Chapter 8: Visiting the "Overseas Chinese": Vatican engagement with the Chinese Diaspora in Cold War Southeast Asia[1]

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Introduction

The role of the Catholic church in the so-called "Marxist conspiracy" of 1987 has had the effect of linking Catholicism with Left-wing politics in the popular imagination in Singapore. Recent scholarship has dismissed the idea that any such conspiracy existed. Yet such work has also highlighted how official Singaporean fears about the power of Catholic activism can be traced back to the role of sections of the church and its lay followers from the 1960s onwards—as well as, of course, the later role played by the church in the overthrow of the Philippine leader Ferdinand Marcos in 1986.[2]

It is ironic, however, that the alleged "Marxist conspiracy" of 1987 played itself out in the very city that had been chosen by the Vatican in the 1950s as a base for overtly *anti*-Marxist activism, driven by Cold War fears about "Marxist conspiracies" amongst the overseas Chinese. Three decades prior to the arrest of apparently dangerous Catholic activists by Lee Kuan Yew's government, Singapore had played host to an office set up by a Catholic church that was still recovering from the trauma of its expulsion from the People's Republic of China (PRC). It was from this British colonial outpost that the Vatican's newly formed Singapore Catholic Central Bureau (Tianzhujiao Nanyang jiaowu cujinhui),[3] led by an "Apostolic Visitor to the Overseas Chinese" (AVTOC), was established in 1953 to ensure that young Chinese Catholics in the wider region would not choose communism over Christianity.[4]

The creation of this office in the 1950s, and its maintenance well into the 1970s, offers a unique insight into one way in which the Vatican sought to counter the shock of the communist revolution in China in 1949. At the same time, it highlights the extent to which the church played an active (though often overlooked) role in Cold War cultural politics. At one level, the story of the AVTOC can be read as a footnote

in a much broader confrontation between the Vatican and world communism from the late 1940s through to 1989 (and arguably beyond).[5] At another, however, it can be seen as an important part of a broader response to the perceived influence of Chinese communism throughout Asia, and particularly amongst overseas Chinese communities in the region.

In this chapter, however, I would also like to suggest that the creation of the AVTOC was important primarily because it brought the Vatican into debates about what it meant to be "Chinese"—and specifically "*overseas* Chinese"—in Cold War Southeast Asia. Indeed, I would argue that although the Catholic church has hitherto been largely left out of discussions about the Chinese cultural Cold War, it played an important part in such debates, theorizing about what counted as an "overseas Chinese Catholic" in an Asia riddled with communism, and quantifying what it saw as its own supranational Chinese flock. At the same time, the ultimate fate of the AVTOC helps to demonstrate how the church's vision of a single unified Chinese diaspora was confronted with the emergence of new forms of national and religious identity (which, in some cases, were openly hostile to the notion of a distinctly *Chinese* Catholicism), as well as to armed conflicts and/or repression in some of the very societies that were home to the largest Catholic Chinese communities in Asia, such as Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaya, and the Philippines.

In this chapter then, I will sketch out the origins and early development of the AVTOC, as well as its place within wider Cold War networks which sought to counter perceived "Marxist conspiracies" in the region. I will also suggest that the aims of the AVTOC were always destined to be problematic precisely because of a lack of agreement throughout the church in this period about the significance (or even the existence) of the overseas Chinese, and the fundamentally different approaches to overseas Chinese affairs adopted by different sections of the Catholic hierarchy throughout Asia itself. The AVTOC's understanding of "Chineseness" was shaped fundamentally by the events of 1949, but would come to appear anachronistic by the early 1970s in a rapidly changing region.

Catholicism, China and Diaspora in the Cold War

It is difficult to understate just how traumatic the victory of communism in China in 1949 was for many Chinese Catholics, as well as for foreign Catholic clergy who were serving in China at the time—despite the tendency in the existing literature to emphasize the Vatican's preoccupation with Soviet communism in Europe in this same period.[6] As John Pollard notes, "Persecution of Catholicism by Communist revolutionaries in Asia was far more intense and brutal than anything in Eastern Europe...[and]...The Communist revolutions in China, Korea, and Vietnam in the 1940s and 1950s gave [Pope] Pius XII martyrs aplenty".[7] Indeed, while the anti-communism of Pius XII is well documented, the confrontation between Catholics and communists in China specifically was compounded by the association that the church had, in the eyes of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), with Western imperialism. Indeed, a number of Catholic organizations in China were accused by the new PRC authorities almost as soon as they took power of assisting both Nationalist Chinese (KMT) and US intelligence work, and it was Catholic clergy themselves who bore the brunt of such accusations.[8]

By mid 1951, the CCP had expelled over 90 percent of the almost 8,000 non-Chinese Catholic church workers who had been stationed in mainland China in the 1940s, with only Italian and Irish missionaries spared expulsion.[9] Catholic literature produced in Hong Kong at the time was full of reports about priests, nuns and lay workers crossing the border after suffering humiliation and violence at the hands of the CCP. The expulsions also prompted schisms within the Chinese church itself, with debates over the merits of martyrdom versus complicity with the new regime (as opposed to the safety of exile) continuing to shape Chinese Catholicism for many years thereafter.[10]

The expulsions also had logistical consequences, for they resulted in the creation of a cohort of many thousands of foreign and Chinese Catholic clergy who had dedicated their careers to the church in China, and who now had virtually nothing to

do. Many from Europe and North America returned to their home countries. Others were redeployed to other parts of Asia (and beyond). Some followed the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan. But many remained in Hong Kong, hoping to return to the mainland once political circumstances there changed.

While there was a great deal of confusion and debate in this period about how the Vatican should respond to the challenge of 1949, Rome was certainly active in responding to the crisis. Indeed, a number of new policies were enacted in this period to keep the church alive in China. Vatican Radio started its Mandarin Chinese service in 1950, for example.[11] In January 1952, Pope Pius XII issued the *Cupimus imprimis*, a document which described China's earth as being "red with the blood of Christian martyrs".[12] And two years later the encyclical *Ad sinarum gentem*, which condemned the CCP's policies on Catholicism, was published.[13] Just as importantly, the Vatican created a new role in the spring of 1953—the AVTOC.

