

Comparison of Two Chinese Prayer Books (1872 and 1879)¹

The *Book of Common Prayer* (hereafter BCP) is, alongside the Bible, the foundational text for Anglicanism. The 1662 BCP continues to be the official prayer book for the Church of England and it has been formative for all the provinces of the Anglican communion, including China.

In the 1662 BCP, there is a chapter about *Concerning Ceremonies*, arguing that “the most weighty cause of the abolishment of certain Ceremonies was that they were so far abused, partly by the superstitious blindness of the rude and unlearned, and partly by the unsatiabable avarice of such as sought more their own lucre, than the glory of God.”² The compilation of the BCP was intended to simplify and standardize Catholic rituals and restrain the divergence between “high” and “low” church interpretations through the unification of liturgy.³

Anglicanism entered China through the American Church Mission. In 1835, Hen

¹ This English version has been edited by Rev. Dr. Philip L. Wickeri and Dr. Rowena Ruiwen Chen.

² Brian Cummings, eds., *The Book of Common Prayer, The Text of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 215-216.

³ Chloë Starr, “Rethinking Church through the Book of Common Prayer,” in *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture: Essays on Anglican and Episcopal History in China*, ed. Philip L. Wickeri (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, HKU, 2015), 100.

Lockwood and Francis R. Hanson were sent to Canton by the American Episcopal Church. In 1844, William Boone was consecrated the Bishop of Amoy and other parts of China by the American Episcopal Church. He was the first bishop in the Anglican Communion consecrated for strictly foreign service.⁴ The Anglican Church entered China after the colonization of Hong Kong through the Church Missionary Society (CMS). In 1841, Vincent Stanton was appointed as the first Colonial Chaplain to Hong Kong. Eight years later, the Diocese of Victoria was established by *Letters Patent*. The Anglican Church in Southern China then became a part of the British colonial administration.

For the Chinese Anglican Church, the translation of the BCP was a priority. It was because a translation would prevent the potential innovations in texts and worship for new church members and form the orthodoxy of Anglican theology.⁵ Eventually, the first BCP in Chinese (教會禱文) used all over China was published in 1872 in Peking. This version was translated by the British missionary John Shaw Burdon and the American missionary Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky. The former is the third Bishop of the Diocese of Victoria (1874 -1897) and the principal of St. Paul's College,

⁴ Philip L. Wickeri, "Anglicanism in China and East Asia, 1819-1912." Chapter. In *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume III*, ed. Rowan Strong (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 321.

⁵ Chloë Starr, "Rethinking Church through the Book of Common Prayer," in *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture: Essays on Anglican and Episcopal History in China*, ed. Philip L. Wickeri (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, HKU, 2015), 100.

and the latter is Bishop of Shanghai (1877-1884). The 1872 Chinese Prayer Book plays an important role in the history of the development of Anglicanism in China. Subsequently, Burdon re-translated this book on his own in Hong Kong in 1879.

This paper is a preliminary historical and linguistic interpretation of the 1872 and 1879 versions of the Chinese BCP. It makes no claim to analyze the liturgical and theological background of these translations. However, by comparing and contrasting the two versions, we hope to contribute to the early efforts to contextualize Chinese Anglicanism through the BCP.

Differences in Content between Two Versions

As mentioned above, the 1872 BCP was co-translated by Burdon and Schereschewsky. Bishop Burdon had a strong connection with China before he went to Hong Kong. In 1853, he was sent by the Church Missionary Society to Shanghai as a missionary. He then transferred to Peking in 1862, where he taught English at Tong Wen Guan (同文館, School of Combined Learning). He was the first English teacher in China. Burdon was talented in language learning, and therefore, he was particularly interested in translation works. For example, he translated the Bible into Mandarin with Henry

Blodget and Schereschewsky, the first Mandarin Translation of the New Testament was published in 1872, which is still influential today. Based on these experiences, Burdon and Schereschewsky, the only two Anglican and Episcopal missionaries in the team, attempted to co-translate the BCP in the 1870s.⁶ Burdon was proficient in Chinese and he was responsible for translating the relevant parts of the New Testament. Schereschewsky was an expert in Hebrew who was responsible for translating the Old Testament.

After leaving Peking, Burdon realized that Mandarin was not circulated in other parts of China. Moreover, he observed that simple wenli (淺文理) was a more common form of expression in China at that time. According to the principle of the language of the *Prayer Book*, it should be “using the language that easy for the public to understand.”⁷ Therefore, Burdon re-translated the book into simple wenli and revised the contents under the Chinese context in 1879.

Let us compare the contents of 1662, 1872 and 1879 *Prayer Books*:

⁶ Ruiwen Chen, *A Short Biography of John Shaw Burdon, Bishop of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Religious Education Resource Centre, 2018), 34-39.

⁷ John Shaw Burdon, “Explanatory Notes,” in *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 1.

The English Book of Common Prayer, 1662	The Chinese Book of Common Prayer, 1872	The Chinese Book of Common Prayer, 1879
1. The Acts for the Uniformity of Common Prayer.	---	---
2. The Preface.	---	The Preface (前言)
---	Explanatory Notes (凡例)	Explanatory Notes (凡例)
3. Concerning the Service of the Church.	---	---
4. Concerning Ceremonies.	---	---
5. The Order how the Psalter is appointed to be read.	---	---
6. The Order how the rest of the holy Scripture is appointed to be read.	---	---
---	---	Volume Header (卷首)
7. The Table of proper Lessons and Psalms.	---	1. Lessons proper for Sundays (主日選讀 聖經)
		2. Lessons proper for Holidays (聖日選 讀聖經)
		3. Proper Psalms on

