become evident.

I think the constitution of TLC is very clear. Other people may ask, "The Presbyterian Church has one kind of system, the rule by elders. You cannot found a church without elders. The Episcopal Church has the episcopal system. What then is the Lutheran system?" In our Lutheran church we have the pastoral system. Our TLC constitution is very clear. The president and vice-president must both be pastors. The district chairmen and vice chairmen must also be pastors. In the 教友大會 *chiao-yu ta-hui* (congregational meetings) the chairman must be a pastor. In the local church council, consisting of pastor, deacons and elders, the pastor is the chairman. This is very clear. What is the meaning with this? It tells you that 牧師要帶領這個教會 *mu-shih yao tai-ling che ke chiao-hui* (the pastor must be the leader of this church). Then what to do about this? We can take our Eternal Life Church as an example. Like Peter said, in Acts chapter six, verse four, that "we will devote ourselves to prayer and to the ministry of the word," therefore, the elders and deacons will take care of the "feeding," which means that they have the responsibility for the 行政 *hsing-cheng* (administration) of the church. This is very clear. I have now been the pastor here for thirty years. How can I 平衡帶領 *p'ing heng tai-ling* (keep the balance and lead) this church? This is very clear. The administration is the responsibility of the 指事 *chih-shih* ([elders and] deacons). When we have meetings, they take care of the administrative matters. [Outreach] meetings, evangelization, etc. are the responsibility of the pastor. This is very clear. But everything must be brought forward for discussion at these council meetings. If we want to conduct evangelistic meetings, this must be discussed. If we want to have film meetings, or retreats, we must bring the issue up at the council meetings, so that they can understand the plans and the objectives. They will, of course, also take part in the preparation etc. of such special meetings. There could be some conflict, but the pastor must try his best to balance and even out the situation. They know, of course, that they have their share in the ministry. This is very clear. It is according to biblical principles. It is very clear. A church that follows this principle will always move ahead.¹²⁴⁰

What he in the above quote calls "the pastoral system" helps to define the leadership role of ordained pastors in the synodical church polity of TLC. According to his experience this

¹²⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 6.

system has been accepted also by the lay members of the church, and in the council of his own congregation they have had no big problems with it.¹²⁴¹

When it comes to knowledge about the *socio-cultural* element of the context of pastoral leadership Hwang distinguishes between two concerns. One has to do with the questions and reactions from people approaching the church. The other concern has to do with the needs and challenges felt by the church members. In several cases a pastor has to relate to people in the society surrounding the church and Hwang has some thoughts about their attitudes towards the relationship between Christianity and Chinese culture.

If a person here has never been to a church and has never read the Bible and is not familiar with the church, he will feel there is some conflict. He would think that this is a foreign religion, something western, as he compares it to Chinese culture, background and traditions. If he, however, really wants to understand the Bible, to comprehend the practices of the church, he will not think like this.

If a pastor shall be able to earn respect as a leader even among those outside the church Hwang means that the pastor must have a certain amount of insight about their way of thinking and their habits and values. With such respect the pastor can guide them to a proper understanding of the Christian faith.

When the socio-cultural element is considered from within the church Hwang sees no fundamental problems in relating Chinese culture and traditions to the Christian faith. Although he finds that some aspects of Chinese religion and ancestor worship will be in conflict with Christian doctrine, he is, nevertheless, confident that some adaptations can be made so that Chinese people can feel at home in a Christian church.

My point is that there is no basic problem in relating Chinese culture and traditions to the Christian faith. There are problems before people have truly understood the Bible and the teaching of the church. When people come to church they will hear that they are not allowed to make offerings to their parents or other gods than God. This is in conflict with Chinese traditions. I am also a Chinese, but can I say that I don't want my parents? No! As Christians we stress that we should not use the verb 祭 *chi* (to make an offering) but rather the verb 敬 *ching* (respect), [like in the expression] 尊敬父母 *tsun-ching fu-mu* (honor and respect your parents). My parents [...] are no longer alive. I respect them, but I do not make offerings to them. If I would 祭 *chi* (make offerings), I would treat them as gods. I 敬 *ching* (respect) them because they are my father and mother. This is a right thing to do. So, when we are pastors here, there is no real hindrance for our ministry. It is only those who do not fully understand the Bible that will see a conflict. [...] It is like we say, 'The Bible encompasses Confucius, but Confucius does not encompass the Bible.' [...] So, the conflict stems from lack of knowledge of the Bible and the church. In fact, I would rather say that the Bible could really help the Chinese people. Biblical

¹²⁴¹ See *ibid.*

teaching is even better than that of Confucius and Mencius.¹²⁴²

As Chinese people grow in knowledge and understanding of both the Bible and the practices of the church, they will also see how they can benefit from connecting their faith to important elements in their own culture. Their ability to make this connection will also be beneficial for the exercise of pastoral leadership.

All moral traditions among the Chinese teach the younger generation to pay respect to the older generation and the elders. Just like Confucius said, “老吾老以及人之慈 (*lao wu lao i chi jen chih lao* (one should take care of one’s own aged parents first and then extend the same care to the aged people in general).”¹²⁴³ This is Chinese thought and culture. Since this is so, a person in the church should pay the same kind of respect to the pastor. This is according to the same principle. The office of the pastor should be respected. In my opinion there is no obstruction [for this to be so], and the two ideas are closely knit together. In fact, when they are held together, it will be much better. Therefore, these aspects of Chinese culture will be of help in our 牧會的工作 *mu-hui te kung-tso* (pastoral work), so that we can do it even better. There will be no obstructions. It is only those elements in Chinese culture that cannot be harmonized with Christianity that might create obstructions for our pastoral work.¹²⁴⁴ [...] In fact, when we celebrate Mother’s Day and Father’s Day in the church, we preach and teach about filial piety, obedience and respect towards fathers and mothers. I think it helps us to have an even better relationship with our parents than ordinary Chinese do. Friends also can learn how to be better friends to each other when they are Christians.¹²⁴⁵

On the basis of the above presented examples of Hwang’s thoughts and reflections about pastoral ministry and leadership it is possible to characterize his understanding and indicate the type of his approach. I find that knowledge about individual candidates and their personal and spiritual qualities and gifts is a dominant factor in Hwang’s understanding of pastoral leadership. My evaluation at this point is based on the above references both to his personal testimony and his statements in my interview with him. Knowledge about the context, both the ecclesial and socio-cultural elements, is, however, also important to him. The emphasis seems to be on knowledge about the ecclesial element of the context, and the socio-cultural element is primarily seen from within the church. A suitable conclusion is, therefore, that Hwang’s approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership is about halfway on the continuum between a trait approach and a contingency approach. Thus one may say that he represents a trait/contingency approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership.

¹²⁴² *ibid.*, 7-8.

¹²⁴³ The translation of the expression is taken from Liang Shih-chiu, ed., *A new practical Chinese-English dictionary*, 871.

¹²⁴⁴ Hwang did not mention any examples of such elements in Chinese culture.

¹²⁴⁵ See Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 8.

Having characterized his understanding it is now the task to take a look at his approach to the *cultivation* of pastoral leadership. Towards the end of this presentation his approach will be compared to his trait/contingency approach to the understanding of pastoral leadership. The focus now is on his choice of forms and means for the cultivation of pastoral leadership.

Hwang gives most of his attention to the development of the individual candidate in his approach to cultivation of pastoral leadership. Less is mentioned regarding the establishment of reliable insights about the context. The focus on the individual is seen in two ways. It is seen in the manner in which Hwang underlines his own personal development and preparation for ministry. It is also seen in his emphasis on the role of teachers and other mentors (such as senior pastors and synod leaders) as they instruct, train and observe the candidates, like Hwang and his LBI and seminary classmates. In other words, self-cultivation is combined with cultivation by others. Below are some recapitulations of these two aspects of cultivation as found in the above presentation.

According to Hwang the starting point in the process of self-cultivation for pastoral leadership is personal assurance of salvation. This assurance is based on baptism and strengthened through continuous awareness and confession of sin.¹²⁴⁶ One of the aims of his written testimony at the ordination was to show that he had received God's grace and was saved. With this starting point in mind he tells about several ways in which he consciously and eagerly participated in the worship and activities of local congregations. He regards his ascension to leadership responsibilities in the Lutheran congregation in Keelung as a relevant preparation for pastoral ministry. Especially during his time as a student at LBI and TLS he tried to learn, not only from his teachers but also from Chinese and western church workers and missionaries, especially the senior pastors among them. In addition to working with the required curriculum he did his best to memorize Bible verses. He seems to have had a sense of personal responsibility for acquiring and sustaining the qualities he knew the church was looking for in candidates for ordained ministry in TLC. The periods he served as evangelist were of particular importance in this respect.

Hwang speaks with considerable respect about his Bible school and seminary teachers, and he holds the senior pastors in high regard. He recognizes their role as cultivators of candidates for pastoral leadership. In addition to this formal education and training organized

¹²⁴⁶ At the occasion of his baptism Hwang also confessed some of his sins before the congregation, and he recalls that the event filled him with "peace and joy." See Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]," 13.

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and required by the synod Hwang sees the value of his Christian parents and how they cultivated his personal and spiritual life. His wife also played an important role by introducing him to her congregation in Keelung, helping his return to the Lutheran church after some years with little or no contact due to his military service.

The combined aim of his self-cultivation and the cultivation by others was to prepare him for pastoral ministry and the leadership responsibilities that go with it. His theological essay points to some of the content of pastoral leadership. Three factors seem to be prominent. Firstly, a pastor is a leader through correct preaching of the gospel and proper administration of the sacraments. This factor is derived from his adherence to Lutheran ecclesiology. Secondly, one of the primary tasks is to lead in the establishment and building of “κοινωνία,” “團契 *t'uan-ch'i* (fellowship)” in the congregation; the presentation and explanation of this Greek term and its Chinese equivalent make up the content of chapter eight in his theological ordination essay.¹²⁴⁷ Thirdly, the foundation of pastoral leadership is biblical knowledge and theological insight. For Hwang it is important that this insight is rooted in the Lutheran tradition and he voices some concern that the younger generation of TLC pastors are not so deeply rooted as his own generation.¹²⁴⁸

Knowledge about the context plays an important but limited role in Hwang's approach to the cultivation of pastoral leadership. Both from the perspective of self-cultivation and cultivation by others knowledge about the ecclesial element of the context comes to the forefront. Exercise of pastoral leadership is the goal of the cultivation process, and Hwang is of the opinion that pastors must be well versed in the Lutheran tradition and know the structure and polity of TLC in order to reach this goal in a fruitful way. During their seminary training and evangelist ministry the candidates for ordination must study diligently, observe and learn from their teachers' instruction and practice, and test themselves in real ministerial situations. The teachers and mentors, such as senior pastors, are expected to give a solid and valid introduction and guidance to biblical theology and Lutheranism.

¹²⁴⁷ Hwang has spelled this term with Greek letters ten times in this chapter. See Hwang Chih-chung, "I sheng chi-tu chiao-hui [One holy Christian church]," 27-30.

¹²⁴⁸ "Our Lutheran pastors have to have a clear understanding of Lutheran faith and doctrine. Justification by faith, the distinction between law and gospel, the Lutheran position concerning the sacrament of Holy Communion, etc., must be clearly understood. Lutheran pastors must understand the difference between their own denomination and others." Hwang Chih-chung, "Interview in Taichung by Gustav Steensland 13 March 1997, notes and partly translated and typed transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," 5.

When Hwang reflects on the socio-cultural element of the context, I have noticed that he by and large makes use of his own observations and interpretation. His statements and reflections on the relationship between Christian faith and Chinese culture do not seem to stem from textbooks, literature or classroom discussion, for example at TLS. It is as if he has acquired a satisfactory level of insight in theology and then he applies this insight on his own to the challenges and questions that arise in his ministry and exercise of pastoral leadership in a Chinese cultural setting. His words of gratitude to his instructors at LBI and TLS do not refer to any form of assistance they might have given him in the contextualization of Christian thoughts and values in the socio-cultural environment in Taiwan.

A reasonable conclusion seems to be that Hwang's experiences and thoughts about cultivation of pastoral leadership fit very well his trait/contingency approach to the understanding of such leadership. The identification and development of the desired traits (such as theological insight, moral qualities, and skills) in the candidates for ordination are the primary aims of the cultivation of pastoral leadership. This leadership will not, however, be relevant and effective without a certain grasp of the challenges in the context, first and foremost within the church but also in its environment. In the following section Hwang's handling of the issue of a contextualized understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership will be explored with reference to the Confucian concepts selected in my research model.

6.2.4 Interpretation of Hwang's approach in light of the Confucian concepts

Some of Hwang's ideas about the relationship between Christian and Confucian values have already been mentioned in the above sections. In this section the aim is to highlight how or to what extent he deals with the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation in his approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. According to my research model the Confucian concepts are thought to influence the process from an understanding of pastoral leadership to its cultivation.

The *Confucian concept of leadership* as such is not used or referred to by Hwang. There are, however, some indications that he has reflected on the two factors that sustain the concept of leadership in the Confucian tradition, namely, the view of human nature and the precept of filial piety. The prevalent notion in Confucianism about human beings is that they have the ability to moral behavior and that failure to respond accordingly in social relationships, such as the one between leaders and subordinates, must be dealt with without reference to deities. The fact that Hwang emphasizes his awareness and confession of sin at the time of his baptism seems to signal a contrast to the view of human nature in the

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Confucian elements of his cultural context. From a Christian perspective sin involves a responsibility both towards God and towards those one may have offended or wounded by sinful action or behavior. As far as the precept of filial piety is concerned, I have not found in my material that Hwang uses the term 孝 *hsiao* (filial piety). Especially in his above-mentioned written testimony, however, his expressions of gratitude respect towards his grandparents, parents and teachers show that he intends to think and act as a filial son, within the limits set by his Christian conviction.¹²⁴⁹ Similar expressions are also frequent when he looks back on his theological education and evangelist ministry and thinks about his instructors and mentors. My assumption is that Hwang presupposes a modified filial piety as an important factor in the understanding of pastoral leadership and that cultivation of such leadership in a Chinese setting is based on a continued development of filial attitudes. These attitudes are not only seen from the perspective of juniors and subordinates, in terms of demands for respect, obedience and compliance. Also in the position of a senior and a leader (for example as a pastor), Hwang's approach implies that the precept of filial piety puts forward expectations of showing care and awareness of being a good example and a role model.