In May 1953, Bishop Carlo van Melckebeke, the newly appointed AVTOC, arrived in Singapore. Melckebeke had been dispatched from Rome to what was then the centre of British political and military power in Southeast Asia by the Propaganda Fide (the Vatican's office of overseas missions), and with the agreement of Britain's Colonial Office. In Singapore, Melckebeke was to establish a worldwide base for pastoral work amongst diasporic Chinese Catholics. Traditionally, an "apostolic visitor" (or "visitator") was a "...temporary position [in the church] created for the purpose of conducting inspections and most frequently use in ecclesiastical settings". Visitors would become a "nearly permanent fixture of Jesuit administration in Asia" owing to the large amount of missionary work in that region.[14] Melckebeke's new role in 1953 could thus be read into a much longer Catholic tradition of "inspecting" its adherents in Asia. Indeed, the very creation of this office suggested anxiety in Rome about the possibility of large numbers of Chinese Catholics in the region turning to communism. In Chinese, this new position was referred to in specifically diasporic terms as the "*Zongzuo zhu Nanyang shichayuan*" (Vatican's Visitor to the Nanyang)[15], and would involve "*huaqiao jiaowu"* (pastoral care for the overseas

Chinese). <FUGURE 8.1 near here>

As AVTOC, Melckebeke's remit would be to organize Chinese-speaking priests (of both Chinese and non-Chinese background) "...in Japan, in the Philippines, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Vietnam, Malaya, Thailand, Burma and India, as well as in Africa, Europe, and in the two Americas".[16] In reality, the church's own numbers suggested that, in the early 1950s, Indonesia was home to the largest number of Chinese Catholics outside the PRC and Taiwan (40,000), closely followed by Singapore (36,000), the Philippines (30,000), Malaya (25,000), and Thailand (22,000).[17] Thus, while the AVTOC would claim a worldwide community of believers, his focus would be on those Asian societies that were also experiencing major Cold War conflicts or ideological battles in the 1950s. It is telling, for instance, that the three major conferences organized by the AVTOC in the first decade of his work were convened in the Indonesian city of Surabaya (1955) (intriguingly soon after the Bandung Conference), in the Philippine hill-town of Baguio (1956), and in Saigon (1960).[18]

Melckebeke would oversee the management, coordination and integration of the Catholic overseas Chinese community worldwide. This would include the management of Chinese Catholic churches and schools in those countries where sizeable Chinese communities existed, as well as seminaries for the training of overseas Chinese clergy. Indeed, the AVTOC was key in the establishment of entirely new seminaries specifically for this purpose, such as "*le petit seminaire chinois de Saigon*", the Scola Presbyteralis St. Caroli, which was established in 1954 in Vietnam—a country where the overtly Catholic clique around prime minister (and soon to be president) Ngo Dinh Diem made for a natural Vatican ally in the region.[19] This new centre for the training of diasporic Chinese clergy was attached to the L'église Saint-François-Xavier, one of a number of Catholic churches in Cholon (Saigon's "Chinatown").[20] <FIGURE 8.2 near here> In addition, Melckebeke would be tasked with overseeing the production of Chinese-language media and correspondence courses,[21] and ensuring the distribution of Hong Kong- and US-published Catholic reading material to Chinese-speaking youth in the region.[22]

Despite all this, the initial decision to establish the office of the AVTOC had not been a purely Vatican initiative. Rather, in 1952, it appears that it was an Irish-born, British-colonial official based in Malaya who had first approached Rome with the idea of establishing some formal office for the management of Catholic priests who had been expelled from China and who were now being redeployed by their various orders to serve diasporic communities in Southeast Asia. In the case of British Malaya, such missionary work had already proven beneficial to government policy in the New Villages that were being established in response to the Malayan Emergency—a topic covered by Choo Chin Low in her contribution to this volume.[23] However, Michael Joseph Hogan, colonial Malaya's Attorney General, suggested to the Colonial Office that greater efforts could be made by appealing directly to the Vatican to better consolidate such efforts. Indeed, according to the archival record, it was Hogan who suggested to the Vatican that a:

> central authority should be set up which...would be responsible for the whole of South East Asia and coordinate missionary effort in the field including the flow of missionaries who have been removed from China.[24]

The Vatican's view of such an office also appears to have been influenced by British academic studies of the "overseas Chinese" in this same period. Victor Purcell's work, for example, was directly cited in essays on the need to recognize and minister to a newly discovered "category" of Chinese in the early 1950s.[25] This was also, of course, a time when the US government, working with scholars such as G. William Skinner, were devising general policies towards the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well.[26] Interestingly, it was also not the only occasion on which colonial officials had sought to enlist Catholic clergy in an attempt to quell the spread of communism in what were referred to as "resident Chinese communities" elsewhere in the British empire; the church was also involved in colonial attempts to keep "Sino-Mauritians"

away from Chinese communism in the 1950s, for instance.[27]

Positive responses from the Vatican to these British proposals reflected an early 1950s obsession with communism within the Propaganda Fide. In 1951, the American Bishop Fulton J. Sheen—best known in this period for his highly popular televised sermons in the United States, many of which dwelt on the unholiness of communism—was made secretary of the Propaganda Fide.[28] Sheen had visited China in 1948, and was fully aware of the attacks on Catholicism in this period in areas of China that has been "liberated" by the CCP. His experiences there would fuel a good deal of his ideas on Chinese communism in the American Catholic press over the next decade.[29] It was Sheen's office which would ultimately be responsible for selecting Melckebeke to serve as the AVTOC.