		Six Days (六大日 選讀聖詩)
8. The Kalendar, with the table of Lessons.	---	4. The Kalendar (每 日選讀聖經)
9. Tables and Rules for the Feasts and Fasts through the whole Year.	---	---
---	Vol. 1 (卷一)	Vol. 1 (卷一)
10. The Order for Morning Prayer.	1. Morning Prayer (早 禱文)	5. Morning Prayer (早 禱文)
11. The Order for Evening Prayer.	2. Evening Prayer (晚 禱文)	6. Evening Prayer (晚 禱文)
12. The Creed of St. Athanasius.	---	(see ch. 9)
13. The Litany.	3. The Litany (總禱 文)	7. The Litany (總禱 文)
(see ch. 12)	---	8. The Creed of St. Athanasius (阿塔 那修信經)
14. Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions.	4. Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions (隨時禱 文謝文)	9. Prayers upon several occasions (隨時禱文)
		10. Thanksgivings upon several occasions (隨時謝 文)

	Vol. 2 (卷二)	Vol. 2 (卷二)
(see ch. 25)	5. The Psalter. (聖詩)	(see ch. 26)
---	Vol. 3 (卷三)	---
(see ch. 16)	(see ch. 8)	11. The ministration of the holy Communion (施聖餐禮文)
15. The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, to be used at the ministration of the holy Communion throughout the year.	6. The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for Sundays (主日祝文書信福音)	12. The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for Sundays (主日祝文書信福音)
	7. The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for Holidays (聖日祝文書信福音)	13. The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for Holidays (聖日祝文書信福音)
16. The Order of the ministration of the holy Communion.	8. The ministration of the holy Communion (施餐聖禮文)	(see ch. 11)
---	Vol. 4 (卷四)	Vol. 3 (卷三)
17. The Order of Baptism, both publick and private.	9. The Order of Baptism for children (施洗嬰孩聖禮文)	14. The Order of Baptism for children (施洗嬰孩聖禮文)
18. The Order of Baptism	10. The Order of	15. The Order of

for those of riper years.	Baptism for those of riper years (施洗壯年聖禮文)	Baptism for those of riper years (施洗壯年聖禮文)
19. The Catechism, with the Order of Confirmation of children.	11. The Catechism (教會問答)	16. The Catechism (教會問答)
	12. The Confirmation (堅信禮文)	17. The Laying on of Hands of children (幼年領洗接手禮文)
		18. The Laying on of Hands of riper years (壯年領洗接手禮文)
(see ch. 24)	13. A Communion on the First Day of Lent (大齋首日懺悔文)	(see ch. 24)
20. The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony.	14. Solemnization of Matrimony (婚姻禮文)	19. Solemnization of Matrimony (婚姻禮文)
(see ch. 22)	---	20. Thanksgiving for Women after child-bearing (婦人誕生後感謝文)
21. Visitation of the Sick, and Communion of the Sick.	15. Visitation of the Sick (看視病人文)	21. Visitation of the Sick (看視病人文)
	16. Communion of the Sick (施餐病人聖	22. Communion of the Sick (施聖餐與病

	禮文)	人禮交)
22. Thanksgiving for Women after child-bearing.	---	(see ch. 20)
23. The Order for the Burial of the Dead.	17. The Order for the Burial of the Dead (殯葬禮文)	23. The Order for the Burial of the Dead (殯葬禮文)
---	18. Forms of Prayer to be used in Families (家用禱文)	---
24. A Commination or Denouncing of Gods anger and judgments against Sinners.	(see ch. 13)	24. A Commination on the first day of Lent (大齋首日懺悔文)
(see ch. 29)	(see ch. 21)	25. Articles of the Church (教會綱領)
---	---	Vol. 4 (卷四)
25. The Psalter.	(see ch. 5)	26. The Psalter (聖詩)
26. The Order of Prayers to be used at Sea.	---	---
27. A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the Anniversary of the day of the Accession of the Reigning Sovereign.	---	---

---	---	Vol. 5 (卷五)
28. The Form and Manner of Ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.	19. The Form and Manner of Ordaining Deacons (派立會吏禮文)	27. The Form and Manner of Ordaining Deacons (派立會吏禮文)
	20. The Form and Manner of Ordaining Priests (派立教師禮文)	28. The Form and Manner of Ordaining Priests (派立教師禮文)
	21. The Form and Manner of Ordaining Bishops (派立監督禮文)	29. The Form and Manner of Ordaining Bishops (派立監督禮文)
---	Vol. 6 (卷六)	---
29. The Thirty nine Articles of Religion	22. The Thirty nine Articles of Religion (論要道三十九條)	(see ch. 25)

•

From the table we can see there are great similarities between the 1872 and 1879 translations, but there are still several differences:

1. In the version of 1872, there is no volume header. A volume header is added in the version of 1879, including “Lessons proper for Sundays,” “Lessons proper for Holidays,” “Proper Psalms on Six Days” and “The Kalendar”.

These four sections are about the arrangement of the Bible reading schedule

i.e. the Bible passages to be read on different days.

2. There is no “the Creed of St. Athanasius” in the 1872 version. It is probably

because the book follows the removal of the Creed in the American BCP.

This may also be related to the controversies of the Creed on its author and

doctrinal expressions.⁸ In fact, the Church of England has made many

efforts to remove it from the service since the late nineteenth century.⁹

However, Burdon adds this creed back to the 1879 version and the reason is

still unknown.

3. The place of “the Psalter” is different from 1872 to 1879. In the version of

1879, this chapter is moved from chapter 5 to chapter 26.

4. Compare to the version of 1872, “the ministrations of the holy Communion”

is moved from chapter 8 to chapter 11 in 1879.

5. In the version of 1879, “the Confirmation” was renamed to “the Laying on

of Hands,” with the addition of “the Laying on of Hands of riper years”.

Burdon explains that this is to meet the peculiarities of the Church in

China.¹⁰

6. Compare to the version of 1872, “A Communion or Denouncing of Gods

⁸ The 17th-century theologian G.J. Voss (1642) argues that the Creed was not written by St. Athanasius. The damnatory clauses of the Creed is also considered inappropriate in the Church of England.