In line with the *Confucian concept of learning* Hwang describes with considerable vigor the role of teachers and a student's self-efforts when he reviews his own education and training. His description is, however, not characterized by specific references to Confucian ideals of learning. Rather than attempting a formal presentation, for instance with quotations from the Confucian classics, he tells stories from his own experience and development. These stories may be seen as indirect allusions to the Confucian concept of learning. In his written testimony there is an illustrative example of a teacher's influence.¹²⁵⁰ With a detailed account Hwang tells how he got his original name and what happened to it. At the age of thirteen he was sent to a Chinese language teacher, and this man suggested that the personal name for Hwang should be changed from 永禎 *Yung-chen* (eternal lucky omen) to something else. In respect for the teacher's proposal Hwang and his parents gave their consent, and from then on

¹²⁴⁹ Cf. for example his above-mentioned comment about respecting his parents without offering sacrifices to them. Thus he may be said to represent a modified filial piety.

¹²⁵⁰ See Hwang Chih-chung, "Shen te yü-pei [God's preparation]," 5-6.

he was called 志中 *Chih-chung* (determined middle, i.e. a determined Chinese).¹²⁵¹ At the Bible school in Kaohsiung and at the seminary in Taichung his teachers are said to have played an important role in his development. Combining pastoral care and theological insights they contributed to the cultivation of Hwang and his fellow students.

There is in Hwang's opinion, however, not a one-sided reliance on the teachers' efforts. The *Confucian concept of self-cultivation* is probably only a part of Hwang's mind-set as no direct references have been found. As the above presentation of him has shown he is aware of his own responsibility for his preparation for pastoral ministry and leadership. In order to reach the goals of the training he is of the opinion that the ministerial candidates themselves have to contribute, in terms of keen observation and diligent reading and involvement in the various educational activities, both on campus and during the practical assignments in congregations and special evangelistic campaigns.¹²⁵² Hwang has focused on the development of the gifts, knowledge and skills that are important for a pastor's ministry and the exercise of leadership. Parts of this development rest on the personal work and determination of each candidate.

6.2.5 Concluding remarks

The result of the above description and exploration of Hwang's thoughts and experiences in his preparation for ministry led to the conclusion that he favors a trait/contingency approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. His approach implies that development of gifts, insights and skills of the individual candidates are somewhat more important than helping them to obtain a reliable comprehension of the context of the church and its ministry. Hwang seems convinced that it is possible to reach a level of knowledge about individual candidates that is seen as sufficient both by the church and the candidate. Knowledge about the context is also important, and Hwang gives most attention to the context as seen from a church-based vantage point. Through theological education and practical training the students will acquire a comfortable insight and become rooted in the Lutheran tradition of TLC. His statements about the Confucian elements of the socio-cultural context indicate that they play a significant role in the ministry of pastors. There are in his approach,

¹²⁵¹ Hwang explains the teacher's intention as follows: "He chose the name '志中 *Chih-chung*' for me, and by these two characters he meant to say that I should '志在光復中華 *chih tsai kuang-fu chung-hua*' (be a determined participant in the glorious recovery of China)." *ibid.*, 6.

¹²⁵² Vivid examples from the various aspects of the training at LBI are found in a film promoting foreign mission work in Taiwan in the 1950s. See Halverson and Sadlo, *Formosan hour*.

however, few signs of a deliberate and systematic treatment of the contextualization of pastoral leadership in relation to the Confucian environment in Taiwan. Such treatment does not seem to have taken place in his seminary training, and he is left to make use of his own assessment and evaluation of the Confucian tradition as he meets the various challenges in his ministry.

6.3 Chang Fu-min

Chang Fu-min (Samuel) 張復民 (b. 1956) graduated from CES in 1985 and from July the same year he served as evangelist at Panchiao Gospel Church¹²⁵³ of the TLC, located in a suburb of Taipei. He was ordained in October 1987 and since then he has been the pastor of the Panchiao congregation. In addition to his parish ministry he has also held the position of chairman of the TLC ministerium. The main sources for the below description and exploration of his preparation for ministry and his views on cultivation of pastoral leadership in a Chinese Confucian context are his own self-presentation published by TLC in 1984¹²⁵⁴ and my interview with him in 1997.¹²⁵⁵

6.3.1 Background and seminary training

Chang Fu-min was born in Taiwan in a family that came to the island after 1949 from the Kiangsu province on the mainland.¹²⁵⁶ In the self-presentation one year before graduation from CES he describes the contrast between his non-Christian background and his current

¹²⁵³ The original chapel at Panchiao was dedicated 24 October 1954 after church planting efforts by Lutheran missionaries and the Chinese evangelist Maynard Lu. See Arne B. Sovik, "Panchiao," *The Missionary*, January 1955. For a brief overview of the history and prospects of the congregation as of 1994 (most likely authored by Chang Fu-min), see Chuang Tung-chieh, ed., *Shih wan-min tso chu men-t'u*, 168-170.

¹²⁵⁴ Chang Fu-min, "Te-chiu meng-chao chien-cheng [A witness of salvation and calling]," in *Chien-cheng yü cheng-chien [Witness and testimony]*, ed. Hwang Chih-chung et al. (Taipei: Committee of Theological Education [Taiwan Lutheran Church], 1984), 49-52.

¹²⁵⁵ See Chang Fu-min, "Interview in Panchiao by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997, translated and hand-written transcript in English of tape-recording in Chinese," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 1997).

¹²⁵⁶ In the TLC publication Chang is introduced by the editors with the following words, "Chang Fu-min, male, of Kiangsu province origin, born in the forty-fifth year of the Republic, a graduate from the veterinary department of Taiwan University, presently a second year student in the master of divinity degree program at China Evangelical Seminary." Hwang Chih-chung and others, eds., *Chien-cheng yü cheng-chien*, 49. According to the preface the booklet should serve several purposes related to the recruitment of pastors and evangelists in TLC by making individual testimonies available to congregations and to young people considering Christian ministry. See Hwang Chih-chung and others, eds., *Chien-cheng yü cheng-chien*, 1-3.

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motivation for pastoral ministry. I regard this piece of writing as a very informative and relevant source in light of the topic of this study. Some elements in Chang's understanding of pastoral leadership are found here, and key factors in his cultivation of such leadership are also mentioned. As it is a rather short document I have decided to include the entire text and not only quote selected sections.

I was born into a traditional Chinese style family; my father was a public affairs employee, without a religious faith, holding firmly on to tradition; my mother was an idol worshiper, in issues of faith making her choices according to her own liking; due to the fact that mother also had work outside the home, we children all took care of ourselves and our parents had great confidence in us. My third oldest sister was the first in my family to believe in the Lord; four or five years after becoming a believer in the Lord she married and also entered the Baptist Seminary to receive training, experiencing fierce opposition from the members of our family, and my father consequently severed the relationships with her; she and her husband are presently pastoring the Shui-nan Baptist church in Taichung; they were the first leading me in contact with the gospel; when I committed myself to the Lord eight years ago my oldest sister had already four years earlier become a believer in the Lord in the United States of America.

As I began my second year in high school I started going to church, but the congregation was not thriving and it had never heard a complete gospel; at the same time I did not have too many good feelings toward people in the congregation, but I fairly much got to respect and enjoy the Bible and the hymns; as for myself at the time I regarded the Chinese as respectful descendants of Heaven, not necessarily in need of faith in Jesus Christ. In my freshman year at the university I moved into the men's dormitory at Taipei Lutheran Student Center, participating at the fellowship at Truth Church and in discussion meetings about faith where I got a deep understanding and knowledge of the Lord of creation and the birth, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, realizing my own relationship with Jesus Christ; half a year later, at a spring retreat, I entrusted myself to the Lord, a decision which I felt very natural at the time; the following four years I received training at Truth Church where I also was heavily involved in the ministry.

To be a student at the veterinary department at Taiwan University was my primary aspiration. During high school I had been looking forward to 牧羊生活 *mu-yang sheng-huo* (life as a shepherd) in the countryside, hoping to manage a cattle farm; after becoming a believer in the Lord I, nevertheless, kept the vision of being a scholar and still be engaged by the thinking of veterinary care for animals, all the way planning to pursue advanced studies; my third year at the university marked a change, on the one hand I was becoming doubtful regarding my zeal towards spending my whole life engaged in work with cattle farming, on the other hand I was participating in the Grain of Wheat prayer group -- a forum [at Truth Church] for a group of 牧者 *mu-che* (pastors) and a group of those pursuing full-time 侍奉 *shih-feng* (ministry). During my fourth and fifth year at the university I continued seeking, all along without being able to confirm whether God was calling me or not, and at the same time having continuously to tackle my own sense of "unwillingness" and "lack of courage"; after finishing my studies at the university, the further course I decided for myself was this: after completing my military service I would work for one or two years, then I would go to the United States to study for an MBA (Master of business administration), then I

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would find myself a job, partly acquiring considerable social experience, and partly being able to 更加成熟 *keng chia ch'eng-shu* (become more mature), and then I would study theology, 傳道 *chuan-tao* ([and then] work as a preacher), assuming that I in this way could 管理神的家 *kuan-li shen-te chia* (manage the household of God).

During my military service, however, I noticed on the one hand how bleak and desolate God's household was, on the other hand I deeply realized that 管理人才 *kuan-li jen-t'sai* (management of human resources) could not solve the problems in the church; what God wanted was 忠心的管家 *chung-hsin te kuan-chia* (faithful stewards), that could provide food at the right time, as well as that God was electing for his use ordinary and unwise people. Because I all the time was seeing the needs of the church and was continuously and profoundly moved, feeling that "the time was ripe," but, due to my small faith, asking God to perform some confirming miracles, God had mercy on me, causing my original "unwillingness" to change into a "ready willingness"; in addition, due to some objective advice from various 牧長 *mu chang* (senior pastors), my original lack of courage to come forward changed so that I came forward and committed myself to the Lord. This was the result of these four years of struggle.

For the last several years God has continuously placed a burden on my heart for the gospel, for the church, for the responsibility of establishing the kingdom of God, and, 侍奉之中 *shih-feng chih chung* (in my ministry), I am longing for becoming the 僕人 *p'u-jen* (servant) with whom God is well pleased, living according to his will, serving him faithfully throughout my life. This is my prayer, and presently I am asking God for a sign, so that I can get more clarity of the direction of my future ministry, and I also wish that you could remember me in your prayers.¹²⁵⁷

The above account as of 1984 contains some important elements in Chang's personal and spiritual development. I will especially focus on three issues. Firstly, there is a contrast between the world-view and religion represented by his parents and his current Christian faith. In this respect Chang's family background is different from that of the two other candidates (Tung Shang-yung and Hwang Chih-chung), who both came from Christian homes. Secondly, the program offered at Taipei Lutheran Student Center has been important for his change of professional career ambitions and his growing determination to become a pastor and enter into full-time ministry.¹²⁵⁸ Thirdly, he regards the combination of good

¹²⁵⁷ Chang Fu-min, "Te-chiu meng-chao chien-cheng [A witness of salvation and calling]," 49-52. In most cases I have followed Chang's sentence structure and punctuation. This fact explains the sometimes lengthy sentences, with the use of commas and semicolons. Expressions in quotation marks appear as such in the original.

¹²⁵⁸ Chang was among several students who made such changes in their plans. A report referring to two of his fellow students illustrates their common experience. "Yao [姚建德] and his wife Chang Hwei-Jane [張慧貞] are part of a small group of gifted, educated young people who are willing to forego some of the material comforts of their society and prepare thoroughly for full-time Christian service. At the Lutheran Student Center just across the street from National Taiwan University, Yao and Chang are among seven students who have made a commitment to the

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advice and patient prayer as crucial factors. Such advice has come from experienced pastors, and in addition to his own prayers he underlines the importance of intercessional prayer.

When I met Chang for my interview with him 20 March 1997, I was unaware of the above account in the TLC publication. It was, therefore, natural for me to begin our conversation by asking him to give a brief description of his road to pastoral ministry. In addition to a short version of what he wrote in his testimony he also mentioned the development stages until his ordination in 1987.

I was called by God. In my first year in university I became a Christian. Coming from a very traditional Chinese home, I didn't know God. At the university I was searching knowledge and education, hoping to get a good job and a bright future. But, when I got to know Jesus, I understood that I had to live my life under the guidance of God. After graduation from university, during my military service, I was convinced that God would lead me, and that I should become a 傳道人 *ch'uan-tao jen* (preacher). This was something I didn't want. It wasn't good, at least not with regard to my traditional Chinese background. Partly, however, I still wanted to become a 牧師 *mu-shih* (pastor), and partly I was afraid. Based on my conviction that God would lead me I got the courage to step forward and say that I would like to become a 傳道人 *chuan-tao jen* (preacher). In Taiwan a seminary was the road to ministry, and so I entered seminary. I didn't have many choices. The nearest Lutheran option was in Hong Kong, but I didn't fancy the idea of going to Hong Kong. After all, I didn't know the place. Then I thought about CES, with which TLC had at least some cooperation. I was admitted to CES to 接收訓練 *chieh-shou hsün-lien* (receive training). After three years of study and 牧會兩年 *mu-hui liang nien* (two years of pastoral ministry [as evangelist]) I was 按立牧師 *an-li mu-shih* (ordained). This is an outline of my road to ministry.¹²⁵⁹

According to what has been mentioned so far it is possible to specify some important stages in Chang's life until ordination. He graduated from high school and began his university studies 20 years old in 1976. This year he became a member of Truth Church, the TLC congregation in the vicinity of Taiwan University. Alongside his studies there he also participated in various programs and activities at the Lutheran student center adjacent to Truth Church. After graduation from the veterinary department in 1980 he served in the military for the regular period of two years. He was then admitted to CES in 1982 and he finished the Master of Divinity program in 1985. With eleven years of experience as a Christian he was ordained in 1987.

church's ministry." William A. Dudde, "New parish leaders for Taiwan : a highly motivated breed of leaders is appearing in the Lutheran church, giving fresh hope for the future. From reports by Theodore Zimmerman and John G. LeMond," *World Encounter*, Spring 1984, 21.

¹²⁵⁹ Chang Fu-min, "Interview in Panchiao by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 1-2.