Like hundreds of other European Catholic clergymen, Melckebeke had served for many years in mainland China prior to his new post. A member of the Belgian-based Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae (CICM), or "Scheut missions", he had worked as a missionary in Ningxia from 1923 to 1933, and as the director of a Catholic hospital in what was then the province of Suiyuan (now part of Inner Mongolia) from 1937 to 1946 (spending a period of some years in Japanese prison camps in Shandong and Beijing). In 1946, he was appointed Bishop of Ningxia. In these same post-war years, he became an active chronicler of the church's history in China, writing hagiographies of his Scheut predecessors,[30] and studies of the church in Mongolia.[31] Melckebeke was formally expelled from the PRC somewhat later than many of his peers, in September 1952, following a series of interrogations and a period of forced study of communism.[32]

Melckebeke was an unusual choice for the office of the AVTOC. To be sure, the CICM had a tradition of missionary emphasis on China.[33] But so too did many other Catholic orders, including those with "...great experience of Chinese life, a knowledge of the Chinese dialect [*sic*], and, in some cases [and unlike Melckebeke] of the southern dialects of that language...".[34] These included Catholic groups who had served in *qiaoxiang* communities that could claim strong links to the diaspora—the

American-based Maryknoll missionaries, for example, who had been active for many decades in Guangdong.[35] In Southeast Asia itself, French clergy in Vietnam and Malaya (Penang having been a regional centre for the work of the Missions étrangères de Paris since the early nineteenth century) had also long ministered to diasporic Chinese Catholics.[36] In other words, Melckebeke was certainly not the only non-Chinese clergyman to claim an impressive China-focused resumé, personal experience of communist anti-Catholic iconoclasm, and little else to do in 1953. Indeed, when it came to linguistic and cultural knowledge of diasporic communities, he was under-qualified compared to many of his contemporaries.

Furthermore, although Melckebeke's remit in theory covered all overseas Chinese, there is evidence to suggest that some sections of the church preferred to maintain management of "their" Chinese flock in a quite different fashion. This was especially so for the Philippines, where exiled, Mandarin-speaking European and Chinese-born priests from mainland China were surprised to find a well-established community of Chinese Catholics, with its own dedicated churches and schools, in the early 1950s.[37] To be sure, the post-war Philippines accepted its share of clergy who had been expelled from China in 1949; entire mainland Chinese seminaries relocated to the Philippines in this period as they awaited the re-opening of China to evangelization.[38] Yet Rome recognized that "the Philippines is a Catholic country different from the rest of Southeast Asia".[39] The country could even claim its own Chinese (mestizo) Catholic martyr in the figure of Lorenzo Ruiz (1594–1637), who was commemorated in the heart of Manila's Binondo area at the Minor Basilica of Saint Lorenzo Ruiz (a church specifically built for the Chinese community during the period of Spanish rule). <FIGURE 8.3 near here> The exceptional history and nature of Chinese Catholicism in the Philippines thus justified a unique organization for the "Chinese apostolate" in that country that would be independent of the AVTOC. For this reason, in 1955, the Holy See appointed Juan B. Velasco, a Spanish Dominican who had been ordained in 1948 as the Bishop of Xiamen,[40] as National Director of the Filipino-Chinese Apostolate (FCA).[41] While the prospect of the Philippines

emerging as a source of missionaries for other parts of Asia was maintained well into the 1970s,[42] the FCA's primary focus was "to evangelize a unique subculture within Philippine society...", i.e., to spread Catholicism within the Philippine Chinese community rather than evangelizing amongst a wider "overseas Chinese" community or halting the spread of communism.[43]

Velasco would oversee the creation of new Catholic Chinese organizations in the Philippines, such as the Filipino-Chinese Catholic Youth.[44] He would also manage the development of pre-1949 Chinese Catholic institutions, including Chinese Catholic schools such as the Crusaders Academy (now the Lorenzo Ruiz Academy) in Binondo and the Anglo-Chinese Academy in Santa Cruz.[45] While Velasco would certainly continue to cooperate with the AVTOC, then, his office would operate independently of Singapore, and would maintain a decidedly Philippine (rather than supranational) orientation. Indeed, while Melckebeke stressed the need to train Chinese clergy who spoke Mandarin, the FCA trained priests to speak Hokkien—the dialect that was spoken most widely in the Philippines at the time.[46]

Regardless of the reasons behind the choice of Melckebeke by the Propaganda Fide, his appointment reflected a very mainland China-focused understanding of the overseas Chinese for Rome in the 1950s. In Melckebeke's view, the overseas Chinese were a single community that shared a direct link to China itself. They represented the "...most widespread dispersion of human beings belonging to the largest national group in the whole world".[47] More importantly, however, the AVTOC viewed the overseas Chinese through the eyes of the church itself, i.e., as a community of believers whose main preoccupation was the defeat of communism on the Chinese mainland. This community was populated (like the former China missionaries) by anti-communist exiles who longed for news from the homeland.[48] Overseas Chinese Catholics, in other words, were seen as both a direct link for the church to China—a role that sections of the church still attribute to such communities today[49]—and as a parallel body of Catholics who apparently longed (as the church itself did) for an eventual return to China. The Catholic press even spoke of diasporic Chinese

themselves as "refugees" when explaining the role that the new AVTOC would play.[50] "The sufferings which Chinese Catholics and foreign missionaries are enduring for the Faith in China," suggested one editor in 1953, "have brought down many graces on the Overseas Chinese".[51]

In many regards, such views echoed Nationalist Chinese (i.e., KMT) notions of "overseas Chineseness" in the 1950s. Like the Nationalist state on Taiwan, the Catholic church imagined the overseas Chinese as being inextricably tied to political developments in China itself, more than to local developments in the newly emerging nation-states of Southeast Asia. Little wonder then that Catholic periodicals in which Melckebeke published his views spoke of the importance of the "irreplaceable role" played by Taiwan in the wider Chinese world.[52] Yet the Vatican also chose to maintain a stubborn adherence to a pre-1949 view of the Chinese Catholic world as it waited for an opportunity to return to the mainland. Indeed, rather than follow the Nationalist state to Taipei in 1949, the Vatican had waited until 1952 to re-open its nunciature in Taiwan—a decision that had enraged Chiang Kai-shek.[53] Thus, Melckebeke and Velasco may have ministered to overseas Chinese Catholics in Singapore and Manila, but they did so while retaining their respective titles of Bishops of Ningxia and Xiamen, ready to resume their calling on the mainland once the communists were toppled, or allowed Catholic missionaries to return. "When continental China is once more open to missionary work", wrote Melckebeke as late as the early 1960s, "it is these countries [i.e., those in which large numbers of overseas Chinese Catholics reside] who will provide the personnel...necessary for this undertaking".[54]

For the church, then, the pastoral well-being of the overseas Chinese was closely linked to the fate of mainland China. A trilingual (English, French and Chinese) book of Catholic prayers published by Melckebeke in Singapore in 1962 betrays this deep-seated nostalgia for the lost dioceses of the mainland, and provides an interesting insight into the AVTOC's imagined geography of the Chinese Cold War. Each prayer that was featured in this booklet was accompanied by images of major