⁹ F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church / Edition 3* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 120.

¹⁰ John Shaw Burdon, “Preface,” in *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 1.

anger and judgments against Sinners” is moved from chapter 13 to chapter 24 in 1879. It is renamed “A Commination on the first day of Lent”.

7. Chapter 18 “Forms of Prayer to be used in Families” in the version of 1872 is originally a chapter from the U.S. Prayer Book. This chapter is deleted in 1879.
8. In the version of 1879, chapter 20 “Thanksgiving for Women after child-bearing” is added to offer thanks for the safety during birth-giving.
9. In the version of 1879, “The Thirty nine Articles of Religion” is moved from volume 6 to volume 3. It is renamed “Articles of the Church”. This chapter covers 39 core values in Christianity, such as Trinity, birth-sin and the holy Communion.

In addition, Burdon added that the Mandarin translation for the version of 1872 was based on the 1662 BCP with some minor alterations. Such as “the substitution of certain Old Testament Lessons for those taken from the Apocrypha which had not been translated into Chinese, and the substitution of the Prayer employed by the American Church after reading of the Commandments for that used in the English Church.”¹¹ This is to say, the first Chinese translation blends same important features

¹¹ Ibid., 1.

of the Anglican and the Episcopal Church. However, certain things are omitted.

Besides, Burdon applies changes in contents in the 1879 version. For example, he adds “Benedicite, omnia opera” (造萬物頌) in the Morning Prayer. In order to adjust the Church development in China, “A Prayer for the Clergy and People” (為諸位監督教師會衆禱文) written in the Chinese context is added in the Morning Prayer. In Prayers upon several occasions, “A Prayer for the Priest” (又將立教師禱文) is renamed to “A Prayer for Those that Are to be Admitted into Holy Orders” (又將立聖職禱文). Yet, the most obvious alteration is the removal of the Epistles and Gospels readings in Collects. Burdon explains that it is because the book would be “altogether too bulky with the full citation of the scriptures as the Chinese characters and paper are not so compressible as English letters and paper.”¹² This means the Bible translation in early 1879 is gradually improved. What’s more, Burdon and Schereschewsky’s work for *Chinese Bible in vernacular Mandarin* (北京官話新舊約全書) was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1878. Thus, even there is no Bible Scripture in *the Book of Common Prayer*, people can check the Bible by themselves.

¹² Ibid., 1-2.

Apart from the contents, there is also a significant difference in the language style between the two Chinese translations. That is the use of Mandarin in 1872 and the use of simple wenli in 1879. Take *the Lord's Prayer* as an example:

The Chinese Book of Common Prayer,
1872 (Mandarin)

Our Father in Heaven, may everyone hallow the Father's name.

我們在天上的父，願人都尊父的名為聖。

May the kingdom of the Father descend.
May the Father's will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

願父的國降臨。願父的旨意行在地上，如同行在天上。

Our daily bread, may Father give us today.
我們日用的飲食，求父今日賜給我們。

Forgive our sins, as we forgive the sins of others.

又求饒恕我們的罪，如我們饒恕人的罪。

Bless us not to be enticed and save us from evil.

保佑我們不被引誘，拯救我們脫離凶惡。

For the kingdom, power and glory are the Father's, and shall be everlasting. Amen.

因為國度、權柄、榮耀，都是父的，永無

The Chinese Book of Common Prayer,
1879 (Simple Wenli)

Our Father in Heaven, may everyone hallow the Father's name.

我等在天上之父，願人皆尊父名為聖。

May the Father's kingdom descend. May the Father's will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

願父國降臨，願父旨成就在地，如同成就在天。

Our daily bread, may Father give us today.
我等日用之飲食，求父今日賜我等。

Forgive our sins, as we forgive those who have sinned against me.

又求饒恕我等之罪，如我等饒恕得罪於我之人。

Bless us and keep us from temptation, and save us from evil.

保佑我等，不被誘惑，拯救我等，脫離凶惡。

For the kingdom, power and glory belong to

窮盡，阿門。¹³

the Father, and shall be everlasting. Amen.

因國、權、榮皆屬於父，永無窮盡，阿門。¹⁴

From the above examples, we can see that expressions in simple wenli are more refined. For example, “國度、權柄、榮耀” (the kingdom, power and glory) is simplified to abbreviations “國、權、榮”. Sometimes, the modifications of words would be made in the 1879 version, such as changing “引誘” (entice) to “誘惑” (tempt). The meaning of the former focuses on the purposefulness of the actor who entices the others, while the latter focuses on the psychological response of the recipient who faces tempts. As for personal pronouns, there are also different expressions, e.g. “我們” (us) in Mandarin became “我等” (us) in simple wenli, while “你” (you) and “他” (him) are referred to as “爾” (you) and “彼” (him). Interestingly, the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui (the Anglican Church in Hong Kong) still uses “我等” in their Prayer Book (1957) today.

On the other hand, the translation of “the Psalter” is largely revised in 1879. Burdon explains that it is because the Collects and the Psalter were originally translated by Schereschewsky in 1872. Subsequently, he re-translated them into simple wenli with

¹³ John Shaw Burdon and Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, *The Book of Common Prayer, Translated into Mandarin* (Peking: Mei Hua Shu Guan, 1872), 3.

¹⁴ John Shaw Burdon, *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 3.

Schereschewsky's permission in 1879. Take *Psalm 4* as an example:

**The Chinese Book of Common
Prayer, 1872 (Mandarin)**

God my vindicator, answers my appeals
when I call, always rescues me when I
am in troubles, please has mercy on me
and bends to my prayers.

為我伸冤的主，我呼籲時望主應允，
我遇急難，主常解救，現在求主憐恤
我，俯聽我的禱告。

How long will you, who despise my
dignity, love falsehood and deceit last
for?