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So far, the content of his education at CES has not been mentioned. Generally speaking the seminary faculty and curriculum reflected the interdenominational character of the institution. As mentioned in chapter two (section 2.1.4.2) the seminary had twenty-eight teachers in 1983 and nineteen of these were Chinese. Said Chang, “Most of our seminary teachers were Chinese, but some were missionaries.”¹²⁶⁰ In my interview with him Chang did not point to his studies of dogmatics when he was asked about the formation of his pastoral ideals. He concentrated on one of the Chinese faculty members, namely, Lin Tao-liang, his key teacher of practical theology.

My teacher in pastoral theology was 很傳統的中國人 *hen ch'uan-t'ung te chung-kuo jen* (a very traditional Chinese), namely, 林道亮牧師 *lin tao liang mu-shih* (pastor Lin Tao-liang).¹²⁶¹ What he taught us about patterns of pastoral ministry was his own experience. He introduced to us some 原則 *yüan-tse* (principles). Firstly, he urged us 把教會當作一個學校 *pa chiao-hui tang-tso i-ke hsüeh-hsiao* (to regard the church as a school). And, in this 屬靈的學校 *shu-ling te hsüeh-hsiao* (spiritual school) people should be invited to learn. The pastor accordingly should concentrate in two areas: Firstly, the pastor must be a 老師 *lao-shih* (teacher), teaching the word of God, and provide the whole church with a learning environment and atmosphere. Secondly, as pastors we should be 帶領工人，帶領門徒的人 *tai-ling kung-jen, tai-ling men-t'u te jen* (a person able to lead workers and lead disciples), so that they also might become God's faithful coworkers. These two principles would influence us in our future pastoral ministry. The two principles have a lot to do with Chinese 文化 *wen-hua* (culture). The way of teaching in the East has been influenced by Confucius. He would stay with his disciples, just like Jesus would be with his disciples. In my early years of ministry, as evangelist, I didn't fully understand all this, but as a pastor of my congregation I have followed his principles [i.e. the principles introduced by Lin], teaching people in the church, and especially teaching my coworkers.¹²⁶²

Apart from classroom sessions and reading assignments the CES curriculum also included regular contact and experience with the work in local congregations. This was seen as “practical training” in preparation for the future ministry of the students.¹²⁶³

In addition to the basic program at CES Chang and the other TLC students took specially designed courses in church history, theology and liturgics, all seen from a Lutheran perspective. As mentioned in chapter two (section 2.1.4) these classes were requested by TLC for their ministerial candidates at CES and held by Wendell P. Friest, who had selected four

¹²⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 2.

¹²⁶¹ For a presentation of Lin and his textbook, see chapter five, section 5.3.

¹²⁶² Chang Fu-min, "Interview in Panchiao by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 2-3.

¹²⁶³ *ibid.*, 2.

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monographs and a Chinese edition of the Book of Concord as textbooks. Chang shared with me some of his reflections about Lutheranism and the interdenominational impulses he received at CES.

The Lutheran church is a church with a long tradition and history. This kind of church, like China in former times, values history very highly and it has a valuable culture, etc. But, it has also a weakness. 它有太多的傳統 *t'a yu t'ai to te ch'uan-t'ung* (It has too many traditions; or: it is too traditional). I think TLC also has to deal with this issue. There are many valuable things, but many things should be renewed. I think that CES has provided a helpful environment. Earlier we were in a 象牙塔 *hsiang-ya t'a* (ivory tower), we were under the Lutheran umbrella. We saw nothing but Lutheran things. The umbrella gave protection but it turned out to be something that covered our eyes. By going to CES, this interdenominational seminary, we got to lift this umbrella very high up, and we saw a lot of new and different things. [...] Naturally, not all that we saw and tasted were good things, but this was a part of our studies. We knew we would encounter good things and bad things and our task was to avoid being influenced by the bad things. [...] Because we had to relate to many other denominations we learned not to fear new things, and we learned how to discuss and debate. [...] I can understand, however, how some [in TLC] are worried. "This is not Lutheran!" Especially in some liturgical matters and some outward issues we are not so Lutheran. For myself the most important is the 精神 *ching-shen* (spirit). Does it represent a Lutheran spirit? Is it according to Lutheran theology? This is more important than the form.¹²⁶⁴

I also asked Chang how the relationship between Chinese culture and pastoral leadership was reflected in his theological education as a whole. His answer contains important observations and reflections.

Regarding the issue of the relationship between Chinese culture and the church we have a lot of difficulties. As we graduated from seminary we didn't fully understand how Chinese culture and even church traditions would relate to difficulties in the church. Basically, as we grew up from childhood to university, we had no leadership experience. We were not trained to be leaders. As we came to the seminary, however, we realized that we were beginning to study how to be leaders. This was a major difficulty, because 在中國人的觀念裡頭年級大的來領導年級輕的 *tsai chung-kuo jen te kuan-nien li-t'ou nien-chi ta te lai ling-tao nien-chi ch'ing te* (in the mindset of Chinese people the older should lead the younger). We demand that 長幼有序 *chang yu yu hsü* (precedence should be maintained between seniors and juniors). This is a Chinese tradition, and it is also the tradition in the church. But, we didn't know how to cope with this issue. So, when we came to minister in the church we were assigned to a leadership role, but the church 不許我們作領袖 *pu hsü wo-men tso ling-hsiu* (didn't allow us to be leaders). Many of the older people, especially elders and deacons, had children that were older than us. Even some of their grandchildren were of our own age. They couldn't really adapt to the fact that a person without experience should be their 領袖 *ling-hsiu* (leader). This situation naturally led to problems and difficulties.

In seminary they had prepared us for some of this, but they didn't teach us a lot. I

¹²⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 12-13.

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think this was for two reasons. [Firstly,] our main teachers, most of them had not pastored churches. Because they had not worked as pastors they had not encountered this kind of questions. The seminary teachers, the majority of them were 學者 *hsüeh-che* (scholars), they had no long-time pastoral experience, perhaps six months, one year, two years, three years. Without a long-time experience as pastors they could not really understand 教牧領導 *chiao-mu ling-tao* (pastoral leadership) and 管理教會所碰到的問題 *kuan-li chiao-hui suo p'eng-tao te wen-t'i* (the problems encountered in administering a congregation). Therefore, they were not able to teach us. The second reason, I think, was that those of our teachers who had experience were very old. One was over seventy years old and he did not introduce us to his experiences as a young pastor, thirty, forty years ago, what problems and questions he encountered then. Perhaps he had forgotten what he learned and experienced at that time. So, his focus was not on what it would be like to be a young 傳道人 *ch'uan-tao jen* (preacher) in terms of facing Chinese culture and church traditions. So, if we would come, like I did, to an old church with many old members, we would have a lot of problems. You asked if this was taught in seminary? My point is that 沒有合適的人教 *mei yu ho-shih te jen chiao* (there were no suitable persons to teach us; or: we were not taught by the appropriate people).¹²⁶⁵

Chang's experiences and evaluation of his preparation for ministry will be commented below in section 6.3.3, which presents characteristics of his approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. This presentation, however, is also based on some of his reflections regarding evangelist ministry and ordination, which are the topics in the following section.

6.3.2 Evangelist ministry and ordination

In addition to seminary training the research design for this thesis regards evangelist ministry and ordination as important elements in the preparation for pastoral ministry and leadership. I asked Chang how his two years of evangelist ministry influenced his thinking and ideas of pastoral ministry. As already mentioned above, this ministry took place in the Panchiao Gospel Church.

During my two years of evangelist ministry¹²⁶⁶ I got a very positive experience. It was very encouraging. Many people came to know the Lord and to study the word of God. Especially some young people were very searching, and among them also some freshmen from colleges and universities. I was very young, only 26 years old, when I started with evangelist ministry [for the first time].¹²⁶⁷ I ran into a lot of difficulties, and it wasn't easy because my experience wasn't that of the adults. But, those years were

¹²⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 7-9.

¹²⁶⁶ Chang here refers to the period between the graduation from CES and his ordination (i.e. 1985-1987).

¹²⁶⁷ As this must have been in 1982, Chang refers to the practice as evangelist which was one of his assignments in the study program at CES, where he was admitted the same year.

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very good. I was with the congregation. 我跟他們一起成長 *wo ken t'a-men i-ch'i ch'eng-chang* (I grew with them) and I grew with the other coworkers. Not that I was better than them. 大家一起學習 *ta-chia i-ch'i hsüeh-hsi* (We all had something to learn). This is about what I experienced.¹²⁶⁸

As explained in the two footnotes in the above quote Chang reckons that his experience as evangelist began when he entered CES and lasted until his ordination. During these five years he was exposed to a broad and realistic picture of the work and challenges in local congregations. With regard to these challenges I asked him the following question: "In your experience, who have influenced you and been your model, someone you could 示範 *shih-fan* (imitate)? I assume this is an important feature in Chinese culture." Chang replied, with reference not only to his experience as evangelist but also to his early years as ordained pastor.

You are right! I think that when I was working as an evangelist [after graduation from seminary] I had no model. Not a single day have I served as 指事 *chih-shih* (deacon). I haven't lived together with a pastor shepherding a congregation. Well, pastor Yang Ning-yea, one year after he had graduated from seminary, or perhaps two years, he was the 輔導 *fu-tao* (mentor) in my group in the student fellowship [at the Lutheran Student Center in Taipei]. Therefore, he was my model. His working style, however, was tailored for the college and university students. This was a problem for me because I had no 成人侍奉的經驗 *ch'eng-jen shih-feng te ching-yen* (experience from ministering to adults). I was only a student in my twenties, 21, 22 years old.¹²⁶⁹ So, when it came to the issue of pastoring a church I had no model. This was a pitiful situation to be in. Without a model I didn't know how to act according to 牧師的身分 *mu-shih te shen-fen* (the position of a pastor), 傳道人的身分 *chuan-tao jen te shen-fen* (the position of a preacher), in relation to the 指事 *chih-shih* (deacons) and 長老 *chang-lao* (elders). This was, in other words, a pitiful aspect of my ministry. In terms of youth work and student work, however, I had a model: pastor Yang Ning-yea. His way of doing things and his attitude made it easy for me to have him as an example for my learning.¹²⁷⁰

The final two years of ministry as evangelist took place in the Panchiao congregation, which then called him as their pastor. Upon this call the synod could arrange for his ordination and he recalls that he "had to go through all the procedures" of the exam held by the TLC

¹²⁶⁸ Chang Fu-min, "Interview in Panchiao by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 3-4.

¹²⁶⁹ This is a reference to his participation in the program and activities at the Lutheran Student Center in Taipei.

¹²⁷⁰ Chang Fu-min, "Interview in Panchiao by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 5-6.

ministerium.¹²⁷¹ Chang gave me some comments about his written 按牧論文 *an-mu lun-wen* (ordination essay).

The topic they gave me was “The theology of the cross in Paul’s letter to the Galatians.” I think this is very important. I regard the theology of the cross as important, especially in recent years, in times when many have emphasized 成功神學 *ch’eng-kung shen-hsüeh* (theology of success), 榮耀神學 *jung-yao shen-hsüeh* (theology of glory). Luther also encountered this theology of glory, which we now call theology of success. Especially the majority of the 領恩教派 *ling-en chiao-p’ai* (charismatic denominations) emphasize that you have to make success, that the sick must be healed, and that all kinds of questions must be solved. We have to remind ourselves that even though Jesus seemed to loose on the cross, he, nevertheless, succeeded. Therefore, theology of the cross is our most valuable and reliable foundation. The gospel and law tell us that we are saved by grace, but still many Christians are directed by the law only. Even many in our Lutheran churches are 很律法 *hên lü-fa* (very legalistic). People may say that they belong to a Lutheran church but still be very legalistic. They may have lost the spirit of the gospel. Therefore, I think 神學 *shen-hsüeh* (theology) basically is of great importance to me. It can provide us with a lot of good things.¹²⁷²

At this point in our conversation Chang directed my attention to his ordination diploma, which was hanging on the wall.¹²⁷³ As he took it down and handed it to me he said, “I had to meet all the requirements. And now, I am the chairman of the ministerium! As you understand, I am 有執照的牧師 *yu chih-chao te mu-shih* (a licensed pastor). So, 我們有規矩的 *wo-men yu kuei-chü te* (we act according to the regulations).”¹²⁷⁴ His diploma is signed by

¹²⁷¹ See *ibid.*, 4.

¹²⁷² *ibid.*, 14.

¹²⁷³ The English translation printed on his diploma is as follows: “This is to certify that ... pastor has been examined in accordance with the constitution of said church and its ministerium, and has been found to be qualified for the holy ministry, and is authorized to preach the Gospel, administer the sacraments and conduct pastoral function within the congregations of our church. He professes adherence to the Apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, the Augsburg Confession, and Luther’s small catechism, as the expression of the doctrine and proclamation of the restored church. In accordance with the above he is declared a faithful witness to Jesus Christ and a pastor of this church by the ministerium of this church in a holy ceremony of laying on of hands in the Name of the one true God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Said ceremony having been held on ... [date] at ... [a certain church], located at ... [place]. In witness whereof we have signed this document and affixed the seal of the Taiwan Lutheran Church at its office in Taipei on ... [date]. [Signed by] the president and the chairman of the ministerium.” The information about time, place, etc. in the diploma was not included in the English version. See *ibid.*, 4-5.

¹²⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 4.

Tung Shang-yung 董尚勇,¹²⁷⁵ synod president and ordinator, and Chang Chieh-ying 張傑英 (b. 1924),¹²⁷⁶ chairman of the ministerium.

In this section some aspects of Chang's evangelist ministry and ordination have been presented. Together with the description of his background and seminary training in the previous section there is relevant material for an outline of the characteristics of his approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership.

6.3.3 Characteristics of Chang's approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership

As with the two other pastors presented in this chapter Chang's approach will also be reviewed and explored with regard to knowledge about the individual and context as the crucial factors in understanding and cultivation of leadership. The balance he recommends between these factors will determine what type of approach he represents.

Knowledge about *individuals* plays a role in Chang's approach to the *understanding* of pastoral leadership only to a certain extent. The primary aspect is that both the candidate and the church should be confident that the candidate is called by God. Other aspects of Chang's approach include a personal commitment and zeal for the tasks of pastoral ministry, and trust in the Lord. Chang also supports Lin Tao-liang's view that one of the fundamental tasks for a pastor is to be a teacher, and through theological education and pre-ordination practice as preacher and instructor in local churches the candidate will have to demonstrate the necessary insights and skills.