Catholic communities not in Southeast Asia but in China—Shanghai, Datong, Guangzhou and, significantly, Taipei. The actual places in which overseas Chinese Catholics resided were not so much as mentioned in this collection, despite its intended diasporic readership.[55]

Catholic contributions to the "battle for hearts and minds"

While the disconnect between parochial nostalgia for the Chinese mainland and the realities of a rapidly changing Asia in the 1950s may look striking in hindsight, the AVTOC needs to be understood in the context of attempts by multiple powers to foster anti- or non-communist solidarity amongst overseas Chinese youth throughout the "Free World" in the 1950s. This was a time when "new China" was attracting overseas Chinese investment, students and sympathy, and when policy-makers in North America, Europe and various parts of Asia seriously worried about the potential for communist ideas to threaten Western and non-communist interests around the world. As chapters in this volume by Lanjun Xu and Wasana Wongsurawat show, PRC cultural influence and "soft power" was also feared by numerous new and postcolonial governments across the region, to say nothing of the Nationalist Chinese authorities in Taipei. Such fears inspired the creation of a vast Chinese-language cultural infrastructure by the United States in Hong Kong, which manifest itself in everything from the Chinese Branch of the Voice of America—a topic explored in Chapter 6 of this volume—to the Chinese tabloids published by the USIS office in that city,[56] all in order to prevent the development of a communist Chinese "fifth column" within the region.[57]

Some of the most vociferous anti-communist ideologues to emerge within these wider project in the 1950s, and especially in the British colony of Hong Kong, were Catholic priests who had been expelled (as Melckebeke had been) from the Chinese mainland. This included the Hungarian-born Jesuit László Ladány, one of the most influential purveyors of anti-CCP information well into the 1980s.[58] Ladány's voluminous critiques of Chinese communism penned in Hong Kong (*not* as part of

Melckebeke's office, but certainly with the acquiescence of the British colonial authorities in the city) would shape Western views of the PRC for many years, and would have a lasting impact on Chinese studies as a field more generally.[59] It would also ensure that Catholic ideas about Chinese communism would remain at the heart of intellectual critiques of the PRC.

A number of the very same refugee intellectuals who are explored in other chapters in this book as vanguards of anti-communist literature in Hong Kong could also claim a direct connection to Catholicism. This included groups such as the Union Press (Youlian chubanshe; hereafter "UP")—an Asia Foundation-backed (and hence CIA-funded) publisher-cum-intelligence organization which became instrumental in turning popular Chinese opinion against communism in many parts of the region, including Indonesia and Malaya.[60] Despite being best known for her condemnatory essays on life in the early PRC republished in English in 1954 under the title *The Umbrella Garden*, the UP writer Maria Yen (Yan Guilai; a.k.a. Jane Chiu; a.k.a. Qiu Xihong) spent a great deal of energy in the 1950s writing Catholic devotional texts in Chinese. Yen, who had left China after the 1949 revolution, was described by the church itself as a "militant" Catholic, and she displayed such beliefs openly in her writings.[61] One of Yen's contributions to the Vatican-ordained "Marian Year" of 1954, for example, was a thirty-page prayer to Our Lady covering every moment that Yen spent during Good Friday that year.[62] While Yen is thus remembered for the depth of her anti-communist essays, she was suspected by the Asia Foundation (the very CIA-backed organization that funded the UP) of having been persuaded to "work for the church" in some clandestine fashion;[63] she eventually ended her career in Southeast Asia in 1958 to take up studies at a Jesuit-run college in Rome.[64]

Other high-ranking figures at UP shared Yen's religious beliefs. The UP editor Yu Te-k'uan (Yu Deguan; a.k.a. John Paul Yu) was a devout Catholic, having been educated at Fu Jen Catholic University in pre-war Beijing before relocating to Hong Kong. In the mid 1950s, Yu joined Maria Yen in establishing (at the behest of the British colonial authorities) a branch office of UP in Singapore and a purveyor of

non-communist Chinese literature at its retail arm, Malaya Book Company (Malaiya tushu gongsi), in Kuala Lumpur. The AVTOC maintained an active relationship with another of UP's institutional backers in late-colonial Malaya—Leong Yew-koh. Leong was one of the founding members of the Malayan Chinese Association, and was instrumental in assisting in the introduction of UP into Malaya in the 1950s.[65] Leong was also a devout Catholic,[66] and would appear regularly in the pages of *Hai Sing Pao* (*Haixing bao*), the Chinese-language newspaper that Melckebeke founded in Singapore (and which will be explored later in this chapter)

What all of this suggests is that the work of the AVTOC went far beyond pastoral concerns. It overlapped with wider anti-communist cultural efforts, many of them US-funded and/or UK-sanctioned, or which were led or initiated by Chinese Catholics themselves. The AVTOC can thus be seen as part of a wider anti-communist Cold War networks in which Chinese and China-literate Catholics appear to have played an inordinately significant role. Indeed, the AVTOC's involvement in such efforts could be read as an extension of earlier strategies adopted by the church as it sought to mobilize the "intellectual apostolate"—i.e., Chinese intellectuals who could put Catholic messages into the newspapers, magazines and novels that would appeal to a broad readership—as a means of combating the appeal of "rationalism, materialism, atheism, or communism" in China.[67]

The AVTOC also paved the way for later Vatican- and church-backed forays into this Chinese cultural Cold War. One example is the innocuous sounding Sociological Centre, which was founded in Singapore by Irish Franciscan monks in 1958.[68] In the histories that the Singapore Franciscans have written of themselves, the role of this organization was openly acknowledged: "The main work of the sociological centre was to translate the Vatican's teachings into Chinese for distribution in pamphlet form as a counter to the Communist threat".[69] Similarly, plans were drawn up by exiled Chinese Catholic clergy in the Philippines in the mid 1950s to use Manila as a base for broadcasting into China; this eventually led in the mid-1970s to the creation of the Mandarin Chinese Service of Radio Veritas (Zhenli guangbotai)—a major Catholic

broadcaster which continues to cater to a clandestine PRC listenership today.[70]

Religion and Diaspora in a changing region

Despite the overtly anti-communist origins of the AVTOC, the literature that Melckebeke produced through his office in Singapore in the 1950s and 1960s suggest that Chinese communism was not seen as the only threat to the souls of the overseas Chinese, or necessarily even the main problem for overseas Chinese Catholics. Indeed, the main publication of the AVTOC in the 1950s—the office's main newspaper, known as the *Hai Sing Pao*—is remarkable in its *lack* of shrill attacks on Chinese communism.