你們這些人，藐視我的尊位，喜愛虛
假詭詐，要到幾時？

You shall know that the Lord chooses
the godly for himself, and if I pray to the
Lord, the Lord must answer me.

你們當知道主揀選虔誠人歸自己，我
若求主，主必應允。

You shall be fearful and not sin; but
when you are on your beds, meditate in
your heart.

你們應當儆懼，不可犯罪，在牀上的
時候，心裏要默想。

You shall offer godly sacrifices, and rely

**The Chinese Book of Common
Prayer, 1879 (Simple Wenli)**

My most righteous God, who answers
my appeals when I call, who relieves for
me when I face obstacles, please has
mercy on me and bends to my prayers.

我至義之天主歟，我呼籲時，望爾應
允，我遭困迫，爾常使我寬舒，今求
爾憐，俯聽我禱。

How long will you, who despise my
dignity, love falsehood and deceit last
for?

爾等世人，藐視我之尊位，喜愛虛假，
尋求詭詐，將至何時？

You shall know that Jehovah chooses
the godly for himself, and if I pray to
Jehovah, the Lord must answer me.

爾等當知耶和華揀選虔誠人歸於己，
我呼籲耶和華，耶和華必應允。

You shall be fearful and not sin; but
when you are on your beds, meditate in
your heart and be silent.

爾等當儆懼，不可犯罪，在牀之時，
心當思想，亦宜緘默。

You shall offer godly sacrifices and rely

on the Lord.

當獻虔誠為祭，又當仰賴上主。

Many people say, "I wish to be blessed."

許多人說，惟願得福。

May the glory of the Lord shine upon
us.

我但願主面上榮光照臨我們。

Everyone is joyful with abundant wine
and grains. The Lord has made my heart
more joyful than they are. I will sleep in
peace, the Lord alone will make me
dwell in peace.

嘉穀美酒豐盈，世人都快樂，主叫我
心裏快樂勝過他們，我得安然睡臥，
惟獨主使我安居。¹⁵

on Jehovah.

當獻虔誠以為祭，又當仰賴耶和華。

Many people say, "I wish to be blessed."

世人多曰，惟願得福。

May the glory of Jehovah shine upon us.

耶和華歟，我等但願爾面之光，照臨
我等。

Everyone is joyful with abundant wine
and grains. The Lord has made my heart
more joyful than they are. I will sleep in
peace, Jehovah alone will make me
dwell in peace.

嘉穀美酒豐盈，世人皆樂，主使我心
得樂遠勝於彼，我得安然偃臥，惟獨
耶和華令我安然而居。¹⁶

We can see that in the Mandarin version of 1872, Burdon translates “he” and “you” into “他” (he) and “你” (you). And in the simple wenli version of 1879, he translates them into “彼” (he) and “爾” (you). For example, in the first sentence, Schereschewsky translates “God of my righteousness” as “為我伸冤的主” (God my vindicator), while Burdon translates it as “我至義之天主歟” (My most righteous God). For “set me in liberty,” the former translates it as “解救” (deliverance), while the latter translates it as “使我寬舒” (relieves for me).

¹⁵ John Shaw Burdon and Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, *The Book of Common Prayer, Translated into Mandarin* (Peking: Mei Hua Shu Guan, 1872), 35.

¹⁶ John Shaw Burdon, *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 157-158.

Regarding the use of the word “Tien Chu”. Regarding this, Schereschewsky explains:

“In the Chinese language, there is no sign to designate number or gender... “Shin”

(神) may equally mean God, gods, goddesses, deity and divine; “Shang Ti” (上帝) is

the name of the chief deity in the Chinese pantheon was; and “T’ien Chu” (天主) is a

more natural expression in Chinese, and therefore the most appropriate.”¹⁷ In the

version of 1879, Burdon admits that the translations of God and Spirit are unsatisfied.

However, in many years of experience, these translations seem to be the most

appropriate ones in the Chinese context: “‘Tien Chu’ (天主) is used as the ordinary

term for God, and sometimes the word ‘Chu’ (主) alone, for which the constant usage

of Adonai in Hebrew, and *Kurios* in the Septuagint for Jehovah, and in the New

Testament also where the Old Testament is quoted, seems of itself sufficient

justification; ‘Shan’ (神) is occasionally used as in the Athanasian Creed where a

word denoting Deity, so far as the Chinese have the idea, is certainly more suitable

than a Title like ‘Tien Chu’ (天主); Jehovah is transferred in the rendering of the

Psalms where it occurs in the original; ‘Ling’ (靈) is used for Spirit.”¹⁸ The above

explanation proves that Burdon was not a pro-Catholic. Taking into account the

¹⁷ James Arthur Muller, *Apostle of China: Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, 1831-1906*, (New York: Morehouse, 1937), 67.

¹⁸ John Shaw Burdon, “Preface,” in *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 5-6.

Chinese context, the word “Tien Chu” was the most appropriate choice. Meanwhile, other missionaries in Northern China also recognized the translation. Unfortunately, Burdon’s insistence met strongly with opposition from local Anglicans in the South. The motto of St. Paul’s College dated by Burdon, “Respect the Lord in Heaven, and love others as yourself” (恭敬天主，愛人如己) is remaining on the exterior wall of Bishop’s House in Hong Kong and has become the only historical trace of using “Tien Chu” by the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui.¹⁹

Also, we can see a similar case for the translation of “the Lord”. In the above example, Burdon uses the term “耶和華” (Jehovah). He explains that this is in accordance with the expression in the original text of the Old Testament, as “Jehovah” is an honorific name for the Lord in Hebrew.²⁰

On the other hand, the translation of the holy orders is adjusted according to the Chinese context. For example, Burdon translates “Bishop” as “監督” (supervisor), “Priest” as “教師” (teacher), and “Deacon” as “會吏” (councillor). He admits that “[the translations] are the most unsatisfactory of all, but it does not seem as though any better translation of the terms can yet be found. None of the Chinese terms

¹⁹“History of Bishop’s House,” Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Archives.