For Chang knowledge about the *context* seems, however, to play an even more important role in his understanding of pastoral leadership than does knowledge about individual candidates. As far as the *ecclesial element* of the context is concerned he emphasizes knowledge about one's own denomination, other churches, and challenges in the local congregations. A pastor in TLC must know and appreciate the "spirit" of the Lutheran tradition and at the center of this tradition is the theology of the cross. This theology is the basis of pastoral leadership in terms of guiding seekers and church members to a faith and spiritual commitment, which is in accordance with the gospel from a Lutheran perspective.

¹²⁷⁵ For a portrait of Tung, see above, section 6.1.

¹²⁷⁶ Chang, a native of Honan province on the mainland, was a member of the first graduating class at TLS in 1961. From then on he served as pastor in True Light Church, a TLC congregation in Chungho, a city near Taipei. He retired in 1989. See Chuang Tung-chieh, ed., *Shih wan-min tso chu men-t'u*, 121.

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One can call this theological insight a denominational competence. Such competence helps the pastor to interpret other churches and their confessions and traditions. For Chang the studies and training at CES provided valuable help towards such interpretation. In his opinion a pastor in a TLC congregation should initiate and implement change and renewal by challenging outward parts of the Lutheran tradition. The source of such changes may well be acquaintance with and interpretation of the theology and experiences in other denominations. For a pastor in a local congregation it is vital to keep in mind the history, traditions and priorities that have shaped it. A young seminary graduate with only a few years as evangelist is regarded by the synod as generally prepared for ordination and leadership tasks as a pastor. Chang's experience, however, is a signal that it takes more than this for the relationship between the pastor and the congregation to function well. As he sees it, seminary teachers ought to present and reflect appropriate experiences and interpretation of the ministry in local congregations.

The context of pastoral leadership also has a *socio-cultural* element and this is by no means outside the scope of Chang's approach. In fact, it seems that knowledge about this element is crucial. He even speaks of a being in a "pitiful situation" in the initial stages of ordained ministry, as he felt unprepared to handle the interaction with the elders and deacons in the congregation. It is a matter of sorting out the position of a pastor or a preacher in relation to that of the influential older members in the local church council. Chang is not in doubt that key aspects of this challenge in Chinese churches are rooted in their cultural environment. The precedence of seniors over juniors seems to be an ingrained phenomenon, influencing also life in Christian communities among the Chinese. Chang indicates that it is a matter of accepting the phenomenon and that it takes patience and wisdom for a young pastor to grow into an accepted leadership role in the congregation. In his opinion the seminary training failed to deal sufficiently with the conditions for such growth, and his practice as evangelist would have served him better if it had taken place under the guidance of a reliable role model. My impression is that he was by and large on his own in his personal and professional development as a candidate for ordination fulfilling the required amount of evangelist ministry.

The overall picture that emerges on the basis of the above description and exploration is fairly clear. Chang underlines primarily the knowledge about the context and situation of pastoral leadership, and knowledge about the individual candidate is of secondary importance. A candidate must, of course, show signs of Christian faith, profess adherence to the doctrinal basis of the denomination, and have theological competence. Failure to prepare a candidate to

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handle the contextual challenges, however, causes serious and long-term problems for the exercise of pastoral leadership. According to Chang, the problem is not that appropriate knowledge is out of reach but that it was not given proper attention during his preparation for ministry. In order to do justice to Chang's point of view I find it right to characterize his understanding of pastoral leadership as based on a situational/contingency-approach. If the situation and context is satisfactorily understood both by the pastor and the church members the qualities and skills of the pastor are less influential on the exercise of leadership in the congregation.

When it comes to Chang's approach to the *cultivation* of pastoral leadership my description and exploration of his experience and thoughts about his preparation for ministry have revealed that he combines self-cultivation with cultivation by others. It was not until he entered seminary that Chang realized that he was about to be trained as a leader. From this time onwards his self-cultivation towards pastoral leadership became conscious and focused on ministry in TLC. The 'soil' for this cultivation had, however, been prepared and cared for at the TLC Student Center in Taipei. Chang's willingness and determination to take part in the program at this center are signs of concentration on his own development. In his testimony written in his second year at CES he wants to share with his readers in the TLC constituency how he became a Christian and that he seeks to obtain the qualities and skills expected by an ordained pastor. Prayer and intercession are said to be key factors in reaching the goal he has pointed out, namely, to serve as a faithful steward in God's church. Another element in his self-cultivation is sincere study of theology. Theological insight, especially in the meaning and consequences of the cross of Jesus, requires commitment and reflection on the part of the seminary student. Chang's appreciation of the Lutheran understanding of the gospel was developed in part through his discussions and debates with faculty and fellow students in the interdenominational setting at CES. During his years in evangelist ministry he was well aware that he was in a period of growth, both personally and together with the congregation. It was also a matter of learning from and with the church members.

What I have described so far with regard to Chang's experiences and reflections of self-cultivation has shown that it has taken place within the framework of Christian faith and in an ecclesial setting. There are, however, also some indications that he has seen the need for self-cultivation with respect to the social and cultural patterns in his Chinese environment. As he was about to finish his university studies in the late 1970s, and before he had decided to become a pastor, his aim was to earn an MBA, then get a job and in this way gain social experience and become more mature. With this experience and maturity he would go on to

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study theology and become a preacher. This plan was changed, however, and after compulsory military service he began at CES. His comments about his young age as evangelist and newly ordained pastor and about his problems in handling the relationship with older members in the congregation indicate that he is of the opinion that a certain amount of preministerial experience and maturity gained from a regular job probably would have served him well.

In addition to conscious self-cultivation Chang underlines the importance of cultivation by others in his preparation for pastoral leadership. With such specialized leadership in mind it is no surprise that most of his comments reflect the cultivation within Christian fellowships. Again, his time at the student center in Taipei must be mentioned. In this community he was exposed to the influence from mentors in different age groups. One important mentor here was Yang Ning-yea, who is only four years older than Chang. The fact that Yang is said to have been an important role model for him tells that the program at the student center implied confidence in those who showed leadership abilities.¹²⁷⁷ Senior pastors were also involved in the program, and Chang recalls that he appreciated their advice and care. His benefit from the participation in the ministry at the student center is an evidence of its contribution to the development of pastors and leaders in TLC.

When Chang spoke about his admission to CES he used the expression "receive training"¹²⁷⁸ about the aim of his studies there. This expression implies that he expected his teachers, textbooks and practical assignments to give him the training he needed for his future work as a pastor. In a way he regarded himself as a plant, which needed cultivation by able gardeners. His evaluation of how he was cultivated is important. On the one hand, he points to the positive results. There is no doubt in his mind that he gained theological competence and expanded insight about church work from his studies at CES. He learned to appreciate the Lutheran interpretation of the gospel, but his encounter with the theology and tradition of other denominations gave him new perspectives. In light of these perspectives he has seen the need for some changes, for example of outward elements in the liturgical and other practices of TLC. On the other hand, he voices some criticism about the quality of his training at CES, especially with regard to the faculty. In his opinion some of the teachers relied too much on their scholarly competence for their instruction and guidance of the students. Without or with

¹²⁷⁷ Yang is one of the leadership recruits mentioned in a brief report by one of the missionaries who helped to found and develop the ministry at the center. See Jones, "Training future leaders at student center in Taiwan," 2.

¹²⁷⁸ Chang Fu-min, "Interview in Panchiao by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 2.

very little experience from the life and challenges in congregational ministry their teaching did not reflect the needs felt by Chang for realistic and contextualized preparation for pastoral leadership. Other teachers had several years of experience from church work, but according to Chang they failed to identify enough with the demands and questions of a young candidate for pastoral ministry. As a whole the faculty and curriculum did not provide sufficient and appropriate introduction and interpretation of the challenges raised by the encounter between Christian faith and Chinese culture.

During his evangelist ministry before ordination Chang he appreciated the opportunity to learn and grow together with the members and elected lay leaders in the congregation. This fellowship provided him with an environment for both self-cultivation and cultivation by others. Still, he sensed a need for someone who could be his professional role model. From what I have found in the material reviewed for this study there was no organized mentoring as a part of his evangelist ministry following his graduation from CES.

Chang's understanding of pastoral leadership was characterized above as based on a situational/contingency approach. His emphasis on knowledge about the context and conditions for pastoral leadership is also evident as the key factor in his recommendations for its cultivation. The context and conditions are related both to the situation within the church and to the socio-cultural environment. Alongside the situational character of his approach there is, however, some attention upon the spiritual and professional qualities of the candidates for pastoral ministry. A candidate should have a personal conviction of Christian faith, and the church that calls and ordains is supposed to have reliable knowledge about the suitability and motivation of the candidate for the designated ministry.

6.3.4 Interpretation of Chang's approach in light of the Confucian concepts

My research model presupposes that the cultivation of pastoral leadership is seen as dependent on the understanding of such leadership. In addition, understanding and cultivation, as well as the development process from understanding to cultivation, are thought to be influenced by moderator variables. Now, the question is whether or how Chang brings in the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation as moderator variables in his approach. As a starting point for the search for an answer to this question I refer to his comments on my choice of Confucianism as an important factor in the cultivation of Christian leadership in a Chinese environment.

儒家思想 *ju-chia ssu-hsiang* (Confucianism) includes a lot of different things and a lot of meanings. We Chinese do not often study his [i.e. Confucius'] 領袖訓練 *ling-hsiu*

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hsün-lien (teaching and instruction about leadership; or: training of leaders) or his way of 領袖養成 *ling-hsiu yang-ch'eng* (developing leaders). However, Confucius introduced a lot of thoughts and ideas about teaching, like the principle of 因材施教 *yin ts'ai shih chiao* (teaching according to the student's ability).¹²⁷⁹ Every student, he says, has a unique personality and characteristic. Therefore, as a teacher, I have to help you according to your gifts, your 成熟度 *ch'eng-shou tu* (level of maturity). In my view, a study of Confucius' way of training and his teaching philosophy is a very good topic. But, this is not an easy task. So, in terms of us Chinese, like myself, I would rather look to the Bible for my leadership philosophy. In the Bible we find certain leadership ideas. In my study of the Bible, however, my Chinese background is quite influential, and several times I am reminded that Confucius also talked about many of the issues mentioned in the Bible.

Once Confucius was with his disciples. He said, "Can you talk about your personal負擔 *fu-tan* (obligations; burdens)?"¹²⁸⁰ As we read the Bible, we get different visions, different obligations. Some are challenged to participate in evangelization, some to take a theological education, some want to be pastors, some will teach in adult Sunday school; these are visions given to you by God, like a spiritual obligation. When Confucius had his disciples around him he let each and everyone speak out their own thinking and points of view. Not bad! So, we can really learn from Confucius and apply his approach as we study the Bible and serve in the church. Basically, in my opinion, Confucius, and especially his 帶門徒的方式 *tai men-t'u te fang-shih* (way of dealing with his disciples), is very similar to Jesus and the way he led his disciples. Just like Confucius used a different approach with each student, so also Jesus did it differently with each of his disciples. He treated Peter in one way, Jacob and John in other ways. These ideas we can easily grasp. They are both very 東放式的 *tung-fang shih te* (Oriental), in fact the Chinese way. It is not a formal classroom teaching, but it takes place in many environments, just like Confucius walked and taught in various locations. As they had meals together they talked about a whole range of issues: about values, the meaning of life, how to reform society, etc. This was also how Jesus did it. Jesus used the Eastern way, the way of Confucius, in the leading and teaching of his disciples. So, this has influenced us.

In the early years of my ministry I mostly used the classroom setting in my teaching. Later on, I have been influenced by the way in which Jesus taught, and how similar it was to the way Confucius taught. Therefore, I have less and less made use of classroom teaching. I now use 生活的方式 *sheng-huo te fang-shih* (a method of teaching by

¹²⁷⁹ This four character phrase, which is not found in the Confucian classics, has become a common summary of a key principle in the pedagogy of Confucius. The phrase is constructed on the basis of a statment by Chu Hsi (1130-1200), one of the great neo-Confucianists. In *Lun-yü chi-chu*, his commentary to the *Analects*, he says about book XI:2, "孔子教人, 各因其才 *K'ung-tzu chiao jen, ke yin ch'i ts'ai* (Confucius teaches people, according to the abilities of each of them)." See Ole Bjørn Rongen, "Letter to Gustav Steensland, 28 February 2005," (Stavanger: Gustav Steensland collection, 2005).

¹²⁸⁰ The source of this quote is not known, and it is not found in the Confucian classics. It is possible, however, that Chang is alluding to *Analects*, book XI:25, where Confucius has a conversation with three of his students about what they primarily want to do in their lives. "子曰, 亦各言其志也 *Tzu yüe, yi ke yen chi chih ye* (Confucius said, 'Each just speaks of his own aspirations')." See *ibid*.

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living). Jesus used the same way, like the time when they were going to a wedding. Where should they sit at the table? Jesus told them not to take the higher seats, but rather the lower seats. Jesus taught with his life. He did not give a heavy load of knowledge. His approach has influenced my way of 牧羊 *mu-yang* (pastoring) my church. The more we teach with our lives, the more influence we will have. Therefore, I have revised my methods. Christians do not have to attend too many classes, with a heavy curriculum. This, I believe, is the way of Confucius. So, you see, I have thought about Jesus and his way of teaching, as well as about Confucius and his way.¹²⁸¹

The statements in the above quote must be held together with the description of Chang's experience and reflections in the previous sections. As a general impression he is quite specific in his thoughts and recommendations about the role of Confucianism in the shaping of church life in general and pastoral leadership in particular. The three Confucian concepts of leadership, learning and self-cultivation are not, however, equally important for him.

Although Chang admits that he and other Chinese do not often study Confucianism with leadership development in mind, there are, nevertheless, signs that the Confucian *concept of leadership* has some bearing on his approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. These signs have to do with the view of human nature and the precept of filial piety.