From its very first issue in April 1955, the *Hai Sing Pao* carried news and opinion relating to events and developments amongst overseas Chinese Catholics, predominantly in Southeast Asia. This included reports about Chinese students attending Catholic schools in cities such as Jakarta or Manila, or essays about Legion of Mary activities in Malaya, for example. Through this newspaper, Melckebeke's staff also gave a decidedly Catholic spin to politicized cultural debates which raged in much of Chinese-speaking Southeast Asia in the late 1950s. An aversion to so-called "yellow culture" (*huangse wenhua*)—and the encouragement of young Southeast Asian people to consume "healthy" (*jiankang*) films and reading matter—was as enthusiastically espoused by the AVTOC as it was by British colonial censors and Singapore's People's Action Party, for example.[71]

In addition, however, the newspaper featured stories heavy with nostalgia for the lost mainland. Accounts of clergy who retained connections to specific locations in China (despite having been exiled in the early 1950s) were commonplace, as were hagiographies of European Catholic missionaries who had been martyred on the mainland in earlier decades. Frédéric-Vincent Lebbe—a fellow Belgian missionary who had died following weeks of mistreatment by the CCP in 1940—was a favourite topic for *Hai Sing Pao* essays, for Lebbe's "Christian charity" on the mainland had "aroused the bitter hostility of the communists" (perhaps as Melckebeke was doing in

Southeast Asia in the 1950s).[72]

Despite the heady anti-communism that had at least partially energized the founding of Melckebeke's position in the first place, therefore, the *Hai Sing Pao* was not the typically anti-communist publication that one might expect. To be sure, the paper reported on Vatican criticism of the CCP. Yet, the "persecution narrative" that typified so many other writings in the Catholic literature at this time (particularly that emanating from Hong Kong) was noticeably scant in the *Hai Sing Pao*.[73] Instead, the newspaper included significant amounts of material that was clearly designed to counter the *attraction* of communism to diasporic Chinese readers. At one level, this almost certainly reflected Melckebeke's own approach to the PRC. Despite his aversion to communism, Melckebeke adopted a conciliatory approach towards Beijing, and reported positively on news emanating from China about a limiting of CCP persecution of Chinese Catholics in the mid 1960s, for example.[74]

Most interestingly, however, the *Hai Sing Pao* engaged with debates about what it actually meant to be an overseas Chinese Catholic in 1950s Southeast Asia (though without, it must be said, direct reference to anti-Chinese discrimination that was being felt in many parts of the region). Central to such debates was the belief that Catholicism would only thrive amongst diasporic communities if more clergy of Chinese origin were themselves ordained. Linked to this were ongoing theological debates about supposed syncretism amongst overseas Chinese Catholics, and the disagreements that had raged within the church for centuries on "Chinese rites".

This was a particularly important topic to Melckebeke, who theorized on the importance of "liturgical renewal" allowing Chinese forms of cultural expression to thrive within overseas Chinese Catholicism. Indeed, well prior to the Second Vatican Council and its introduction of a more liberal approach to the use of local forms of cultural expression in Catholic liturgy in Asia, Melckebeke was arguing forcefully—and in reference to his anti-communist Catholic predecessors in China such as Lebbe—against the retention of Eurocentric elements of liturgy in Chinese Catholicism.[75] Such "liturgical renewal" mattered especially to Melckebeke in those

countries of Asia that were "partly subjected to the communistic regime [sic]"—including, of course, the PRC; this was because "for years, communistic education will have presented the Catholic church as an ally of the Western powers".[76] The adoption of "local" customs into Catholic liturgy was a way in which to undermine such claims.

Unfortunately, however, this notion of Sinicizing Southeast Asian Chinese Catholicism did not fit with the rise of anti-communist (and, in some cases, anti-Chinese) forms of nationalism that were being espoused by newly emerging political movements in the region (including, ironically, those led by Catholics). Indeed, while the AVTOC's attention to the inclusion of Chinese cultural forms of expression in Catholic liturgy in Asia was in many ways ahead of its time (and admirable in its focus on what we might call "liturgical de-colonization"), it went against wider attempts to deny Chinese exceptionalism in a decolonizing, but non-communist Asia. Nor did such sentiments fit with the view of non-Chinese Catholics (including clergy) in Southeast Asia, some of whom did not see the point of classifying *Chinese* Catholics as some kind of favoured community set apart from the wider Catholic world. Indeed, in the case of the Indonesian Catholic hierarchy, there was some hostility to the idea of promoting the notion of a *Chinese* Catholicism from the 1960s onwards, as it was believed that to do so would mean putting non-Chinese Catholics in the region at risk through association.[77]

In other cases, Melckebeke's vision of a single and unified diaspora clashed with attempts by Chinese Catholics themselves across the region to adopt new, non-diasporic affinities aligned to the realities of Indonesian, Philippine or Vietnamese nationalism.[78] Many believers that may have represented Melckebeke's imagined flock in Southeast Asia chose to identify not as *Chinese* Catholics, but as Catholic Indonesians, Filipinos or Vietnamese. In some cases, they were, in fact, encouraged to do this by the very forces that had first worked with the Vatican to introduce the AVTOC into the region in the first place. By Merdeka in 1957, for example, the outgoing British colonial state in Malaya was fully promoting

"Malayanization" and the adoption of a highly localized sense of loyalty amongst all communities in a newly emerging Malayan nation-state—"Chinese" included.[79] Even more striking was the role of Melckebeke's fellow former China-based missionaries who, by the 1960s, were arguing forcefully for the "indigenization" of overseas Chinese Catholics in the nation-states of Southeast Asia. It is a formerly Shanghai-based American Jesuit, Charles McCarthy, who is today recognized as having been one of the earliest and most influential champions of Chinese "integration" into Philippine society, for example.[80] His message of Chinese integration in the exceptional context of the Philippines directly undermined the AVTOC's advocacy of a Catholic Chinese exceptionalism in the region.