²⁰ John Shaw Burdon, “Preface,” in *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul’s College, 1879), 6.

conveys the meaning of the original.”²¹ He also considered directly transferring the Greek terms, but the Chinese do not take kindly to the adoption of Foreign words.²² Therefore, Burdon translates the name of holy orders into vocabularies that are accessible in everyday life. Interestingly, Sze-kar Wan points out that translating “Priest” as “teacher” has its root in some Chinese dialects. In colloquial Cantonese, for example, a preacher is often regarded as a respected teacher, and the word “teaching” (講書, jiangshu) is often used for “preaching” (講道, jiangdao).²³ This phenomenon relates to the Chinese culture on teaching which a teacher should conduce students to good behavior. Meanwhile, Christianity has a lot of teachings that emphasize morality, such as the commination and Ten Commandments. So naturally, a Priest who preaches the Bible equals a teacher in the Chinese context

In response to the change in language style, Burdon argues that the advantages of using simple wenli are (1) Widely used in China: simple wenli could be found in other regions such as Canton, Fuhkien and Chekiang provinces.²⁴ The only recognized newspaper in China at the time, the *Peking Gazette*, as well as some official

²¹ John Shaw Burdon, “Preface,” *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul’s College, 1879), 6.

²² *Ibid.*, 6.

²³ Sze-kar Wan. “The Chinese Prayer Book.” Chapter. In *Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: a Worldwide Survey*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 399.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

newsletters and wall notices, were also written in simple wenli.²⁵ (2) Easy to understand: Burdon attempts to make wenli colloquial. He finds that simple wenli is close to the various Chinese dialects.²⁶ He believes that by repeating it over and over again, the public could quickly understand the contents of the Prayer Book.²⁷ (3) Applicable to worship rituals: Burdon points out that since Mandarin is not a dialect used for speaking, it would be difficult to apply to worship rituals; and wenli is better than any specific dialect because it can be applied to all parts of China.²⁸ Therefore, Burdon chooses to re-translate it in simple wenli. Today, Mandarin might be easier for us to read, but at that time simple wenli was more suitable for understanding and worshipping.

Contextualization and Chinese Prayer Books

The 1662 BCP contains several prayers for King Charles II and the Kingdom of England. Burdon and Schereschewsky delete contents that do not apply to the Chinese political context in their first translation, including “A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the Anniversary of the day of the Accession of

²⁵ Ibid., 4.

²⁶ Ibid., 3.

²⁷ Ibid., 5.

²⁸ Ibid., 2.

the Reigning Sovereign”.²⁹ The prayers for Charles II and the Royal Family are also combined and refer as “the Sovereign and Ministers” (君臣) in Chinese. When Burdon re-translated the book in 1879, he changes the translation to “the Emperor” and “the Imperial Family” respectively. For example, in the 1872 Morning Prayer, there is “A Prayer for the Sovereign and Ministers” (為君臣禱文); and in the 1879 Morning Prayer, it derives to “A Prayer for the Emperor” (為皇上禱文). See the following example:

**A Prayer for the Sovereign and
Ministers, 1872**

The Almighty Father, the King of kings and the Lord of lords, looks after all people from the holy place.

至上全能的主天父，萬王的王，萬主的主，在聖位上眷顧一切世人。

We beseech the Lord to show mercy to the sovereign and ministers, and to grant them the grace of the Holy Spirit.

我們懇求主，用慈愛恩惠眷顧君王臣宰，賜他們聖靈感化的恩。

So that they could believe in the one and only God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and be able to do the Lord's will and to walk

A Prayer for the Emperor, 1879

The Almighty Father, the King of kings, the Lord of lords, kings of all earthly kingdoms are ruled by the Lord.

至上全能之天父，萬王之王，萬主之主，列國君王，惟主統轄。

The Lord on his throne, who looks down upon all the people of the world.

主在寶座上，垂顧普天下之人。

We beseech the Lord to grant the present Emperor with kindness and grace; to give with the grace of the Holy Spirit, so that he can obey to the Lord's will and to walk in the ways of the Lord.

²⁹ Brian Cummings, eds., *The Book of Common Prayer, The Text of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 652-666.

in a holy way.

使他們信獨一無二的天主，和救世主耶穌基督，能遵主命，能行聖道。

我等懇求主，用慈愛恩惠眷顧當今皇上，賜與聖靈感化之恩，使其能遵主命，能行主道。

Bless them with peace, health and long life in life, and with everlasting happiness in death.

有保佑他們生前平安健壯長壽，死後享永遠的安樂。

And to grant him the grace of heaven, bless him with peace, prosperity and longevity during the lifetime, and to have eternal happiness after death.

又求主多賜天恩，保佑其生前平安、利達、長壽，死後永享安樂。

This is through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Amen.

這是靠著我主耶穌基督求的，阿們。³⁰

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Amen.

此賴我主耶穌基督而求，阿們。³¹

The version of 1879 does not ask the Emperor to “believe in the one and only God and Savior Jesus Christ,” but emphasizes that all earthly kings are ruled by the Lord.

This incorporates the Chinese idea which the power of the Emperor derives from heaven, implying the legitimacy of “the Son of Heaven” (天子) can be conferred from Christianity. Moreover, Burdon especially mentions “prosperity” (利達) in 1879, which refers to the Emperor's desire for glory and wealth.

A Prayer for the Imperial Family, 1879

Almighty God is the origin of all grace.

³⁰ John Shaw Burdon and Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, *The Book of Common Prayer, Translated into Mandarin* (Peking: Mei Hua Shu Guan, 1872), 10.

³¹ John Shaw Burdon, *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 12.