Firstly, Chang does not seem to support the positive view of human nature prevalent in the Confucian tradition. From his theological vantage point he is critical towards the legalistic tendency among some church members. His opinion may well be that this tendency among Chinese Christians can be supported by high expectations in Confucianism about the human capacity for moral behavior. For Chang the theology of the cross is vital for all aspects of Christian faith and ministry, and a Lutheran pastor must base his preaching, teaching, and exercise of leadership on this theology in order to promote and preserve a true gospel. He emphasizes that this gospel is about salvation by grace, and that those who receive this grace are not promised success and good health. Cultivation of pastoral leadership in TLC involves, therefore, a conscious nurturing of a candidate's faith based on the theology of the cross.

Secondly, Chang does not make direct reference to the precept of filial piety. The consequences of this precept are, nevertheless, recognizable in his personal experience and in his reflections about pastoral leadership. A part of his family background was the rather authoritarian attitude of his father. Although Chang does not voice direct criticism he refers

¹²⁸¹ Chang Fu-min, "Interview in Panchiao by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 9-11.

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openly to his father's sharp reaction to his sister's conversion to Christian faith.¹²⁸² Still, Chang does not challenge the general precedence of seniors over juniors. The attitude and practice related to this precedence in Chinese culture is closely linked to filial piety and its interpretation in the Confucian tradition. Rather than opting to change the common relationships between seniors and juniors and between leaders and subordinates Chang recommends that the preparation of pastors for ministry and leadership take these relationships into serious consideration. There must and can be ways in which a young and newly ordained pastor can contribute to the life and growth of a local church and gradually be shown confidence as a leader.

When it comes to the Confucian *concept of learning* it is evident that Chang deliberately makes use of the basic elements of this concept. On the one hand, he pays a lot of attention to the role of teachers and senior mentors. Confucius is seen as a model teacher and Chang finds that Confucius' way of teaching is very much in line with that of Jesus. For both of them the abilities and situation of each disciple is a starting point for their teaching. In Chang's opinion their pattern of instruction and development is attentive to the students' experiences, needs and responses. As teachers they favor a dialogue fashion of education, which should take place in a variety of real-life settings. There is no doubt that Chang sees teaching as one of the key tasks of a pastor. And, his pastoral theology teacher Lin Tao-liang's recommendation to regard the church as a school has been accepted by Chang as a guiding principle for his ministry as a pastor.

On the other hand, Chang is well aware of the importance of a student's attitude and self-efforts. He expresses his willingness to take advice from senior pastors and experienced church members. As he entered seminary he was expecting to receive training from able teachers. As I see it this willingness and expectancy are indicators of influence from the attitudes toward learning in the Confucian tradition. In addition to seeing himself in the receiving end of education he also means that it takes a lot of personal determination and hard work to fulfill a seminary curriculum and acquire theological insight and wisdom. His aspirations to become a veterinarian scholar were transferred into theological education and preparation for ordained ministry. And, after a few years as pastor he began part-time studies

¹²⁸² My interpretation of Chang's reference to his father's treatment of his sister is twofold. Firstly, Chang indicates that he could speak about his father in this way and still be a filial son. Secondly, he indicates that the exercise of paternal authority at its best should be caring and considerate rather than authoritarian. If my interpretation is valid, Chang will most likely attempt to exercise pastoral leadership accordingly. It will be a matter of earning and maintaining a respected authority and at the same time be a person with love and compassion for the subordinates.

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in 1991 for a Doctor of Ministry degree alongside his duties in the congregation.¹²⁸³ His emphasis on basic and continuing education is in line with Confucian ideals.

With regard to the Confucian *concept of self-cultivation* Chang does not use the particular terms such as 自修 *tzu hsiu* (self-cultivation) and 修身 *hsiu shen* (cultivate one's own person) when he describes his own contribution to his preparation for pastoral ministry. His emphasis on the theology of the cross and his criticism of a legalistic interpretation of the Christian faith may explain why he does not emphasize self-efforts in the cultivation of pastoral leadership. He speaks, however, of his desire to “更加成熟 *keng chia ch'eng-shu* (become more mature)” as a person.¹²⁸⁴ As was mentioned in the description of Confucianism in chapter two (section 2.2.3.2) self-cultivation does not take place in isolation and solitude, but in one's social fellowship. So, when Chang spoke about the relationship with the older church members during his evangelist ministry, he said, “我跟他們一起成長 *wo ken t'a men i-ch'i ch'eng-chang* (I grew with them).”¹²⁸⁵ This mode of expression may be seen as inspired by the Confucian approach to self-cultivation.

6.3.5 Concluding remarks

The above description and exploration of Chang and his preparation for pastoral ministry has shown that he holds a well-reflected position with regard to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. He makes use of his theological competence as he deals with the issue of contextualization in general and the balance between Christian and Confucian values in particular. His understanding of pastoral leadership was characterized as based on a situational/contingency approach, and the forms and means he recommends for its cultivation are in line with this approach. Knowledge about the context and conditions for pastoral leadership is vital, both for the candidates and the church that calls and ordains them. The context and conditions involves both internal and external issues. Internal issues are those related to the needs and challenges within the church, and external issues are those related to the socio-cultural context. Following his ordination Chang realized that the formal recognition and position granted through this rite was not a sufficient basis for his leadership role in a local church. His preparation for ministry had not provided the clarification of the theological

¹²⁸³ At the time of my interview Chang said that he was in his sixth year of the Doctor of Ministry program at Trinity Seminary in Chicago, with Ted W. Ward as one of the teachers. See Chang Fu-min, "Interview in Panchiao by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 6, 16.

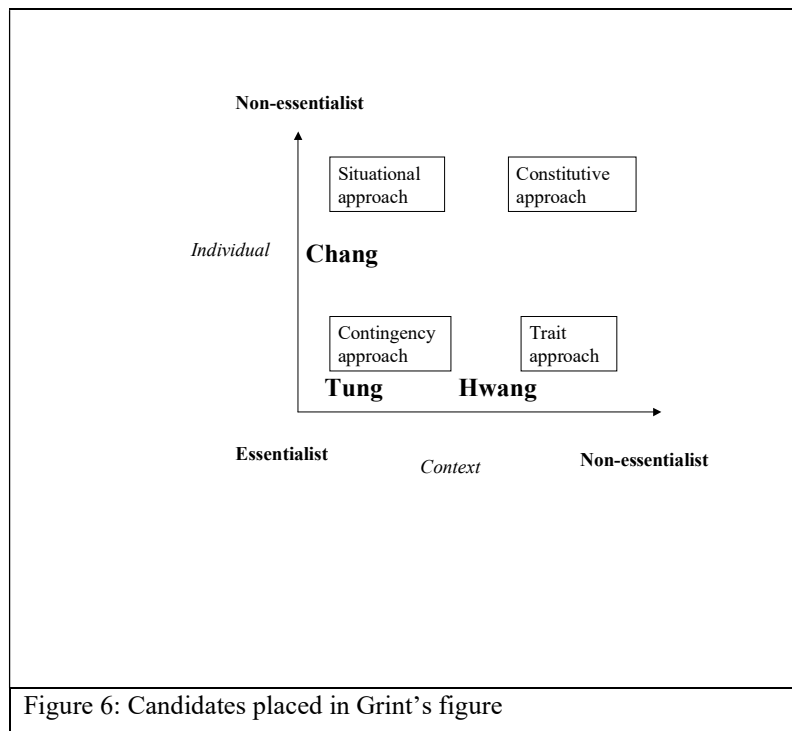
¹²⁸⁴ Chang Fu-min, "Te-chiu meng-chao chien-cheng [A witness of salvation and calling]," 51.

¹²⁸⁵ Chang Fu-min, "Interview in Panchiao by Gustav Steensland 20 March 1997," 4.

and cultural issues related to a young pastor's encounter with the older members and officials in the congregation.

6.4 Summary of chapter six

Portraits of three TLC pastors have been presented in this chapter, with focus on their background, seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination. Their approaches to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership were characterized and some differences have emerged. Tung Shang-yung favors a contingency approach, Hwang Chih-chung a trait/contingency approach, and Chang Fu-min a situational/contingency approach. With some caution their types of approach can be placed into Grint's analytical figure that was presented in chapter three.



In other words, Tung has an essentialist assessment of both the individual and the context. Knowledge about both elements is crucial in his understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. His approach implies that he thinks it is possible and important to obtain such knowledge through organized training and preparation of candidates. The candidates themselves must also contribute with proper motivation and conscious efforts. Hwang places a similar weight as Tung on the knowledge about the candidates, but his evaluation of the role of the context is less essentialist. In Hwang's opinion the primary attention should be directed

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towards establishment of proper knowledge about the qualities and skills of the candidates for pastoral ministry, both by the ordaining church and the candidates. Chang's approach differs from both that of Tung and Hwang, but it is closest to that of Tung. Chang amplifies Tung's concern for knowledge about the context but he puts less emphasis than him on knowledge about the individual candidates.

As far as the role of the Confucian concepts as moderator variables is concerned it is possible to indicate some ranking of their importance in the approach of each of the three candidates. The following table illustrates the results of my interpretation presented in this chapter.

Candidate	Rank of Confucian concepts		
	Most important	Less important	Least important
Tung Shang-yung	self-cultivation	learning	leadership
Hwang Chih-chung	leadership	learning	self-cultivation
Chang Fu-min	learning	leadership	self-cultivation
Table 9: Candidates and rank of Confucian concepts			

Further comments about the findings in this chapter will be given in chapter seven, in which the combined results of the study will be analyzed and evaluated.

7 Analysis, evaluation and concluding remarks

The first three chapters in this study are devoted to introductory and preparatory presentations, which serve as the backdrop for the description and exploration in chapters four, five and six. By focusing on teachers and textbooks the role of seminary training in the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC has been reviewed with regard to the period 1948-1985. Three of the candidates ordained until 1987 have been portrayed in chapter six, and in these portraits the role of evangelist ministry and ordination is added to that of their seminary training.

Some degree of analysis and evaluation has been performed in chapters four, five and six. By means of Grint's interpretative approach to the understanding of leadership and the use of my research model with its independent, dependent and moderator variables the various teachers, textbooks and candidates have been briefly characterized and classified. In the following sections here in chapter seven the combined results of analysis and evaluation will be outlined. I follow the steps that were introduced in chapter one, sections 1.2.4.c (data analysis) and 1.2.5 (evaluation), and, as mentioned there these steps are based on Ven's identification of five phases of analysis and three aspects of evaluation.

7.1 Analysis

In Ven's research design the analysis consists of five phases, namely, "(a) description of the research population, (b) construction of theological and other attitudinal scales, (c) determination of the holders of theological attitudes, (d) determination of the context of theological attitudes, (e) explanation of the theological attitudes."¹²⁸⁶ With minor modifications I follow his design. I have chosen to concentrate the attention here to basic characteristics of each research unit (i.e. seminary teachers, textbooks and candidates). Details in their approaches to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership will, therefore, not be reviewed and analyzed.

7.1.1 Research population

The *research population* of this study is limited. Instead of using a large sample I have chosen to provide in-depth presentations of four seminary teachers, three textbooks, and three candidates. To some extent my sample is representative with regard to the preparation of

¹²⁸⁶ Ven, *Practical theology : an empirical approach*, 144.

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pastors for ministry and leadership in TLC. The *teachers* have served at the seminaries that have trained the majority of TLC pastors. My selection of teachers shows that they have come from a variety of backgrounds, both in terms of nationality, theology and church traditions. The *textbooks*, written by both Chinese and a Westerner, are examples of key aspects of the curriculum in terms of ecclesiology and pastoral theology. The *candidates* can be said to represent three stages in the training of TLC pastors. Stage one marks the transfer of candidates from Hong Kong to Taiwan. Stage two marks the training of candidates at TLC's own seminary. Stage three marks the shift to CES as an influential training center for TLC personnel.

My sample is, however, not sufficient to make probable generalizations about the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC. Firstly, less than a handful of teachers have been chosen, and they represent just segments of the field of theology. With my attention on the Confucian context it would also have been illuminating to explore some of the seminary teachers who in addition to Chin Chung-an taught Chinese religion and sociology. Secondly, one textbook in dogmatics and two in pastoral theology cannot do justice to the variety in a full theological curriculum. Thirdly, it goes without saying that the experiences and reflections of as few as three candidates are not sufficient for broad generalizations. Fourthly, a limited historical period (1948-1987) has been covered and important trends have not been included. One such trend is the training and ministry of women in TLC. An example is the TLC-affiliated women studying at CES. Although some of them probably had received sufficient pre-ordination theological education by 1987 they were not included in the sample of this study, which concentrates on pastors ordained until that year.

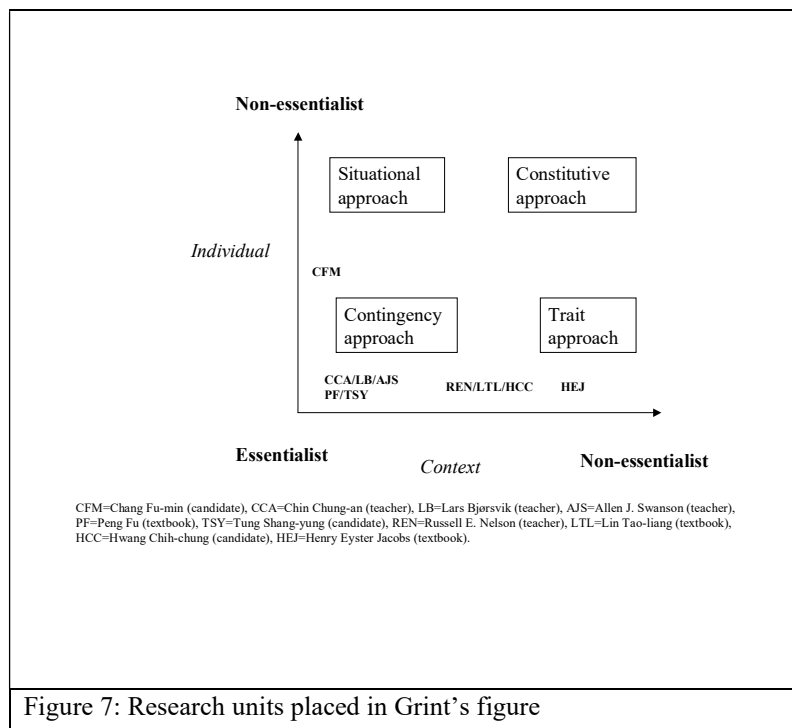
Given the limited size of my sample and the chosen historical period it is, nevertheless, my hope that I have provided material, descriptions and reflections that may pave the way for further investigation of the theological education, evangelist ministry and ordination of pastors, not only in TLC but also in other churches in cultural environments influenced by Confucianism.