Conclusion

In September 1976, a now elderly Carlo van Melckebeke convened a colloquium in Singapore to assess the successes and shortcomings of the AVTOC's work since 1953. This was the first time that such an event had been held since the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council in 1965. The delay of well over a decade since that date was blamed on the momentous geopolitical conflicts that had been experienced in the region (ranging from Konfrontasi to the Vietnam War). Perhaps because of this new context—a post Second Vatican Council Catholic world, but a Southeast Asia which had lived through war in Malaya and Indochina, and a China that had only just emerged from the Cultural Revolution—the colloquium provided a chance to look back over twenty-five years of the AVTOC's work, and to assess whether or not the initiative had achieved its goals. Clergy from around Southeast Asia and North America attended, as did representatives from the Propaganda Fide, reporting in each case on the state of overseas Chinese Catholic affairs and plans for the future.[81]

In terms of the sheer number of registered Chinese Catholics outside China, the AVTOC could claim significant gains when it came to evangelization. Even by the early 1960s, Melckebeke's office was claiming a 125% rise in the size of the overseas Chinese Catholic population worldwide.[82] Yet the mood at the 1976 colloquium was

less than optimistic. Attendees lamented the fact that Vietnam—the site of one of the region's preeminent overseas Chinese seminaries—had fallen to communism; evangelization in Indonesia had come to a standstill due to anti-Chinese policies in that country (and disapproval of attempts to minister to overseas Chinese by sections of the church hierarchy itself); in the Philippines, "Filipinization" and a lack of local Chinese Catholics choosing to join the priesthood meant that "the Catholic faith has not yet deeply penetrated the Catholic Chinese"; and even in those societies that had once seemed so amenable to the notion of an "overseas Chinese Catholicism" (e.g., Singapore), representatives bemoaned what they saw as a shift towards "materialism", a "lack of faith" amongst the youth, and restrictions on Chinese Catholic education. Extraordinarily, representatives from Singapore even suggested that "Maoism" had been so efficient in co-opting the region's youth that the church should consider using CCP techniques to further its aims. While the AVTOC had started in the 1950s as a Vatican tool for countering the appeal of Chinese communism, therefore, it ended the 1970s admiring the Cold War propaganda strategies perfected by the CCP.

Most telling of all, the 1976 colloquium paved the way for Melckebeke to step down from the role of the AVTOC. The very shift that Melckebeke himself had encouraged towards a Sinicization of the church in Asia now demanded that a new AVTOC should himself be Chinese. The Dominican Paul Pang (Peng Baolu) was appointed to the role in 1981, subsequently moving to the United States to continue his work.[83] Chinese American Catholics, it would seem, now took precedence over their Southeast Asian brethren.

The 1976 colloquium brought into sharp relief the gap that now existed between early-1950s notions of "overseas Chinese Catholicism"—based, as they were, on a deep nostalgia for a pre-communist mainland, early Cold War fears about the threat of Chinese communism, and the Vatican's desire to put China-literate Catholic clergy to work again (so that they might be ready, at a moment's notice, to return to their mainland dioceses)—and the diverse range of overlapping national, ethnic, cultural and religious identities that now co-existed in a region transformed by decades of

decolonization and war. The very conflict that had inspired the creation of the AVTOC in the first place (such as the Malayan Emergency) was over, and more importantly, the notion of the overseas Chinese was looking remarkably anachronistic and out of touch with the realities of a religiously and politically diverse Southeast Asia, where criticism of the "Chinatown Chinese" was gathering pace.[84] The battle for the souls of the overseas Chinese was no longer one which pitted the church in exile against the CCP, either. Anti-Chinese discrimination, nationalism, authoritarianism, and "materialism" all now undermined attempts at evangelization as much as Chinese communism did.

Today, the AVTOC has been all but forgotten outside the annals of church history, and the legacies of this office have been limited (even if the legacy of individual anti-communist Catholic "China watchers" such as László Ladány has been significant). Yet the story of this office in the early 1950s, and the uniquely exilic and mainland-oriented understandings of "overseas Chineseness" that it harboured well into the 1970s, offer unique insights into the intersection between politics, religion and "Chinese" identity in Cold War Southeast Asia. Most importantly, it reminds us that the projection of competing notions of "Chineseness" in Cold War Asia was not simply a Chinese project—it involved, just as importantly, political and even religious forces who saw in the "overseas Chinese" a range of Cold War threats and opportunities.

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of Tionghoa and Tsinoy beyond the 'Sinophone'" workshop at Kyoto University in December 2019.

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[3] The Chinese name of this institution literally means the "Association for the Promotion of Catholic Affairs in the Nanyang".

[4] Dong Li, "Haiwai huawen jiaohui kanwu yi lan" [A review of overseas Chinese-language church publications], *Xin de* [Faith Weekly], 21 May2019, accessed 2 April 2020, https://www.xinde.org/show/45745.

[5] On this, see Frank J. Coppa, "Pope Pius XII and the Cold War: The post-war Confrontation between Catholicism and Communism", in *Religion and the Cold War*, ed. Dianne Kirby (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 50–66.

[6] The theme of major works such as Anthony Rhodes, *The Vatican in the Age of the Cold War, 1945–1980* (London: Michael Russell, 1992).

[7] John Pollard, *The Papacy in the Age of Totalitarianism, 1914–1958* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 462.

[8] Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

[9] Beatrice K. F. Leung and William T. Liu, *The Chinese Catholic Church in Conflict, 1949–2001* (Boca Raton, FL: Universal Publishers, 2004), 62.

[10] Coppa, "Pope Pius XII and the Cold War", 60.

[11] Beatrice Leung and Wen-ban Kuo, "Taiwan's role in the Catholic Church: The Bridging Endeavor", in *Catholicism in China, 1900–Present*: *The Development of the Chinese Church*, ed. Cindy Yik-yi Chu (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 173.

[12] An abridged version of the *Cupimus imprimis* in English can be found at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cupimus_Imprimis

[13] Federico Lombardi, "The History of Relations between the Holy See and China", *La Civilità Cattolica* (English Edition) 2, no. 12 (December 2018): 11.

[14] Liam Matthew Brockley, *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Belknapp Press, 2014), 11.

[15] For one of the classic examples of theorizing on the notion of the "Nanyang" from the 1950s, see Wang Gungwu, *A Short History of the Nanyang Chinese* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1959).