無所不能之天主，乃萬恩根源。

We ask the Lord to bless the Imperial Family, to give them
the Holy Spirit, to bestow on them the blessings of Heaven,
and to save them from entering the eternal Heaven.
我等誠求主賜福皇家，錫其聖靈，沐以天恩，降之百福，
救其能入永遠之國。

For our Lord Jesus Christ's sake I pray. Amen.

此賴我主耶穌基督而求，阿門。³²

What's more, "A Prayer for the Royal Family" (為皇家禱文) is added after "A Prayer for the Emperor" in 1879. The prayer is to ask the Lord to bless the Imperial Family: give them the Holy Spirit, bestow on them the blessings of heaven, and save them from entering the eternal Heaven. This alteration examines a greater concern for the Chinese context in the 1879 Chinese Prayer Book. For example, the emphasis on Salvation is an adjustment to the unreached people group in China.

The alteration also relates to Burdon's personal political stance, as he is opposed to the inclusion of Churches under political power or treaty protection. It is because the church cases in the 19th century brought Chinese people negative impressions of Christianity. He once noted:

³² Ibid., 12.

“While the lack of protection will lead to much injustice and suffering, the protection of church members will cause far worse consequences. It will lead to many hypocrites joining our ranks and will make us more vulnerable to accusations. These accusations may breed hostility to Christianity in Chinese society, also will create ongoing political disputes between the British and Chinese governments.”³³

Burdon believes that the Church and the secular state are not antagonistic. Christians are citizens of Heaven as well as citizens of the earth.³⁴ Thus, the use of "Emperor" in the Chinese context implies Christian concern for secular matters and expresses the desire to maintain friendly relations with the Qing court of the Anglican Church.³⁵

Elsewhere there are also contents dealing with the Emperor and Ministers. For example, in the 1872 version of the Litany, there is only one prayer relating to the

³³“John Shaw Burdon,” Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Archives.

³⁴ Chloë Starr, "Rethinking Church through the Book of Common Prayer," in *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture: Essays on Anglican and Episcopal History in China*, ed. Philip L. Wickeri (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, HKU, 2015), 86.

³⁵ The contextualization for the translation of the BCP is also reflected on the name of holy orders. For example, Burdon translates “Bishop” as “監督” (supervisor), “Priest” as “教師” (teacher), and “Deacon” as “會吏” (councillor). He admits that “[the translations] are the most unsatisfactory of all, but it does not seem as though any better translation of the terms can yet be found. None of the Chinese terms conveys the meaning of the original.” He also considered directly transferring the Greek terms, but the Chinese do not take kindly to the adoption of Foreign words. Therefore, Burdon translates the name of holy orders into vocabularies that are accessible in everyday life. Interestingly, Sze-kar Wan points out that translating “Priest” as “teacher” has its root in some Chinese dialects. In colloquial Cantonese, for example, a preacher is often regarded as a respected teacher, and the word “teaching” (講書, jiangshu) is often used for “preaching” (講道, jiangdao). This phenomenon relates to the Chinese culture on teaching which a teacher should conduce students to good behavior. Meanwhile, Christianity has a lot of teachings that emphasize morality, such as the commination and Ten Commandments. So naturally, a Priest who preaches the Bible equals a teacher in the Chinese context

sovereign, whereas the 1879 version has five:

The Litany, 1872

"Pray for the Lord's favor and protection of the sovereign and ministers, and the grace of the Holy Spirit, that they may believe in the one and only God and Savior Jesus Christ, and

be able to obey the Lord's will and to walk in a holy way.

求主眷顧保護君王臣宰，賜與他們聖靈感化

的恩，叫他們信獨一無二的天主，和救世主耶穌基督，能遵行主命，能行聖道。³⁶

The Litany, 1879

Pray for the Lord's favor and protection over the present Emperor, and for the grace of the Holy Spirit that they may believe in the one and only God and Savior Jesus Christ.

求主眷顧保護當今皇上，賜與聖靈感化之恩，使其能遵主命，能行主道。

Pray that the Lord will touch his heart, so that he will believe in the Lord, fear the Lord, love the Lord and rely on the Lord forever for the Lord's glory.

求主感動其心，使其篤信主，畏懼主，敬愛主，永遠依賴主，求主之榮耀。

Pray for the Lord's peace, prosperity and longevity during his life and eternal happiness after his death.

求主保佑其生前平安、利達、長壽、死後永享安樂。

Pray that the Lord may bless the Imperial Family, grant them the Holy Spirit, bestow on them the blessings of heaven, and save them from entering the eternal Heaven.

求主賜福與皇家，錫其聖靈，沐以天恩，降之百福，救其能入永遠之國。

Pray that the Lord will be gracious to the officials and grant them a favor, so that they may rule the people in righteousness and enforce the law with justice.

求主眷顧百官，賜恩與彼，使彼以義治民，
秉公行法。³⁷」

As with the examples above, the subject “the emperor and ministers” in 1872 is specified as “the Emperor” and “the Imperial Family” in 1879. It adds “pray that the Lord will touch his heart, so that [the Emperor] will believe in God,” reflecting a greater emphasis on replying and respecting the Lord. Besides, a new paragraph for officials is added in 1879, praying that they can “rule the people in righteousness and enforce the law with justice,” which contains the expectation to them. In addition, the original English text does not include the blessing for “peace, prosperity and longevity”. It is a repetition of the previous example. And again, it reflects Burdon’s understanding of the Chinese value of fame and fortune.

In some cases, however, Burdon omits the reference to the sovereign. Take a prayer from the Ministration of the Holy Communion as an example:

³⁷ John Shaw Burdon, *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 24-25.

The Ministration of the Holy

Communion, 1872

Almighty and everlasting God, we are taught by the holy Word, that the hearts of kings are in your rule and governance.

無所不能永生的天主，聖經上教訓我們說，君王的心，都是主引導治理

The Lord is able to move them to do his will.