7.1.2 Approaches to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership

Whereas Ven concentrates on making attitudinal scales, the second phase of my analysis has to do with the various *approaches* to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. In this phase I will focus on the following two aspects. Firstly, I will look at my characterization of each research unit's approach. Secondly, I will review the role of seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination in each approach.

Section 7.1 Analysis

For each of the research units in my research population the starting point in the description and exploration has been a biographical, educational and theological portrait. On the basis of these portraits I have characterized each teacher, textbook and candidate's *approach*. In other words, I have sought to indicate what kind of approach they may be said to represent, directly or indirectly. My guideline in this characterization has been Grint's interpretative figure for various perspectives regarding the understanding of leadership. In chapters four, five and six the research units were placed into Grint's figure. Now it is possible to display the findings for all the research units together. In order to save space I use initials instead of full names, and, where several units are grouped together they appear according to their order in the chapters of this study. This means that their location in the figure is approximate.



The figure invites some comments of the findings. Firstly, the majority of the research units favors a contingency approach, namely, three seminary teachers, one textbook and one of the candidates. Secondly, three research units were found to favor a trait/contingency approach, namely, one seminary teacher, one textbook, and one candidate. Thirdly, one research unit favors a situational/contingency approach, namely, one of the candidates. Fourthly, one research unit favors a trait approach, namely, the textbook in systematic theology. Fifthly, none of the research units favored a constitutive approach.

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Three aspects of the preparation of pastors for ministry have been included in this study, namely, *seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination*. My description and exploration of the various research units have shown that all the research units regard seminary training as the most important aspect. As far as evangelist ministry and ordination are concerned, however, the research units treat these aspects in different ways. Some units have explicit theological reflections and references to practical experiences. Others deal with these aspects in an implicit manner. In one case one aspect is absent. Although the available material for my description of each research unit is not consistent and of the same extent, it is, nevertheless, of some interest to illustrate how each unit has treated the role of evangelist ministry and ordination.

Approach	Research unit	Role of evangelist ministry	Role of ordination
Contingency	Chin Chung-an (teacher)	implicit	implicit
	Lars Bjørsvik (teacher)	implicit	implicit
	Allen J. Swanson (teacher)	implicit	implicit
	Peng Fu (textbook)	implicit	implicit
	Tung Shang-yung (candidate)	explicit	explicit
Trait/ contingency	Russell E. Nelson (teacher)	implicit	implicit
	Lin Tao-liang (textbook)	implicit	implicit
	Hwang Chih-chung (candidate)	explicit	explicit
Situational/ contingency	Chang Fu-min (candidate)	explicit	explicit
Trait	Henry Eyster Jacobs (textbook)	absent	explicit
Table 10: Role of evangelist ministry and ordination			

It is evident from the above table that there is no correlation between the indicated approach and the treatment of the role of evangelist ministry and ordination. With regard to the type of research unit, however, there seems to be some correlation. All the three candidates have explicit references and reflections regarding both evangelist ministry and ordination. Except for Jacobs' textbook in dogmatics all the other textbooks and teachers treat both evangelist ministry and ordination in an implicit manner. According to my study of Jacobs' textbook evangelist ministry is not mentioned or seen as a requirement for ordination. He has, however, a definite treatment of ordination.

7.1.3 Holders of attitudes towards the context

The third phase in Ven's research design seeks to identify *holders* of theological attitudes. A key topic within the scope of this study is each research unit's attitude towards the context. Important findings were noted above, in the second phase of the analysis. Some variations of the findings, however, are not evident in the use of Grint's figure. These variations have to do with the context. Whereas in the figure the context is treated as one aspect, my presentation of each research unit distinguished between the ecclesial and socio-cultural elements of the context. It is, therefore, informative to display how each research unit balanced the importance of these two elements. I have chosen to indicate three levels of priority of the two elements, namely, first, second and equal priority. In the below table the units are grouped according to their approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. Although there may be differences between a research unit's treatment of the contextual elements in the approach to understanding and the approach to cultivation respectively, it is my combined impression from the material that is reflected in the table.

Approach	Research unit	Priority of contextual elements	
		Ecclesial element	Socio-cultural element
Contingency	Chin Chung-an (teacher)	Equal	
	Lars Bjørsvik (teacher)	First	Second
	Allen J. Swanson (teacher)	Equal	
	Peng Fu (textbook)	Equal	
	Tung Shang-yung (candidate)	Equal	
Trait/contingency	Russell E. Nelson (teacher)	First	Second
	Lin Tao-liang (textbook)	First	Second
	Hwang Chih-chung (candidate)	First	Second
Situational/ contingency	Chang Fu-min (candidate)	Equal	
Trait	Henry Eyster Jacobs (textbook)	First	Second

Table 11: Priority of contextual elements

The above table does not indicate a general correlation between the choice of approach and the priority of contextual elements. It should be noted, however, that the three research units that favor a trait/contingency approach have given first priority to the ecclesial element of the context. Another feature in the table is that one half of the research units has given equal priority to ecclesial and socio-cultural elements, and the other half has given first priority to

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the ecclesial element of the context. No teacher, textbook or candidate has put the socio-cultural element of the context at the forefront of the approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership.

7.1.4 The context of the various approaches

By entering phase four of the analytic process the *context* of the various approaches is considered in more detail. Two aspects of the context will be highlighted here. One aspect has to do with the denominational settings in which the preparation of pastors has taken place. In this study two settings have been identified, namely, an exclusive and a non-exclusive Lutheran setting.¹²⁸⁷ These settings are related to the seminaries attended by TLC candidates. The other aspect of the context is the particular focus on impulses from the Confucian tradition, in which three Confucian concepts have been identified as moderator variables. My hypothesis is that these variables more or less influence each research unit's understanding of pastoral leadership and the process towards cultivation of such leadership. My research model is an attempt to illustrate the hypothesis.

The teachers, textbooks and candidates presented in this study represent three seminaries and two different *settings*. Three teachers, two textbooks and two candidates have been involved in the exclusive Lutheran setting at LTS and TLS. One teacher, one textbook and one candidate have been connected to CES and been a part of the non-exclusive Lutheran setting for the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC. In other words, the setting is characterized according to the combined program the candidates had to follow and not according to the theological position of the research units. The choice of approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership is grouped accordingly in the below table.

¹²⁸⁷ These settings are described in chapter two, section 2.1.4.1 and 2.1.4.2.

Setting	Seminary	Research unit	Category	Approach
Exclusive Lutheran	LTS/TLS	Russell E. Nelson	Teacher	Trait/contingency
	LTS/TLS	Henry Eyster Jacobs	Textbook	Trait
	LTS/TLS	Peng Fu	Textbook	Contingency
	LTS	Tung Shang-yung	Candidate	Contingency
	TLS	Chin Chung-an	Teacher	Contingency
	TLS	Lars Bjørsvik	Teacher	Contingency
	TLS	Hwang Chih-chung	Candidate	Trait/contingency
Non-exclusive Lutheran	CES	Allen J. Swanson	Teacher	Contingency
	CES	Lin Tao-liang	Textbook	Trait/contingency
	CES	Chang Fu-min	Candidate	Situational/contingency

Table 12: Settings of the preparation for ministry

It can be seen in the above table that the contingency approach is the dominant type in the exclusive Lutheran setting with the trait approach as a key factor in the other approaches in this setting. More variety is found in the non-exclusive Lutheran setting, but the contingency approach is involved in all of the approaches.

In my presentation of each research unit I have distinguished between three levels of importance with regard to the *Confucian concepts*, namely, most, less and least important.¹²⁸⁸ For each chapter these levels of importance have been summarized in a table. At this point I bring together the *rank* of the concepts according to each research unit's approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership.

¹²⁸⁸ The use of the term "importance" and the three levels is described in chapter three, section 3.2.3.

Approach	Research unit	Rank of Confucian concepts		
		Most important	Less important	Least important
Contingency	Chin Chung-an (teacher)	leadership	learning	self-cultivation
	Lars Bjørsvik (teacher)	learning	leadership	self-cultivation
	Allen J. Swanson (teacher)	leadership	learning	self-cultivation
	Peng Fu (textbook)	learning	self-cultivation	leadership
	Tung Shang-yung (candidate)	self-cultivation	learning	leadership
Trait/ contingency	Russell E. Nelson (teacher)	learning	leadership	self-cultivation
	Lin Tao-liang (textbook)	learning	leadership	self-cultivation
	Hwang Chih-chung (candidate)	leadership	learning	self-cultivation
Situational/ contingency	Chang Fu-min (candidate)	learning	leadership	self-cultivation
Trait	Henry Eyster Jacobs (textbook)	self-cultivation	learning	leadership

Table 13: Research units and rank of the Confucian concepts

Five out of ten research units show learning as the most important Confucian concept. This classification does not, however, relate to the type of approach. In addition to the one with a situational/contingency approach there is a majority in the trait/contingency group of research units that have learning as the most important Confucian concept. At the other end of the scale self-cultivation comes on third place for seven of the units, and, no unit has learning in this position. If one gives three points for most important, two for less and one for least, the Confucian concepts have this combined rank: Learning (25 points), leadership (20 points), and self-cultivation (15 points). In other words, learning is the most important of the Confucian concepts.

In my description and exploration of each research unit I commented not only of the rank of the Confucian concepts but also on their *role*. For some of the units it was noted that one or more of the Confucian concepts are used explicitly. Other units, however, did not make any direct references to the Confucian concepts and my interpretation showed that the concepts play an implicit role. It is, therefore, possible to illustrate the role of the Confucian concepts in relation to each unit's approach to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership.

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Approach	Research unit	Role of Confucian concepts	Most important Confucian concept
Contingency	Chin Chung-an	implicit	leadership
	Lars Bjørsvik	implicit	learning
	Allen J. Swanson	explicit	leadership
	Peng Fu	explicit	learning
	Tung Shang-yung	implicit	self-cultivation
Trait/ contingency	Russell E. Nelson	implicit	learning
	Lin Tao-liang	implicit	learning
	Hwang Chih-chung	implicit	leadership
Situational/ contingency	Chang Fu-min	explicit	learning
Trait	Henry Eyster Jacobs	implicit	self-cultivation
Table 14: Role of the Confucian concepts			

The above table shows that only three of the ten research units show signs of an explicit role of one or more of the Confucian concepts. Another observation is that there is no correlation between the role of the Confucian concepts and the ethnic origin of the research units. For Chinese and Westerners alike the role of the Confucian concepts can be either explicit or implicit.

7.1.5 Possible relationships between variables in my research model

The last phase of the analytic process usually seeks explanation of the theological attitudes. As mentioned in chapter one exploration and description are the major aims of this study and explanation in the sense of establishing cause and effect relations will not be attempted. I will, however, suggest some possible *relationships* between variables in my research model. The choice of approach of each research unit is reviewed with regard to the rank and role of the Confucian concepts as moderator variables. For the following investigation I return to the order in which the research units appears in chapters four, five and six. For each seminary teacher, textbook and candidate I begin with a table showing the relevant characteristics, followed by brief analytic reflections.

Russell E. Nelson , teacher of dogmatics at LTS/TLS	
Approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership	trait/contingency
Rank of Confucian concepts	learning/leadership/self-cultivation
Role of Confucian concepts	implicit
Table 15: Analytic review regarding Russell E. Nelson	

In his trait/contingency approach Nelson emphasizes the formation of a Christian character, the attainment of a solid theological education, and insight about Chinese culture and religions. This approach fits well with learning as the most important Confucian concept. Nelson has, however, not given any specific comments as to how the Confucian concepts have influenced or perhaps should influence the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership in a Chinese setting. His basic understanding of pastoral leadership was shaped in America and does not seem to have changed due to his exposure to Chinese culture. To the extent it may be observed the role of the Confucian concepts is, therefore, characterized as implicit.

Chin Chung-an , teacher of dogmatics at TLS	
Approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership	contingency
Rank of Confucian concepts	leadership/learning/self-cultivation
Role of Confucian concepts	implicit
Table 16: Analytic review regarding Chin Chung-an	

In Chin's contingency approach knowledge about the individual candidate and insight about the Chinese context are seen as fundamental for the exercise of pastoral leadership. The analysis of his approach revealed indications that Chin was in line with the form of leadership in the Confucian tradition, which implies a tendency towards authoritarian leaders and compliant subordinates. It was also found that the Confucian concept of leadership most likely was more influential on his approach than the concepts of learning and self-cultivation. This influence, however, is not based on direct references in Chin's treatment of the Chinese context, and the role of the Confucian concepts is, therefore, regarded as implicit.

Lars Bjørsvik, teacher of pastoral theology at TLS	
Approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership	contingency
Rank of Confucian concepts	learning/leadership/self-cultivation
Role of Confucian concepts	implicit
Table 17: Analytic review regarding Lars Bjørsvik	

In his contingency approach Bjørsvik combines a concern for the quality of the individual candidate for pastoral ministry with an emphasis of knowledge about the context of this ministry. His treatment of this context however, is focused primarily on the ecclesial elements. It is first and foremost as communicators of the Christian message that pastors exercise leadership in the church, and in Bjørsvik's opinion such communication must be based on solid biblical and theological insight. This is why the Confucian concept of learning seems to be the most important, although the role of the Confucian concepts is implicit.

Allen J. Swanson, teacher of pastoral theology at CES	
Approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership	contingency
Rank of Confucian concepts	leadership/learning/self-cultivation/
Role of Confucian concepts	explicit
Table 18: Analytic review regarding Allen J. Swanson	

Swanson is convinced that pastors must be well equipped with both proper self-insight and relevant knowledge about the ecclesial and socio-cultural context in which they serve. Consequently, he favors a contingency approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. In his treatment of the Confucian concepts he distances himself explicitly from what he sees as an authoritarian tendency in the Confucian concept of leadership. It is most likely easier for him to identify with the concepts of learning and self-cultivation, although these concepts play a more implicit role in his approach.