[16] Anon "Chinese Abroad", *China Missionary Bulletin* 6 (June–July 1953): 616.

[17] Office of the Apostolic Visitor, *Chinese Diaspora Catholic Apostolate: Comparative Chart, 1953–1968* (Singapore: Office of the Apostolic Visitor, 1968), Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae (CICM) Archives, Rome.

[18] Office of the Apostolic Visitor, *General Report on the Catholic Apostolate in the Chinese Diaspora* (Singapore: Office of the Apostolic Visitor, 1963), ISEAS Library, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

[19] James T. Fisher, "The Second Catholic President: Ngo Dinh Diem, John F. Kennedy, and the Vietnam Lobby, 1954–1963", *U. S. Catholic Historian* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1997): 119–37.

[20] Carlo M. J. van Melckebeke, *Scola Presbyteralis St Caroli: Le petite seminaire chinois de Saigon* (Singapore: Singapore Catholic Central Bureau, 1972).

[21] Such as Wang Shouli [Carlo M. J. van Melckebeke], *Jiaoyi hanshou ke* [Doctrinal correspondence course] (Singapore: Tianzhujiao Nanyang jiaowu cujinshe, 1954).

[22] "Xinjiapo Tianzhujiao Nanyang jiaowu cujinshe gongzuo jianjie" [A brief introduction to the work of the Singapore Central Catholic Bureau], *Haixingbao*, 5 January 1958; see also "Two groups respond to appeal by Bishop for books for institutions in Singapore", *Catholic News Service—Newsfeeds*, 13 May 1957.

[23] Kam Hing Lee, "A Neglected Story: Christian Missionaries, Chinese New Villagers, and Communists in the Battle for the 'hearts and minds' in Malaya, 1948–1960", *Modern Asian Studies* 47, no. 6 (2013): 1977–2006.

[24] "British Legation to the Holy See, to R. H. Scott, Foreign Office", 9 February 1953; FO 371/107008; The National Archives (TNA), London.

[25] Karl Muller, "The Ten Million Chinese Living Abroad", *China Missionary Bulletin* 5 (May 1953): 470–71.

[26] Meredith Oyen, "Communism, Containment and the Chinese Overseas", in *The Cold War in Asia: The Battle for Hearts and Minds*, ed. Yangwen Zheng, Hong Liu and Michael Szonyi (Boston: Brill,

2010), 59–93; Skinner's work was published as *Report on the Chinese in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, 1951).

[27] "Robert Scott (Governor General of Mauritius) to John Martin", 8 February 1955; FCO 141/7272; TNA.

[28] James M. Patterson, "The Cross or the Double Cross: Roman Catholicism, anti-communism and the political theology of Venerable Fulton J. Sheen", *Perspectives on Political Science* 45, no. 1 (2016): 47–58.

[29] Robert E. Carbonneau, "Bishop Fulton J. Sheen and the Image of China and Chinese Catholicism in *Worldmission* Magazine, 1950–1966", *U. S. Catholic Historian* 34, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 69–91.

[30] Such as C. van Melckebeke, *Notre bon monseigneur OTTO, 1850–1938* (Brussels: Scheut Editions, 1949).

[31] Wang Shouli [Carlo van Melckebeke], *Bian Jiang gongjiao shehui shiye* [The social work of the church in Mongolia], trans. Fu Mingyuan (Beijing, 1947).

[32] These details are taken from Melckebeke's *curriculum vitae*, which is held in File 831, CICM Archives, Rome.

[33] Patrick Taveirne, "The Belgian Mission of Scheut (C.I.C.M.) in Southwestern Mongolia, 1870–1922: A Study of the Geopolitical, Socio-Economic, Cultural and Religious Aspects of these Sino-Mongol and Western Contacts", in *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Jeroom Heyndrickx (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, K.U. Leuven, 1994).

[34] This description is taken from "Notes and Information: The Future of the Missionaries from China", *China Missionary Bulletin* 2 (February 1953): 147–48.

[35] Jean-Paul Wiest, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918-1955* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1988).

[36] John Roxborogh, "Early nineteenth-century foundations of Christianity in Malaya: Churches and missions in Penang, Melaka and Singapore from 1786–1842", accessed 2 April 2020, http://roxborogh.com/sea/country/SSET1786%20update%2009.pdf.

[37] Ari C. Dy, *Building a Bridge: Catholic Christianity Meets Chinese-Filipino Culture* (Quezon City: Jesuit Communications, 2005), 40.

[38] Jose Vidamor B. Yu, *Inculturation of Filipino-Chinese Culture Mentality* (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Universita Gregoriana, 2000), 231.

[39] Office of the Apostolic Visitor, *Proceedings of the Singapore Colloquium on the Overseas Chinese Apostolate in Southeast Asia, September 7–9, 1976* (Singapore: Office of the Apostolic Visitor, 1976), 23. CICM Archives, Rome.

[40] This may have reflected a Vatican sensitivity to the nature of the Philippine-Chinese Catholic community, in which Hokkien (referred to as "Amy dialect" at that time) was widely spoken, and which in the 1950s maintained Amoy-dialect training classes for Catholic clergy. On this, see "Ruoshi Xueyuan erqi Xiayu xunlianban yi kaike" [Second cohort of Amoy-dialect classes starts at St Joseph's College], *Haixingbao*, 25 November 1956.

[41] This appears to have later been changed to the "Chinese-Filipino Apostolate" following demands for such a change (and connected to demands that the church take a greater role in pushing an integrationist agenda). See Ari Chan Dy, *Weaving a Dream: Reflections for Chinese Filipino Catholics Today* (Quezon City: Jesuit Communications, 2000).

[42] Jose Vidamor B. Yu, *Inculturation of Filipino-Chinese Culture Mentality,* 252.

[43] Dy, *Weaving a Dream*, 75.

[44] Filipino-Chinese Catholic Youth, St Peter Chapter, "About FCCY", accessed 2 April 2020, https://sites.google.com/site/fccystpeter/home/about-fccy.

[45] Dy, *Building a Bridge*, 41.

[46] "Sicha Feidao huaqiao jiaowu" [Investigating overseas Chinese pastoral work in the Philippines], *Haixingbao*, 31 August 1958.