又說主能感動他們，使他們隨主的意旨行事。

We humbly beseech the Lord so to touch

and dispose of all earthly sovereigns, that in all his thoughts, words and works, he may ever seek your honor and glory.

preserve your people committed to good deeds, so that he can enjoy prosperity and peace:

伏求主感動治理天下的君王，是他們存心說話行事，常能尋求主的尊貴榮耀，盡心保護主所交付他們的百姓常行善事得享豐富太平。

Grant this, O merciful Father, for your dear Sons sake Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen.

求慈悲的父，因為愛子我主耶穌的功勞，應允我這禱告，阿們。³⁸

The Ministration of the Holy

Communion, 1879

O Almighty Lord, and everlasting God, we direct us.

伏求無所不能之主，無始無終之天主，治理我等，感化引導我等。

Govern both our hearts and bodies in the ways of your laws, and the works of your commandments.

使我等身心能守主之律法，能遵主之誠命。

That through your most mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and soul.

我等蒙主大恩，生前死後，身體靈魂皆得保全。

Through our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Amen.

此全賴我主耶穌基督而求，阿們。³⁹

³⁸ John Shaw Burdon and Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, *The Book of Common Prayer, Translated into Mandarin* (Peking: Mei Hua Shu Guan, 1872), 279.

³⁹ John Shaw Burdon, *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 41.

The 1872 text is directly adopted from the original English version, and the 1879 text replaces it with a prayer from the appendix based on the American version. It results in the removal of sovereigns in this passage in 1879. The object of the prayer changes from "the kings of the earth" to "all men". Furthermore, the 1872 text expresses the criteria of a sovereign such as always seeks the Lord's honor and glory, preserves his people committed to good deeds, so that he can enjoy prosperity and peace. The reason for the alteration is still unclear. However, the addition of "preserv[ation] in body and soul" in 1879 is indeed a more convincing response to the Chinese tradition of leaving the body intact after death.

In addition, because of the emphasis on moral values in Chinese culture, Burdon's re-translation in 1879 places greater focus on the sinfulness of men. Take a responsive reading in the Litany as an example:

The Litany, 1872

Minister: Oh God the Father, of heaven:
have mercy upon us sinners.

教師云：天上的天主聖父，憐憫我們犯罪的人。

The Litany, 1879

Minister: Oh God the Father, of heaven:
have mercy upon us grave sinners.

教師云：主、聖父、天上之主，憐憫我等犯重罪之人。

Answer: Oh God the Father, of heaven: *Answer:* Oh God the Father, of heaven:
 have mercy upon us sinners. have mercy upon us grave sinners.
 眾人云：天上的天主聖父，憐憫我們犯 眾人云：主、聖父、天上之主，憐憫我
 罪的人。⁴⁰ 等犯重罪之人。⁴¹

The original adjective used to describe sinners is “miserable” . The literal translation in Chinese should be “悲慘的罪人” (tragic sinners) or “可憐的罪人” (poor sinners). However, Burdon and Schereschewsky translate it as “sinners” without the adjective in 1872. When it comes to Burdon’s translation in 1879, the description changes to “grave sinners”. The focus is transferred from a passive receiver who needs God’s forgiveness to an initiative actor who is responsible for his sins. The implication behind this is a strong moral reflection in Chinese culture.

Yet, Sze-kar Wan points out in the Oxford Guide to the Book Common Prayer that the Chinese Prayer Book has the same emphasis on sin and forgiveness. Take another prayer in the Ministration of the Holy Communion as an example:

The Order of the Ministration of the Holy Communion, 1662

The Ministration of the Holy Communion, 1872 and 1879

And here we offer and present unto thee, We now offer to the Lord our body and

⁴⁰ John Shaw Burdon and Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, *The Book of Common Prayer, Translated into Mandarin* (Peking: Mei Hua Shu Guan, 1872), 22.

⁴¹ John Shaw Burdon, *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 23.

O Lord, our selves, our souls and bodies; to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee, that all we who are partakers of this holy Communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction.⁴²

soul as a reasonable, purified, living sacrifice. We sincerely beseech our Lord that we who receive this holy Communion may be filled with the Lord's grace and heavenly blessing.

我們現在將自己的身體靈魂獻與主，作又合理又潔淨的活祭，懇求主叫我們領聖餐的人，足足的得蒙主的大恩鴻福。⁴³

我等現今將自己之身體靈魂獻與主，作合理潔淨之活祭，懇求主使我等領聖餐之人，皆蒙主之大恩鴻福。⁴⁴

The two Chinese versions both translated “holy” into “潔淨” (purified) rather than “聖潔” (holy). Sze-kar Wan points out that the English word “holy” means to dedicate oneself to Christ, while the Chinese translation minimized the self-dedication and highlighted the sacrifice of Christ.⁴⁵

This emphasis on Salvation is more obvious in the 1879 *Chinese Prayer Book*. Take the first paragraph in the Communion as an example:

⁴² Brian Cummings, eds., *The Book of Common Prayer; The Text of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 403-404.

⁴³ John Shaw Burdon and Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, *The Book of Common Prayer; Translated into Mandarin* (Peking: Mei Hua Shu Guan, 1872), 290-291.

⁴⁴ John Shaw Burdon, *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 52. ◦

⁴⁵ Sze-kar Wan. “The Chinese Prayer Book.” Chapter. In *Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: a Worldwide Survey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 399.

A Commination on the First Day of Lent, 1872

Brothers, on the first day of Lent, church members come together to hear a few Bible verses.

兄弟們，每到大齋首日，教友都來聚集，聽幾節聖經。

This Bible is about God's punishment for unrepentant sinners.

這聖經，是講天主要罰不肯悔改的罪人。

Whenever you hear a verse, you must say the word amen, which means that it is right that you shall be punished for your sins.

你們每聽一節，必當說阿們二字，意思就是說犯罪受刑是應當的。

So when we hear that the Lord's anger and punishment to sinners, we can reflect on our true repentance, and be careful in our speech and actions, and turn from evil to good.