Henry Eyster Jacobs, author of textbook in dogmatics at LTS/TLS	
Approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership	trait
Rank of Confucian concepts	self-cultivation/learning/leadership
Role of Confucian concepts	implicit
Table 19: Analytic review regarding Henry Eyster Jacobs	

Henry Eyster Jacobs' textbook is the only research unit that has shown a trait approach. The development of individual candidates and their skills and Christian knowledge are

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emphasized in his theological understanding of pastoral leadership and they serve as his guidelines for the cultivation of such leadership. When Jacobs' trait approach was seen in light of the three Confucian concepts, self-cultivation and learning were found to be more important than leadership. The implicitness of the Confucian concepts, however, is as expected as he wrote his textbook in dogmatics without any idea that his book should be used in a Chinese context. And, even the socio-cultural context in the American setting does not play an important role in Jacobs' approach.

Peng Fu, author of textbook in pastoral theology at LTS/TLS	
Approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership	contingency
Rank of Confucian concepts	learning/self-cultivation/leadership
Role of Confucian concepts	explicit
Table 20: Analytic review regarding Peng Fu	

In his approach Peng strives for a balance between qualities of the individual candidate and comprehensive knowledge about the context. Both from a theological and a socio-cultural point of view he emphasizes learning as a key aspect of pastoral ministry and leadership. The explicit role of the Confucian concepts, however, applies both to the concept of learning and self-cultivation.

Lin Tao-liang, author of textbook in pastoral theology at CES	
Approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership	trait/contingency
Rank of Confucian concepts	learning/leadership/self-cultivation
Role of Confucian concepts	implicit
Table 21: Analytic review regarding Lin Tao-liang	

The most important traits Lin is looking for in his approach are the candidate's calling and spiritual gifts. As far as the contingency aspect is concerned he pays most attention to the ecclesial element of the context, but the Chinese socio-cultural setting is not overlooked. With his emphasis on the church as a school, the Confucian concept of learning seems to have an indirect influence on his understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. As a whole I have found that the role of the Confucian concepts is implicit.

Tung Shang-yung, candidate trained at LTS	
Approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership	contingency
Rank of Confucian concepts	self-cultivation/learning/leadership
Role of Confucian concepts	implicit
Table 22: Analytic review regarding Tung Shang-yung	

Tung's contingency approach involves both the candidates and the church. The candidates must know themselves well and carefully investigate the context of pastoral leadership. The church should get to know the candidates and secure insights about the setting in which pastoral leadership is developed and exercised. Although all the three Confucian concepts have influenced Tung's understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership, the concept of self-cultivation seems to have some prominence. Still, the concepts play an implicit role.

Hwang Chih-chung, candidate trained at TLS	
Approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership	trait/contingency
Rank of Confucian concepts	leadership/learning/self-cultivation
Role of Confucian concepts	implicit
Table 23: Analytic review regarding Hwang Chih-chung	

Hwang's approach implies that knowledge about the traits of the candidates is more decisive than knowledge about the context of pastoral leadership. This does not mean, however, that the context can be neglected. As far as the context is concerned a TLC pastor needs first and foremost a thorough knowledge of the Lutheran theology and tradition. When it comes to the Chinese setting Hwang is convinced that the Confucian elements in this setting are quite influential, also on the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. Hwang does not deliberately deal with the Confucian concepts in my research model. My interpretation of his approach indicated, however, that the concept of leadership is more influential than learning and self-cultivation. The role of the concepts is regarded as implicit.

Chang Fu-min, candidate trained at CES	
Approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership	situational/contingency
Rank of Confucian concepts	learning/leadership/self-cultivation
Role of Confucian concepts	explicit
Table 24: Analytic review regarding Chang Fu-min	

Chang is the only research unit that has a situational/contingency approach, which means that he emphasizes knowledge about the context and conditions for pastoral leadership somewhat

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more than knowledge about the individual candidate. Among the Confucian concepts he makes deliberate use of the concept of learning, and this use is a sign of the explicit role of this concept in his approach. He seems to have adopted Lin Tao-liang's view of the church as a school, and this view implies that pastors must have relevant theological and socio-cultural knowledge and be able to teach.

7.2 Evaluation

According to Ven three aspects are included in the evaluation: a) theological interpretation, b) theological reflection, and c) theological-methodological reflection.¹²⁸⁹ Whereas the interpretation is closely related to the problem, goal and question of a given study, the reflection implies a search for further meaning and relevance. As far as the method is concerned it is always necessary with a critical discussion of structure and implementation. The findings and observations in my description and exploration of the research units were summed up and analyzed in the above section (7.1). The below evaluation is performed in close contact with the analysis.

7.2.1 Theological interpretation

In my theological interpretation I return first to the theological problem, which was clarified in chapter two (section 2.3.1).

There is not sufficient knowledge about how the Confucian approach to leadership, learning, and self-cultivation did influence the cultivation of pastoral leadership in the seminary training, evangelist ministry, and ordination of TLC pastors between 1947 and 1987.

The problem has its origin in my historical and contextual overview in chapter two. As I embarked on my research for this study I quickly realized that the existing knowledge about the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC is fragmentary and incomplete. In view of my presupposition that the Confucian tradition has some degree of influence on the cultivation of leadership in a Chinese setting, I set out to investigate Confucianism, its role in Taiwan, and its main concepts with relevance for the understanding and cultivation of leadership. The complexity of the Confucian tradition combined with the fragmentary knowledge of the contents and developments of cultivation of pastoral leadership in TLC caused me to refrain

¹²⁸⁹ Ven, *Practical theology : an empirical approach*, 152.

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from regular hypothesis testing as goal for my study. My goal was formulated in chapter two (section 2.3.2).

My goal is, therefore, to describe and explore the preparation of TLC candidates for pastoral leadership, and the focus is on the interaction between Christian and Confucian values.

Even though I decided to investigate a limited number of research units, it has been a quite demanding task to take the steps towards my descriptive and explorative goal. The guideline in my work has been the theological question, which was formulated on the basis of the theological induction and deduction in chapter three (section 3.1.3.1):

What understanding of pastoral leadership was conveyed and what forms of cultivation of such leadership were implemented in the seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination of TLC pastors between 1947 and 1987, in light of the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning, and self-cultivation?

The main concern in the theological question is not the characteristics of understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership as such, but how the relationship to the Confucian context was handled. In the handling of this relationship the research units' attitude towards contextualization of Christian theology and practices is revealed. This study has chosen to focus on the theology of pastoral leadership and the practices connected to the cultivation of such leadership in a Chinese setting. I find it appropriate to present my theological interpretation in three parts, namely, according to the three selected aspects of the preparation of pastors for ministry.

It was noted above (section 7.1.2) that all the research units are of the opinion that *seminary training* is the most important aspect of preparation for ministry. One of the seminary teachers (Swanson) and the three candidates (Tung, Hwang and Chang) have been available for qualitative interviews. Otherwise, I have made use of written sources and interviews with relevant informants. With my theological question in mind I have sought for answers in primary and secondary material.

All the four *seminary teachers* have a Lutheran background, which has more or less shaped their understanding of pastoral leadership. Here I will not recapitulate their understanding, but only comment on their attitude to the contextual issue. Three of them favor a contingency approach, which implies that the context is a key factor. On the one hand, *Chin Chung-an* and *Lars Bjørsvik* do not treat Confucianism in an explicit manner. From a theological perspective they have seemingly not found this element in Chinese culture important enough to give it particular attention in their teaching of dogmatics and pastoral

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theology. On the other hand, *Allen J. Swanson* has deliberately focused on one of the Confucian concepts, namely, the concept of leadership. His emphasis on this concept is, however, motivated by a critical attitude. Swanson is concerned that Chinese pastors can become too authoritarian if they are not aware of the influence from the Confucian concept of leadership. *Russell E. Nelson* is the only teacher advocating a trait/contingency approach. As the context is not his main concern, I regard it as understandable that the Confucian concepts play only an implicit role in his approach.

Among the *seminary textbooks* the one in dogmatics by *Henry Eyster Jacobs* has a low profile on contextual issues, at least with regard to socio-cultural elements. This profile fits his trait approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. In neither of the two Chinese editions of his textbook have I found attempts, for example in notes, to explain the contextual effects of the translation. Any role of the Confucian concepts is, therefore, implicit. My observation that the Confucian concepts play an implicit role also in the textbook in pastoral theology by *Lin Tao-liang* deserves some comments. Firstly, Lin's reduced focus on contextual issues is a part of his trait/contingency approach. Secondly, the implicitness of the Confucian concepts applies to his treatment of Chinese cultural issues as it has appeared to me in my study of his textbook. The effects of his textbook and teaching may, nevertheless, have conveyed a contingency approach to pastoral leadership and caused a more explicit role of the Confucian concepts in the thinking and practice of his students and readers. My investigation has shown that only the textbook by *Peng Fu* represents a contingency approach, and in his opinion both the Confucian concept of learning and self-cultivation play an explicit role in the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. Peng's mode of reflection with regard to contextual issues is, however, not very specific.

The three *candidates* were all asked about their thoughts and reflections regarding their seminary training. Their opinions have to some extent also been expressed in written sources. As *Tung Shang-yung* reviewed his theological education with regard to the issue of contextualization he commented only on the contribution by the western teachers. In my interview with him he said that these teachers were not fully competent to deal with the theological and practical implications of for example Confucianism and its philosophy in the life and ministry of the church. This lack of help during his seminary training may explain why Tung, in his contingency approach to pastoral leadership, lets the Confucian concepts play an implicit role. My material about *Hwang Chih-chung* does not shed much light on the treatment of contextualization in his seminary training. His reflections about the role of the Confucian concepts are, therefore, most likely based on knowledge about Confucianism

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acquired in other settings. This knowledge, however, is of general nature and he deals with the Confucian concepts in an implicit manner with regard to pastoral leadership. *Chang Fumin* has a quite reflected attitude towards contextualization. Although he is not fully satisfied with what seminary training gave him in this respect, there is no doubt that for example Lin Tao-liang has influenced his understanding of pastoral leadership. This understanding is explicitly shaped by the Confucian concept of learning and it goes along with the view of the church as a school.

It is no surprise that *evangelist ministry* has played an explicit role in the three candidates' preparation for pastoral ministry. In my interviews they were invited to share comments and reflections about this required part of their preparation. To a large extent they were not offered qualified mentoring by experienced pastors during evangelist ministry. This part of their preparation did not, therefore, meet their need for systematic and practical reflection about the role of the Confucian concepts in relation to pastoral leadership. As far as the seminary teachers and textbooks are concerned, it is my impression that evangelist ministry is not offered particular attention. Some form of practical training and assignments in local congregations and special church ministries has been a part of the curriculum at the seminaries. A period of evangelist ministry, either before or after the years of theological education, has always been a requirement for ordination in TLC. As a whole it seems that the potential in evangelist ministry for critical contextualization of pastoral theology has not been allowed to develop into a useful tool in the preparation of pastors in TLC.

My description and exploration of the research units has shown that *ordination* and its related procedures has played a less important role in the preparation of pastors than I conceived when I designed the layout of this study. Of the seminary teachers and textbooks only the textbook in dogmatics by Henry Eyster Jacobs has an explicit treatment of ordination. As with evangelist ministry the three candidates were given the opportunity to tell me about their ordination experiences. Some interesting aspects were revealed, such as the form and contents of Hwang's examination papers presented to the TLC ministerium. Although the ordination procedures take place during a limited period, the combination of the screening, tests and public events seems to have contributed to the status of ordained ministry in TLC. This status is most likely an important fundament for the exercise of pastoral leadership. With regard to cultivation of pastoral leadership and its relation to the Confucian context, however, ordination is not as important as seminary training.

7.2.2 Theological reflection

On the basis of the theological interpretation the task in this section is to find meaning and relevance of the results of my investigation. The facts and observations in my study could be assigned meaning in a variety of hermeneutic contexts, such as leadership development, philosophy of religion, principles of education, and modes of intercultural communication. As my study is a practical-theological and missiological project these two areas in the field of theology will serve as the framework for my search for meaning and relevance.

As far as the *meaning* is concerned I refer first to my overviews of theoretical, empirical and historical literature (in chapter three, sections 3.1.2.1 and 3.1.2.2), which showed that cultivation of Christian leadership is a major concern in the mission of the church. Whenever missionaries are involved in such cultivation in new and different cultural settings, the issue of contextualization must be dealt with. The task of contextualization is, however, first of all shared by the local members of churches as they are established and organized. At least two aspects of contextualization are important. On the one hand, it is a matter of finding and developing patterns of Christian leadership that can be accepted and function within the local socio-cultural context. These patterns are to serve as guidelines for the formation of leaders at various levels in the church. On the other hand, there may be concepts and practices in the local socio-cultural context that represent a challenge or be questionable in light of a Christian understanding of leadership.

In this study the focus is on one example of cultivation of Christian leadership, namely, the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC, a Lutheran church located in a Chinese environment influenced by Confucianism. One of the results of my description and exploration is that none of the research units placed the socio-cultural element of the context at the forefront of their approach to understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. When this result is combined with my observation that for only three of the ten research units one or more of the Confucian concepts of leadership, learning and self-cultivation play an explicit role, it calls for some reflection. I divide this reflection in two parts according to attitudes of the majority and minority of the research units. It should be kept in mind that Chinese and Westerners are represented in both groups. My reflection also includes some overall comments.

For the *majority* of the seminary teachers, textbooks and candidates contextualization is not very high on their missiological and practical-theological agenda. Patterns of pastoral

leadership and forms of its cultivation have to a large extent been transferred unchanged from the western setting. These patterns and forms shaped the contribution of these missionaries and were adopted by almost all the Chinese seminary teachers and candidates for ministry. Secondly, concepts rooted in the Confucian tradition have not been regarded as influential enough to cause a specific and critical treatment in the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC.

The *minority* of the research units, namely, one Westerner (Allen J. Swanson) and two Chinese (Peng Fu and Chang Fu-min), have been found to represent different approaches to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. With regard to their priority of contextual elements, however, the ecclesial and socio-cultural elements are of equal importance. One or two of the Confucian concepts have played an explicit role in the teaching and reflections of this minority of the research units. Swanson has primarily seen the need to guard against an inherent and unwanted influence, namely, what he regards as the tendency in Confucianism to let its concept of leadership legitimate authoritarian forms and practices. For Peng and Chang, however, some of the Confucian concepts are sources of inspiration and positive contribution to pastoral ministry in a Chinese setting. Peng has found the Confucian concept of learning as a factor that can sustain a pastor's role as preacher and teacher. He also makes direct allusions to the Confucian concept of self-cultivation in his teaching and admonitions to the students. In Chang's opinion the notion of the church as a school is a key element in his understanding of pastoral leadership. This notion paves the way for the use of the Confucian concept of learning, with its high expectations to the knowledge and contribution of teachers. A pastor must be able to teach and the ideals reflected for example in the *Analects* are of considerable inspiration.