[47] Office of the Apostolic Visitor, *General Report on the Catholic Apostolate in the Chinese Diaspora.*

[48] Denis Lyons, "Chinese Outside the Bamboo Curtain", *Worldmission* 44 (Winter 1953): 480–2.

[49] On the church's view of overseas Chinese Catholics as "bridges" to the PRC, see Beatrice Leung, "Catholic Bridging Efforts with China", *Religion, State and Society* 28, no. 2 (2000): 185–95.

[50] "Bishop to care for Dispersed Chinese", *The Advocate* (Melbourne), 18 June 1953.

[51] "Notes and Information: The Future of the Missionaries from China", *China Missionary Bulletin* 2 (February 1953): 147–8.

[52] Anon, "Le role irremplaçable Formose" [The irreplaceable role of Formosa], *Missi* (Geneva), 272 (August–September 1963): 260. CICM Archive, Rome.

[53] Though this also reflected Taipei's unhappiness that the Apostolic Nuncio to China, Antonio Riberi, had chosen to remain on the mainland through until 1952. On this, see Gerald Chan, "Sino-Vatican Diplomatic Relations: Problems and Prospects," *China Quarterly* 120 (December 1989): 814-836.

[54] Office of the Apostolic Visitor, *General Report on the Catholic Apostolate in the Chinese Diaspora.*

[55] Carlo M. J. van Melckebeke, *Chinese Catholic Prayers and Ancient Melodies* (Singapore, 1962).

[56] On this, see Jing Jing Chang, "China Doll in Flight: Li Lihua, *World Today*, and the Free China–US Relationship", *Film History* 26, no. 3 (2014): 1–28.

[57] Oyen, "Communism, Containment and the Chinese Overseas".

[58] For a representative example of this work, see László Ladány, *Law and Legality in China: The Testament of a China-watcher* (Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press, 1992).

[59] On Ladány's impact on "China-watching", see Richard Baum, *China Watcher: Confessions of a Peking Tom* (Seattle, WA: Washington University Press, 2010), 235–6.

[60] Jeremy E. Taylor, " 'Not a Particularly Happy Expression': 'Malayanization' and the China Threat in Britain's Late-Colonial Southeast Asian Territories", *Journal of Asian Studies* 78, no. 4 (2019): 789–808.

[61] The reference to Yen's "militant" Catholicism can be found in "Leader of Chinese refugee group fighting Reds says individuals should join struggle for freedom", *Catholic News Service—Newsfeeds*, 28 October 1957, accessed 20 December 2020, https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org/.

[62] Yan Guilai [Maria Yen], "Chang zou de xin qi" [A song often played in my heart], in *Mei yun* [Plum melodies] (Hong Kong: Zhongguo xuesheng zhoubao, 1954), 76–107.

[63] "Pat Judge to President of the Asia Foundation", 15 July 1958; Asia Foundation Papers, Box P-169; Hoover Institution Library & Archives (HILA).

[64] "Memorandum for the record. Subject: Interview with Maria Yen", 20 August 1958; Asia Foundation Papers, Box P-169; HILA

[65] Taylor, " 'Not a Particularly Happy Expression' ", 799.

[66] "Malaya: Nominal Index of Chinese Individuals, Volume 1—Leong Yew Koh"; FCO 141/7584;

TNA

[67] F. X. Legrand, *The Intellectual Apostolate in China* (Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society, 1946), 3.

[68] Interview with senior employee of the Catholic Chancery in Singapore, 9 November 2018.

[69] Hedwig Alfred, *St Francis in Singapore* (Singapore: Franciscan Friars, 1997), 30–1.

[70] Ucanews.com Reporter, "Forty years of Radio Veritas Asia's Mandarin Service", 18 July 2016, accessed 2 February 2020, https://www.ucanews.com/news/forty-years-of-radio-veritas-asias-mandarin-service/76601.

[71] "Huangse shuji" [Yellow books], *Haixingbao*, 20 January 1957.

[72] Thomas F. Ryan, *China Through Catholic Eyes* (Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society, 1941), 78.

[73] Robert E. Carbonneau, "Bishop Fulton J. Sheen and the Image of China and Chinese Catholicism in *Worldmission* Magazine, 1950–1966", *U.S. Catholic Historian* 34, no. 2 (2016): 69–91.

[74] He is cited in this vein, for example, in "A slight thaw in China", *Catholic Transcript* 68, no. 28 (5 November 1965).

[75] Jonathan Y. Tan, "Beyond *Sacrosanctum Concilium*: The Future of Liturgical Renewal in the Asian Catholic Church", *Studia Liturgica* 44, no. 1–2 (2014): 284.

[76] Carlo van Melckebeke, "The Urgency of Liturgical Renewal in the Far East", in *Liturgy and the Missions: The Nijmegen Papers*, ed. Johannes Hofinger (London: Burns and Oates, 1960), 160.

[77] Office of the Apostolic Visitor, *Proceedings of the Singapore Colloquium on the Overseas Chinese Apostolate in Southeast Asia, September 7–9, 1976*.

[78] Carlo van Melckebeke, "The Chinese and the problem of conflicting cultures", *Migration News* 12, no. 1 (1963): 17–24. CICM Archives, Rome.

[79] Taylor, " 'Not a particularly happy expression' ".

[80] Amanda C. R. Clark, *China's Last Jesuit: Charles J. McCarthy and the End of the Mission in Catholic Shanghai* (London: Palgrave: 2017), 100–1.

[81] Office of the Apostolic Visitor, *Proceedings of the Singapore Colloquium on the Overseas Chinese Apostolate in Southeast Asia, September 7–9, 1976*.

[82] Office of the Apostolic Visitor, *General Report on the Catholic Apostolate in the Chinese Diaspora*.

[83] R. G. Tiedemann, *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume II: 1800 to the Present* (Leiden: Brill,

2010), 799.

[84] The above-mentioned Charles McCarthy was, by the time of the 1976 colloquium, already suggesting that the "Chinatown Chinese" were a thing of the past, as "integration" was experienced in societies such as the Philippines. On this, see Charles J. McCarthy, "The Chinese in the Philippines", in *Philippine-Chinese Profile: Essays and Studies*, ed. Charles J. McCarthy (Manila: Pagkakaisa Sa Pag-unlad Inc, 1974), 1–32.