這樣，我們聽見主發大怒，要罰犯罪的友人，就可猛省，切實懊悔，謹言慎行，去惡從善。⁴⁶

A Commination on the First Day of Lent, 1879

Brothers, in the primitive Church there was a discipline, that at the beginning of

Lent, if any brother committed a notorious sin, he must be put to open penance and punished for his flesh.

眾位兄弟，古時教會始有規矩，每至大齋首日，凡兄弟若犯大罪，必受警責，罰其肉體。

So that his soul might be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that others might be afraid to offend.

使其靈魂，在我主耶穌基督之日，可以得救，亦使他人為鑒戒。

Although this ancient rite is not practiced nowadays, for the sake of the Church's

rule, church members should still gather

on this day to listen and read the few verses in Deuteronomy 27. It is about

God's punishment to unrepentant sinners.

現今雖不行此古禮，然為教會規矩，教友仍當在此日聚集聽讀聖經申命記，十七章數節，內論天主罰不悔改之罪人。

Whenever you hear a verse, you shall say the word amen, which means that it is right that you shall be punished for your sins.

⁴⁶ John Shaw Burdon and Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, *The Book of Common Prayer, Translated into Mandarin* (Peking: Mei Hua Shu Guan, 1872), 315.

爾等每聽一節，當云阿們，意謂犯罪受刑，是為應當。

When we hear the Lord's anger and punishment to sinners, we shall reflect on our true repentance, and be careful in our speech and actions, and turn from evil to good.

我等得聞主發大怒，要罰犯罪之人，就當猛省，真實痛悔，謹言慎行，去惡從善。⁴⁷

It only mentions God's punishment to unrepentant sinners in 1872, while Burdon in 1879 adds that the sinner's soul can be saved on the day of our Lord Jesus Christ after repent. Here is not only emphasizing the forgiveness of Christ but also reminding Christians that flesh punishment is temporary. In Christ, there is the hope of eternal salvation, also something that Chinese people look for.

Another contextualization manifests in vocabularies. To familiarize the Chinese with the Prayer Book, Burdon adopts phrases from Chinese classical texts and Buddhism. For example, in the version of 1879, he uses “一則以喜，一則以懼” (an occasion at once for joy and once for fear)⁴⁸ to replace “喜樂又當恐懼” (rejoice and afraid).⁴⁹

⁴⁷ John Shaw Burdon, *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 138.

⁴⁸ John Shaw Burdon, *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 157.

The phrase is from the Analects of Confucius.⁵⁰ Besides, Burdon often translates “mercifully” as “慈悲” (benevolence), which associates with Buddhist terms of “大發慈悲” (to have pity) or “我佛慈悲” (my benevolent Buddha). Another example is the translation of “this shall be their portion to drink” in the Communion. In the version of 1872, it is translated as the Buddhist concept “報應” (retribution).⁵¹ Later in 1879, Burdon altered the translation to a more neutral expression, “應得之報” (the deserved consequence).⁵² This explains why the *Chinese Prayer Book* emphasizes the unconditional forgiveness and salvation of Christ, to avoid confusion with *Karma* in Buddhism.⁵³

Conclusion

This essay introduces the origin of the 1872 and 1879 Chinese Prayer Books and compares the similarities and differences between the two and their functions. We can see that the contents of the two versions are roughly the same. They are both based on

⁴⁹ John Shaw Burdon and Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, *The Book of Common Prayer, Translated into Mandarin* (Peking: Mei Hua Shu Guan, 1872), 34.

⁵⁰ Confucius, “Li Ren.” In *The Analects*, trans. James Legge, Chinese Text Project, accessed June 3, 2021, <https://ctext.org/analects/li-ren>.

⁵¹ John Shaw Burdon and Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, *The Book of Common Prayer, Translated into Mandarin* (Peking: Mei Hua Shu Guan, 1872), 316.

⁵² John Shaw Burdon, *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese* (Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879), 140.

⁵³ It is a concept in Buddhism and Hinduism, in which a person's action will influence what happens to them in future lives.

the 1662 BCP with minor alterations in language style becoming the Chinese context.

For example, we can see the evolution of the title of the monarch, from a vague concept of “the sovereign” in 1872 to a precise understanding of “the emperor” in 1879. The emphasis of the book also adjusts according to traditional Chinese values, such as the highlight of morality and fatality. Even though early Chinese translations of the Prayer Book may be unsatisfactory through today's lens, what more meaningful is Burdon's effort to carry out cultural dialogues. Therefore, the translation of *the Book of Common Prayers* in the 19th century is historically valuable for the study of Christianity's development in China.

Bibliography

Burdon, John Shaw, and Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky. *The Book of Common Prayer, Translated into Mandarin*. Peking: Mei Hua Shu Guan, 1872.

Burdon, John S. *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, Translated into Chinese*. Hong Kong: St. Paul's College, 1879.

Chen, Ruiwen. *A Short Biography of John Shaw Burdon, Bishop of Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Religious Education Resource Centre, 2018.

Confucius. “Li Ren.” In *The Analects*, translated by James Legge. Chinese Text

Project. Accessed June 3, 2021. <https://ctext.org/analects/li-ren>.

Cross, F. L., and E. A. Livingstone, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* / Edition 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Cummings, Brian, ed. *The Book of Common Prayer, The Text of 1549, 1559, and 1662*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

“John Shaw Burdon.” Archive. In *Bishop John Shaw Burdon Archives*. Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Archives, Undated.

Starr, Chloë. “Rethinking Church through the Book of Common Prayer.” Essay. In *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture: Essays on Anglican and Episcopal History in China*, edited by Philip L. Wickeri. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, HKU, 2015.

Wan, Sze-kar. “The Chinese Prayer Book.” Chapter. In *Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: a Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Wickeri, L. Philip. “Anglicanism in China and East Asia, 1819-1912.” Chapter. In *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume III*, edited by Rowan Strong. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.