So far in my reflections I have paid attention to the more or less evident intentions and contributions of the various research units to the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. From another perspective one can ask about the implications and possible effects of the approaches of the teachers, textbooks and candidates. The majority's attitude to the Confucian concepts has not ruled out their influence. My analysis of each of the research units in the majority group has indicated how this influence may have become evident or caused effects in the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. Consequently, the Confucian concepts may have had implications beyond the imagination, reflection and control of both cultivators and candidates. Of those in the minority group of the research units Swanson is the only one who has engaged in a form of contextualization that includes

criticism and warning, namely regarding conceived implications of the Confucian concept of leadership.

The *relevance* of the results of this study should be applicable in several settings. Firstly, it is a contribution to knowledge about developments in a specific period of the history of the Taiwan Lutheran Church with regard to the preparation of pastors for ministry. The focus has been on the cultivation of leadership and its relation to selected Confucian concepts. The contribution of Chinese and western cultivators has been illuminated and similarities and differences in their approaches have been investigated. Some of the differences have to do with the ecclesial setting of theological education. TLC pastors have been trained in exclusive Lutheran, non-exclusive Lutheran and other denominational settings. The participation and contribution of three candidates to the process of cultivation have also been described. Secondly, the results of this study are probably relevant for other churches in Taiwan and other Chinese settings. Lessons can be learned about the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership. Examples of questions that can be asked about the sources of this understanding and the forms and means of cultivation have been presented. Thirdly, the preparation of pastors for ministry and leadership tasks is a concern in all churches. The results of this study show that critical contextualization is a necessary task in this preparation. Fourthly, the development of local leadership has been and is a common concern in all missionary efforts in cross-cultural settings. This study has shed light on how this concern has been handled by missionaries serving as teachers and mentors in one particular church. Their experiences and theological reflections are most likely comparable to those in other settings.

7.2.3 Theological-methodological reflection

It is appropriate that the final stage of the evaluation deals with the adequacy of the structure and execution of this study, which has yielded the above-mentioned results.¹²⁹⁰ There are two aspects of the structure. On the one hand, the structure has to do with the selected phases that have shaped the outline of this thesis. These phases have been adapted from the methodology developed by Johannes A. van der Ven. On the other hand, the structure involves my interpretative approach to the understanding of leadership and the layout of my research model with its variables. As far as the execution is concerned, questions can be asked about the quality and use of source material and my manner of interpretation.

¹²⁹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

In chapter one (section 1.2) I argued that the *structure* of this missiological study could be based on the basic elements of the *empirical-theological cycle* proposed by Ven. It is my impression that Ven's methodological framework has served my purpose well. By following the phases in the suggested order my investigation, reflection and evaluation have been facilitated within a useful format. Important elements, such as the problem, goal and theological question of this study, were mentioned in chapter one and then clarified in chapters two and three. Although this procedure has caused some repetition of thoughts and statements, it has paved the way for a thorough development and progress of my study. In my opinion historical, theological, socio-cultural and empirical aspects have been illuminated in a way that fits the ambitions of the field of practical theology, as well as those of theology of mission.

As far as my *interpretative approach* to the understanding of leadership in general and pastoral leadership in particular is concerned, *Grint's explanatory figure* has been both versatile and implied a certain limitation. By its versatility I refer to my impression that the research units could fairly easily be identified in relation to the four typical approaches (trait, contingency, situational and constitutive). If my experience with this study is reliable Grint's typology accommodates all conceivable approaches to the understanding and cultivation of leadership. One must, however, keep in mind his advice that the four ideal types are "heuristic extremes not typical cases."¹²⁹¹ Consequently, some of my research units were found to be along the continuum between two types. By the limitation of Grint's figure I refer to the fact that only two aspects are emphasized, namely, knowledge about the context and knowledge about the individual. And, these aspects have been seen in light of an epistemological concern, namely, "the traditional split between objective and subjective assumptions about knowledge and data."¹²⁹² A consequence of this limitation is that several theological aspects of understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership, such as their relation to biblical exegesis, church history and ecclesiology, are not dealt with in the analysis and evaluation phases of this study. Such aspects have, however, to some extent been included in the portraits of each seminary teacher, textbook author and candidate.

My *research model* is based on Ven's emphasis on clarified concepts or variables in empirical research. In his distinction between four groups of variables I chose to make use of

¹²⁹¹ Grint, "Introduction," 4.

¹²⁹² *ibid.*, 3-4.

the third alternative, namely, the use of moderator variables. The research model in this study represents my assumption that selected Confucian concepts are likely to influence the causal relationship between understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership in a Chinese cultural setting. In addition to this assumption about a causal relationship I have also looked for possible influences of the Confucian concepts on the understanding and cultivation as such.

Although I have presented a limited number of research units on the basis of an uneven quality of source material it is a rather striking fact that Confucianism has played a largely implicit role and caused only a few attempts of conscious contextualization. One could ask, therefore, if other cultural elements should have been focused as crucial factors in the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership in a Chinese setting. Religions such as Buddhism and Taoism are mentioned by some of the seminary teachers and in some of the textbooks, but I have not found that these references have been the starting point for specific reflections related to the cultivation of Christian leadership in Chinese churches. This observation makes sense when related to the generally low profile of the task of contextualization among the research units of this study. Two of the candidates (Tung and Chang), however, voiced the concern that the treatment in their seminary training of important elements in Chinese culture was below their expectations and not according to their felt needs.

In those cases where the role of the Confucian concepts has been implicit one can regard the concepts as moderator variables only in a very restricted sense. The research units, for which the Confucian concepts have played an explicit role, have only made conscious use of one or two of the concepts. Although the Confucian concepts seem to have functioned as moderator variables only to a small extent, I do not regard the research model as irrelevant for my purpose. With a descriptive and exploratory goal of this study I have provided facts and expanded knowledge about the preparation of pastors for ministry in TLC and its relation to the Confucian context. And, if it is really the case that Confucianism is an influential force in Chinese culture, is it then recommendable to not let key Confucian concepts function as moderator variables in the development of pastoral leadership? Influences from these concepts should most likely represent both a positive contribution and a demanding challenge for the cultivation of Christian leadership in a Chinese setting. A major question is how to treat this contribution and handle this challenge. As a foreigner with a shallow knowledge about Confucianism and only a few years of immersion in Chinese culture in Taiwan I have, nevertheless, made an attempt to identify and describe this contribution and challenge. A

Chinese researcher might have selected different Confucian concepts as moderator variables or even added concepts from other religious and philosophical traditions in Chinese culture as decisive and influential elements.

Although I am fairly satisfied with the structure my evaluation of the *execution* of this study has uncovered both positive aspects and important deficiencies. As examples of the *positive aspects* I will point to the search and discovery of valuable source material in both public and private collections and libraries, fruitful field studies and interviews with informants, especially in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Minnesota, Denmark and Norway, and the establishment of a reference database. Given the amount and nature of my source material it seems to me that I have managed to produce quite consistent and congruent presentations of each of the three types of research units (seminary teachers, textbooks and candidates).

During my rather prolonged period of research and writing I have become aware of *important deficiencies* in my study. New readers of this study will, of course, find additional deficiencies and shortcomings. In order to facilitate further research of topics related to those in this study I regard it as necessary to describe some of the deficiencies. My focus is on aspects of the execution of my research.

- As already mentioned above, in my evaluation in this section of the meaning of the results of this study, one must be aware of the distinction between intentions and effects of the cultivation of (pastoral) leadership. In my use of Grint's interpretative figure I have tried to locate each research unit's type of approach according to what I have found to be each unit's intentions and purpose in terms of pastoral leadership in a Chinese setting. His figure could also have been used for a presentation of the effects of the cultivation of pastoral leadership.
- It may well be that my characterization of the research units can be questioned in light of investigation of additional material or due to a different interpretation of the material I have presented.
- My research model, with the selection of the three Confucian concepts as moderator variables, was clarified at a late stage in my work. A serious consequence is that the interview guides for my conversations with key research units (Swanson, Tung, Hwang and Chang) and informants were not designed according to the model. My questions to them regarding the role of Confucianism in the understanding and cultivation of pastoral leadership have, therefore, not been specific enough.
- Only for some of the research units (Bjørsvik, Jacobs, Peng, Lin and Chang) has material directly related to the contents of seminary training been available. My description and exploration of the remaining research units are, therefore, based on inconsistent material and secondary sources.
- By limiting my study to the role of seminary training, evangelist ministry and ordination, I have not given attention to important pre-seminary influences on the preparation of pastors in TLC. One of the key recruitment and training bases for TLC church workers and pastors is Taipei Lutheran Student Center, where persons such as

Wendell Friest and Yang Ning-yea have been important contributors in the second half of the period covered by this study. In my opinion the role of this student center deserves a separate investigation, not only with regard to trends in TLC, but also with regard to the cultivation of Christian leadership in a Chinese context and beyond.

7.3 Concluding remarks

Cultivation of Christian leadership has been and will remain an inspiring and challenging task in the church. This task is influenced by the ecclesial and socio-cultural setting in which it takes place. In this study the preparation of pastors in one particular church and context has been described and explored. Hopefully, the meaning and relevance of the results of this study can be of use and interest beyond Taiwan Lutheran Church and its mentioned partners from America, Denmark and Norway.

As with any academic study one has to meet the criterion of researchability. I have consciously and carefully sought for aspects of cultivation of Christian leadership that have been possible to identify and investigate. In light of my Christian faith, however, I am convinced that there are aspects of cultivation of pastoral leadership that we must consider as beyond human understanding and control. Two of these aspects are God's guidance and the spiritual contribution of the Christian fellowship in the form of prayer. Gunvor Bjørsvik mentions these aspects in a short report to the mission supporters in Norway. In a presentation of some of the TLS students as of 1961,¹²⁹³ she expresses her hopes and prayers for these recruits to pastoral ministry.

From a human perspective we can say about all of them that they are well qualified to become useful workers. But, what cannot happen if God even more can form and lead them! Please join in prayers for them. The results will not fail to appear.¹²⁹⁴

¹²⁹³ The following students are mentioned: Niu Hsi-erh 牛錫爾, Chang Chieh-yin 張傑英, Liu Hsing-yi 劉興義, Hsieh Chi-li 謝奇麗, Chen Chin-tsai 陳今在, Hu Chia-yin 胡家瑛, Gung Yun-peng 龔雲鵬, Ting Lo-shan 丁樂山.

¹²⁹⁴ Bjørsvik, "Fra presteskolen på Taiwan," 5.

Bibliography

Explanatory notes regarding the bibliography:

- The bibliography is generated with *Endnotes* reference software, according to a slightly modified Turabian Bibliography style.
- All references are listed alphabetically as generated by *Endnotes*.
- The majority of the material has been found in libraries and archives at the institutions listed in the introductory remarks (section 0.5).
- The following private collections are specified in the bibliography:
 - “Jørgen Hansen collection,” available at the residence of Jørgen Reebirk Hansen, Copenhagen, Denmark.
 - “Gunvor Bjørsvik collection,” available at the residence of Gunvor Bjørsvik, Vaksdal, Norway.
 - “Gustav Steensland collection,” available at School of Mission and Theology, Stavanger, Norway.

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ERRATA

Page 2	Insert after line #29: China Instituttet, Oslo, Norway
Page 13	Replace in line #12 <i>and in all following instances in the manuscript</i> : Ven > van der Ven
Page 16	Replace in footnote #11, line 3, <i>and in the corresponding reference in the bibliography</i> : Hsinchu: > Stavanger:
Page 47	Insert in footnote #99, line 7, <i>and in the corresponding reference in the bibliography</i> , before 'Gustav': Stavanger:
Page 83	Insert in footnote #260, line 2, <i>and in the corresponding reference in the bibliography</i> , before 'Gustav': Stavanger:
Page 103	Insert in footnote #334, line 10, <i>and in the corresponding reference in the bibliography</i> , before 'Gustav': Stavanger:
Page 162	Insert in footnote #551, line 3, <i>and in the corresponding reference in the bibliography</i> , after 'Missouri': / Stavanger
Page 164	Insert in footnote #563, line 2, <i>and in the corresponding reference in the bibliography</i> , after 'Missouri /': Stavanger:
Page 187	Replace in footnote #645, line 1, <i>and in the corresponding reference in the bibliography</i> : <i>chiang-t'ai</i> > <i>chiang-t'an</i>
Page 190	Replace in footnote #659, lines 1, 3 and 5, <i>and in the corresponding reference in the bibliography</i> : <i>chiang-t'ai</i> > <i>chiang-t'an</i>
Page 190	Replace in footnote #660, line 1, <i>and in the corresponding reference in the bibliography</i> : <i>chiang-t'ai</i> > <i>chiang-t'an</i>
Page 203	Replace in line #27: 轉道 <i>ch'uan-tao</i> (preach the word) > "Cjwen [?] dao" [傳道 <i>ch'uan-tao</i> (preach the word)]
Page 203	Replace in lines #27 and 28: 辦聖禮 <i>pan sheng-li</i> (perform the holy rites, i. e. the sacraments) > "Ban shen-li" [辦聖禮 <i>pan sheng-li</i> (perform the holy rites, i. e. the sacraments)]
Page 270	Replace in lines #24 and 26: 收 > 受
Page 271	Replace in footnote #973, line 1: 548.; the > 548. The
Page 277	Replace in lines #19 and 31: 思 > 司
Page 277	Replace in lines #24 and 27: 導 > 道
Page 278	Replace in line #21: 思 > 司
Page 292	Insert in footnote #1011, line 3, <i>and in the corresponding reference in the bibliography</i> , after 'Taipei': / Stavanger
Page 331	Insert in footnote #1177 (beginning at p. 330), line 15, <i>and in the corresponding reference in the bibliography</i> , after 'Minnesota': / Stavanger